Tomoko Yaginuma

Imagining Japan from Far-West: Social Representations of Japan and the Japanese among Portuguese students

junho de 2021

Imagining Japan from Far-West: Social Representations of Japan and the Japanese among Portuguese students

Tomoko Yaginuma

UMinho | 2021

Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Ciências Sociais

Tomoko Yaginuma

Imagining Japan from Far-West: Social Representations of Japan and the Japanese among Portuguese students

Tese de Doutoramento
Doutoramento em Estudos Culturais

Trabalho efetuado sob a orientação da
Professora Doutora Rosa Cabecinhas

junho de 2021

DIREITOS DE AUTOR E CONDIÇÕES DE UTILIZAÇÃO DO TRABALHO POR TERCEIROS

Este é um trabalho académico que pode ser utilizado por terceiros desde que respeitadas as regras e boas práticas internacionalmente aceites, no que concerne aos direitos de autor e direitos conexos.

Assim, o presente trabalho pode ser utilizado nos termos previstos na licença abaixo indicada.

Caso o utilizador necessite de permissão para poder fazer um uso do trabalho em condições não previstas no licenciamento indicado, deverá contactar o autor, através do RepositóriUM da Universidade do Minho.

Licença concedida aos utilizadores deste trabalho



Atribuição
CC BY

https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Dr. Rosa Cabecinhas for her invaluable comments, thoughtful guidance and constant support. It was a great honor and pleasure to discuss various topics with her during the course of this PhD study. Without her supervision and encouragement, it was not possible to complete the present thesis.

I am extremely grateful for Professor Sun Lam and Professor Luís Cabral for giving me an opportunity to work in Department of Asian Studies at University of Minho and encouraging me to do a PhD. With their considerate support and patience, I was able to engage both in lecturing and investigation.

I would also like to thank all the participants and collaborators for a questionnaire survey and focus groups, which provided precious data for this study. Their kind cooperation to the empirical investigation was indispensable to fulfill the objective of my research. These studies have not been realized without the help of my colleague Japanese teachers and professors from different departments, universities and institutions. I would especially like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Maria João Thompson, Professor Mário Matos, Professor Rui Ramos, and the following colleagues: Ayano Shinzato, Hiroko Itami, Keiko Amakasu, Kuniko Ukai, Masayuki Yamada, Megumi Im, Reiko Kikuchi, Reiko Noguchi and Satomi Tsujii.

At the end of the quantitative data analysis, Professor Cristina Rodrigues helped me with her precious advice for the statistics. I am very grateful for her cordial support and suggestion.

Throughout this PhD research, I have met many people including friends, students, colleagues, professors, researchers and diplomats, with whom I had precious opportunities to have discussions that stimulated me to develop the ideas in relation to my research interest. I would like to express my thanks to all of them. My gratitude also goes to Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Instituto de Letras e Ciências Humanas and Centro de Estudos Humanísticos da Universidade do Minho.

Last but not least, my profound thanks go to my family in Portugal and Japan. Thank you for allowing me to commit to the PhD research work. I am sincerely grateful for all the support and warmest encouragement.

STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration.

I further declare that I have fully acknowledged the Code of Ethical Conduct of the University of Minho.

Imagining Japan from Far-West: Social Representations of Japan and the Japanese among Portuguese students

Abstract

In the educational and academic field related to Japanese language and culture in Portugal, there is a need to understand how to approach "Other/Oriental" bearing in mind socio-cultural phenomena and human perception. The principal objective of this study is to analyze how Japan, the Japanese and Japanese culture are socially represented among Portuguese students, more specifically in Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) context. Two empirical studies were conducted after articulating the several concepts developed in different disciplines such as Cultural Studies, Japanese Studies, Media and Communication, and Social Psychology. For the first study, we have conducted a questionnaire survey (N=545) to JFL and non-JFL students and have examined Japan's representation and social stereotypes about the Japanese. We were thus able to identify the centrality of popular culture in social representations of Japan. Through a factor analysis, five factors related to the Japanese characteristics were identified, "Politeness", "Diligence", "Shyness", Conservativeness" and "Innovativeness". Then, seven focus groups were organized and seven themes came up by examining the students' discussion about a transnational cultural object, *anime* (Japanese animation). The results suggest that the students represent old and new aspects of Japan, which may correspond to Orientalized and Techno-Orientalized perceptions of Japan. It was also observed that there are stereotypes of the Japanese that are cross-culturally shared by Portuguese students, such as diligence, which may underline the persistence of some images that were probably constructed in the period of Japan's rapid economic growth in the 60s and 70s. However, as the JFL group has indicated more variability in the traits ascription than the non-JFL group, familiarization with Japanese culture through human communication may contribute to reconstruct the representations of Japan. These findings lead us to acknowledge the importance of intercultural dialogues. Considering today's easy and rapid transnational circulation of information, it is essential for the researchers and educators who engage in mediating knowledge production and intercultural teaching to be aware of the continuity and discontinuity of cultural and social norms and values.

Keywords: Images of Japan, Japanese *anime*, Portuguese JFL students, social representations, social stereotypes

Imaginando o Japão a partir do Extremo Oeste: Representações Sociais do Japão e dos Japoneses entre Estudantes Portugueses

Resumo

No domínio pedagógico e académico relacionado com a língua e cultura japonesa em Portugal, é necessário compreender como abordar o "Outro/Oriental" tendo em conta os fenómenos socioculturais e a percepção humana. O objetivo principal do presente estudo é analisar como o Japão, os japoneses e a cultura japonesa são socialmente representados entre estudantes portugueses, em particular no contexto do Japonês como Língua Estrangeira (JLE). Tendo em conta a articulação de vários conceitos desenvolvidos em diferentes áreas de estudo, tais como os Estudos Culturais, Estudos Japoneses, Media e Comunicação e Psicologia Social, foram realizados dois estudos empíricos. No primeiro estudo, foi realizado um questionário (N = 545) dirigido a alunos JLE e não JLE e foram examinadas as representações do Japão e os estereótipos sociais dos japoneses. Neste estudo, foi identificada a centralidade da cultura popular nas representações sociais do Japão. Por intermédio de uma análise fatorial, foram identificados cinco fatores para as características dos japoneses, a saber, "Polidez", "Diligência", "Timidez", "Conservadorismo" e "Inovação". Numa segunda fase, foram organizados sete grupos focais e foram identificados sete temas após análise da discussão dos alunos sobre um objeto cultural transnacional, o *anime* (animação japonesa). Os resultados deste estudo sugerem que os alunos representam aspetos antigos e novos do Japão, o que corresponde a imagens Orientalizadas e Tecno-Orientalizadas do Japão. Também se verificou que existem estereótipos dos japoneses transculturalmente partilhados entre os estudantes portugueses, como por exemplo a diligência, o que pode sublinhar a persistência de algumas das imagens que provavelmente foram construídas no período do rápido crescimento económico do Japão nos anos 60 e 70. No entanto, como o grupo JLE mostrou mais variabilidade na atribuição de características do que o grupo não JLE, a familiarização com a cultura japonesa pela comunicação humana pode ser um fator relevante para a reconstrução das representações do Japão. Estes resultados sugerem a importância de reconhecer os diálogos interculturais. Tendo em conta a fácil e rápida circulação transnacional de informações hoje em dia, é essencial que os investigadores e educadores envolvidos na produção de conhecimento e no ensino intercultural, tenham em consideração a continuidade e descontinuidade das normas e valores culturais e sociais.

Palavras-chave: *Anime* japonês, estereótipos sociais, estudantes portugueses do JLE, imagens do Japão, representações sociais

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION 1

PART I – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONTEXTUALIZATION 6

Chapter I – Identity and Representation: Considerations from the Perspective of Cultural Studies 7

1.1. Cultures in Cultural Studies 7

1.2. Positionality of identity 9

1.2.1. Cultural identity and national identity 9

1.2.2. Identity politics 11

1.3. Reproduction of Orientalism 12

1.3.1. Said's Orientalism 13

1.3.2. Orientalism on Japan 14

1.4. Representations 20

1.4.1. Representation and the process of meaning-making 21

1.4.2. Encoding – decoding model 22

1.4.3. Genre and spectatorship 24

1.4.4. Representations in Japanese films 25

1.4.5. Reality construction in animation 29

1.4.6. Japaneseness in Japanese animation 31

1.4.7. *Anime* audience and reception 32

Chapter II – *Nihonjinron* and transnational cultural flows 34

2.1. *Nihonjinron* arguments 34

2.1.1. A brief introduction to *Nihonjinron* 34

2.1.2. National identity constructed by *Nihonjinron* in postwar Japan 36

2.1.3. Problems of *Nihonjinron* 42

2.2. Globalization and Japanese culture 44

2.2.1. Japaneseness in transnational cultural objects 46

2.2.2 Cultural diplomacy 49

2.3. Japanese culture in Japanese language education 52

2.3.1. Japanese language learning and popular culture 52

2.3.2. Teaching Japanese culture 56

Chapter III – Social Stereotypes: theoretical development and contextualization 62

3.1. Theoretical development in studies of (social) stereotypes 62

3.1.1. Stereotypes 62

3.1.2. Social cognition, categorization and social identity 64

3.1.3. Intergroup relations and asymmetrical structure 66

3.1.4. Variability in social stereotypes 68

3.2. Previous studies in relation to social stereotypes of the Japanese 69
3.2.1. Classic empirical studies of social stereotypes 69
3.2.2. Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) context in Asian region 73
3.2.3. European JFL context 81
3.3. Social representations 83

PART II – EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION 86

Chapter IV – Research questions and methods 87
4.1. Articulation 87
4.2. Methodological strategy 90
4.3. Research questions 92
4.4. Research methods 93
4.4.1. Methods 93
4.4.2. Participants 94
4.4.3. Analytical method 96
4.5. Limitations and difficulties 99
4.6. Pilot study 100
4.6.1. Objectives 100
4.6.2. Method 101
4.6.3. Participants 102
4.6.4. Results 102
4.6.5. Development of a questionnaire for Study 1 and 2 108

Chapter V – Social representations of Japan among Portuguese students 112
5.1. Introduction 112
5.2. Methods 112
5.2.1. Questions in the survey 112
5.2.2. Participants and procedure 113
5.3. Demographic data 114
5.3.1. Japanese learning experiences 115
5.3.2. Experiences of visiting Japan and direct contact with the Japanese 116
5.4. Results and discussion 117
5.4.1. Interests about Japan 117
5.4.2. Information sources 119
5.4.3. Interests about Japan and information sources 123
5.4.4. Words associated with “Japan” 123
5.4.5. Famous Japanese personalities 125
5.5. Summary 132

Chapter VI – Social stereotypes of the Japanese among Portuguese students 134
6.1. Introduction 134
6.2. Methods 134
6.2.1. Questions in the survey 134
6.2.2. Participants and procedure 135
6.3. Results and discussion 135
6.3.1. Five factors of social stereotypes of the Japanese 135
6.3.2. Homogenization and variability in social stereotypes: Comparative analysis of the two groups 138
6.3.3. Information sources for image formation 148
6.3.4. Correlation between selected variables and the image factors 151
6.4. Summary 154

Chapter VII – Social representations of Japan and the Japanese through Japanese animation as a transnational cultural object 156
7.1. Introduction 156
7.2. Methods 156
7.2.1. Selection of *anime* films 157
7.2.2. Strategy of guide for the focus group 159
7.2.3. Participants 159
7.2.4. Procedure 160
7.3. Results and discussion 161
7.3.1. Cultural objects of new and old Japan 163
7.3.2. Social stereotypes of the Japanese 165
7.3.3. Homogenization of Asia 171
7.3.4. Gender stereotype of the Japanese 172
7.3.5. Japan in West and East dichotomy 173
7.3.6. Social identity of JFL students 177
7.3.7. Reality of *anime* 180

CONCLUSIONS 185
Major findings and general discussion 185
Limitations, contribution and future direction 190

REFERENCES 193

APPENDICES 213
APPENDIX A – Questionnaire for pilot study 213
APPENDIX B – Questionnaire for Study 1 and 2 214
APPENDIX C – Guide for focus group 218

List of Tables

Chapter IV

Table 4.1. Demographics of the pilot study 102
Table 4.2. Japanese acquaintances in Portugal 103
Table 4.3. Motivation for studying Japanese 104
Table 4.4. Images of Japan and the Japanese derived from the pilot study 107
Table 4.5. Choices for the interest about Japan 109
Table 4.6. Choices for the information sources 109
Table 4.7. Images for ascribing Japanese people 110

Chapter V

Table 5.1. Demographic data of the participants for Study 1 and 2 115
Table 5.2. JFL students' interests about Japan (*N*=270) 118
Table 5.3. Interests about Japan by the JFL and the non-JFL students 119
Table 5.4. Sources to obtain information about Japan (JFL group, *N*=270) 120
Table 5.5. Comparison of information sources between the JFL and the non-JFL students 122
Table 5.6. Words associated with "Japan" (JFL group, *N*=270) 124
Table 5.7. Comparison of FWA between the JFL and the non-JFL students 125
Table 5.8. Famous Japanese personalities nominated by JFL students (*N*=270) 127
Table 5.9. Famous Japanese personalities nominated by the JFL and the non-JFL students 129
Table 5.10. Categorization of the themes 130
Table 5.11. Active periods of the personalities nominated by the JFL and the non-JFL groups 131

Chapter VI

Table 6.1. Results of factor analysis for social stereotypes of the Japanese 136
Table 6.2. Comparison of the two groups on the ascription for all the traits 139
Table 6.3. Variability assessment on the trait ascription by comparing the standard deviation between the two groups 140
Table 6.4. Mean scores of ascribed traits identified in five factors by groups 143
Table 6.5. Information sources used for ascribing the traits of the Japanese 149
Table 6.6. Correlations between six variables and five factors 153

Chapter VII

Table 7.1. Information about the films used for Focus Group 158
Table 7.2. Demographic data of focus group 160

List of Figures

Chapter IV

Figure 4.1. Top ten Portuguese JFL students' interests about Japan 105

Figure 4.2. Top ten information sources for Portuguese JFL students' interests about Japan 106

Figure 4.3. Information sources influential for Portuguese JFL student's images of Japan and the Japanese 108

Chapter V

Figure 5.1. Period of learning Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL group, *N*=270) 115

Figure 5.2. Japanese people that the students know (except for Japanese teachers) and the country where they met 116

Chapter VI

Figure 6.1. Plots of mean scores of all the traits' ascription by the JFL and non-JFL groups 141

Figure 6.2. Selective and comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 1 "Politeness" 143

Figure 6.3. Selective and comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 2 "Diligence" 144

Figure 6.4. Comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 3 "Shyness" 146

Figure 6.5. Comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 4 "Conservativeness" 147

Figure 6.6. Comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 5 "Innovativeness" 148

Figure 6.7. Categorical view of selected information sources 151

Chapter VII

Figure 7.1. Architecture of the films 164

Figure 7.2. Character appearances of *Spirited Away* 165

Figure 7.3. Clothes of the characters 166

INTRODUCTION

My initial research interest is deeply related to my recent work as a lecturer in the Department of Asian Studies at University of Minho, Portugal. During the three-year undergraduate course in Oriental Studies - Chinese and Japanese Studies, not only are the students expected to study two Asian languages, Chinese and Japanese, but also to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of these two countries' culture, history, geography and other associated disciplines. Furthermore, the intercultural relation between Portugal and "Far East"[1] is also an important subject of focus.

Among these interesting disciplines, I was asked to teach a couple of classes of Japanese language and culture of Japan. I soon realized that I would face serious issues. What is Japanese culture? How can I "teach" Japanese culture? As a Japanese person living outside Japan, these were the most difficult questions I had ever been faced with. Therefore, it was primarily necessary to be aware of how Japanese culture had been studied in academia.

Additionally, as soon as I started giving classes and discussing with Portuguese students, I was able to observe that the students have their own perception of Japanese culture. I was sometimes surprised to find out that they have very specific and detailed knowledge about Japan. It seems that students have their own preferred way to search for the information of interest, most of which might probably be available on the Internet. The high popularity of Japanese animation might also be a key element to understand the representation of Japan shared in this particular group. Thus, the students' active role in constructing a representation made me rethink about Japanese language and culture teaching practices overseas.

Sometimes, it seems that these students, who are mainly interested in Japanese culture, undoubtedly and enthusiastically believe what native Japanese teachers tell them about the culture of Japan. I then started to grow skeptical of such unilateral "teaching" of culture and its influence on the students' knowledge construction. I had a conversation about it with some Japanese teachers but there seems to be no consensus or "right" answer for this question. Each

[1] We are aware that the use of term such as "Far East" or "Orient" could imply an asymmetric power relation seen in Western-centrism. However, in this thesis, these terms are used in academic purpose.

teacher appears to organize her/his classes based on her/his beliefs. I got the impression that the issue of "teaching culture" has been scarcely discussed among language teachers[2].

After engaging in Japanese language teaching or Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) in Portugal, I got involved in the academic research community in the field of so-called Japanese Studies, where researchers can share a vast range of scientific investigations related to Japanese culture, arts, history, economy, politics among many other disciplines. This "area" studies has a long history of collective knowledge construction about Japan, which might have affected the representations of Japan especially as Other in Western perspective. Furthermore, I have participated with my students in local cultural events, some of which organized by Japanese authorities such as the Embassy. In such events, I had the opportunity to interact with the persons in charge of or assigned to disseminate Japanese culture, and I have then realized that culture is negotiated in political and commercial purposes.

All these personal experiences led me to start this PhD research and enabled me to shape the structure of my thesis. Realizing that Japanese culture, topic that I need to deal with, is not a mere subject we teach but something that significantly involves human perception, communication, cultural and political context and intercultural relations, got me interested in focusing on how Japanese culture is represented by Portuguese people and what important factors should be considered for this particular case. Therefore, the initial purpose of this study is to carry out research on Portuguese students' images of Japan and the Japanese by considering cultural, social and political contexts, which might be associated with history of Japanese Studies, representations of Japanese culture both in Western and Japanese perspectives, transnational flow of cultural objects, world power relations and so on. These individual issues may look too scattered to intersect. However, Cultural Studies is said to be an interdisciplinary study (Barker, 2003), in which we might be able to articulate different concepts and notions in order to approach our research interest. Below, we will briefly introduce the theoretical framework to be discussed in this thesis.

The meanings of "culture" in Cultural Studies and the notion of cultural identity (Hall, 1992a) will be our starting point for discussion as this will clarify our understanding of culture within the scope of the present study. Theories related to social stereotypes, intergroup relations,

[2] In Portugal, there are few universities in which Japanese culture is taught as one independent subject besides Japanese language classes, which might be one of the reasons of missing argument on the issue of culture teaching although language is deeply related to culture. Cultural aspect of language or socio-linguistics is out of our research scope in this thesis.

social memories and social representations will be used in order to examine Portuguese students' perception of Japan and the Japanese. In addition to these notions centered in Social Psychology, asymmetric power relation between West and East, Orientalism claimed by Said (1978) and other thoughts discussed in Cultural Studies may be essential to articulate, as our study is associated with Portuguese/European and Japanese/Asian intercultural relations.

In terms of empirical research on social stereotypes that involved the Japanese group, one of the pioneer studies conducted by Katz and Braly (1933) analyzed the young Americans' perception of the Japanese, revealing that they combine positive and negative stereotypes. The consecutive replicate studies gave more insights into the changes of the representations over the long time span and showed socio-cultural influences (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins et al., 1969).

The studies of stereotypes in relation to the Japanese business managers have emerged around the 80s after Japanese post-war economic growth created cultural conflicts between the Japanese and the Western managers in the internationalized companies (Clausen, 2010). Most of these studies were conducted in the context of human resources management. Although there are interesting arguments about national cultures and organizational cultures in these studies (e.g. Hofstede, 2001; Minkov, 2018), this context is beyond the scope of our study.

As a consequence of the rapid economic growth of Japan and the Japanese companies' interaction with the Western companies, the need for mutual understanding of cultural differences has increased. In other words, unfamiliar "Other" Japanese culture needed to be clearly explained to the Westerners. Therefore, according to Sugimoto (2014), the 70s and the 80s were the period in which a number of essays about the characteristics of thoughts and behaviors of the Japanese, known as *Nihonjinron* (theories of the Japanese), were published, some of which became bestsellers in Japan and were translated into other languages. Later, these *Nihonjinron* books were severely criticized by some Japanese scholars, who claimed that these books were crucial for essentializing the images of the Japanese (Kubota, 2013; Sugimoto, 2014).

More recent studies about the representations of Japan and the Japanese are particularly related to Japanese language teaching process (e.g. Oh, 2008; Ohe, 2012; Xia, 2010) because the number of JFL students has significantly increased worldwide, including in Portugal (see Chapter II). Some researchers claim that one of the reasons for this increase is associated with the current popularity of Japanese pop-culture such as *anime* (Japanese animation) and *manga*

(Japanese comics books) among young students (Fukunaga, 2006; Kondo & Muranaka, 2010). Most studies focused on the JFL students' perception of Japan and the Japanese as well as on the influence of Japanese pop-culture were conducted in the Asian context. On the other hand, there are few studies on the European context and as far as we know no study has been carried out with Portuguese students. It is, therefore, one of our motivations to investigate Portuguese JFL context in relation to the representations of Japan and the Japanese, by using social psychological methods as well as analytical approaches. Another objective is to identify influential factors for the image construction by examining transnational cultural objects and media sources available for the students. We particularly focus on the students' representations of Japan, the Japanese and Japanese culture through their experience in watching *anime*. In order to understand representations of Japaneseness in *anime* and the viewers' interpretation of the meanings, some concepts and previous studies in Film Studies, Audience Studies and Cultural Studies will be reviewed.

This thesis consists of two parts. The first part is dedicated to discuss the theoretical background relevant for our research problems and contextualize the present study. In the first chapter, in addition to the introductory discussion of some important notions in Cultural Studies such as cultural identity, West and East dichotomy and Orientalism, we briefly argue the notions of identity and representations in Cultural Studies and associate them to the Japanese context, in which audio-visual media texts such as films and *anime* are the main subjects of focus. In the second chapter, we analyze the studies related to Japanese culture mainly conducted by Japanese scholars, which involves the following three themes: *Nihonjinron* (the theories of the Japanese), *anime* as a transnational cultural object and culture in JFL education. The third chapter presents the major concepts in relation to social stereotypes, social identities and social representations. Then, previous empirical studies about social stereotypes of the Japanese are reviewed. The second part of the thesis consists of four chapters. In the fourth chapter, the theoretical arguments developed in the first part are articulated and our research questions will be stated. Methodological procedures for our empirical studies are also introduced. The subsequent three chapters present the results of the questionnaire survey and focus groups, which enable us to analyze Portuguese students' social representations of Japan (Chapter V), social stereotypes of the Japanese (Chapter VI) and social representations of Japan and the

Japanese through *anime* (Chapter VII). Finally, we deliver our conclusive remarks and the main contributions of the present study as well as the limitations and future research direction.

PART I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONTEXTUALIZATION

Chapter I – Identity and Representation: Considerations from the Perspective of Cultural Studies

In this chapter, several notions in Cultural Studies that are relevant and important for our study will be highlighted and discussed. First, we would like to present the meaning of culture in Cultural Studies, along with a brief introduction to Cultural Studies from the early period. Then, we will focus on the issues of identity and a notion of dichotomy by which the world can be discursively seen, such as the West and the East, the dominant and the dominated, etc. This argument will lead us to a discussion on Orientalism in particular. After summarizing the concept of Edward Said' Orientalism (1978), we will further argue Orientalism in relation to Japan, especially in the context of representations of Japanese culture. Lastly, representations and process of making meaning will be discussed based on encoding/decoding model claimed by Stuart Hall (2003). Representations of Japan and the Japanese culture in media text such as films and Japanese animation and the viewers' perception will also be argued.

1.1. Cultures in Cultural Studies

While there should be plenty of ways to describe what "culture" means, Raymond Williams argued culture is "ordinary", "a whole way of life" and "lived experience" (Williams, 1958). This notion of culture became central in Cultural Studies (Hall, 1980; Johnson et al., 2004; Morley & Chen, 1996; Storey, 1996). Such culture of ordinary people was regarded as a counterpart of elite (high) culture, which may have included great works of literature, art and philosophy (Arnold, 1869). Furthermore, high culture must have been defended against mass culture, or industrialized and commercialized culture, examples of which include tabloid newspapers and magazines, popular films and music, and so on. In this regard, mass culture was conceived as a threat to high culture because it was thought that "bad" mass culture had been replacing "good" high culture (Barker, 2003).

This view of culture had been dominant in the academic world for nearly a century, more precisely between the mid-nineteenth century and mid-twentieth century (Oda, 2003). After World War II, when increasingly more working class people (in Britain) started enrolling and studying in universities, new studies about non-elite culture emerged, led by some scholars who themselves

were also from the working class, such as Williams and Richard Hoggart[3], as well as Edward Thompson. These three scholars are usually regarded as the most influential for establishing the disciplines of Cultural Studies in the mid-1960s (Baptista, 2009). Although their studies about the working class have different perspectives, a stress was placed on the ordinariness of culture.

Hoggart (1957) showed his nostalgic sympathy for working class culture, emphasizing the meanings and practices created by ordinary people and for making their own history. About an activity of historical nostalgia, Hall (1997a) also pointed out that people always reconstruct the experiences in their past.

The argument of culture by Hoggart was further developed by Edward Thompson, in which a stress was placed on people's social processes and relations to culture. Therefore, the distinctive boundaries of *high* and *low*, *mass* and *popular* cultures underlined by Hoggart became less important. Culture was regarded not only ordinary but ongoing (re)production and negotiation of meaning and value in various social dimensions (Ang, 2005).

In this respect, Hebdige (1979) argued, by using the concept of "Bricolage" claimed by Claude Levi-Strauss, that young people in working class represented their new identity by their act of recombining new knowledge retrieved from American mass culture with traditional English working class culture.

Studies in relation to culture, in Cultural Studies, had been further developed with a significant contribution of Stuart Hall, the subsequent director of CCCS after Hoggart in the 1970s. By Hall, theoretical integration, mainly with French structuralism, has been actively and critically attempted. According to some scholars (Baptista, 2009; Barker, 2003), those include Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology, Althusser's structural Marxism, Barthe's social semiotics, Lacan's psychoanalysis among others. It is also pointed out that early studies in Cultural Studies was concerned with the working class culture and youth culture but then it expanded to other social groups such as Black, immigrants, and ethnic minorities, those who have no voice, or socially and politically marginalized groups (Baptista, 2009; Barker, 2003; Grossberg, 1996; Oda, 2003; Yoshimi, 2000). In Cultural Studies, it is particularly prominent to examine the relations of culture and power in pursuit of social change and improvement for those groups.

[3] Richard Hoggart was the first director of Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), which was founded in 1964, at the University of Birmingham, England.

Hall (1997a) among other scholars put importance on studying about marginalized peoples' identities that might be politically and socially constructed. Such study of cultural politics can be applied in various social issues associated with race, ethnicity, nation, class, gender, etc. especially in a post-colonial context (Baptista, 2009; Barker, 2003; Yoshimi, 2000). Moreover, these issues can be and should be studied in an interdisciplinary way in Cultural Studies. That means the study can cross the borders of disciplines such as sociology, history, psychology, communication and other studies related to arts, education, politics, and so on.

1.2. Positionality of identity

1.2.1. Cultural identity and national identity

In this section, we would like to understand what cultural identity means, consulting mainly Stuart Hall's idea, and then briefly reflect his idea particularly to cultural identity in the Japanese context. Therefore, we would like to pay attention to his argument on identities in relation to national culture in particular.

Hall (1992a) puts cultural identity in late-modernity in question. According to him, modernity has made personal identities de-centered, fragmented and dislocated, which resulted in the loss of a stable "sense of self". This "sense of self" or "the subject" was somehow firm before a structural change transformed modern societies in the late twentieth century. The subject was gathered by itself, and the individuals were socially integrated by the cultural places such as class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and nationality.

In terms of the subject, Hall (1992a) introduces three concepts, namely, (a) "Enlightenment subject" as a fully centered identity with an essential inner core in itself, (b) "sociological subject" as the interactive conception of identity where the inner core is formed and modified in a continuous dialogue between self and society, and finally (c) "post-modern subject" as a moveable identity which differs from sociological subject in that there is no fixed and essential core anymore but the identity is subject to the way it is represented in various social and cultural contexts. In other words, identities are imagined, and always shifting about. In the process of globalization in the post-modern world, those issues of differences, discontinuity, fragmentation, rupture and dislocation further complicate our cultural identification.

In terms of the argument of national cultural identities in post modernity, Hall (1992a) claims that the national cultures that we identified with, hence, national identities are formed and transformed within and in relation to representation. He states:

> We only know what it is to be "English" because of the way "Englishness" has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture. It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings – a system of cultural representation. (Hall, 1992a, p. 293)

Then, Hall claims "(a) national culture is a discourse" (1992a, p. 294), complementing Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Community* (1991). Anderson (1991) argues that the nation is given a constructed meaning by the narratives which represent some sort of shared experiences and emotions by that nation. Hall (1992a) characterizes national identity as its emphasized originality (primordial and timelessly unchanged), invention of tradition, foundational myth, and the idea of purity of original people or "folk". National identity is often manipulated by political power, too. In this way, national identity has been imagined as unified and homogenous, ignoring internal divisions and differences such as gender, regions, ethnic groups, etc. In the globalizing world where national boundaries are being less meaningful and cultural homogenization is proceeding, national identities are being declining, and new identities of hybridity and local identities are taking their place (Grossberg, 1996; Hall, 1997a).

The whole arguments above will be clearer when we look at a certain national culture such as Japanese culture. Eika Tai (2003) discussed thoroughly how Japanese national identity has been constructed and re-constructed in the course of modernization, by using Western theorists' arguments including Anderson (1991) and Calhoun (1997).

Tai (2003) claims that Japan's nation (empire) building in the early twentieth century with the colonial expansion to Korea, Taiwan and other Asian countries is deeply related to an institutional construction of "superior" Japanese people by discursively constituting colonial others as less civilized or barbarous. Tai (2003) also considers the standard Japanese language taught in the Japanese public schools and those colonized regions for assimilation[4] at that time as invented tradition because of the ignorance of all dialects, regional variations and the native

[4] Assimilation means the process of becoming a part of other social group. The process is induced by various causes, whether spontaneously or forced, for example, colonization, war or conflicts, immigration and so on. In Japan's case, by the end of World War II, the assimilation process involved forced introduction of Japanese culture to the surrounding Asian locals (e.g. use of Japanese language, conversion of religions to Shinto, etc.).

languages in the colonized countries. This way, the importance of the development of a unified national culture was emphasized during the war time.

Even after the defeat in World War II, this imagined cultural homogeneity and mono-ethnicity discourse has been maintained and reinforced by both Western and Japanese theorists such as Benedict (2006) and Watsuji (1961). According to Tai (2003), it was necessary for the American authorities to understand the enemy in order to control, and for the Japanese elites to obtain better understanding and image of Japan from other countries. Therefore, there was a need of coherent and unified culture to be studied and explained. A number of books written about Japan and Japanese people or their characteristics have been published in the post war period and they are called *Nihonjinron* (see Chapter II for more details).

Tai (2003) admits that it is undeniable to have a certain level of cultural homogeneity in certain social settings. However, in Japan's case, the Japanese are being strongly caught by the *Nihonjinron* discourses, which are deemed to essentialize the Japanese characteristics. It has been said that the myth of ethnic homogeneity persistently shared by the nation is one of the obstacles for multiculturalism and interculturality in Japan where the number of foreign visitors and residents is growing (Chapman, 2006).

1.2.2. Identity politics

One of the significant contributions seen in Cultural Studies is to question a view on culture as homogenous and fixed to a certain social group. This led the scholars to start investigating culture, taking into account diversities and complex social relations. Cultural identity is one of the key issues that Hall (1992) engaged in.

Hall (1990, 1997) admits there are two types of cultural identities: one as essential and another as non-stable, always changing one. He also acknowledges inner differences, inner contradictions and segmentations in the former identity. For the latter one, he states that "identities are never completed, never finished" (Hall, 1990, p. 47) and emphasizes its process of formation. According to Hall's notion towards identity politics, it is important to note that we should not rest in "the endless play of differences" but we should be "living in the tension of identity and difference" (Hall, 1990, p. 50). So it is all about "positionality" that you need to decide where to position yourself in a variety of identities, and this positionality is neither permanent (Johnson et al., 2004).

Hall (1997a) argues:

> That is the politics of living identity through difference. It is the politics of recognizing that all of us are composed of multiple social identities, not of one. That we are all complexly constructed through different categories, of different antagonisms, and these may have the effect of locating us socially in multiple positions of marginality and subordination, but which do not yet operate on us in exactly the same way. It is also to recognize that any counter-politics of the local which attempts to organize people through their diversity of identifications has to be a struggle which is conducted positionally. It is the beginning of anti-racism, anti-sexism, and anti-classicism as a war of positions, as Gramscian notion of the war of position (p.57).

Nevertheless, Hall admits the difficulty of positioning because there is no absolute political guarantee for an identity and "identifications change and shift, they can be worked on by political and economic forces outside of us and they can be articulated in different ways" (Hall, 1997a, p. 57). Moreover, cultural politics cannot be conducted without returning to the past. The history involved with identities is neither a kind of truth nor real. The past is the thing re-told, rediscovered and reinvented, through one's desire and memory. In this sense, histories are also "stories, positionings and narratives" (Hall, 1997a, p. 57).

Hall does not believe that all the locals can have the same strategy to overcome the existing racial or ethnic issues globally. He even calls it "a dream" (Hall, 1997a, p. 59). In his view, "where there does seem the ability to develop counter-movements, resistances, counter-politics, are places that are localized" (Hall, 1997a, p. 59), exemplifying an emergence of cultural work of young Black generation in Britain. This kind of work is associated with new way of representations of Black identities in films, photography and popular music. Hence, his work shifted to representations in media.

To conclude, for Hall (1990, 1997a), the local is the place that such a political scenario emerges, and the global is probably a collective of those locals which have the same objective. Therefore, it is important to study how the local people acknowledge their positionality and fight for social change in cultural politics.

1.3. Reproduction of Orientalism

So far in this Chapter, we have discussed some important notions related to culture and identity in Cultural Studies. Now, we move on to one of the key concepts that should be considered carefully when studying about representations of non-western and non-dominant cultures, which is Orientalism (Said, 1978). Although in Said's argument, Middle East is the

center of "Orient" in relation to European and American representations of the East, the concept of Orientalism can be feasibly used to analyze power relation between the West and the East, which includes Asia. Therefore, we will overview the concept of Orientalism, and then develop the discussion by taking into account the context of Japan.

1.3.1. Said's Orientalism

"Orientalism" is a concept presented and argued by a Palestinian American scholar Edward Said, first published in 1978. In this concept, Orientalism refers to a set of Western discourses that have constructed "Orient" in ways that produce power, positional superiority and hegemony of the West. Said (1978) introduces the examples of western literature and practices, written and performed from the ancient Greeks to the contemporary period, in that European superiority and imperialism were elaborately represented in the Orient. It is claimed that these works consist of "a 'knowledge' of the Orient that helps to determine the course of (western) dominance" over the Orient (Pecora, 2001, p. 364). It is thought that a system of knowledge is so powerful that it can be maintained, inherited and reproduced in the representations of the Orient recursively. Indeed, Said claims that the Orient is a European representation and recurring images of the Other. However, it is important to bear in mind that Orient is not merely imaginative but rather holds actual body and practice that have been created by a considerable amount of material investment for many generations.

For Said (1978), Orientalism is an act of Orientalist, which refers to anyone who writes, does research or teaches about the Orient. Therefore, a created knowledge about Orient by academic intellectuals cannot be excluded from Orientalism. (Re)production of knowledge of Orient is performed by the scholars' authority so that Orientalism might be firmly maintained as doctrines in academia.

Furthermore, it is emphasized Orientalism is based on an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident (Said, 1978). It might be possible to identify a number of texts in many genres that have been written by accepting this distinction. The repetitive and accumulative activity of referencing the past knowledge confirms reproduction and consolidation of Orientalism, by inhering one way of viewing the world as a simple binary of Orient and Occident.

Said also argues how this dichotomy works. To some degree, he admits these two entities reflect each other as its contrasting image, by claiming that "as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West" (Said, 1978, p. 5). However, what is more important is "a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" between Occident and Orient (Said, 1978, p. 5). In other words, Orientalism involves a cultural hegemony which consolidates European superiority over the people and cultures in the Orient.

With regard to a power relationship between Occident and Orient, Said claims that Orientalism concerns less the Orient itself but rather the Occident. In this regard, in Orientalism what counts more is not in the text that writes about Orient but its "exteriority to what it describes" (Said, 1978, p. 20). In other words, it is hardly important whether a discourse is true or false, or representations are correct or wrong. The importance lays in how Orient is represented, which relies on some important factors including historical, social and cultural circumstances, figures and styles of speech, type of media to deliver, interpretation of the meanings and so on. To sum up, it all depends on Western techniques of representation of Orient that makes Orient visible in its discourse. We significantly acknowledge this point because the exclusion of Orient in the discussion of Orientalism has been also argued in the Japanese context (Abe, 2001). There may have been many responses for and discussions about Said's Orientalism, however, in the next section we will discuss Orientalism in relation to Japan within the scope of Cultural Studies.

1.3.2. Orientalism on Japan

In Said's analysis, the British, French and American Orientalism towards the Arabs and Islam was mainly examined while he actually mentioned the importance of India, Japan and China as well as the other regions of the Far East for a representation of Orient. Although we need to recognize a political and cultural diversity of those regions within the Orient, as we have seen in the previous section, Orientalism is a discursive argument which creates an imaginative and geographical division of Occident and Orient. Therefore, we would like to confirm that our discussion in this study is based on the idea that Japan belongs to Orient. This assertion looks too obvious but we will shortly see another way of interpreting Occident and Orient below.

Stuart Hall in a chapter called *The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power* insists that the ideas of "West" and "East" are not about place and geography but are a type of society and a

level of development (Hall, 1992b). In his view, "the West" is indeed originated from "western Europe" but is no longer only in Europe. At the same time, it is claimed that not all European regions are in "the West". More in detail, Hall describes that:

> Eastern Europe doesn't (doesn't yet? never did?) belong properly to 'the West'; whereas the United States, which is not in Europe, definitely does. These days, technologically speaking, Japan, is 'western', through on our mental map it is about as far 'East' as you can get. By comparison much of Latin America, which is in the western hemisphere, belongs economically to the Third World, which is struggling – not very successfully – to catch up with 'the West' (Hall, 1992b, p. 276).

This assertion is based on the notion that by "western" it means "a society that is developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular, and modern" (Hall, 1992b, p. 277). Said's Orientalism is less concern with "westernized and modern" society that is located geographically in East, which we also believe is the case of modern Japan, following Hall's notion. Therefore, when we examine how Japan is represented by the West, it will be necessary to take into consideration such interwoven images invoked from those different perspectives.

Another significant point that Hall developed in his argument is a stereotyping for the "splitting" two sides, the West and the Rest. By examining Hugh Honour's work of European images of America, Hall identifies the following discursive strategies in the formation of representations of the "Other":

1. idealization;
2. the projection of fantasies of desire and degradation;
3. the failure to recognize and respect difference;
4. the tendency to impose European categories and norms, to see difference through the modes of perception and representation of the West (Hall, 1992b, p. 308).

It is claimed that these strategies underpin the process of stereotyping, which involves an over-simplification of a subject and its characteristics becoming an "essence". Then, referring to Peter Hulme's notion of "stereotypical dualism", Hall insists that "the stereotype is split into two halves – its 'good' and 'bad' sides; this is 'splitting' or *dualism*" (Hall, 1992b, p. 308). Hall underlines a splitting, dualism or binary in terms of stereotypes of the West and the Rest, giving some symbolical pairs, for example, "good-bad, us-them, attractive-disgusting, civilized-uncivilized" (Hall, 1992b, p. 308). By this strategy (e.g. simplification, stereotyping and dualism), Hall

suggests “the Rest becomes defined as everything that the West is not – its mirror image” (Hall, 1992b, p. 308).

As Hall also states, this is a discursive notion and it is related to how people perceive, speak and represent the West and the Rest under these dominating discourses. As Hall himself suggested in his argument about identity and politics, the positionality of the subject, that is who, when, to whom and how the subject speaks, is important (Hall, 1990). Needless to say, it will be necessary to consider historical, cultural, societal and political factors that are involved with social representations of a certain group. Social stereotypes, social identity and other notions related to intergroup relations studied in Social Psychology will be further discussed in Chapter III.

In terms of the studies about Orientalism focusing on Japan, we can identify several studies within Social Science in general and Film, Media and Cultural Studies in particular (e.g. Allison, 2001; Napier, 2016). Some studies do not particularly use a term “Orientalism” in their arguments and analyses. However, it is possible to assume that those studies that discuss the “Otherness” of Japan are associated with the concept of Orientalism. Indeed, there may be some studies which only show how Japanese culture is represented in a particular text, and do not discuss deeply about power relation and positionality of identity, that are more importantly discussed in Cultural Studies. In the rest of this section, we would like to discuss two prominent arguments presented by the scholars from Cultural Studies, one is British and another is Japanese.

In a chapter *Techno-Orientalism. Japan Panic*, David Morley and Kevin Robins (2002) argued that Japan by the end of 1980s had become known as highly civilized, industrialized and commercialized country, producing sophisticated electronic devices by state-of-the-art technology. Then, this change became a “problem” for the West because the power balance among Europe, the United States and Japan had shifted. The Western anxiety had been growing enough to fear that Japan could take “a hegemonic position in the spheres of technology, manufacturing and finance” (Morley & Robins, 2002, p. 164), which could transcend and displace Western modernity. The reaction for “Japan Problem” was characterized as ambivalence, as Morley and Robins (2002) indicated that one is self-defensive, “learn-from-Japan” attitude, exemplified by Ezra Vogel’s *Japan as Number One* (1979/2013), while the other is antagonistic, “Japan-bashing”, represented by Ridley Scott’s movie *Black Rain* (1989), in which Japanese *yakuza* mafia is depicted as a principal enemy against an American protagonist.

It was also argued that Orientalism is so powerful and spontaneous in human mind so that the superiority of the West must be maintained for sustaining Western people's identity by differentiating themselves from "the Other". Hence, Japan's advance in technology and world economy also needed to be regarded as an exception, or at least different from the Western advancement, by saying, for example, "Japan does not play by rule. The comparative lack of success of the European and North American economies must then be a consequence of abiding by universal principles and moral codes" (Morley & Robins, 2002, p. 167). Some negative aspect must have been associated with Japan's "sly" success in order to keep a balance of "superior West" and "inferior East". Thus, Western identity was secure. In this way, a new representation of Japan characterized by high technologies was integrated with old representation of Japan, or Morley and Robins (2002) called "Japaneseness[5]". Importantly, the new representation has not entirely replaced old one so that the image of Japan became a mixture of old and new, hence, becoming futuristic, high-tech, anachronistic and nostalgic, much like a movie *Blade Runner* (1982) projected the Western fantasy (exotic and erotic) on the Orient (Morley & Robins, 2002). The authors then pointed out such "Techno-Orientalism" could have more negative side, stating that "(t)he association of technology and Japaneseness now serves to reinforce the image of a culture that is cold, impersonal and machine-like, an authoritarian culture lacking emotional connection to the rest of the world" (Morley & Robins, 2002, p. 169). Likewise, the image of the Japanese people are dehumanized and alienated.

Furthermore, in Techno-Orientalism, it was underlined that the center of the argument was not Japan but the West. By regarding Japan as a mirror of Western modernity and maturity, the West sees reflected "yourself", its unconscious hatred toward the technology and all the other progress that the West has achieved. Only because it was Japan, the Orient, that had become as modern as the Occident, and disturbed a distinctive binary between Occident and Orient such as civilized-uncivilized, modern-barbaric, humane-inhumane, warm-cold etc., the West was confused and forced to question what the West is and how can the West still be different from the Orient. That was a threat for the Western identity so that the authors called "Japan Panic" (Morley &

[5] By Japaneseness, Morley and Robins (2002) referred to Japanese identity and ethnicity that are different from the Western ones, which are identified and described in *Nihonjinron* literatures as homogeneous society, emphasis on harmony, and so on (see Chapter II for more detail). In their argument, Japaneseness is especially regarded as the "old aspect" of Japanese characteristics, although we presume that such Japaneseness persistently remains in the discourse of Japanese society today.

Robins, 2002, p. 173). This centrality of the West in Techno-Orientalism corroborates the assertion in Said's Orientalism.

As responses for Techno-Orientalism, a Japanese scholar, Abe (2001), admitted that Techno-Orientalism revealed the ambivalent Western view, namely envy and fear against Japan, and the West became introspective about their modernity, which seemingly suggested a potential for transcending Orientalism, a knowledge of West and East binarism. However, he argued that the possibility of discontinuation of Orientalism has failed because, as Morley and Robins (2002) admits, the Western concern remained within the West and the East was never included in its argument (Abe, 2001, p. 111). According to this thought, it is possible to consider there is a serious lack of dialogue between the West and the East. Japan is not a subject to speak but is an object to be spoken (Abe, 2001).

As a matter of fact, Abe (2001) also pointed out that after *Techno-Orientalism* was published, there was almost no interactive exchange of discussions about this notion in academia. He also questioned Japan's position in the discourse about Japan. From which position, can Japan speak? Or does Japan have any position to speak? Even if it had, would what Japan says be listened? Although Abe (2001) did not mention clearly in his argument, his question corresponds to Hall (1997a)'s notion of positionality in cultural identity politics and can even be associated with Spivak (1988)'s notion about Subaltern. According to Abe (2001), this lack of Japanese voice could serve for a reproduction of the knowledge about the Orient only by the Occidental intellectuals. This idea is also in line with the claim in Orientalism (Said, 1978).

Then, Abe (2001) attempted to respond to Techno-Orientalism by his notion of "Techno-Nationalism", in which Japan acknowledges its superiority in technology and world economy, resulting in self-indulging national pride. In Abe (2001)'s view, western recognition and acceptance of Japan's progress represented in a discourse of Techno-Orientalism was received somewhat favorably by common people in Japan. It was pointed out that the Japanese people enjoyed a new image of Japan as a "technologically advanced futuristic country" represented through popular culture like those above mentioned Hollywood films. What the Japanese people feel pleasure in was to see the Japanese people viewed through the eyes of the Western people, more precisely people from the United States, because it is the very ideal country that Japan has long wanted to identify with. However, this is based on the assumption that discriminative and embarrassing elements are not included in the representations. Therefore, Abe (2001) concluded

that Japan's reaction was far from deconstructing and transcending Orientalism. Techno-Orientalism and Techno-Nationalism are "*kyouhan kankei* (a complicity relationship)" (Abe, 2001, p. 130) in reproducing Orientalism.

Once the Japanese were proud of "being Japanese" as a result of their acceptance of new image constructed by the West, then what happens next would be a representation and reproduction of such Western-favored Japaneseness by the Japanese themselves, hence it invokes "Self-Orientalism". Abe (2001) provides several examples of self-Orientalized objects, including Takeshi Kitano's films[6] in which the way of film direction was shifted to use more Japaneseness to attract western audiences after the award of the best film prize for *Hana-bi* (1997) in Venice Film Festival in 1997. There may be countless examples like this. As has been said that the authenticity is less important in Orientalized representations (Abe, 2001; Said, 1978), it also seems that the Japanese people do not care much about the legitimacy of self-portrayal. They only play with the Japaneseness reversely imported from the West. Abe (2001) called it "unrealistic and kitsch Japaneseness". This notion probably corroborates Iwabuchi (2002)'s idea that says "culturally odorless" Japanese products do not threat the West and are easy for the Western people to accept (see Chapter II section 2.2.1., for more detail).

Considering such a recursive aspect of Japaneseness described above, Self-Orientalism also serves to a reproduction of Orientalism. It this sense, it is possible to say that Orientalism is not a static concept but a discourse that recursively emerges, transforming its "shape" according to the shift of power relations between West and East, as well as the way of representations of Orient. Would it be then possible to stop such a loop?

Said (1978) predicted that Orientalism will have been reproduced because a system of knowledge already involves functions of reproduction. The vast amount of past discourses, hence, a history, about Orient is indispensable for constructing Orientalism. Nevertheless, what Said hoped with his work was to contribute to eliminate the two categories, the "Orient" and the "Occident", in the course of viewing and learning the world and stop inheriting Western cultural hegemony over Orient. In order to do so, a suggestion was made to re-think what had been believed to be the gap which made the Orient separate from the Occident. Then, referring to post-colonial studies, Said (1978/1994) suggested that we should re-investigate the canonical cultural

[6] The films of Takeshi Kitano were first well-received in Europe in the late 1990s (Yodogawa, 1998). After he won the Golden Lion award at Venice Film Festival in 1997, his films became popular in Japan, too.

works. A Japanese anthropologist Tamotsu Aoki (2013) also made a suggestion similar to Said, stating that some of the assumptions made by the early anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict (1946/2006) about Japanese culture can give better understanding of how the Orient has been seen by the West, and it would be useful to revise such works (see Chapter II, section 2.1.2. for more detail).

Some scholars point out that a rise of Western interest in Japan, whether in a positive or negative manner, is eventually associated with a contemporary world economic and political power balance (Oguma, 2017; Sugimoto, 2017). After the bubble economy burst in 1991, Japan has been suffering an economic stagnation. Depending on the evaluation of its period, it is called "Lost 10 Years" or even "Lost 20 Years" due to the economists' reports (Hayashi & Prescott, 2002; Serikawa, 2018). In such a long recession and a continuous unpredictable future of Japan among the other reasons, Oguma (2017) points out that Western or more broadly non-Japanese researchers today do not pay as much attention to Japan as in the post-war period until 1980s when Japan was regarded as a socially and culturally unique country and worth studying in an academic sphere.

Nevertheless, it is argued that a new form of Orientalism has emerged with the spread of Japanese popular culture such as *anime* and *manga* (Oguma, 2017, p. 31). Although it is not explained thoroughly in Oguma's argument, this phenomenon may imply a shift from Techno-Orientalism, which was evoked by transnational circulation of Japanese popular culture since 1990s. The author calls it "innocent Orientalism" and suggests that this new Orientalism may not be that much problematic if it is a phenomenon within ordinary people (Oguma, 2017, p. 31). However, Japanese authorities abroad such as the Embassy seem to have started using new Japanese pop-culture as a means of cultural diplomacy. Therefore, if there is a new form of Orientalism related to popular culture, it has to be carefully identified and examined. Then, it will be necessary to examine how such a new Japaneseness is perceived by local people.

1.4. Representations

In Cultural Studies, it is considered representations involve the process of meaning-making, in which language is used as a sign to be interpreted by people. In addition, how people actually perceive and interpret the meanings of the text is another important issue. In this process, the culture shared (or not shared) by the people, both of the text provider and perceiver,

matters. In the present study, Japanese transnational cultural object, namely Japanese animation, is in focus to examine Portuguese students' perception of Japan and the Japanese. Therefore, in this section, it is attempted to understand basic ideas of representations and perception in relation to audio-visual text by articulating the relevant concepts in Cultural Studies and Film Studies. Previous studies about representations and reception/perception of Japaneseness in cinema and animation will also be discussed.

1.4.1. Representation and the process of meaning-making

One of the central research interests in Cultural Studies is to examine the process of making meanings through representations, which is denoted "signifying practices" (Hall, 1997b). Textual analysis is one of the major methods to study how things, objects, people among others are represented in the text and how the meanings are generated. The "text" here means not only a written material but also images, sounds, activities, and so on. Such textual, audio-visual, behavioral objects are thought to have a language-like sign system so that we may call them cultural texts.

A textual analysis requires researchers to read the "text" and construct the meanings. However, these meanings may not be always the same nor consistent among those who analyzed the same text. This implies the representations are polysemic and also subject to the readers' way of interpretation, which might be affected by their cultural and social backgrounds. Therefore, the relations or interplays between the texts and the readers have come to be significantly important in text analysis.

Another way of studying representations is to place readers or audiences at the center of study and examine their interpretation of the text. As some principal studies focused on television audiences (e.g. Ang, 1989; Morley, 1992), this method is generally called audience studies. In both text analysis and audience studies, there are some notions that have to be taken into account, one of which is about cultural codes that connect and establish "signifier" and "signified".

Hall (1997b), by taking the concept of Saussure, supports the idea that a certain sign or "signifier" (language) could correspond to different meanings (polysemic "signified"). Based on that, he introduces three types of approaching representations. One is "reflective", which means that the meaning represented by a signifier matches the one in the corresponding signified. The

assumption is that a sign (e.g. object, person, idea, event, etc.) holds a true meaning and it is reflected like a mirror in its representation. The second is "intentional", where the holder of meaning is the author. What the author or speaker writes or speaks is emphasized in this approach. Therefore, the representation should correspond to what the author/speaker intended to represent. As Hall (1997b) pointed out, these two models have major flaws in that there is no consideration on how people perceive and interpret the representations, as well as the importance of "code" that people depend on for communicating each other. Without such a shared code, in other words, rules, conventions or mechanisms, which connects signifier and signified in a meaningful way, the signifying practices are in vain. People, as a speaker, are free for their utterances but they are not completely free of the system of language, rather they are "born into a language" (Hall, 1997b, p. 34). Hence, the meanings are not within the texts neither made by individual author, but constructed by "us" (Hall, 1997b). The text or any objects as signifier do exist in our material world but it is us who read their symbolic meanings through representations. More importantly, linguistic, cultural and historical background of the reader who constructs meanings is significantly important as spatial and temporal differences can change the way of constructing meanings. In this respect, meanings are not fixed, but rather subject to constant change. Hall (1997b) called this third way of approaching representations "constructionist" and puts emphasis on the constant production of new meanings. Therefore, the act of "taking the meaning" is considered to be an active production of interpretation (Hall, 1997b). From this standpoint, the studies on active reader or active audience have become underlined in Cultural Studies (Yoshimi, 2000).

1.4.2. Encoding – decoding model

In audience studies, the audience is significantly focused, based on the idea that the production of meanings occurs when the texts are perceived and consumed. Audience studies are deeply associated with the textual studies about representations since the production of meanings start from texts and another end is audience. In Hall (2003)'s idea, media communication is not liner but a circuit, considering that the audience reaction would give feedback for the production of media text. For example, in a circuit of the process of television, four distinct moments are introduced: production, distribution, circulation and reproduction. Hall insists that the messages the producers (encoders) intended to deliver in the media text would

not necessarily be consumed as was intended by the audiences (decoders) (Hall, 2003). Although the messages may contain polysemic meanings, it is assumed that there is a preferred, dominant meaning when the text is encoded in a particular sign system. The decoders who share the sign system are able to interpret that preferred meaning. However, this encoding and decoding moment is a determinant moment. In a different cultural, social and political context, it is not guaranteed that the message is identical in any moment within the circuit.

Focusing on decoding process, Hall (2003) introduced three ways of decoding of television text. The first position is the dominant-hegemonic position, which means that the decoders decode in the same way that the encoders encoded symmetrically. It assumes both encoders and decoders share the same signifying practices so that the misunderstanding rarely happens. The second position is the negotiated position. In this position, most of the decoders comprehend adequately the dominant encodings but take a mixture of adaptive and oppositional positions based on the local conditions. Therefore, at times, resistance and contradiction occur due to the decoders' beliefs and interests. The third position refers to the oppositional position, in which the perceivers also understand the preferred encodings but decode the message in a globally contrary way.

There are several studies that used the encoding-decoding model to examine the audience's active readings of the media text (e.g. Ang, 1989; Croteau & Hoynes, 1997; E. Katz & Liebes, 1990; Morley, 1992). Those studies particularly focused on the differences of audience's national, cultural and social backgrounds and explored how they affected the audience's interpretation of the same media text. This led to the importance of different kinds of subjectivities based on gender, class and nationality among others that influence the way of decodings (Thwaites et al., 2002).

Later, Hall's encoding-decoding model was criticized by some scholars (e.g. Morley, 2006; Ross, 2011; Wu & Bergman, 2019). According to their assertions, the encoders' diversity in positions must be considered more carefully. The encoders can imagine how the audience would decode their texts so that they may use a strategic encoding. Meanwhile, the decoders might be aware of such a "constructedness" of the text. This awareness of both ends led to elaborate the encoding-decoding model in two separate positions of decodings, where one focuses on ideology and another on text evaluation (Wu & Bergman, 2019). This implies that what the encoders and the decoders are concerned with is not merely the meanings (dominant-

ideology) to produce but also the awareness of "how" the meanings are encoded and decoded. These new ideas evolved from encoding-decoding model seem to be suggestive and worth considering for the analysis of social representations in media texts.

1.4.3. Genre and spectatorship

In this section, we would like to present briefly two notions in Film Studies that should be aware of in relation to representations and perceptions of Japaneseness in films. These notions are genre and spectatorship.

Genre such as romance, thriller, Western, etc. uses certain codes effectively so that the viewers who are acquainted with them are able to read the film text in a way the creators intended. The creators may also expect and count on the viewers' knowledge of the codes, which might be reflected in their production of films. Therefore, genres are based on a tacit agreement among film-makers, film Industry and audiences, and make it possible "to communicate information quickly and economically" (Bordwell & Thompson, 1997, p. 53). These genre codes can be defined by the plot, the themes, the film techniques including lightning, editing and music, and iconography including the costumes and the stars (Bordwell & Thompson, 1997). One of the major functions of genre is to offer something familiar for the audience but genre is also subject to cultural factors and social trends and processes so that not all the audiences are supposed to share them in the same level.

Spectatorship refers to the ways the audiences take pleasure in the experience of watching films (Cook, 1999). Based on Lacanian phycology and Althusser's Marxist perspectives and apparatus theory, it is claimed that the subject of film viewer is not established as the unified ego but a social subject. In Film Studies, the spectator is considered to be "an 'effect' of the cinema apparatus rather than a concrete person watching the film with particular responses and feelings" (Thwaites et al., 2002). In this sense, the concept of spectator is different from the audience in audience studies. The film analysis focuses on "how the textual system of particular films solicit and interpellate the spectator's understanding and subjectivity – organizing knowledge, authority, pleasure and identification through systematic processes of vision and narration" (Cook, 1999, p. 366). Thus, in Film Studies, it is thought that the film spectators are imagined to take up a monolithic position that is affected by the dominating ideology.

The study of spectators was critically developed by the feminist film theories (Cook, 1999; Johnson et al., 2004). Mulvey (1989), in her influential essay *Visual pleasure and narrative cinema*, insisted that the spectatorship especially in classic Hollywood cinema is male-centered, which means the female as well as male protagonists are usually exposed to male gaze and desired to be the pleasure of male spectators so that the whole control of the film is asymmetrically placed on male. Nowadays, it is claimed that not only gender but also other social aspects of spectators (e.g. race, ethnicity, class, etc.) must also be considered in film analysis. This trend might have been influenced by the notion of social audiences in Cultural Studies, where the individuals' social positions or social identities are the major issue (Johnson et al., 2004).

1.4.4. Representations in Japanese films

With regard to film representations, we would like to understand in more detail how Japanese films have been studied by Western film critics by taking into account the films of two Japanese films directors, namely Akira Kurosawa and Takeshi Kitano. By doing so, it will be possible to see how Japaneseness in Japanese films were perceived by Western scholars.

According to several researchers of film analysis (Freiberg, 1998; Hutchinson, 2006; Nelmes, 2004), Japanese films were received as mysterious and exotic in 1950s by Western film scholars. Since the first fascinating encounter with a "strange" culture, in a western film criticism Japanese cinema has been "Other" no matter how diverse the films' themes are. This position is probably derived from the dominance of Hollywood films in the world film industries. Therefore, the focus of the study of Japanese films has been to identify the representations of Japaneseness in the films by semiotic analysis. The East-West dichotomy has been commonly used for the analysis of Japanese films, for instance, by identifying which elements are Japanese and which elements are Western. Hutchingson (2006) argues that the study of Akira Kurosawa[7] (1910-1998) is a center of this type of analysis and criticizes its simplicity.

First of all, it is pointed out that one of the characteristics of Kurosawa films is its intertextuality (Hutchinson, 2006). More precisely, Kurosawa adopts a wide range of other texts both Japanese and Western, from Japanese traditional theaters, namely *Kabuki* and *Noh*, to

[7] Akira Kurosawa started his career as a film director right before the Second World War began. He directed about 30 films in his life, including awards-winning *Rashomon* (1950), *Seven Samurai* (1954) and *Ran* (1985). Kurosawa was not only one of the most influential Japanese film directors to the Western filmmakers but also probably one of the most well-known by the Western audience and Western film critics (Aoki, 1998).

Shakespeare. Referring to Donald Richie's statement of "it is this genius for amalgamation which one may find typical of Kurosawa and very Japanese of him" (as cited in Hutchinson, 2006, p. 174), Kurosawa's talent is seen to be his ability to "amalgamate" or "assimilate" the Western tradition, style or mode of representation. The assumption here is, again, there is an existence of absolute "Westernness" and "Japaneseness", and adaptation is one-directional: from the Western style to the Japanese style. Not only for Kurosawa's films, this simple binarism has been used for the criticism of Japanese films for a long time. As a result, a role of the critics became to explain and interpret the Japanese aesthetics represented in the films to the Western viewers. In Kurosawa' case, the actors' slow exaggerated movements and a mask-like blunt face expression were usually associated with the characteristics of a *Noh* theater play. Some critics went beyond that and linked this feature with the influence of Buddhism. However, to interpret Kurosawa or other Japanese films, the simple extraction and explanation of these details of Japaneseness are not enough. According to Hutchinson (2006), some Japanese critics such as Sato and Yoshimoto counter such Orientalist approaches by claiming that the Western critics are ignoring the historical background of the films and those source texts.

The time when Kurosawa started his career as a filmmaker was right before the Second World War started. Then, after the defeat in 1945, the censorship became rigor for the Japanese film industry under the occupation of the USA. In order to avoid a ban by the American authorities, it is said that Kurosawa attempted to express his thoughts on defeated and occupied Japan by adopting other text, for example, from a traditional Japanese theater *Kabuki*[8], for his film's narrative (Hutchinson, 2006). Therefore, it might be more appropriate to consider that intertextuality in his films was intended to hide an explicit representation of Kurosawa's thoughts that could have been censored at that time.

Another argument about Kurosawa's representation of Japaneseness lies in the use of *samurai* warriors and its period as a genre (in Japanese term, *Jidai-geki* genre). Superficially, the films of *samurai* warriors are very Japanese because they show the spirit of Japanese chivalry (in Japanese term, *Bushido*) which is a very important concept and it is still possible to use this concept to explain a certain behavior of Japanese people to date. However, if you look at

[8] In the eighteenth century, these traditional *Kabuki* theaters also took the same way to criticize the contemporary federal political system by adapting the text from the older *Noh* theater (the art performance three hundred years preceded to *Kabuki* theater) to avoid the direct articulation. Therefore, it is possible to say that Kurosawa followed a tradition of Japanese inter-textuality (Davis, 1996).

Kurosawa's films closely, these *samurai* warriors are atypical. They do not show the Japanese ethos but on the contrary they problematize the *samurai* ethic (Hutchinson, 2006).

Davis (1996) also argues Kurosawa's questioning and self-reflexive attitude in filmmaking. In the beginning of 1930s, Japan knew that it was entering the war time which affected the filmmakers to reconstruct Japanese identity by means of representing the strength of the country in their films. However, Kurosawa used his films to question national identity because of his skepticism toward Japanese modernity, which resulted in only playing with Japaneseness (Davis, 1996). This way, the analysis of Kurosawa films in depth reveals that there is always something more than what are found as Japaneseness, that are, for example, the director's auteurism and hidden criticism. As Hutchinson (2006) puts:

> Kurosawa was interested in actively questioning, problematizing and investigating the idea of Japanese identity, and also in taking advantage of the possibilities of the Japanese cultural heritage and Japanese cinematic conventions in the making of new films. (p.178)

Kurosawa's use of Japanese culture for his own purpose can be seen as his engagement in a "self-appropriation" (Hutchinson, 2006). The Japaneseness seen in his films is not the statement of the "Japanese Self" but his problematization of Japanese modernity or Japanese identity crisis caused by the war memory and subsequent American Occupation (1945-1952). Therefore, "many of his post-war films can be read as counter-discourse and critique against the Japanese government in post war" (Hutchinson, 2006, p. 179).

As stated in the beginning of this section, most of the Western studies of Japanese cinema tend to assume that Japanese culture is "there", fixed and taken by the camera. However, like Hutchinson's work, a close examination can reveal more complex representation of Japanese identity in Japanese films. Nevertheless, Davis (1996) thinks the iconography of the country and stereotypes of the nation will continue to be used in so-called national cinema. He introduces three models of national cinema: reflectionist, dialogic and contaminated (Davis, 1996). In reflectionist model, the assumption is that a film reflects culture like a mirror. Besides, the direction of reflection between cinema and culture is only one way: it is always cinema which reflects culture and there is no vice versa. In the middle of twentieth century, Japanese films were analyzed mainly with this model (e.g. Anderson et al., 1982). The next model is a dialogic or "cinema as interaction", where the Japanese films are seen in relation to the Western films. The last model is contamination or "film as syncretism". In this model, national culture is

constituted by fragments in relation to others. National identities are not anymore centered but dislocated in modernity (Hall, 1992a). To constitute a certain identity, differences are necessary and these differences are not binary but relative. National cinema also requires "new historical data as well as changing historiographical paradigms" (Davis, 1996, p. 65) by taking into account globalization and transnational cultures. Davis (1996) says these three models still co-exist in film analysis.

Another Japanese film director who has received the international attention recently is Takeshi Kitano[9], whose film called *Hana-bi* (1997) won the Golden Lion award at the 54th Venice International Film Festival in 1997 and since then his films have been constantly distributed outside Japan. Kitano's favorite theme of *yakuza*, the Japanese mafia, in his films represents the male dominating gender hierarchy in Japanese society (Karatsu, 2018). The intensified violence and male-bonding are one of the major attractions of Kitano's films but it is argued that his films' popularity in the Western countries are due to the "unnecessary" use of Japanese symbols such as Japanese Zen garden, temples, and Mt. Fuji inserted into his films (Davis, 2001; Karatsu, 2018). Those traditional and typical landscapes of Japan were used as icons. They are not directly or strongly related to the film narrative. Davis (2001) implicitly claims that Kitano is selling Japanese traditions, the icons of Japaneseness, through his films. In addition, Kitano is "selling himself" (Davis, 2001, p. 73), by, for example, wearing traditional Japanese *kimono* outfit in an international film festival. According to Davis (2001), the international film festivals are considered to be the place of globalization, where the stars, directors, distributors and journalists associated with globalized film industry from the world assemble all together. Kitano's choice of wearing *kimono* can be understood as performing Japanese national identity. In a sense, Japaneseness looks useful to be distinctive in the globalized world, in this particular case, appealing the director himself as Other. Above all, Davis (2001) described this whole situation as "Orientalism at its most stake", or in other words, "Auto-Orientalism" (p.73).

So far, we argued how Japaneseness or Japanese national identity has been represented in Japanese films and how they have been studied in Western theoretical film studies, by focusing on two Japanese film makers. On one hand, there was a case in that overrated iconographical Japaneseness had almost concealed the director's intention. On the other hand,

[9] Born in 1947, Kitano's career as a comedian and TV host since 1970s had been more prominent in Japan until his films were first appreciated in Europe in 1990s. Although he played in some films as an actor before he started making films, he had never studied film direction in any studio or school (Yodogawa, 1998).

Japaneseness was used as auto-Orientalism. In both cases and in general, the reception of actual audiences is usually excluded from the arguments of these text analyses. As mentioned earlier, the viewers' subjectivity is either abolished or imbedded as spectatorship in the text in traditional film analysis. To our knowledge, empirical studies about how the viewers perceive Japaneseness from Japanese films scarcely exist. Especially, in a foreign local place, it is not easy to reach the actual audiences of Japanese films, unless a film exhibition is organized for a specific research purpose. Exceptionally, there are some studies that examined the Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) students' perception of Japaneseness in Japanese films at the class rooms. We will discuss these studies that were essentially performed for the pedagogical purposes in the next chapter.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning the representations of the Japanese and Japanese culture in "Western" films, or more precisely, in Hollywood films. There may be plenty of studies on this issue but what is critically argued is that the Western film makers' interpretation of Japanese culture or the use of Japaneseness is significantly associated with the Orientalist representations (e.g. Akita, 2006; A. Allison, 2001; Marques, 2007; Needham, 2006). In some post-cold war films such as *Black Rain* (Scott, 1989), the Japanese were represented as villains, while in the other films of pre-modern time such as *Memories of a Geisha* (Marshall, 2005), the Japanese women were represented as submissive and erotic. It is also possible to observe in some films that non-Japanese Asian actors performed the Japanese roles. This way, we possibly can understand that the roles of the Japanese figures within the films, the representations, the narratives as well as the casting were all Hollywood-centered and for the convenience and pleasure for the Western audiences. Although the influence of Hollywood cinema's representations might be enormous for the Western viewers and their way of imagining Japan and the Japanese, this topic is beyond the scope of our study. Therefore, we will not go further in detail about this issue. Instead, we will move on to the discussion about animation as this audio-audio-visual text will be used in our empirical study.

1.4.5. Reality construction in animation

Nowadays, there are plenty of animation films and the target audience is not only children but also adults. However, the studies about animation are still scarce compared with live-action films (Yoshida, 2010). It is possible to perform textual analysis on animation films in

the same way that the film critics have been doing for the live-action films as have been seen in the previous section. Having said that, the differences between live-action films and animation films must be considered carefully. One of the important distinctions is apparently its art form. The animation is a film made frame by frame, manually or digitally, providing an illusion of movement so that the animation creators have absolute freedom to manipulate everything within and between the frames (Nelmes, 2004).

At a glance, what are depicted in most of animation works look unrealistic because of the distinctive expressions of appearances and movements of human beings, other living creatures and lifeless things. Therefore, the animations can contest our perceptions of space and time and can even ignore the physical law. However, there is no failure in constructing "reality" in the world of animation. Nelmes (2004) points out that "animation can change the world and create magical effects, but most importantly, it can interrogate previous representations of 'reality' and reinterpret how 'reality' might be understood" (p. 214). In this sense, animation films can also seek "realism" on their own.

The idea of realism in animated forms means neither the imitation of real world nor the accuracy or fidelity in drawings and narratives. It is claimed that the policy of Walt Disney was placed on "verisimilitude in his characters" and the creation of "a hyper-realism which located his characters in plausibly 'real' worlds which also included fantasy elements in the narrative" (Nelmes, 2004, p. 217). Furthermore, for reality construction in animation fantasy, a process of meaning-making on the side of viewer is indispensable (Yoshida, 2010). However, studies about how the viewers construct reality by watching animation films have been scarcely conducted.

Although Disney animation production inevitably gave an enormous influence on early Japanese animation production as well as Japanese animators, Japanese animation has developed its own way in various aspects and has established a unique form so that Japanese animations are often called "*anime*" and distinguished from the animations made in the other countries. One of the pioneer scholars in *anime* studies, Suzan Napier, claims that Japanese animations are distinctive in "narrative style, pacing, imagery, and humor, not to mention emotions and psychology, which usually run a far wider gamut and often show greater depth than do American animated texts" (Napier, 2016, p. 9). Leong (2011) claims that *anime* is so different in many ways within visual art category that it might be more appropriate to classify *anime* as a new genre. In this way, *anime*'s distinctiveness is characterized by the duality:

anime's "otherness" characterized by Japanese unique visual aesthetic and the universalities in its narrative themes. Considering the recent transnational *anime* audience, Napier argues that "anime stands out as a site of implicit cultural resistance" against American domination of mass culture (Napier, 2016, p. 9).

1.4.6. Japaneseness in Japanese animation

In terms of the issue of representation of Japaneseness or Japanese identity in *anime*, some scholars point out its hybridity in a sense that *anime* consists of a mixture of different cultures (Napier, 2016; Yoshida, 2011). For instance, on the visual side, *anime* characters often neither look like Japanese nor Westerners. Napier (2016) calls this characteristic "*mukokuseki*" (in Japanese term, literally means "no nationality") or "stateless". According to Yoshida (2011), this hybridity and "statelessness" in *anime* reflect the anxiety or loss of Japanese identity by the Japanese. Napier (2016), on the other hand, argues that a stateless fantasy is a convenient space for non-Japanese viewers to feel safe to explore "post-ethnic" or "trans-ethnic" identities. Thus, representations of Japaneseness can be argued from different perspectives, including the ways how the viewers feel and perceive.

Apart from identity issues, studies about *anime* have been dealing with many other themes, which contain a study to examine how the participants perceive the visual appearances of *anime* characters (Tanimoto et al., 2013); portrayal of femininity (Choo, 2008); realism in animation (Steinberg, 2014); Techno-Orientalism in sci-fi *anime* (Napier, 2016); representations of Self and Other (Yoshida, 2011), nostalgia and memory (Napier, 2016; Swale, 2015) and so on.

As for the animations produced by Hayao Miyazaki, who might be one of the most admired Japanese *anime* creators, a focus of studies about his films depends on the choice of his works. His representative film *Princess Mononoke* (1997) is often discussed with "nature vs. nurture" dichotomy from an ecological point of view, emphasizing Japanese ancient animism in its representation (Haga, 2014). The Academy awarded *Spirited Away* (2002) is frequently analyzed in relation to the representations of Japanese folklore by referring to Confucianism, Shinto[10] and Buddhism (Boyd & Nishimura, 2016; Haga, 2014; Ma & Cheng, 2016). According to those previous studies, the emphasis on Eastern original religions and moralities in Miyazaki's

[10] Shinto is an indigenous religion originated in Japan. Shinto is associated with the mythology of Japan's creation, which makes it associated with the foundation of Japan's identity, too (Hendry, 1987/2003). Known as polytheistic and animistic, in Shintoism it is believed that gods or "spirits" inhabit in all things in nature.

films are considered to be antithesis to the world where nature has been damaged by environmental problems, most of which are caused by "developed" and dominant countries.

1.4.7. *Anime* audience and reception

We will now focus on the issue of how the viewers perceive Japaneseness in *anime*. It appears that the reception of *anime* outside Japan has been studied mainly in the scope of Fandom Studies (e.g. Allison, 2008; Hills, 2002; Williams, 2006). Therefore, some studies use a term "fan" for *anime* viewers.

Hills (2002) and Leong (2011) insisted that the *anime* fans do not necessarily seek Japaneseness from *anime*. According to their arguments, the viewers do admit that some expressions or narratives are deeply related to Japanese culture and recognize some iconic representations of them within the story or scenery but the viewers do not see them as the important elements unless such representations have core meaning in the film. Napier (2016) also underlines that "it is the 'Otherness' of anime rather than its specific 'Japanese-ness' that is one of its fundamental appeals to the fans" (p. 7). Newitz adds that "they [the fans] often did not want to connect their enjoyment of anime to any feelings they might have about Japan specifically" (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 8). Furthermore, Allison puts the "construction of a desirable, imaginary world is disconnected from literal place in the sense that where these products come from (and where they are consumed ...) matters little in the pleasure of consumption" (as cited in Hills, 2002, p. 8).

Although Hills admits their arguments of downplaying Japanese national identity "in favour of the pleasures of popular culture and the construction of fan identities" (Hills, 2002, p.8), he attempts to scrutinize such assertion. First of all, Hills questions the fans' disinterests in Japaneseness and assumes that they are actually aware of Japaneseness but deliberately avoiding articulating it. Another counter argument is that the viewers are drawing on the Japaneseness in *anime* without explicitly recognizing as Japanese (Hills, 2002). The third idea is that the fans' interest goes beyond the fantasy world and is extended to Japan and Japanese culture largely. According to Hill (2002)'s conclusion, Japaneseness is underplayed but is not entirely disarticulated in fans' perception of *anime*.

Somewhat reserved attitudes of *anime* fans outside Japan were also observed in another study. Mihara (2010) did a participant observation in an *anime* club at one university and several

anime events in the USA. In his observation, those American *anime* fans became awkward when they discovered the participation of Japanese people in their community. Mihara (2010) argues that local *anime* fans have been constructing their own *anime* discourse without any dialogue with the Japanese fans. Furthermore, in the local discourse, the presence of the Japanese fan is unnecessary for judging the correctness of the meanings constructed by the local fans through *anime* viewing, which results in putting the Japanese aside as "Other". Mihara (2010) used the notion of otherness from Orientalism (Said, 1978) to reach this conclusion.

As mentioned at the beginning, these studies focused on *anime* fans in their perception of Japaneseness in *anime* so that their identity as fans was probably more underlined. In addition, Japaneseness that the *anime* viewers have perceived is not fully explained. In this respect, we believe there is room to investigate the perception of different social groups by different methodological approaches, taking into account the notions discussed in this chapter as well as social identity theory that will be discussed in Chapter III.

Chapter II – *Nihonjinron* and transnational cultural flows

In this chapter, we will focus on the concepts and notions related to Japanese culture, which have been developed principally in the scientific areas that can be partially categorized into Japanese Studies. Considering the relevancy to our current study, there are three major themes that we would like to argue: 1) *Nihonjinron* (discourses of Japanese culture) arguments, 2) transnationality of Japanese popular culture and 3) Japanese culture in Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) context. Firstly, *Nihonjinron* is a very important concept to understand Japan's national and cultural identity, which has been constantly re-constructed by Japan's position in relation to the West, more specifically to the USA. Focusing on postwar Japan, we will examine major arguments presented by the controversial yet influential *Nihonjinron* literature published between the 40s and early 80s. Secondly, recent transnational flow of Japanese cultural products is significantly remarkable and we cannot avoid examining this trend in order to understand how Japaneseness is represented in those products and how they influence local consumers' perception of Japan. Thus, we will overview transnationality of Japanese culture, considering Japan's cultural diplomacy, too. Thirdly, as our study is particularly associated with JFL context, we will argue and identify the issues related to teaching and learning of Japanese culture in JFL education.

2.1. *Nihonjinron* arguments

2.1.1. A brief introduction to *Nihonjinron*

Since the early twentieth century, there have been published a number of books, which attempt to explain the characteristics of Japan and Japanese people from the various dimensions such as culture, religion, politics, economics, life style, personalities and so on. These books were written by Japanese and non-Japanese authors living in or outside Japan. This kind of literature is commonly called *Nihonjinron* in a Japanese term, which consists of *Nihonjin* referring to "Japanese people" and *Ron* referring to "notion, concept or theory" so that the literal meaning is "the notions of Japanese people". Some thinkers may prefer other translations, for example, "theories of Japanese culture" (Kubota, 1999), "the discourse about Japanese national character" (Tai, 2003), and "theories of Japaneseness/the essence of Japaneseness" (Sugimoto, 2014).

Some *Nihonjinron* books such as *Japanese Society* (Nakane, 1984) and *Anatomy of Dependence* (Doi, 1981) turned out to be very popular in Japan, becoming best sellers. Some of them were translated to other languages, too. The peak of publication of *Nihonjinron* literature is said to be between the 60s and the early 80s when the Japanese economic power started being present and eventually became strong and even a "threat" to the leading advanced countries. According to the survey conducted by Nomura Research Institute[11], the number of publication of this genre reached 698 in 1978 and this number is believed to be constantly increasing (Mouer & Sugimoto, 1990).

One of the characteristics of *Nihonjinron* literature that we should be aware of is the inclusion of all levels of qualities, regardless of the central themes (e.g. personalities, social structure, management system of companies, etc.) and the styles of writing (e.g. books, journals, magazines, etc.). It varies from a peer-reviewed scientific journal to an essay of personal subjective thoughts. In one sense, such feature of variety made *Nihonjinron* texts possible to reach the vast range of the readers (Kazufumi & Befu, 1993; Kowner et al., 1999). However, on the other hand, due to the variations in quality and the popularity to the general public, *Nihonjinron* literature has been severely criticized in Japanese academic community, even though some of the arguments in this literature might be worth of discussion. According to Aoki (2013), who is an anthropologist and one of the *Nihonjinron* analyst, when *Nihonjinron* books emerged, they were completely ignored by the anthropologists in Japan. Befu (1987, 2008), one of the scholars who are critical of *Nihonjinron*, called these books "popular consumer goods".

There seems to be some reasons why so many books about Japan and the Japanese were specifically written in this particular time of postwar Japan. According to the opinions of several researchers (Aoki, 2013; Befu, 1987; Fujita, 2016; Yoshino, 2005), the emergence of *Nihonjinron* is associated with the crises of Japan's national identity in the process of modernization, which was strongly influenced by a constant confronting of Western culture since the opening of the country in the late nineteenth century. Needless to say, the event of the strongest impact in modern history of Japan was a defeat in the Pacific War and a subsequent occupation by the USA. Although Japan has had much more political and cultural interactions with other neighbor Asian countries such as Korea and China in its long history, comparisons

[11] Nomura Research Institute is one of the largest economic research and management consulting firms in Japan. It was founded as the first think tank in Japan in 1965 (for more details see: https://www.nri.com/jp/company/whats/history). The survey of *Nihonjinron* books was done only once and there is no continuous or equivalent survey.

with the Western countries, especially with the USA, have urged Japan to re-examine and re-construct its national and cultural identity. Arguably, Asian countries are rarely involved in *Nihonjinron* arguments.

We should also pay attention to the fact that most of the Japanese authors of popular *Nihonjinron* literatures had an experience of staying in Western developed countries. In the case of non-Japanese authors, the situation is opposite and most of them had lived in Japan. In this sense, they were once marginalized in foreign countries. Japan's Otherness was identified and argued by those who were situated somewhat between Japan and the West. Befu (1987), referring to Japanese authors of *Nihonjinron* literature, regarded their assertions as "Self-Orientalism" (Said, 1978), claiming that the purpose of *Nihonjinron* is to compare Japan with the West and underline Japanese national identity. Befu (1987) also claims that *Nihonjinron* possibly works as ideology because it is convenient to use those *Nihonjinron* concepts to emphasize Japan's uniqueness in comparison to Western culture and unite the Japanese nations. For further understanding of these issues, in the next section, we will overview the contents of *Nihonjinron* literature more closely.

2.1.2. National identity constructed by *Nihonjinron* in postwar Japan

Because of the large number of *Nihonjinron* literature, it is extremely difficult to examine all the arguments thoroughly. However, Aoki (2013) attempted to introduce the important *Nihonjinron* books that represent the tendencies in several periods of time and discussed major assertions of these books, which resulted in revealing how postwar Japanese national identity has been (re)constructed along with economic development and international relations. According to Aoki's analysis, four characterizations were made for the following periods in the brackets: 1) Negative specificity (1945-1954); 2) Historical relativity (1955-1963); 3) Positive specificity (1964-1983) and 4) the Specific to the Universal (1984 onward)[12] (Aoki, 2013).

Apart from these categories, Aoki (2013) pointed out that Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (1946/2006) is one of the first *Nihonjinron* books that introduced some of the essential concepts of Japanese culture so that the followers cannot avoid consulting it for their *Nihonjinron* arguments. Therefore, we will first review

[12] Japanese terms taken from the original text were translated into English by the author. Throughout the thesis, translation of direct citation from Japanese text was done by the author.

Benedict's concepts and then attempt to understand the principal *Nihonjinron* arguments and their changes based on Aoki's characterizations.

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture (Benedict, 1946) was translated into Japanese and published in Japan in 1948. The book was written by American anthropologist Ruth Benedict, who also wrote a report called *Japanese Behavior Patterns* in the previous year by the order of the United States Office of War Information (OWI) where she was working as an analyst. When Japan's defeat in the Pacific War was predicted, the OWI's concern was to make a decision for the policies of the occupation to Japan and the treatment of the Emperor after the war. In pursuit of efficient strategies, it was necessary to analyze the enemy-counterpart Japan, a very close yet very mysterious country to the USA in many senses. In this way, Benedict's 1945 report was originally used for the military and diplomatic purposes. However, Benedict decided to rewrite the report, targeting the public readers. In this sense, it is possible to say that *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* is a popular version of her original work. Indeed, Benedict examined more textual materials including some classical Japanese literature written in the 11th century in addition to a number of resources provided by the OWI such as the questionnaire surveys performed to the Japanese war prisoners, Japanese newspapers, magazines, films, radio programs and so on (Tsunoda, 2008).

The fact that Benedict wrote the book without visiting Japan is one of the major reasons for the criticism on her work. Lummis insisted that *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* is a political literature that contributed to persuade the Japanese nations to accept Japan's defeat in World War II (as cited in Tsunoda, 2008). Tsurumi also pointed out that the resources provided to Benedict were in favor of the ideology of the war time, collected by the American military elites so that her arguments cannot represent the general Japanese thoughts (as cited in Tsunoda, 2008). Aoki (2013) as well as many other scholars admit there are several misleading assumptions of the facts in her book. However, Aoki (2013) points out that her writing without visit to Japan is justifiable, considering the time when the book was written. He regarded her work rather remarkable in that her arguments were less prejudiced compared with the subsequent same kind of books. It was pointed out that Benedict herself was critical of reflecting American values and Egalitarianism to the studies of Japanese culture and society. It is said that her attitude as an anthropologist was strongly associated with Cultural Relativism that she studied in her college. She did not study Japan as an undeveloped primitive country where the developed countries

such as the USA needed a complete explanation about the culture. Aoki (2013) says that her arguments are based on the perspective of how differently Japanese people see the things and behave in the situations that are very familiar in her own culture so that it is the American people who eventually notice how peculiar their thoughts and behaviors are. Aoki (2013) also agrees with Geertz (1988)'s view which insists that by reading through *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* "(w)hat started out as a familiar sort of attempt to unriddle oriental mysteries ends up ... as a deconstruction ... of occidental clarities" (p. 212).

It is said that some of Benedict's notions that later influenced the subsequent *Nihonjinron* theorists are associated with collectivism identified in Japanese society and the concept of shame, called *Haji* in a Japanese term, as a Japanese social norm. Briefly, Japanese collectivism emphasizes on the group's beneficial achievements rather than the individual ones. The members of a certain social group (e.g. family, company, town, etc.) are expected to do their best for maximizing the benefit of the group and at times there is a need for sacrificing individual profit. At least, the group members have a tendency to behave carefully not to disturb the harmony of well-organized group. When failing to do so, one would feel sorry for the other members of the group. This notion is often confronted to the American individualism which emphasis is opposite to Japanese collectivism[13].

The concept of *Haji* is associated with the following two key concepts: *On* and *Giri*. *On* is a debt of gratitude arisen when one received a favor from someone else and this debt must be repaid. It is an obligation (*Giri*) passively incurred but all the receivers of *On* must owe. Benedict (1946/2006) explains that these debts must be repaid with mathematical equivalence to the favors received and there are time limits for that. The principal motivation of the receiver to repay *On* is based on the concept of *Haji*. Therefore, a failure in repaying the debt is a shame seriously accused in Japanese society so that avoiding shameful act became a social norm to which the Japanese people try to conform. As Benedict (2006) found this concept as central in many aspects of the lives of Japanese people, she called Japanese society as "culture of shame".

According to Aoki (2013)'s analysis of the representative *Nihonjinron* books published during the first period (1945-1954) of his division, this postwar time is characterized by the negation to the premodern and feudalistic system of Japan, hence called "Negative specificity".

[13] Japanese collectivism and American individualism have been empirically studied but according to Takano and Osaka (1999, 2018) most of these studies did not support the common view of the Japanese as the collectivists.

After the acceptance of Potsdam Declaration with the unconditional surrender in 1945, Japan was occupied by the General Headquarters, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) for seven years in order to remove all the domestic political and military power and authorities which caused the war and reconstruct a modern democratic nation and civil society, although the civilization was once on the way to be achieved successfully before the war began. Without any doubt, the Western modern rationalism was a model for Japan's postwar modernization. In this sense, the aspects of "old Japan" represented as "culture of shame" in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* had to be completely denied under the process of modernization. Therefore, the old norms were labeled as inferior characteristics of Japan. Thus, Japanese national identity in this period is associated with the negative view on the "old" and "inferior" Japanese culture

Two prominent thinkers that Aoki chose as representative writers of *Nihonjinron* in the second period (1955-1963) were Kato (1955) and Umezao (1998). Kato is one of the first Japanese scholars who visited the European countries, mainly to England and France, after the war and examined Japanese culture based on the comparison with the Western culture while Umezao is one of the most influential anthropologists in Japan and attempted re-categorization of the Japanese characteristics with a new perspective. This second period corresponds roughly to the Japan's high economic growth period which is normally defined between 1955 and 1973. As Economic White Paper issued in 1955 declared "we are no longer in the postwar reconstruction period", Japanese national identity started retrieving its self-confidence. Hence, the negative views on its own culture identified in the previous period were also revised. Kato (1955) insisted, in his book entitled *Japan as a Hybrid Culture*, that if Western culture were "pedigreed", Japanese culture would be "hybrid" and there is no need to feel inferiority about it. From Kato (1955)'s view, Japanese modern social systems such as political, legal and education systems were constructed modeled by the Western ones in the late nineteenth century (Meiji Restoration) so that Japanese culture has been too deeply interwoven with the Western culture to distinguish clearly into two separate cultures. The point of his arguments is that the Japanese should positively accept Japanese culture's hybridity. Likewise, Umezao (1998) also supported a positive view on modern Japan but in a different way. In his arguments, Japan has more proximity to the West than to the East in terms of the process of modern civilization. Umezao claimed that although a number of Japanese cultural customs may be generally categorized as Eastern,

Japan's current highly modernized nation state is nothing more than Western. Umezao (1998) called this phenomenon "a parallel evolution" of the West and Japan. His assertion was supported by the fact that Japan has become one of the Eastern countries that achieved the same level of economic and technological development as the developed Western countries. From this, there is a thought that regards Japan as rather "Far-West" than "Far-East". Thus, the recovery of self-confidence in national identity in this period may have formed positive social representations of Japan, which might have been strongly reflected in the contemporary *Nihonjinron* arguments.

The subsequent third period (1964-1983) presented by Aoki (2013) is then characterized by the excessed positive and favorable views on Japanese culture, hence, called "Positive specificity". Some *Nihonjinron* books were written in a manner too much favorable to Japan, becoming one of the principal reasons to receive severe criticism later by several scholars (e.g. Befu, 1987; Sugimoto, 2014), some of which even called it "a self-absorbed narcissism". The works of four representative scholars that Aoki introduced for this period, namely Nakane (1984), Odaka (1965), Doi (1972/1981) and Vogel (2006), are arguably the most influential *Nihonjinron* books of all time with *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. As Japan experienced high economic growth and internationalization of major enterprises around the 70's, many studies about Japanese management systems were performed in order to analyze the reasons for the success. Nakane (1970/1984) performed detailed examination of Japanese company's structural and cultural characteristics. Basic idea of Nakane (1970/1984)'s theory drawn by her work is that in Japanese society the importance and values are placed on the benefits of social groups rather than the individual attributes or abilities. This notion seems to corroborate with the claim of collectivism first pointed out by Benedict (2006). Odaka (1965) agrees with the assertion that Japanese collectivism along with the adaptation of Western advanced technologies contributed to the world-wide success of several Japanese companies. As stated earlier, these positive experiences have made the themes dealt in *Nihonjinron* books concentrated in Japanese companies' management system such as employment, education and training for the employees, social welfare and so on. According to the idea of Sugimoto (2014), the industrious workers, a hierarchical structure in the working place and family-like management system often seen in Japanese company's culture are significantly associated with the common images of Japan and the Japanese.

As a study of the Japanese personality, it is noteworthy that Doi (1972/1981)'s *Anatomy of Independence* attracted attention in the same period. As a psychiatrist who had many experiences in the USA, Doi (1972/1981) considered the concept of *Amae*, an emotion and attitude of dependence in Japanese interpersonal relationship, was important to understand "the Japanese mentality as a basis for observing all kinds of phenomena" (Doi, 1972/1981, p. 17). This notion was derived from his personal experience of cultural shock during his first visit to the USA in 1950. His finding of cultural differences was not limited in the ordinary lives but also in his research investigation, pointing out that "the types of Japanese characteristics that can be detected by psychological tests designed for Westerners are, ultimately, Japanese characteristics as seen through Western eyes" (Doi, 1972/1981, p. 15). Doi insisted on the importance of using Japanese terms in order to describe Japanese characteristics. Importantly, he also insists that the Japanese terms such as *Amae* are peculiar to the Japanese language yet the emotions and attitudes that the terms connote are common to mankind. His assertion clarifies the problems of *Nihonjinron* literature, too. As Geerz (1988) also pointed out, *Nihonjinron* books should not be written nor read in a way that the uniqueness of Japanese culture is emphasized. We should be aware that they only introduce the salient characteristics of Japanese culture that can be observed in the other culture. Doi's attempt in his study was to identify these salient Japanese traits with the equivalent Japanese terms and to understand the structure of Japanese society constructed upon those distinguished traits as a whole (Doi, 1972/1981).

Another representative book in this period is Vogel (2013)'s *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America*. By this book, Japan's rapid development in economy due to Japanese management culture and hard work of Japanese employees were introduced to the American readers. According to Aoki (2013)'s understanding of popularity of this book, Japan's economic success was admired by the American people since it justified the American diplomatic policy against Japan after the war. Therefore, it was thought America was proud of Japan as a mirror of America. The book was translated into Japanese and became popular among the Japanese readers, too.

In the fourth period (1984 onward) of Aoki's division, once praised Japan's economic power became a threat for the USA. "Japan money" invoked an economic and trade friction with the USA and other leading Western countries. As stated earlier, Japanese management system was introduced and exported to the Western countries but did not work efficiently in different

cultures, which resulted in the target of new criticism against Japan (Aoki, 2013). Hence, major arguments seen in *Nihonjinron* literature in this period went back to negative ones. Some scholars severely criticized by saying that Japan is a nationalistic and ethnocentric[14] country (e.g. Dale, 1986). From this period, many more scholars started questioning the once well-received positive *Nihonjinron* concepts. Corresponding to the dominant Western countries' hatred toward Japan mainly caused by the economic friction, positive values placed on Japanese societal systems and culture had to be revised again (Aoki, 2013).

Having examined so far, the assertions represented in postwar *Nihonjinron* tend to fluctuate between positive and negative depending on the position of Japan relative to the dominant Western countries, more significantly to the USA. Particularly, economic growth was one of the important factors which influenced the images of Japan. Aoki's analysis of *Nihonjinron* revealed that in the process of Japan's modernization after the end of the World War II, Japanese national identity had been repeatedly reconstructed. For the Western countries like the USA, "mysterious" Japan had to be studied and objectified, in order to make it familiar. At the same time, it was pointed out that Japanese people were very interested to know how the West represents Japan (Abe, 2001). These mutual complex interests in understanding Japan might have enhanced the *Nihonjinron* arguments in which a number of discourses of Japanese culture were probably generated. Some of those discourses may still influence the current social representations of Japan and the Japanese.

2.1.3. Problems of *Nihonjinron*

As stated in the previous section, from the late 80s, *Nihonjinron* started being questioned because of the excessive positive views on Japan. Indeed, the peak of *Nihonjinron* publication is considered between the 70s and the 80s. As time goes by, a number of reviews and studies on the overall *Nihonjinron* literature has been published and nowadays we can identify more clearly several major problems of the concept. In this section, these issues will be presented and associated with some questions relevant to our study.

By examining the studies of the scholars who are critical to *Nihonjinron* (e.g. Befu, 1987; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1990), we can acknowledge much of their criticism is associated with the

[14] Ethnocentrism is a term first used by William G. Sumner in the realm of social sciences. Ethnocentrism means a vision "in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (Sumner, 1906, p. 13). In this notion, each group underlines its own pride and superiority and looks down on the other groups.

following four points. Firstly, Japanese society has been portrayed as highly homogeneous in *Nihonjinron*. Sugimoto (2014) states that "it is presumed that all Japanese share the attribute in question... regardless of their class, gender, occupation, and other stratification variables" and "there is virtually no variation among the Japanese in the degree to which they possess the characteristic in question" (p.5). Secondly, the trait in question is thought to be uniquely Japanese and it is supposed to "exist only marginally in other societies, particularly in Western societies" (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 5). Thirdly, the "presupposition is an ahistorical assumption that the trait has prevailed in Japan for an unspecified period of time, independently of historical circumstances" (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 5). Aoki (2013) also admits this point as one of the weakness of *Nihonjinron* but at the same time he claims that some quality works such as *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* are legitimate as a heuristic study since it is possible to fulfill the readers' eagerness to know about an unknown culture of one country without any complication. The fourth problematic aspect in *Nihonjinron* is the methodological deficiency. A number of assumptions were made without rigorous empirical studies. Only recently, there appeared several empirical studies (e.g. Hirai, 2000; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1990; Sugimoto, 2014; Takano & Osaka, 1997, 1999, 2018) that attempted to deny the validity of *Nihonjinron* assumptions or to demonstrate heterogeneity in Japanese society.

These alleged problems of *Nihonjinron* appeared to have become very influential to the formation of (auto-)stereotypes of the Japanese. Among those above mentioned studies, Sugimoto (2014), focusing on the *Nihonjinron* literature written by Japanese authors, pointed out as follows:

> Regardless of whether these self-portrayals reflect social realities or not, such images have taken hold and have fixed in the minds of many Japanese, forming the bedrock of *Nihonjinron* culture. These self-perceptions are not derived from systematic comparative analysis, though the characterization of any society would have to be based upon its comparison with other societies. (p. 16)

Other researchers (e.g. Vignoles, 2018) also argued that a certain "common view" toward Japan and Japanese people persistently exists, "reinforced by cognitive mechanisms such as outgroup homogeneity effect and the confirmation bias" (Vignoles, 2018, p. 2) and leading to the formation of stereotypes, for instance, the Japanese as collectivist. Moreover, there is a claim that human thinking and perception are commonly structured by binary oppositions (Vignoles, 2018): that "black" is the opposite of "white", "East" is the opposite of "West", "collective" is

the opposite of "individual" and so on. Such so-called themata (Marková, 2015), that is to say "shared, and usually taken-for-granted, conceptual foundations upon which cultural groups build their representations of reality" (Moscovici and Vignaux, 2000, as cited in Vignoles, 2018, p.2) may be one of the major factors to reinforce the popular stereotypes of Japan and the Japanese people (Lebra & Kuji, 2012; Vignoles, 2018). Stereotyping is in one sense necessary to generalize and simplify the characteristics of a certain social group or culture (Allport, 1954; Lebra & Kuji, 2012). Indeed, it often happens to discuss, for instance, national identity issues without arguing about variations in class or minority groups (Befu, 1996). This is not only the case in discussing Japanese culture but the fundamental problem of any area studies. If you study about a certain geographical area that is conventionally defined by national border, it would be very common to talk about something different from the other areas. In this sense, we may feel there is a contradicted mechanism such as the more we study and identify a specificity of Japanese culture, the more we underline its uniqueness (that eventually supports *Nihonjinron* concepts) and maintain a fixed image about Japan. Area studies should not fall into this kind of erroneous circle (Rappleye, 2018).

In fact, some suggestions for overcoming the problems presented above for studying Japan can also be found in the critical arguments of *Nihonjinron*. One of them is to examine both emic and etic concepts in a well-balanced manner (Mouer & Sugimoto, 1990; Sugimoto, 2014). Sugimoto (2014) claims that "(m)ost sociological concepts are assumed to be etic, but it can be argued that they were initially emic concepts of Euro-American societies which became etic notions because of the cultural hegemony of Western nations" (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 29). His claim continues that Japanese emic concepts represented widely by *Nihonjinron* literature can be used to deconstruct such convention and can contribute to cross-cultural studies. For that purpose, it will be required to have intercultural and transnational perspectives in the analysis of one culture. In this sense, theoretical and methodological frameworks that are taken in Cultural Studies can be feasibly applied to area studies including Japanese Studies.

2.2. Globalization and Japanese culture

In the previous section, we have examined postwar *Nihonjinron* discourses following Aoki (2013)'s four divisions of periods and understood how Japan's national identity had been fluctuated by the political and economic power relations between the West and Japan. We have

observed that Japan's images were negative when Japan was an "enemy of America" in the war time and in the period of economic friction while Japan was positively represented when Japan succeeded in recovering from the defeat of World War II under the occupation of the USA, which underlined Japan's Westernization (Americanization). It was also pointed out that most of the *Nihonjinron* literature contributed to the homogeneous and unique representations of Japan.

However, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, the discussions about Japanese culture based on *Nihonjinron* discourses had come to be inappropriate against rapidly changing societal situation over the world. The world became to be viewed as globalized, transnational and imagined (Anderson, 1991; Appadurai, 1990, 1999, 2000, 2010, 2014; Hall & Du Gay, 1996). Even the definition of the Japanese nations became difficult because of enhanced mobility of people across the borders. Like anywhere in the world, Japanese society is becoming multicultural. Along with the spread of Cultural Studies in intellectual community in Japan, social scientists who had actively studied about Japan in relation to the West had become more aware of heterogeneous aspects of Japan, (e.g. minority groups, gender and class asymmetries) as well as Asian values (e.g. Lawson, 1999) for international relations.

Japan's return to Asia is one of the hot topics in Asian Cultural Studies community (Iwabuchi, 2014). Long argued dichotomy of Japan and the West was de-centered and there needed to re-center Japan in "Japan – Asia – the West" triad (Iwabuchi, 2002). It might not be coincident that around this period Japan's economic power went down with the end of so-called bubble economy while other Asian countries such as China, Hong Kong and South Korea started showing their economic and cultural presence in the world. Nevertheless, the consumption and circulation of Japanese cultural products now turned to be prominent, having replaced industrial products. A focus of Japaneseness was shifted to those images arisen from Japanese popular culture such as *sushi*, *karaoke*, *anime* (Japanese animation), *manga* (Japanese comic books), J-pop (Japanese popular music), video games, etc. A well cited phrase from McGray's article *Japan's Gross National Cool* makes a point: "Japan looks more like a culture superpower today than it did in the 1980s, when it was an economic one" (McGray, 2002, p. 44). Our attempt in this section is to discuss a new phase for the representation of Japanese culture in relation particularly to globalization, which we believe is also important to the current intercultural relation between Portugal and Japan, too.

One of the assumptions seen in globalization is that the world would eventually be homogeneous as a result of transnational cultural flow. In the early arguments, such cultural traffic was assumed to be one direction from America (center) to the rest of the world (peripheries) (Giddens, 2013). The phenomena of cultural globalization were, therefore, considered to be equal to Americanization or on the whole Westernization of the world. The presence of MacDonald's and Coca-Cola around the world is one of the iconic examples. Although this America-centric cultural imperialism (Tomlinson, 2012) is very firm concept, on the other hand, there emerged the assertions of de-centering of the cultural capitals (Tunstall, 2008). Japan's cultural power in the last few decades can justify the appearance of a new center of worldwide cultural flow. Thus, it is possible to imagine the multiple centers of cultural flows and each center has its own peripheries. In this way, one center could be another center's periphery (Befu & Guichard-Anguis, 2003). This argument can feasibly replace the discourse of America's absolute position of center and cultural dominance of the world. Considering these fundamental arguments, we will next focus on transnationality of Japanese cultural.

2.2.1. Japaneseness in transnational cultural objects

In *Nihonjinron* discourses up to the mid-80s, major arguments theoretically concerned Japanese characteristics identified in social structures, lifestyles, companies' management system, etc. However, Japanese cultural goods and practices had also received attention by foreign people, which cannot be ignored for construction of Japan's images. Those cultural objects exist in a wide range, including tea ceremony, *kimono* outfit, *kabuki* theater, *karaoke*, *anime*, cosplay, etc. According to Sugimoto (2014), main consumers of Japanese commodities and practices have been shifting from "avid Japanophiles" around 1950s – 1960s to "non-elite, young" foreigners around 1990s – 2000s. Then, what are the differences between the past and the present of Japanese cultural presence in the world? Sugimoto (2014) argued:

> It is important to remember that the rise of Japan's cultural industry received international recognition only after its soft power status was debated in the United States (Nye, 1990), though Japanese cultural goods have been most extensively exported and linked to the cultural markets of Asia. To be accepted in the United States, Japan's animation entrepreneurs have been willing to cut or change some scenes and even story lines. The success of Japanimation owes much to considerable 'de-Japanization' and partial 'Americanization'. (p. 24)

This statement reminds us American cultural imperialism does not only mean the circulation of American products but the flow of any cultural products in the world is dominated

by America. Therefore, although the dissemination and appreciation of Japanese popular culture in Asian regions had occurred much before in the Western regions, only after the USA recognized it and put a high value on it, supported by the 90s soft power discourse, Japanese popular culture was taken more seriously in political, economic, commercial and academic contexts.

In the arguments of the West-centric cultural imperialism from Asian perspective, some scholars argued that Japan is positioned between America and the rest of Asian countries (Befu & Guichard-Anguis, 2003; Iwabuchi, 1998, 2002). Iwabuchi (1998) puts that Japan serves as an "interpreter" of Western popular culture, that means Japan digests Western culture and presents it as an Asianized or indigenized Western culture so that the other Asian consumers become able to have an easier access to it. Befu and Guichard-Anguis (2003) also claims that:

> 'Asianization' is the process of creolizing the West to suit Asian tastes. This is an admission of the hegemonic position of the West, where Asia is a cultural colony, even though it is valiantly and creatively making local adaptations, with Japan taking the lead. (p.11)

Recalling Japan's confront with the Western culture, the terms used for the appropriation of Western culture have interestingly been changing from "absorption", "imitation" and then to "hybridization" (Sugimoto, 2014). It is pointed out that in the process of creolization it is considerably important to leave an essence of Japaneseness in the products originated in Western countries. This, on one hand, underlines that the prototypes of Japanese culture in the process of modernization were Western or more precisely American (Befu & Guichard-Anguis, 2003). On the other hand, Japanese hybridization is original enough to attract many Asian young consumers and make them "yearn" for Japan.

At the same time, we must notice that there is a claim that the preference of Japanese products is not because the consumer likes its Japaneseness or it is "Made in Japan" but simply because of its functionality or sophistication of the package (Befu & Guichard-Anguis, 2003; Iwabuchi, 2006). Moreover, the authenticity of Japanese cultural representations is much less interested in this context (Tsunoyama, 1995). More importantly, Japan's national identity in the globalized era is understood around Japan's exceptional capacity of cultural hybridism by which Japan's imaginary position "in and above" Asia is justified (Iwabuchi, 2006).

In terms of the spread of Japanese culture to the West, as mentioned earlier, "de-Japanization" and partial "Americanization" is a key for better reception and dissemination. It is commonly observed that a distribution of Japanese animation in the USA requires some

alterations in the animation's contents where Japaneseness is too intense so that American audiences may feel cultural distance and lose their interests. Some animation creators including Hayao Miyazaki protested the adaptation for American favor while others positively accepted and readily erased Japaneseness from their creation. As for the electronic products, Sony, for instance, sold Walkman all over the world without appealing Japanese taste in the product. Even from the company's name and the product's name, one cannot tell its original country.

Iwabuchi (2002) used the term "culturally odorless" for this kind of products from which the consumers are free from imagining any specific country of origin. According to him, "cultural odor" is "the way in which cultural features of a country of origin and images or ideas of its national, in most cases stereotyped, way of life are associated *positively* with a particular product in the consumption process" (Iwabuchi, 2002, p. 27). The question is not simply whether it is "Made in Japan" or not. He also listed culturally odorless Japanese products as three C's : consumer technologies (such as VCRs, karaoke, and the Walkman); comics and cartoons (animation); and computer/video games.

His claim continues that the "cultural odor of a product is also closely associated with racial and bodily images of a country of origin" (Iwabuchi, 2002, p. 28) so that the characters appeared in the most of popular Japanese animations as well as video games usually do not look like Japanese. Such non-nationality (*Mukokuseki* in Japanese term) features in physical appearances of the characters are deliberately designed by the animation and video games' creators because they think that exclusion of Japaneseness is one of the reasons for the success in attracting a large number of consumers in the world. However, as Iwabuchi (2002) also admits, it is not known how the consumers actually perceive these *Mukokuseki* characters. In our study, we would like to discuss on this issue later in our empirical study.

To sum up, Japan's new position between Asia and the West is characterized by Japan's ability of hybridization of Western and Japanese cultures as well as the role of bidirectional distribution. Moreover, it is argued that the erasure of explicit Japaneseness or odor of Japanese lifestyle in the cultural commodities is essential for the universality of Japanese popular culture. However, as Iwabuchi (2006) also points out, this argument does not much consider how these Japanese cultural products are actually consumed, appropriated and indigenized in the various locals. Particularly, how the audience of Japanese media products perceive Japanese culture has been rarely studied especially in Europe. Furthermore, globalization is not only associated with

economic and cultural products flow but human mobility is another important issue. Japanese immigrants in foreign countries may also be deeply involved with the images of Japan and the Japanese people. Regarding this point, we will come back in our arguments of Japanese culture in educational context later in this chapter and in our empirical study, too. In the next section, we would like to briefly discuss Japanese cultural diplomacy since it is related to local Japanese cultural dissemination in the world.

2.2.2 Cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy is governmental strategies projected directly to the public in foreign countries for the purpose of accomplishing soft power through cultural means (Iwabuchi, 2015). The main objective of postwar Japan's cultural diplomacy was to improve the nation's image among Asian countries that suffered from invasion by Japan in World War II (Iwabuchi, 2015). Recently, the use of Japanese popular cultural products for cultural diplomacy has become very prominent. Two decades ago, no one could imagine that the Prime Minister of Japan would wear a costume of "Super Mario" and appear in the Closing Ceremony of the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro in 2016. In this section, in order to understand the institutional involvement in the dissemination of Japanese popular culture, we would like to review Japan's cultural diplomacy from the pre-war time to the present time briefly. In addition, the efficiency of cultural diplomacy toward the improvement of national images as well as related issues will be discussed.

Consulting Iwabuchi (2015) and Otmazgin (2012)'s studies, Japan's cultural policy and diplomacy can be divided into three periods: the empire building era (1920s – 1945), the post-war era (1945 – 1970s) and the present (1980s – present). While Japan was building the empire in Asia in the name of "saving Asia from Western influence", the alleged Japanese "superior" culture was used to integrate those Asian locals into the empire, by using media culture, namely radio broadcasting, movies, magazines, Japanese language education, and so on. Culture was only the "instrument of control" (Otmazgin, 2012, p. 46). The severe assimilation maneuver taken by the Japanese military leadership left those Asian people keep hating Japan even after Japan's defeat, and their hostility discouraged the Japanese government to engage in an active and serious public diplomacy to Asian nations for a long time. According to Otmazgin (2012), it was only in the end of the 60's that Japanese leaders felt secure enough to start a "cultural exchange" with those Asian countries. As we have seen in the previous section, the 60s

is characterized with Japan's beginning of rapid economic growth and internationalization. It was necessary for Japan to gain a good image from other countries to be a member of international community. However, these efforts often fell only in the economic aids and it never truly achieved cultural exchange. Considering these efforts in vain and continuing antagonism from Asian countries, a recent emerged popularity of Japanese pop-culture such as *anime*, *manga* and video-games not only in Asia but all over the world was totally unforeseen but very desirable for the policy makers to make use of it for the enhancement of Japan's image.

Although by the beginning of 90s, the effectiveness of media culture (i.e. TV drama, J-pop a.k.a. Japanese popular music, *anime* and *manga*) for improving Japan's image was recognized by the Japanese authorities, Iwabuchi (2015) considered the early 2000s was an important turning point. It was in 2002 that McGray (2002)'s article titled *Gross National Cool* figured out exactly Japan's pop-culture's potential as superpower in a global economy market. Coupled with worldwide growing concern with nation branding and the soft power discourse, Japanese policy makers started institutionalizing pop-culture diplomacy seriously. Junichiro Koizumi was the first Prime Minister who referred, in an address to the Diet, to the importance of utilizing media culture to project Japan's attractive brand images. Under his government (2001-2006), many committees in relation to "Cool Japan[15]" policy were established (e.g. Head Office for Intellectual Property Strategy in 2002, Committee for Tourism Nation in 2003, Committee for Info-communication Software in 2003, Research Committee for Content Business in 2005, J-Brand Initiative in 2003, Council for the Promotion of International Exchange in 2006). Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA) in 2006 "officially launched 'pop-culture diplomacy', declaring that it, in aiming to further the understanding and trust of Japan, is using pop-culture, in addition to traditional culture and art, as its primary tools for cultural diplomacy" (Iwabuchi, 2015). The Council for the Promotion of Cool Japan in the Cabinet Secretariat in 2013 was allocated 50 billion yen from the national budget.

Within nearly two decades after "Cool Japan" diplomacy started, criticism to the policy has arisen due firstly to the establishment of many different authorities that resulted in the practices less-centered and disorganized and secondly to the lack of clear goal setting and visible achievement proved by statistical data. Interestingly, the same kind of criticism was observed in

[15] "Cool Japan" is a slogan used by the government, attached to the nation branding projects and committees that were organized in the aim of disseminating Japan's "cool" culture to attract the world. The term also refers to the cultural products and phenomena involved with the governmental campaign and strategy (for more details see: https://www.cao.go.jp/cool_japan/english/index-e.html).

South Korea's cultural diplomacy that similarly used "Korean Wave", the depiction of recent increase in the popularity of Korean cultural products such as TV dramas, popular music (K-pop), films and so on (Jang & Paik, 2012). Iwabuchi (2015), by consulting several surveys, admits that the determination of how successfully nation branding is carried out by international dissemination of media culture is extremely hard. How does pop-culture diplomacy work effectively to improve certain national images? What can be criteria for judging "success" in cultural diplomacy? That is more questionable.

A study of Hall and Smith (2013) challenged this question. They assumed that the goal of cultural diplomacy is to achieve a good image of one country by the other nations. The effort of cultural diplomacy is evaluated by the investment in certain cultural diplomatic projects such as an establishment of English-language TV channel for international broadcasting. Then, they examined several poll data and discovered that there is little or no positive effect of soft power of public diplomacy on foreign public opinion.

In relation to national images, as Iwabuchi (2015) insists, nation branding is associated with re-interpretation of national identity and creation of new narratives. However, the society has been more and more multicultural in today's Japan and national identity cannot be homogenous and static but diverse and changeable (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). Nation branding without ignoring this diversity of Japanese multi-cultural identity is a difficult task but something that the policy makers must take into account in order to represent Japanese culture.

Nowadays, it is possible to identify Portuguese consumers of Japanese popular culture (Gonçalves et al., 2021). However, it is difficult to identify reasonably the direct effects of the cultural policy that the Japanese authorities have been projecting on them. Nevertheless, we can observe that some institutions such as the Japanese Embassy and the Japan Foundation[16] are conducting promotional activities in Portugal, in line with the Japanese cultural policy. Both Portuguese people and Japanese residents have chance to be exposed to them, for instance in a cultural event called "Japan Week" organized by the Embassy every year in Lisbon. The

[16] The Japan Foundation is Japan's institution dedicated to carry out comprehensive international cultural exchange programs throughout the world. The Japan Foundation was established in October 1972 as a special legal entity supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the objective of promoting international cultural exchange through a comprehensive range of programs in all regions of the world. Three major fields of their missions are: arts and cultural exchange, Japanese-language education overseas, Japanese Studies and intellectual exchange (for more details see: http://www.jpf.go.jp/e/index.html).

Japanese language learners are often their main target of promotion. Therefore, it may be important and relevant to study those students' perception of Japanese culture.

2.3. Japanese culture in Japanese language education

In the previous section, it was revealed that geographical boundaries have come to be less obstructive by globalization and transnational flow of Japanese cultural products has been much more enhanced than before. By Japanese scholars (Iwabuchi, 2015; Sugimoto, 2014), it was pointed out that Japanese new cultural presence in the world, more precisely in the West, became truly firm after the century turned to be twenty first. This timing might not be coincidence with the emergence of internet and its spread among common people. This surely made some digital media products, including Japanese *anime* and *manga,* much easier to reach the consumers anywhere in the world.

Reception and social representations of Japan through transnational Japanese culture among local people have been sparsely studied in different areas of studies (e.g. Film Studies, Media Studies and Fandom Studies). Among those studies, we are interested in the studies which targeted Japanese language learners, firstly because some of the recent studies showed that their motivation to start learning Japanese is significantly associated with their appreciation of Japanese popular culture (Fukunaga, 2006). As these previous studies argued, we also consider Japanese animation is probably most popular and influential in this context so that we will also focus on Japanese *anime*. Secondly, the JFL students are one of the collective groups, which members have relatively active interactions with Japanese culture not only through various media but also real Japanese people. As have been seen, this group is one of the important targets of interest by the Japanese institutional authorities in terms of Japan's cultural diplomacy. Thirdly, the present study started from the author's personal interest in JFL students in Portugal and their representations of Japanese culture. This interest is related to "teaching" of Japanese culture in JFL education outside Japan. Therefore, in this section, we will first discuss the relation of Japanese language learning and popular culture and secondly culture teaching in JFL context

2.3.1. Japanese language learning and popular culture

As mentioned above, first of all, we would like to examine the issue of Japanese popular culture as motivation for learning Japanese.

Armour and Iida (2016) pointed out that there has been an argument that the interest in Japanese popular culture motivates the individuals to learn Japanese language and culture. They call this notion "Japanese popular culture (JPC) effects argument", following the Lizardo's thoughts on "media effects and responses" (as cited in Armour & Iida, 2016, p. 1). Fukunaga's earlier study (2006) has also claimed the similar argument. In both studies, the authors related this argument to rapidly enhanced transnational flow of pop-culture by media. Especially, the circulation of Japanese mediated popular culture among young people outside Japan became outstanding with the spread of Internet use. According to Swenson, *anime* and *manga* are the main attractions, among many other traditional Japanese culture such as literature, religion, history, gardens, etc. even for those who are "not yet" involved in Japanese language education (as cited in Armour & Iida, 2016, p. 2). Swenson says "if they talked about Japanese culture, they talked about video games, *anime*, *manga*, music, or movies set in or about Japan" (as cited in Armour & Iida, 2016, p. 2). Fukunaga also observed that the circulation of Japanese *anime* and *manga* in the southern United States has changed the tendency of JFL students significantly, with analyzing the studies of Manes and Parker (Fukunaga, 2006, p. 208). According to her analysis, the JFL students have become younger compared with ten years before, when most of the JFL learners were adults who already had got a variety of knowledge in general and could afford studying Japanese just like a hobby. While those "adult" students kept a certain detached attitude toward Japanese culture, the current young JFL students are extremely absorbed in Japanese culture with their own perceptions.

Fukunaga (2006) examined JFL students' perception of Japanese popular culture through interviews. Three students, all aged 21, had intermediate level in Japanese, studied or have been studying Japanese language in higher education, and had a particular interest in *anime* and *anime*-related Japanese popular culture. All of them started watching *anime* when they were in high school. Their interests were not only *anime* but rather sub-cultures around *anime*. These sub-cultures include *manga*, in which the *anime* is originated, video games based on the story and characters of particular *anime*, *anime* songs, *anime*-related products (ex. toys, stationeries, etc.) and activities (ex. online and off-line *anime* fan community activities and attendance to the *anime* festivals). The students pointed out several uniqueness of Japanese animation, comparing with American animation. One of the attractions of Japanese *anime* for them was its narrative style, "a range of issues in the stories" (Fukunaga, 2006, p. 213). She

exemplifies the themes covered by *anime*, according to her students' opinions, such as "fantasy, everyday Japanese life, cooking, action, adventure, martial art, sports, romantic drama, comedy and same sex relationship" (Fukunaga, 2006, p. 213). The Japanese *anime* is relatively free from a restriction of sexual and violent scenes, while in American cartoons those scenes are banned by severe censorship by the US authorities. Those aspects were also claimed by Napier (2016), as the main factors for attracting a lot of *anime* viewers.

Another study by Armour and Iida (2016) used the data collected from Australian *anime* and *manga* fans through online questionnaires for investigating Japanese pop-culture fans' interest in learning Japanese. The invitation for the survey was sent to *anime* and *manga* associations in universities in Sydney as well as several major *anime/ manga* fan communities in Australia. The online survey was open one month and 451 valid responses were obtained and analyzed. The respondents' ages spread from 17 to 32 years but clustered around 17 to 21, that is more or less the same generation of Fukunaga's students. The majority was English speakers (86.5%) and the second most spoken was Chinese (7.9%). The authors stated that the respondents had limited experiences of visiting Japan but 26.6% of them visited Japan, which is relatively a large number. Furthermore, the fact that 70% of those who had been to Japan had visited Akihabara (a 'Mecca' city of *anime* and *manga*) indicates their purpose to travel to Japan is strongly related to *anime/ mange* attraction. Unlike the study of Fukunaga (2006), their study did not tell much about the fans' perception of Japanese popular culture. Instead, it provided a tendency or characteristics of the target group, showing factual data such as frequency of *anime* viewing, saying more than two third of the participants watches "daily" or "every few days" *anime*. About half of the respondents said they had experience of learning Japanese language while the rest of them claimed that they were "self-taught". In terms of duration, the majority studied less than two years. The respondents were also required to judge their listening (skill used for watching *anime*) and reading (skill used for reading *manga*) proficiencies. Almost 60% of them answered their listening ability was around "one word or simple, short utterances" and 16.6% was capable of "daily communication". For reading proficiency, 30% of the participants could read between 100 and 500 *kanji* characters, which is more or less a reasonable amount considering their averaged learning period of two years. Yet, the authors considered that the majority of respondents had limited proficiencies in the Japanese language.

With such restricted linguistic proficiencies, the data reveals that 80% of them watch *anime* in Japanese with English subtitles. As for *manga*, about 90% read mange in either English or other language translation. These facts tell us that the respondents prefer to appreciate *anime* in their original voices (not dubbed) but due to their linguistic limitations they need to rely on translation for aiding their comprehension. Their survey further shows that about half of the respondents is "highly motivated" to learn Japanese language because of their appreciation of *anime/ manga*. In addition, many of those who have not studied Japanese before indicated their interest in learning Japanese in the future (66.8%).

Kondo and Muranaka (2010) did a similar survey in France, in which they examined the Japanese pop-culture fans' potential motivation for learning Japanese. They found out that those fans who have not yet studied Japanese want to learn Japanese particularly because 1) they want to watch Japanese *anime* and TV series in Japanese (without subtitles) and 2) they want to read *manga* in original version (Japanese version) (Kondo & Muranaka, 2010). These results support "the JPC effects argument" that Armour and Iida (2016) claimed.

In terms of language acquisition and its effects on the students´ attitude towards Japanese pop-culture, Fukunaga (2006) showed three major advantages of repetitive *anime* watching: (1) word recognition, (2) listening skill and pronunciation and (3) awareness of various Japanese linguistic features. As other studies (e.g. Kondo & Muranaka, 2010) also showed, *anime* fans prefer watching *anime* with subtitles, not dubbed. This tendency contributes to make JFL students used to listen to natural Japanese conversations with natural speed, which improves their vocabulary building and listening comprehension. The students would also be aware of speech style (i.e. the difference between men´s and women´s speech, formal and informal speech, etc.), slung, and even good or bad translation.

Another important aspect that the learners found by themselves from watching *anime* was "increased Japanese cultural knowledge of nonverbal gestures, mannerisms, social setting and rules, families, meals and homes" (Fukunaga, 2006, p. 215). It is highly possible that the students already have knowledge (sometimes very vast knowledge) about Japanese culture from *anime* viewing when they are enrolled in the institutional Japanese classes. When these students start learning Japan and watch *anime*, "they find themselves recognizing more words than before and reviewing things they learned in the past" in the classes (Fukunaga, 2006, p. 215).

Fukunaga claims that this cycle of practices makes their knowledge about Japanese language and culture reinforced.

On the other hand, there is a claim that the "static" knowledge of culture taught in language classrooms is problematic (Kubota, 2003, 2013). This claim is in line with Hall's questions of national identity in modern era (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). According to him, national culture and identity are not static but changeable by a temporal and spatial diversity. Fukunaga (2006) considers "those *anime* students" are advantageous as active learners who seek information about Japan from various resources through media and renew their knowledge on Japan constantly. However, in her study, detailed description about the students' knowledge of Japanese culture was not presented, as pedagogical effects and implication were the focus of study. Furthermore, how the knowledge of Japanese culture contributes to construct images of Japan and Japanese people is not particularly discussed, either.

2.3.2. Teaching Japanese culture

We have seen so far how Japanese popular culture is involved with JFL education mainly as motivational means for the students' side. In this section, we will focus on the issues related to culture "teaching" in the context of Japanese language education.

The issues of culture in Japanese language education have been studied mainly by the scholars of linguistics and education (Hosokawa, 2017; Kubota, 2003; Mita, 2001; K. Suzuki, 2006). One of the central themes in those discussions is criticism on teaching of fixed Japanese culture. In JFL context, it has been pointed out that *Nihonjinron* discourses have a great influence on the pedagogy and consequently on the students' perception of Japanese culture, too. There may be various problems of teaching Japanese culture based on *Nihonjinron* theories, some of which underline Japanese culture as unique, static and homogeneous (Befu, 1996; Sugimoto, 2014).

Nozaki (2009) proposed a necessity of critical teaching, where the teachers are encouraged to have knowledge of stereotypes, Orientalism (Said, 1978), homogeneity assumption, "Them" and "Us" binary opposition, etc., all of which are important issues in Cultural Studies.

Liddicoat (2007) pointed out the flaws of governmental policy on culture teaching in JFL by claiming that Japanese culture is conceptualized mainly for the purposes of dissemination but

not critical arguments among the non-Japanese students. According to Liddicoat (2007), a discipline established for this specific objective by the Ministry of Education in 1962 is called *Nihonjijo*, which refers to "Japanese way of life" and it covers a syllabus of "a general introduction to Japan, Japanese history, culture, politics, economics, nature, science and technology" (p.40).

According to the study that reviewed a historical transition of *Nihonjijou* subject in Japanese language education by Hosokawa (2000), in the early period between the 60s to early 80s, specificity of Japanese language and culture was focused, which corresponds to the rise of *Nihonjinron* arguments (Aoki, 2013). In *Nihonjinron*, Japanese language was argued within the concepts that characterize the way of thinking of Japanese people. From late 80s to early 90s, an increase of foreign residents in Japan, including students and workers boosted Japanese language education. Coupled with the rise of intercultural communication theory in language pedagogy, the importance was placed on looking at the learners' own culture and reconstructing the learners' identity by learning other cultures of target language. This method was later criticized since it only creates a dichotomy between "your culture" and "other culture", and does not differentiate from essentializing both cultures (Hosokawa, 2017).

From late 90s, cross-border mobility of people and commercial products provoked the discourses of multiculturalism and "learners-centered" approach was taken by language educators instead of teaching fixed and systematic knowledge about culture. Teachers were encouraged only to assist students to discover "their own Japanese culture" by themselves (Hosokawa, 2000).

In the mid-2000s and later, Japan has come to be increasingly multicultural by some governmental policies. In 2008, "The 300,000 International Students Plan[17]" was established, with a target date of 2020. More recently, in 2018, the government revised Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Law in order to enhance the employment of foreigners[18].

In spite of such an ongoing "multiculturalization" in Japanese society, there seems that not enough arguments have been done in relation to cultural issues in the studies of Japanese

[17] The 300,000 international students plan, announced by the Japanese government on July 29, 2008, aimed to accept 300,000 international students by 2020, in order to make Japan an open country to the world and expand the flow of people (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2008). On May 1, 2019, the number of international students enrolled in Japanese universities and Japanese language schools was 312,214. The government's plan was achieved one year ahead of schedule (Futagoishi, 2021).

[18] The Japan Visa information can be obtained from the website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (c.f. https://www.mofa.go.jp/j_info/visit/visa/index.html).

language education. In his analysis of official documents issued by Ministry of Education, Liddicoat (2007) problematized the institutional policy of dissemination of Japanese culture in an educational context. He first acknowledged that the policy considered Japanese language spread as "a vehicle for disseminating understanding of Japan" and for enhancing Japan's international presence (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 39). However, he pointed out that the themes listed in the documents are traditionalizing, limited Japanese practices that may not reflect "the lived experiences of Japanese people. The extract of one official document that Liddicoat presented says "(t)rainees will learn how to introduce Japanese culture and society, Japanese politics, modern history including flower arranging, the tea ceremony, martial arts etc." (MEXT as cited in Liddicoat, 2007, p. 40).

The extract was taken from 2004 Ministerial document but the suggestion is not changed from the discipline of *Nihonjijou* that was established in 1962. Although it all comes down to each educators' approach to *Nihonjijou*, if teaching of Japanese culture for overseas JFL students is in line with this guideline, very limited and stereotyped view of Japanese culture would be introduced. As Liddicoat concludes, it only emphasizes "the inculcation, maintenance and entrenchment of a particular conception of Japanese identity, associated with the discourses of *Nihonjiron*" (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 41).

Having reviewed the above background, we would like to discuss the actual culture teaching for JFL students both in language classes and culture classes, reported in some empirical studies.

In the study of Kouno (2003), graduate students of intermediate level of Japanese read two *Nihonjinron* books in order to practice critical reading and discussion. Takagishi (2016) encouraged the beginner level JFL students to discuss selected themes on Japanese culture in the classes specialized in Japanese culture. She found the participation of Japanese volunteer students for this task and the use of both Japanese and English were effective. These cases are examples in higher education in Japan.

At overseas sites, in Indonesia, for example, the attempt of the classes that incorporate active learning about Japanese culture was made (Takasaki & Do, 2016). In another study conducted at one university in China (Kouno, 2010), observation of the classes and the interviews with the students were performed in order to analyze what and how Japanese cultures are taught and if the students feel the classes are useful for understanding Japanese culture. The

results revealed that the students positively engaged in these culture classes but the subjects that are taught are history, economy, geography and traditional arts. Kouno claims these subjects are the ones stated in the guideline for *Nihonjijou*. The study also revealed a necessity of examining other disciplines, except for language and culture, that might involve Japanese culture in their contents. The students are learning and perceiving Japanese culture not only from the classes that directly deal with it.

In France, Hara (2016) experienced a class in which the students presented and discussed the images of Japan. It was observed while the students discussed the themes being conscious of the relationship between Japan and "me", they also became aware of the existence of "Others" who had an image different from their own. According to Hara (2016), this awareness of diversity in your own group might be one of the factors that contribute to suppress falling into a dichotomy of Japanese culture and "our culture".

There are studies in that teachers' beliefs about culture teaching and comparison between native and non-native teachers. Mahoney (2009) compared the concept of Intercultural Language Learning (IcLL) with the communicative language learning, and then examined the practice of IcLL through non-native-speaking (NNS) teachers in the 10th grade of Japanese classes in Australia by a qualitative case study. According to her, first of all, the IcLL pedagogy was an emerging concept and was entering the mainstream of language education last decade. In the communicative approach, the model dialogue is the native speakers' but in the IcLL approach the emphasis is in a communication built between native and non-native speakers. Therefore, the students' native culture and language also have a value and affect their learning of the target language. This alters the goal of acquisition of the language skills such as allowing less native-like speaking ability accepted and even considered to be a progress. For students, there is a "third place" to negotiate.

Mahoney (2009) argues that in communicative textbooks, cultural content is normally defined as static culture. This content has to be taught by the teacher so that it is one-way projection. However, in IcLL, culture teaching and learning is more dynamic. The students are supposed to move back and forth between two cultures: the target culture and one's own culture, not only to learn the fact and practice of the target culture but also to acknowledge one's own values, perspectives and feelings. The teacher's role becomes a "mediator". It is not a teacher but students who provide "answers", and ideally the teacher only gives an activity plan and

supports the students' own perception of the target culture. In this sense, Mahoney (2009) presumes non-native-speaking (NNS) teachers can be best suitable for mediating between two cultures, because they are not native and once were the students so that they are able to be objective for the target language and culture.

The purpose of Mahoney's work (2009) is to examine how NNS teachers teach culture in the Japanese language classes, and their attitude and beliefs on that. In her research, she conducted interview with two NNS teachers who work at the same junior high school in Australia.

While these participants (two teachers) are different in their teaching experiences, their beliefs on teaching culture are very similar in that culture should be taught with language. Culture teaching is an "add-on" to the language classes. They both think teaching culture is less complicated than language. Showing a short video of *anime* as introduction to a certain cultural aspect or only a small anecdote can serve. For them, the cultural aspects that they teach are factual and visible, for example, Japanese students stand up and bow in the classroom when their teacher appears and starts the lesson.

Furthermore, for those teachers who have experiences living in Japan, it is rather easy to talk about what they actually experienced. There exists a concept of two types of cultures: Culture with a capital "C" and culture with a small "c" (Brooks, 1960, as cited in Istanto, 2009). Briefly, the former Culture stands for art, music, literature, politics, etc. and the latter culture stands for the behavioral patterns and lifestyles of everyday people, etc. In general, culture in Cultural Studies is associated with a small "c". In Mahoney's teachers' perception, in the language class, a small "c" culture is mainly involved. One teacher admits that the cultural aspect dealt in the lecture is largely affected by the textbook's contents. The syllabus and time constrain are another factor to determine how much and how often the teachers can integrate cultural aspects along with the linguistic explanation and practices. In any way, we can understand that cultural issues are underrated in language classes.

Lastly, there also exist some studies which examine the use of audio-visual materials such as films and *anime* in JFL classes (Han & Ling, 2017; Hosaka et al., 2012; Kadowaki, 2013). In these classes, the films appropriately selected according to the levels of language competency are exhibited and the tasks related to the films (e.g. writing summary of the synopsis, doing interview about the films, etc.) are given to the students.

Istanto (2009) claims that culture is a missing or underrated component due to the limited space to treat in language textbooks as well as teachers' unfamiliarity with the culture itself and with the necessary "technique" to teach it. In contrast to Mahoney (2009), she believes that "it is the teacher's responsibility within or outside of the classroom, to explicitly take on the role of culture educator" (Istanto, 2009, p. 280). In terms of using films for teaching culture, Watson's notion about films supports, that is, a film "represents the most significant environmental factor that teachers have to take into account" (as cited in Istanto, 2009, p. 280). Other researchers of JFL education (e.g. Hosaka et al., 2012) basically agree with the positive effects of using audio-visual materials since they contain "raw" scenery of everyday lives, highlighting "authenticity" of Japanese culture. However, as have argued in previous chapter, the way Japan or the Japanese are represented in films and the perception of the viewers involve various issues, which might result in consolidating Orientalized Japan, Japanese characteristics underlined in *Nihonjinron* and so on.

Through our literature review, we can notice that teaching Japanese culture in JFL education have a number of issues that are missing thorough examination and discussion in an interdisciplinary way. It also has been pointed out a lack of clear objectives of teaching culture (Hosaka et al., 2012) and integration of the concept of intercultural competence in curriculum (Byram, 2014). Moreover, it is very questionable how much teachers are critical of teaching culture in order to avoid stereotyping and essentializing Japanese culture. Indeed, it might be difficult to examine such influences for students' perception of Japanese culture so that we must be aware of the current constrains related to culture teaching in JFL educational context.

Chapter III – Social Stereotypes: theoretical development and contextualization

Perception of others is deeply related to human cognitive processes and cultural context. When the images associated with a certain group of people induce negative consequences such as prejudice and discrimination, it becomes social problems that have to be solved by social scientists, educators, policy makers and so on. In respect of this problem, a study of stereotypes in social psychology has significantly developed theoretically and methodologically, providing other associated important concepts such as social categorization, social identity and intergroup relations. Especially, a number of empirical studies implemented in this realm provide a useful framework for analyzing and understanding the phenomena and problems that we would like to focus in this thesis. In this chapter, we will briefly look at the theoretical development of social stereotypes with referring to the concept of social cognition, social groups, social identity, intergroup relations and related effects in perception as well as methodological development, which we believe contribute to our analytical insights in the present study. Then, we will identify several previous studies of social stereotypes relevant to the current study especially in the Japanese context. Through this chapter, we hope to acknowledge basic but important theories and methods that are definitely useful for our empirical studies.

3.1. Theoretical development in studies of (social) stereotypes

3.1.1. Stereotypes

People cannot experience or perceive every events happening around the world so that people depend on imagination when they deal with the unknown or the unfamiliar. Walter Lippmann, an American journalist who wrote *Public Opinion* in 1922 and is thought to be a founder of the contemporary concept of stereotypes (e.g. Cabecinhas, 2017) considered these imagined pictures in our head as stereotypes. He also puts that "under certain conditions men respond as powerfully to fictions as they do to realities, and that in many cases they help to create the very fictions to which they respond" (Lippmann, 1922/1997, p. 10). From his idea, we can understand that stereotypes intersect between the individual and reality in the form of bias (Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 202). It is also possible to consider that stereotypes are subject to

the human thoughts, feelings and emotions, while human actions are determined by the stereotypes (Lippmann, 1922/1997, p. 17). Simplifying the world by stereotyping helps us with overcoming our limitation of information processing and makes it easier to construct reality. However, in perception, we select some aspects of the object, and in describing this object, we may exclude some information that we perceived and could add new information that we actually did not observed. Our value for defining a certain object is already influenced by our culture (Lippmann, 1922/1997, p. 55). In addition, Lippmann (1922/1997) considers that circulation of idea by media, in its supply and quality of information, is also affected by technical, economic and political conditions. It was also pointed out that the individuals support well-established stereotype for the sake of protection of self-esteem. Therefore, when encountered the stereotype that the individuals agree with, they tend to confirm their idea consistent with that stereotype and stay away from the other views, regarding them as the exceptions. Oakes et al. (1994) considered stereotyping as "at best, a process of simplification which serves to make reality manageable, and, at worst, a pathological vehicle for prejudice and ill-treatment" (p. 2). This way, the fallacious nature of stereotypes as well as the inevitability of stereotypes as a normal human nature was already identified by Lippmann in the early 20s. However, it was only in the 50s when his innovative ideas about stereotypes were recovered and significantly developed by Phycology and media studies (Cabecinhas, 2017).

Until then, the studies about stereotypes had mainly been focused on the examination of the content of stereotypes. The study of Kats and Braly (1933) is considered as "the first significant social psychological research into stereotype" (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 3). This pioneer study linked stereotypes with a negative conceptualization, namely, prejudice, revealing that the high degree of consensus in stereotypic images are not arisen from the perceiver's personal knowledge of the target group of people but from prejudicial influences with scarcely any factual basis (Oakes et al., 1994). Oakes et al. (1994) points out that this idea tells "the fundamental issues which must be addressed in exploring the relationship between stereotyping and reality" (p. 4), which eventually becomes the basic concept for social categorization in relation to social reality. Regardless of such suggestion, the majority of early studies only concerned with the undesirable features of stereotypes. For instance, the pathological view on stereotype was emphasized, comprising the hypotheses of 'kernel of truth' (Mace, 1943, as cited in Oakes et al., 1994, p. 4) and 'authoritarian personality' (Adorno et al., 1950, as cited in Oakes et al., 1994, p.

5). A theoretical argument was developed by Allport (1954) who associated stereotypes with the process of categorization. He did not consider stereotyping as pathological but rather normal, and thought that it only became deficient when the categorization was in an irrational use by prejudiced people based on their personal value (Allport, 1954).

3.1.2. Social cognition, social categorization and social identity

As mentioned earlier, the emergence of the concept of social cognition made the researchers interested in studying a cognitive process of stereotyping (Oakes et al., 1994). Although Allport (1954) already examined the process of categorization and intergroup relations (more theoretically), it was Henri Tajfel (1969) who integrated the new paradigm into stereotype study and examined the perceptual and cognitive functioning of categorization in various empirical studies. For Tajfel, stereotyping is very normal human cognitive process although the deficient aspect of stereotyping and perceptual error, bias and distortion were identified. It is argued that the perspectives of social cognition is characterized by the consideration of "all factors influencing the acquisition, organization and retrieval of information about persons, as well as the relationship between these processes and the social judgments" (Hamilton, 1981, p. 136, as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 114). In this way, the concept of categorization was associated with the human cognitive function, namely, the individuals' information processing such as coding, storing and retrieving social information.

According to the early studies (e.g. Tajfel, 1978, as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 127), it was thought that categorization of the individuals was based on the human perception of similarities and differences within and between the groups. Some studies (Doise & Sinclair, 1973; Allen & Wilder, 1979, Sherif, 1967, Tajfel, 1970, as cited in D. L. Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Perdue et al., 1990; Tajfel et al., 1971) demonstrated a strong ingroup bias despite the arbitrary categorization of ingroup and outgroup (minimal condition). From these studies, it was thought that mere categorization was enough to induce discriminatory behavior automatically. However, Tajfel himself and his colleagues (Tajfel et al., 1971) casted doubt on this idea, providing a normative explanation for the competitive situation in the experimental setting (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 80). Tajfel insisted on the importance of intergroup relations and the process of social stereotyping as well as the link between the group and the individuals (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 85).

The development of studies about (social) stereotype is well summarized by Hamilton and Trolier (1986), indicating the following two major consequences derived from an act of categorization: 1) we view persons as members of social groups rather than as individuals so that 2) what differentiates one group from another group in our perception is their membership based on which each group is formed. This is a basic concept of Social Identity Theory (SIT) that Tajfel developed in the 70s (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tajfel, 1979). The concept of social identity associates the self with social categorization based on the idea that "part of an individual's self-concept [which] derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63, as cited in Oakes et al., 1994, p. 82). SIT principally assumes a positive social identity. It means that the person enhances her/his identity by evaluating positively her/his group membership in comparison with the relevant outgroup(s). This conceptualization of groups (categorization) requires a new perspective for stereotyping, too. In minimal intergroup hypothesis, categorization was strongly associated with cognitive bias and automatic discrimination. However, in SIT, a dynamic aspect of intergroup relation, including contextual, cultural and motivational variables, is emphasized (Tajfel, 1972, as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017). Therefore, a purpose of research about (social) categorization or intergroup relations became not only to identify the basic effects (e.g. errors, biases, etc.) from cognitive perspective but also to explain particular factors for the observed variability of ingroup/outgroup phenomena. In this way, SIT significantly replaced the concept of stereotype with the concept of social stereotype, which is understood as "a generalized belief about a given social group, widely shared within and outside that group, that is, diffused in a given cultural context" (Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 111). In other words, as Cabecinhas (2017) explains, "social stereotypes are subjective and socially shared representations on the characteristics and behaviors of certain human groups, stratified according to socially valued criteria, and translating a given order in intergroup relations" (p. 112). It is noteworthy that Tajfel (1981) had kept insisting a need to see the link between the group and the individuals in stereotyping, focusing not only cognitive aspect but also motivational and contextual variables which may reflect social reality and have possibility to change the intergroup relation. Tajfel himself could not contribute to this work as he passed away in 1982 (Oakes et al., 1994) but there appeared the studies that followed his suggestion, which we will briefly see in the next section.

3.1.3. Intergroup relations and asymmetrical structure

Having seen the theoretical development of social stereotype in the previous section, we can acknowledge intergroup relations have become a basic framework for the recent empirical studies for social stereotypes, in that ingroup refers to the social group that the perceiver is a member of, and outgroup refers to another social group of which members are perceived. Much of the studies revealed asymmetrical structures in the intergroup relations such as ingroup favoritism and outgroup homogeneity (Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 127). Briefly speaking, ingroup favoritism means that the perceivers evaluate more favorably the other members of ingroup than the members of outgroup. Outgroup homogeneity is an effect that outgroup is perceived as being more homogeneous than ingroup. In this section, we will succinctly review the effects related to intergroup relations in order to understand new perspectives on social stereotype studies.

As mentioned earlier, categorization is one way for the human to reduce the vast amount of information surrounding us and enhance the information processing. Although oversimplification is always problematized, this process is considered inevitable and normal in human perception. One of the effects associated with the process of categorization is the accentuation effect (e.g. Doise et al., 1978; Doise & Sinclair, 1973; Krueger & Rothbart, 1990) in that "the observer's overestimation of similarities between members of a given category – assimilation effect – and of differences between members of different categories – contrasting effect" (Tajfel as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 127). In other words, in this effect the members of the same category feel more similar to each other and the differences of the members between this category and the other categories are perceived more intensely.

Another cognitive bias observed in intergroup relations is illusory correlation. With this bias, co-occurrence of two distinctive events is perceived erroneously correlated even if it was accidental (Hamilton & Gifford, 1976). Especially, when one group is numerically smaller than the other, this group becomes salient and people tend to remember with a particular stimulus, often of negative characteristics, which eventually induce negative stereotype.

In terms of social categorization, it has been known that race and sex are very "accessible" social categories among the others such as ethnicity, nationality, religion and so on (Park & Rothbart, 1982, as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017; Horowitz & Horowitz, 1938, as cited in Kamise, 2012; Tayler, 1981). At the same time, which social categorization is used depends on the situation (e.g. Stangor & Ford, 1992, as cited in Kamise, 2012). In this respect, we can think

of many different types of social groups, each of which is formed by a certain categorization in question at the time. Hamilton and Trolier (1986) state that social groups can be "(t)he formation of naturally occurring groups (clubs, political parties, professional groups)" of which members have the same interest, belief system or goal in common (p. 131). Nevertheless, there are some experimental studies evidenced that racial and sexual categories are "chronically accessible" social categorization that surpass other categories and contextual factors (Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 130). What is more important in this argument is that there is no symmetry in the perception of two groups (ingroup and outgroup) formed by any of those social categories. The category characterized as "socially and culturally disadvantaged" or "dominated" usually becomes salient so that the perceivers' attention is drawn to that category among others. For instance, "black man is most often categorized as 'black' while a white woman is more often categorized as 'woman' (Zárate, et al., 1995, Zárate & Smith, 1990, as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 130).

In pursuit of examining the asymmetric structures in intergroup relations, the effect of outgroup homogeneity became one of the analytical focuses in the studies of social stereotypes. It has been said that the basic idea to explain this effect was the familiarity with ingroup and the ignorance of outgroup (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). It was assumed that the perceiver's greater familiarity with ingroup in relation to outgroup results in the greater variability in the evaluation of ingroup so that the contrary happens to outgroup, resulting in the greater homogeneity. It was supposed that outgroup homogeneity was induced by ingroup favoritism so that outgroup was negatively evaluated. However, the homogeneity effect was observed either in ingroup or outgroup, regardless of positive or negative evaluation for outgroup, which implies that the effect of outgroup homogeneity is independent of ingroup favoritism (e.g. Park & Judd, 1990; Park & Rothbart, 1982). Some studies showed that the number of contact between the members of ingroup and outgroup, as well as the length of contact, and situational context which could contribute to the enhancement of familiarity with outgroup did not change the outgroup homogeneity effect. The selectivity of perceivers was also argued. There are two possibilities: the perceivers pay more attention to the traits which are congruent with the stereotype, or on the contrary, the traits which are extremely not congruent with the stereotype, so that both cases increase the salience of that traits, which eventually invoke the homogenization either in ingroup or outgroup. In order to understand such asymmetries it is crucial to take into account the power balance and intergroup history (Cabecinhas, 2017).

As another explanation for outgroup homogeneity perception, some studies (Linville, 1982, Linville & Jones, 1980, as cited in Hamilton & Trolier, 1986) showed that the perceivers evaluate more extremely about psychological characteristics of the outgroup members than the ingroup. In trait-rating experiments, this tendency has been observed. This implies that more favorable evaluations could be given to a outgroup member than an ingroup member if described positively, and less favorable evaluations on a outgroup member than an ingroup member if described negatively (polarization effect).

The concepts presented above are not exhaustive for outgroup homogeneity effect. However, there is hardly any consistency in the results among the empirical studies and ambiguity remains depending on the context and methodological settings. In the next section, we will examine a new way to investigate social stereotypes in light of intergroup relations.

3.1.4. Variability in social stereotypes

The early empirical studies on stereotypes focused on describing the content of stereotypes (e.g. Katz & Braly, 1933). After the methodological development along with an attention to the cognitive process of stereotype formation, maintenance and change, a focus of analysis has been shifted to identify the variability of perceived stereotypes. Variability, in this context, is explained as "the degree to which individuals judge the group to be relatively heterogeneous or homogeneous" (Quattrone & Jones, 1980, as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 112). In this respect, the researchers pay more attention to how the perceivers evaluate the members of ingroup and outgroup than what their evaluations are. As for a method, Linville et al. (1986) suggested to examine dispersion in perception, such as "(i)f the attribute in question is measured on at least an interval scale, *the standard deviation of the perceiver's subjective probability distribution* over the levels of the attribute in question provides a natural measure of variability" (p.185).

Although the outgroup homogeneity effect is commonly observed, this effect is not universal as demonstrated in several studies (Cabecinhas & Amâncio, 1999; Cabecinhas et al., 2003; Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993, Simon, 1992, as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017). In fact, in certain conditions, the opposite effect is observed: ingroup homogeneity.

The researchers tried to find out the specific conditions for this phenomenon. For instance, according to Simon (1992), the members of minority group tend to identify themselves

with a positive social identity more intensively in order to defend their self-confidence so that ingroup homogenization, caused by the concentration of positive evaluation, is observed. From this, it is possible to say that the relative size of the groups, which defines minority and majority, is one factor to shift homogeneity effect from outgroup to ingroup. Furthermore, it is claimed that numerical minority/majority should be distinguished from social minority/majority (Deschamps, 1982; Lorenzi-Coildi, 1988, as cited in Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 138). Considering these positional and contextual variables that might affect the homogeneity effect, it is noteworthy to analyze social stereotypes not only in the cognitive level but also in the ideological level.

3.2. Previous studies in relation to social stereotypes of the Japanese

Having seen the theoretical development of social stereotypes in the previous section, now we would like to move on to identify and discuss some previous studies related to social stereotypes that involve the Japanese as a social group. First, we will review a pioneer study of social stereotypes (Katz & Braly, 1933) and subsequent replicate studies (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins et al., 1969), which comprise so-called "Princeton Trilogy". These studies reveal not only a transition of stereotype content influenced by historical background but also the importance of cultural norms that could affect the way the perceivers express their stereotypes. Next, we will focus on more specific context that we would like to name "Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL)" context. In this context, most of the participants are Japanese language learners and the studies attempt to examine social stereotypes of the Japanese empirically considering various variables such as information sources, students' linguistic competence, direct contact with the Japanese and so on. Since our research interest in the present study fits in this context, the review on these previous studies will help us with identifying some important issues such as methodological options and analytical suggestions.

3.2.1. Classic empirical studies of social stereotypes

The study of Katz and Braly (1933) is said to be a pioneer empirical study of social stereotypes. Their study gave significant suggestions for the subsequent researchers in cognitive and social psychology. The objective of the study of Katz and Braly (1933) was to illustrate racial prejudice based on cultural stereotype. In their survey, one hundred undergraduate male students in Princeton University in the United States were asked to evaluate various social

groups[19], including *Americans*, *Jews*, *Negroes*, *Turks*, *Germans*, *Chinese*, *Irish*, *English*, *Italians* and *Japanese*. As for a procedure, the students chose five most typical traits, out of 84 attributes that describe the personalities of those selected racial and ethnic groups. The attributes were collected from the newspapers and magazines, and then presented all in the form of adjectives. According to the number of selected traits for each group, Katz and Braly (1933) analyzed the contents of stereotypes and the degree of agreement among the participants for the stereotypes attached to each target group. The results showed a strong ingroup favoritism with the attribution of positive traits to Americans. Other groups attributed positive traits were European groups such as Germans and English. The groups evaluated most negatively were Turks and Negroes with very high consensus. As for the degree of agreement, a high consensus was seen in the groups of Negroes, Germans and Jews while a less consensus was seen in the groups of Turks, Chinese and Japanese. It is worth noting that ingroup consensus (American) was not higher than most of outgroups consensus (six out of ten groups), although the uniformity index of American (ingroup judgement) was within relatively low scores, which means greater uniformity.

As Katz and Braly (1933) and other subsequent analyses (e.g. Cabecinhas, 2017) claim, these results indicate that the participants' personal experiences and real knowledge derived from a direct contact with the members of the target groups do not have strong influence on social stereotypes towards them. Rather, the participants presumably followed the images constructed by press media about these racial, ethnic and national groups so that the results reflect their support for such public images. Therefore, the degree of agreement with certain stereotypes becomes an indicator of how much the participants believe in socially constructed images. This indication was also supposed to be associated with a cultural background. In this respect, it is possible to understand, from this study, that stereotype is "a sociocultural phenomenon" and is subject to change by "historical and cultural context" (Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 122).

Apart from such a social psychological contribution of the study of Katz and Braly (1933), we would like to examine the significance of the same study specifically focusing on how the group of Japanese was evaluated in this survey. The results revealed that the American (white

[19] In the time of this study was made, there was blurred concept of racial, ethnic and national groups. Therefore, all these groups were regarded as "racial" in the original paper of Katz and Braly (1933). "Americans" was referring to White Americans while the term "Negroes" was used to refer to African American, reflecting the cultural norm at the time. Although the term is now considered as discriminatory, we only maintain this original term for a scientific purpose in this dissertation.

male) students had a mixed image of positive and negative for the Japanese by selecting favorable traits such as Intelligent (47.9 %), Industrious (45.7 %), Progressive (25.5 %), etc. and hostile traits such as Shrewd (23.4 %), Sly (21.3 %) and Imitative (18.1 %). The year in which this study was conducted is right before the World War II began so that the political tension must have had been increased between the United States and Japan. In fact, a pre-war Japan-US relationship was not that bad, rather, good in that both countries worked closely for political and commercial development. Yet, only very limited elite persons had privilege to visit each country and have direct contact in the 1930s. Therefore, it is very probable that the students did not know very well about the Japanese and only followed social representations constructed by media, as the authors also pointed out (Katz & Braly, 1933). Considering the lower agreement for these selected traits for the Japanese than the other groups (Katz & Braly, 1933, p. 287), the participant's images were rather vague. In other words, the stereotypes of the Japanese were not strongly shared among the participants.

The study of Katz and Braly (1933) was replicated by two subsequent studies, one by Gilbert (1951), and another by Karlins et al. (1969). These studies provided a good explanation for socio-cultural influences on social stereotypes. The first replicate study, conducted in the early 50s or 18 years after the original one, significantly demonstrated less conformity in the agreement of stereotypes especially on the negative traits attributed to the same ten social groups. There was no remarkable change in the contents of stereotypes or the selected traits in all the groups but fewer participants agreed on these stereotypes compared with the previous study. Gilbert (1951) concluded that this tendency was due to social change in that the students became more hesitated to "make stereotyped generalizations about the character of ethnic groups" (p. 252) than the former generation.

In relation to social stereotypes of the Japanese, we can observe a shift from the favorable ones to the unfavorable ones in the students' selection of the traits. Although the entire number of students who actually evaluated the group of Japanese was decreased (refusal of generalization) as happened for the other groups, only the scores for negative traits such as "Imitative", "Sly" and "Treacherous" were increased compared with the previous study. The trait "Extremely nationalistic" was newly selected by 18 % of the students. As for the positive traits such as "Intelligent" and "Industrious", they were all decreased. The increase of negative stereotypes can be explained by a result of the World War II. During this war, there were a

number of attacks and battles between the United States and Japan, including some terrific incidents such as the Pearl Harbour attack and atomic bombings of *Hiroshima* and *Nagasaki* in Japan. This intense social change by war was associated with the stereotype change (Gilbert, 1951). However, it is noteworthy that the group of another enemy of the same war for the United States, namely Germans[20], maintained positive stereotypes to some degree, also by keeping a high consensus.

The second replicate study (Karlins et al., 1969), held about 37 years after the original study, maintained the same tendency that the participants do not demonstrate explicit supports on stereotyped characteristics towards the members of the target groups. Instead, they assigned new and more diverse stereotypes. This phenomenon seemingly indicates a diminishing of racial prejudice. However, the researchers (Karlins et al., 1969) claim that this does not mean the fading of social stereotypes but re-emergence of it, with replacing the previous stereotypes by the substitute ones. Anti-discrimination social norm also made the students to refrain from expressing their genuine opinion which might show their prejudicial belief and attitude. In sum, social stereotypes are formed in line with the perceivers' adherence to the social norms. This implies that methodologically a mere examination of stereotype content about certain social group is not sufficient to understand the real issues associated with stereotypes such as discrimination and prejudice.

As for the stereotype of the Japanese in this replicate study (Karlins et al., 1969), a slight recovery of good images "Industrious" (57 %), "Intelligent" (20 %) and "Progressive" (17 %) was observed. In addition, some negative traits such as "Sly" (3 %) and "Treacherous" (1 %) dramatically diminished although "Extremely nationalistic" remained with a slightly increased percentage (21 %). By this change, the strong hostilities caused by the World War II were seemingly diminished. Instead, a new aspect of Japan appeared to be focused. In the 60s, as have seen in the previous chapter, Japan was trying hard to recover from the damage and confusion caused by the war so that a rapid industrial and economic growth was driven. At the same time, the government encouraged the internationalization of the enterprises, too. Therefore, social stereotypes of the Japanese at that time were also affected by such development of the country, indicating the emergence of some new traits such as "Ambitious", "Efficient" and

[20] Considering the history of immigration of the German to America, the perceived cultural proximity between German and American might be associated with this result.

"Courteous". However, with the continuation of the students' reluctance to generalize the characteristics of certain national groups and explicitly reveal personal opinions on the stereotypes in the survey questions, it became difficult to analyze social stereotypes by mere interpretation of the stereotype contents. Therefore, in stereotype study, there is a need for paying more attention to the context in a "process rather than content" based manner.

It is also notable that there are other subsequent studies following the basic idea and method constructed by Princeton Trilogy, for example, with other ethnic groups' participation (Maykovich, 1971) and the addition of new attributes to the original 84 attributes (Madon et al., 2001). Having looked at these studies, we can recognize that context is a very important factor. For example, the Japanese participants in Maykovich's study were Japanese Americans, to be exact. To study about the stereotypes of the group of Japanese Americans in American society is very specific context. Therefore, it is important to know historical and cultural background very carefully for the context in question. Obviously, we cannot generalize the findings obtained from a particular study for the other Japanese groups in the other contexts in a different period of time. Bearing this in mind, in the next section, we will focus on another contextually specific study of social stereotypes of the Japanese.

3.2.2. Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) context in Asian region

As pointed out by the arguments in the previous sections, it is important to consider the context specific for each case when we study about social stereotypes. In the present study, one of our motives is to examine how Japanese language learners in Portugal imagine about Japan and think of the Japanese and to identify what are the influential factors for their formation of social stereotypes. Therefore, as stated before, we are interested in "Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL)" context in terms of social stereotypes of the Japanese. In this section, we would like to review and discuss some previous studies in the same context. It looks more common to use the term "images" instead of "stereotypes" in the studies of this particular context. Although there is no clear explanation for this tendency, we assume that there are few studies in which the theories of stereotypes are rigorously integrated either in methodology or in analysis. In addition, the term "stereotypes" might be considered rather negative images than positive images and the researchers in JFL education may want to avoid the usage of negative term for some reasons. Alternatively, it might be only a custom. In any way, conceptually, we believe there is no

distinction between these two terms. However, for convenience, we will keep using the term "images" as used in the original works when we need to refer to it in this section. It does not exclude our social psychological perspective for discussion.

To begin with, we must notice that there are more studies on the images of Japan and the Japanese in East Asian context, especially in relation to South Korea and China, in comparison to the other regions in the world. This tendency must be due to the large number of JFL students in these countries and a political tension between Japan and these countries. Some of the current conflicts include post-war compensations and territorial disputes. As we have acknowledged in Chapter II, the Japanese government has been giving an effort to improve the international relations especially in East and South East Asian regions where the countries that Japan invaded during World War II are concentrated. An enhancement of national images among the local people has been one of the important missions in Japanese cultural diplomacy, too. Japanese language education has been deeply involved with Japan's post-war cultural diplomacy since the site of JFL education simply means the place where it is efficiently possible to find the target foreigners who are favorably interested in Japan or already involved with cultural, commercial and other social activities associated with Japan. Moreover, according to the governmental world-wide survey (see Chapter IV, section 4.4.2.), the number of JFL students both in and outside Japan has been significantly increasing in recent years. This background made the JFL teachers and researchers of Japanese Studies get interested in studying students' motivation and attitudes in terms of Japanese language as well as their thoughts or images on Japanese culture. In the following section, we would like to review some previous studies that examined the images of Japan and the Japanese constructed among the JFL students. As have seen in the previous chapter, one of the reasons for the increase of JFL students is allegedly associated with the popularity of Japanese pop-culture which is now widely accessible through digital media. Therefore, some surveys are concentrated on examining the relations among the images, language education, and media sources from which the students retrieve information about Japanese cultures.

Oh (2008) claims that the purposes of existing studies were intended for the improvement of the international relations so that these studies focused only on the simple dichotomy like how favorable or not favorable the opponent country is. Oh (2008) studied not only the detailed images of the Japanese (content of stereotype) held among Korean university

students in South Korea but also the factors which formed those images. He conducted a questionnaire survey to 527 students, both JFL students (368 students) and non-JFL students (159 students) in three major Korean universities in 2006. The author examined the free description starting with "The Japanese are" written by the participants and constructed 23 categories. According to the results, the top four categories of JFL students comprise "there are two sides in their mind/they don't show what they really think" (50.3 %), "kind/generous" (38.8 %), "open/easygoing" (23.2 %) and "polite/valorize the politeness" (20.1 %). Considering the mixture of positive and negative images within the 23 categories, Oh (2008) claims that it is not appropriate to examine simply whether or not the JFL Korean students are favorable to the Japanese. Although free descriptions give detailed images, this method does not allow the measurement of the variability of those images.

Four major factors for the formation of the images were reported as: 1) Japanese TV series and *anime* including *manga*, 2) Korean TV news programs about Japan and education until high school, 3) direct experiences such as interaction with Japanese friends and visiting experiences and 4) lectures about Japanese language and Japan. It was revealed that the relatively positive images such as "open/easygoing" and "creative" were strongly associated with *anime* (as an information source) from the first factor, while the negative images such as "sly", "distorting history/do not reflect the past" and "cruel/militant/violent" were associated with the domestic media and education (the second factor). From this, we can acknowledge the elements to take into account, such as the types of information sources (e.g. audio-visual cultural products, mass media, persons, school education, etc.) and "whom and where" those information are from (e.g. single person or a group, Korean or Japanese, etc.).

The images that were formed by non-JFL students share the same 23 categories but in the almost half categories (10 categories) there were significant numerical differences. The top five images that the percentage of non-JFL students surpassed the JFL students were the following ones: "sly", "selfish", "simple", "distorting history/do not reflect the past" and "cruel/militant/violent", most of which can be considered negative images. Oh (2008) points out that the formation of such negative images is possibly influenced by the non-JFL students' high dependence on Korean TV news programs and school education, which allegedly provide biased information about Japan. Indeed, these two items were selected as top two sources for information retrieval and factors for image formation by non-JFL students.

Oh (2008) also found out that the levels of competence of Japanese language within the JFL students give significant differences for the images. According to his analysis, the JFL students who have a high level of competence in Japanese language tend to have the images related with interpersonal relationship (whether positive or negative), while the students who have a low competence have the images associated with the country (mostly negative). Oh (2008) claims that the improvement of Japanese language skills contributes to enhance the interactions with the Japanese (direct contact) and increase the options of media sources from which they can retrieve information from various perspectives. Therefore, he concludes that the success of Japanese language acquisition is one of the factors that can change the (negative) stereotypes which are allegedly induced by Korean media and education. However, considering the stereotypes associated with the interpersonal relationship are not necessarily all positive (i.e. "they don't show what they really think"), direct contact seems not always to contribute to positive social stereotype. We may be able to interpret this result in light of direct contact hypothesis from social psychology.

Briefly speaking, direct contact hypothesis started from the idea in which Allport (1954) suggested a possibility of stereotype change by contact, stating that:

> Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups (p. 281).

The subsequent empirical studies attempted to examine which disconfirming information could change stereotypes (e.g. Hewstone, 1989, as cited in Oakes et al., 1994). Then, disconfirmation was considered to produce positive belief change for individual participants but no comparable change in stereotypes (Oakes et al., 1994, pp. 73–74). Therefore, it is claimed that social stereotypes are seldom changed by interpersonal contact between the members of ingroup and outgroup. This means that stereotype change is dependent of intergroup relations' change.

In the strict sense, the assumptions in Allport's direct contact may differ from the ones in the JFL context. However, it is be possible to say that there is an indication that the high competent JFL students, hence, with more contact with the Japanese, concentrate on personal characteristics in their evaluation than the characteristics derived from national images so that the probability of reducing the prejudice might have be enhanced. Moreover, even if the students

identified with disconfirming information on some stereotyped characteristics, they may not have changed well-agreed old social stereotypes of the Japanese.

Another study (Ohe, 2012) examined how the images would change before and after the South Korean JFL students studied in Japan. Ohe implemented 40 categories of images referring to the previous studies including Oh (2008) and divided them into three sub-categories such as positive (19 categories), negative (15 categories) and neutral (5 categories). The participants consist of two groups, Korean JFL students studying in South Korea (*N*=97) and in Japan (*N*=65).

The results revealed that the JFL students in Japan increased the negative images after they started studying in Japan. Their top four images before the visit to Japan were "colonial occupation" (12.2 %), "developed country" (11.4 %), "kind" (8.6 %) and "economic super-power" (8.1 %) while after the visit were "two-sided" (10.3 %), "individualistic" (10.1 %), "well-organized" (9.8 %) and "expressing ambiguously" (7.8 %). As we can see, pre-defined categories are a mixture of the characteristics about the country and Japanese people. Then, we can recognize that their images shifted from Japan to the Japanese after their staying in Japan. This tendency corroborates the results of the study of Oh (2008), indicating that the direct contact with the Japanese made the participants' images more related to the interpersonal relationships so that the images are less affected by the anti-Japanese policy controlled by the Korean government. Although Ohe (2012) found out that the negative images have increased by the JFL students in Japan after their visit to Japan, the total percentage of positive and neutral categories are higher than the ones of the JFL students in South Korea group. Along with the results of the study of Oh (2008), these findings suggest that the direct contact and living experiences including a work experience as a part-time worker in Japanese society can be the factors for the participants to reconstruct their images of Japan and the Japanese, either in positive or negative ways.

Not only these two studies but the other image studies conducted in South Korean context demonstrated the similar tendency, which is characterized by the existence of "ambivalent" feeling of the participants towards the Japanese people (e.g. Iwai et al., 2008, Kagami et al., 2008, as cited in Ohe, 2012).

Kagami et al. (2014) performed interviews with 14 Korean current and former JFL students in order to understand their images of Japan in details and reveal how the ambivalent

feeling was formed. Those who have a high level in Japanese language skills[21] participated in this study. The average learning time is four years and 11 out of 14 participants have been to Japan before the interview. The participants are all in their twenties in their ages. Those experienced ex- and present JFL students have relatively positive images, showing their understanding about political and social issues between two countries. The authors (Kagami et al., 2014) point out that a high Japanese language ability, living experiences, and deep interaction with Japanese people are assumed to be the major factors for the formation of positive images. We should bear in mind that the interviews were conducted by the Japanese researchers so that the participants had hesitation to say negative images to them.

The image most mentioned by the participants was "richness in pop-culture". From their interviews, the authors understood that the participants had positive images through Japanese pop-culture such as *anime* that they enjoyed in their childhood. Then, they learnt the political problems between two countries in history through school education, which made them recognize the gap between the perceptions about history from South Korean side and Japanese side. Therefore, they feel a necessity to hide their favorable attitudes towards Japan in their own country. One participant said that people would feel hesitation to say "I like Japan" in public but instead many people might have to say "I would like to beat Japan" or "I will learn Japanese language and get over Japan". It might be true that they really have both feeling favorable and unfavorable. However, this kind of substitution of completely opposite opinion might also be the cause for the ambivalent feelings that Korean JFL students showed in the survey.

In China, Li (2006) did a study about the images of the Japanese formed by Chinese university students (N=339), focusing on the influence of media use. This study was not specifically conducted for JFL students but for the students who belong to various departments in five universities in Beijing. The ethnical diversity in China was also considered so that the survey was done in different regions. The study used semantic differential method of 40 pairs of adjectives by seven scales. The data was submitted to factor analysis and drew 8 factors such as "Diligence", "Sincerity", "Sociability", "Innovativeness" and so on. The major positive images include "hardworking", "disciplined", "diligent" and "clean" while the negative images include "narrow-minded", "militant", "stressful" and "gender inequality".

[21] According to Kagami et al. (2014), within the participants, 13 out of 14 participants are JLPT N1 holders. JLPT refers to Japanese Language Proficiency Test, an official Japanese language test administered by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan. There are five levels and N1 is the highest level.

The media sources for image formation highly selected were “Japanese animation” (79.1 %), “Chinese newspapers” (67.3 %), “Japanese *manga* (visual novels)” (63.4 %), “Japanese films” (61.7 %) and so on. Li (2006) argues that Chinese media is controlled by the Communist Party yet recently more and more foreign media are available so that the results reflect the diversification of media use in China. As for *anime* viewing, the study also found a positive correlation with the factor “Sincerity” and a negative correlation with the factor “Ethnicity”. However, the author could not explain why Japanese animation is correlated with those factors from this survey method and insisted of the necessity of a qualitative study to further investigate it. It was also revealed that Japanese pop-culture such as Japanese music, fashion and entertainment significantly contributed to the favorable image of the Japanese.

As has stated above, nowadays not few Japanese media sources are available in China and the study showed that these media sources have significant correlation with the following four factors: “Sincerity”, “Openness”, “Avant-garde” and “Ethnicity”. Yet, there are some factors which were not significantly affected by the media information, namely, “Diligence” and “Innovativeness”. When we look at the average point out of seven scales for these factors, most of the adjectives categorized in the factor “Diligence” such as “serious”, “hard-working”, “patient”, “rich”, etc. have fairly strong agreement. On the other hand, the factor “Innovativeness” does not have any strong agreement with either of the two adjective pairs: “creative-imitative” and “merit system-seniority system”. From this, it may be possible to interpret that “Diligence” is socially shared stereotype with a high consensus. For the other images, there probably needs to be more qualitative research.

Another study for Chinese university students was executed by Xia (2010). In his study, JFL students (N=434, from the first year to the fourth year in the undergraduate course) in three universities in Beijing and the surrounding province were the target participants. One of the objectives of the study was to examine the relations between images of the Japanese and the motivation for Japanese language learning. Following the previous studies, the semantic differential method with seven scales evaluation for 44 pairs of adjectives was taken. By factor analysis, seven factors were identified such as “Openness”, “Kindness”, “Diligence”, “Generosity”, “Innovativeness” and “Intimate human relationship”. Among these factors, “Diligence” was most highly evaluated (averaged score = 5.89), followed by “Innovativeness” (4.51) and “Kindness” (4.37). Meanwhile, “Openness” was lowest evaluated (3.16). “Diligence”

was scored almost evenly (and highly) by all the students without any difference among the years in the universities, while the images of "Openness" and "Innovativeness" were lowered by the students in the upper years. Again, this result implies that diligence is one of the stereotypes of the Japanese that the Chinese students commonly share. Overall, the third year students had most negative images of the Japanese. Considering motivational variables in relation to Japanese language learning, it is found out that the positive stereotypes were enhanced by "the existence of someone who is related to Japan (e.g. Japanese friends, family in Japan, etc.)" and the "longing for Japan" feeling. "Longing for Japan" appeared to be derived from the participants' interest in Japanese pop-culture. The similar results were also obtained in the other studies (e.g. Osaka, 2014). Xia (2010) concludes that the interaction with the Japanese and Japanese pop-culture is the major factor that can contribute to a favorable evaluation for the Japanese. Those who have a higher communication skill in Japanese language have advantage for these reasons. However, some results that the upper year students (the third and the forth) who usually have higher linguistic skills showed more unfavorable evaluation than the lower year students contradict this conclusion. This discrepancy, as have seen in the other studies, may be caused by the direct contact with the Japanese that usually provokes variability in the students' evaluation.

Having looked at these studies above and considered other similar studies executed in Asian context (Li, 2006; Uchida, 2013; Zhang, 2013), we can recognize several issues in common. The first point is the focus of these studies centers in discovering the content of the images (stereotypes). It is valuable to identify that the common stereotype about the Japanese which Korean and Chinese students have is "diligence" although an ambivalent feeling was identified, too. Due to methodological limitation, variability of the stereotypes is hardly taken into account in analysis. In our empirical study, we would like to include this aspect in the measurement. The second issue is the intensive historical and political relations between Japan and the target countries, which we can consider as a contextual variable for the particular intergroup relations in Asian region. Especially, a discrepancy in interpretation of the international history and several issues related with the World War II among these countries have been constantly provoking political conflicts, which are sometimes very serious. The alleged media control and its undeniable influence must be considered for the analysis of the images toward Japan and the Japanese. On the other hand, new cultural texts such as Japanese *anime* and

manga showed a significant relation with the students' images. Some studies positively concluded the effect of Japanese pop-culture as one of the factors for the improvement of the images. However, there may be room to examine in more detail the relations between the recent phenomenal popularity of Japanese pop-culture among the JFL students and their social stereotypes of the Japanese, especially by considering the cultural contexts other than Asian.

3.2.3. European JFL context

There are not as many studies about the stereotypes of the Japanese in European context as in Asian context due probably to the geographical and political distance between Japan and European countries. However, recent transnational flow of Japanese pop-culture in Europe and the increase of Japanese language learners have made researchers interested in the studies related to this phenomenon especially in JFL context.

Japanese researchers from France and the UK in 2012 started a joint-project to study about the images of the Japanese and Japan constructed among the French and British university students who enrolled in the undergraduate course in Japanese Studies (Iwasaki, 2013; Suzuki, 2013). Their interest is to examine how the students' images of the Japanese, Japan and Japanese language before, during and after studying in Japan changed or not changed. Iwasaki (2013), one of the project researchers, conducted a semi-structured interview with eight participants from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The participants were first asked to write down three words that they imagine when they heard the words "the Japanese", "Japan" and "Japanese language" (free word association). Then, in the interview they were asked to answer the reasons why they chose the words as well as other questions such as their motivation for studying Japanese, their thoughts on Japanese way of communication and so on.

As for the results, the words commonly appeared both before and after studying in Japan were "polite" and "kind". Note that six out of eight participants had an experience of visiting Japan before participating in this survey. Therefore, "before studying in Japan" does not genuinely mean that all the participants had never been to Japan. The author commented that some images might have maintained because of this previous visiting experience. Nevertheless, after coming back from Japan, the participants added more images such as "reserved", "guarded", "diligent", "extremely conscientious", "serious", etc. This tendency of diversification

of the images corroborates with the studies in Asian context. For the country's image, some participants felt Japan had a closed society. In the interview, the participants claimed that in Japan foreigners are difficult to be integrated into Japanese society because they are "*gaijin*" (Japanese term for "foreigner". It is often associated with negative image). The image "polite" was slightly shifted to contain the meaning of "reserved", and a close examination reveals that it means "they don't say what they really feel" attitude, which gives rather negative image. The increase of negative images was also seen from Korean students after their visit to Japan. However, European students' perception seems to be more associated with their experience of discrimination received from Japanese people in Japan. In other words, these European students felt that they were discriminated by Japanese people with their closed ("polite") attitude. According to Iwasaki (2013)'s analysis, however, some participants rather enjoyed such feeling of cultural distance between the Japanese and themselves, leading their motivation to learn more about Japan. For her conclusion, Iwasaki (2013) took into account the plurilingual and pluricultural environment that European students are familiar with so that the participants had ability to consider the cultural difference as a chance to change their images towards the Japanese.

Having seen her study, we need to acknowledge some specific issues in European context in comparison to Asian context. Firstly, most of the European countries, including Portugal, have relatively friendly relationship with Japan at political level. This situation might contribute to favorable intergroup relations which provide positive social stereotypes. Indeed, the positive stereotypes are identified in Iwasaki's study (i.e. "polite", "kind", etc.) but they are almost identical to the ones in Asian context. However, in European context there is almost no negative stereotype before the participants' visit to Japan. In Asian context, it appears that direct contact reduces some negative stereotypes but in European context the effect might be opposite. It is hard to examine the reasons for this tendency in more detail from limited consequences from those above studies. However, taking into account the arguments derived from the previous studies (e.g. Gilbert, 1951; Karlins et al., 1969), one explanation could be the participants' adoption of stereotypes of the Japanese and reluctance to express explicit negative stereotypes before knowing well about the Japanese. We will need to examine more carefully how positive social stereotypes are characterized in European JFL context (without direct contact) in our study.

Secondly, the experience of discrimination in Japan is mentioned in Iwasaki's study. Although her study does not examine this issue in more detail, it suggests us a necessity of integrating ideological context for analysis. As discussed in the first chapter, in Cultural Studies, West and East dichotomy and power relations of "dominant" and "dominated" are important issues when we study about intercultural representations and our study fits in to this domain. Hinton (2019) also argues the importance of power structures of society, associating the concept of Othering with stereotyping as follows:

> The traditional psychological focus on stereotyping in the cognition of the individual has tended to ignore the power relationships, the sociocultural, historical and political construction of difference, which the concept of Othering does not do. Othering involves ideology (Holliday, 2010; Pickering, 2001) – an ideology of difference – and hence may offer a better understanding of the role of 'stereotypes' in discourse, in the ideological construction of social meaning in communication, and in the power structures of society, than a focus on individual cognition (p. 160).

This kind of ideological perspective is often missing in the study of images in European JFL context, too. We would like to focus on this matter in our qualitative study. In this way, we can see the importance of conducting both quantitative and qualitative studies for social stereotypes in order to provide better explanations.

3.3. Social representations

In general, social stereotypes focus on socially shared representations about certain human groups that can be formed by various social categorizations, involving relevant cultural context, social norms and intergroup relations. In Social Representation Theory (SRT) first posited by Serge Moscovici (Moscovici, 1981, 1988), the focus is not limited to human groups but extended to a social phenomenon or object that constructs social reality within a certain social group. Therefore, social representations in SRT may refer to a system of values, ideas and practices that establishes an order by which individuals can orient themselves in their material and social world and make communication possible by providing a code for social exchange, with naming and classifying the various aspects of their world (Wagner, 2011; Wagner et al., 1999)

Departed from the concept of collective representation asserted by Émile Durkheim, Moscovici developed the theory considering the dynamics of representations that occur in societies. In Durkheim's conception, collective representations are separated from individual consciousness and action and assume fixed and homogeneous ideas shared by all the members of the society, which might rule the community's social structure for generations (Moliner &

Bovina, 2020; Rateau et al., 2011). According to Moliner and Boavina (2020), Moscovici proposed SRT to elaborate such static representations by providing two functions. The first is to consider that "representations are not the products of society as a whole, but rather the products of the social groups making up that society" (Moliner & Bovina, 2020, p. 544). By this conception, the dynamics of changeable society subject to the variability and plurality of social cognitions of the individuals who live their daily lives of the age can be captured (Höijer, 2011). It is also possible to think that there are different social representations of the same object within a given society.

The second function is the emphasis on "the communication processes, which are believed to explain the emergence and transmission of social representations" (Moliner & Bovina, 2020, p. 544). On one hand, social representation can be regarded as the collective thoughts and feelings expressed through human and media communication which may constitute an object or phenomenon for a social group. On the other hand, such object or phenomenon can change the collective thinking in society. This reciprocal interaction and influence between individual and society through communication is underlined in SRT. In particular, the emergence of a new concept, phenomenon, person, event or object that had not been existed in a given society is considered an essential point. These new or unknown objects have to be understood and represented in that particular society's "language". Otherwise, the unknown remains a threat for the members of the society. As Moscovici (2001) claims, "the purpose of all representations is to make something unfamiliar, or unfamiliarity itself, familiar" (p. 37). It is supposed that the members of a community share a pre-existing belief, virtue and norm, by which a particular style of communication may be established to represent the novelties (Wagner, 2011). Therefore, it is pointed out that in social representation research, people's talks and actions that are related to a social phenomenon or object is carefully observed. Not only that, the way people attribute features and meanings to an object and the process of becoming a part of their social world are also investigated (Wagner et al., 1999). In the present study, we also take this concept of social representations for our analytical basis.

According to Moscovici, there are two mechanisms in the process of communicating and conventionalizing the unfamiliar object, person or event, that are namely anchoring and objectification. Anchoring refers to familiarization of a new object by relating to a pre-exiting, similar and well-known object in a given social group. The new object may be labeled with a

familiar name and classified to an existing category or domain so that the members of the group are able to imagine, talk and develop further their representation on that object. This system of social representation, which involves socio-cognitive processes such as interpretation, categorization and denotation, may depend largely on each social group or social identity of the group. Conversely, as Wagner et al. (1999) states, "social identity is a direct consequence of representations being shared in a social group" (p. 98). As Höijer (2011) points out, it is also important to note that "individuals and groups can rework and transform collective cognitions" (p. 6) by assessing the past and memory, which results in discursive elaboration of a meaning system shared in the group.

Objectification is a mechanism in that the unfamiliar object becomes something concrete or the very essence of reality in society. According to Moscovici, objectification requires more conscious and active processes than anchoring that normally occurs almost automatically. Making the unknown turned to be common sense may need evidence, materialization of abstract idea and transformation into a reference frame. It is important to bear in mind that social representation resulted by objectification cannot be judged whether it is correct or accurate but is determined by "the group's experimental world and the negotiated consensus of the group members" (Wagner et al., 1999, p. 97).

In general, SRT is regarded one of the major concepts in social psychology. However, because of the above conceptualization, which underlines its flexibility, it is noteworthy that SRT has been adapted and applied as a theoretical and analytical tool to the other disciplines of social sciences along with a variety of methodological choices (Wagner et al., 1999). A vast range of themes include racism (e.g. Vala, 2013), migrations and social memory (Cabecinhas, 2015; Cabecinhas & Brasil, 2019), social media use (Lu et al., 2016) among many others. In relation to representations of Japanese objects, there are some relevant studies in recent media research, such as German social representations of the Fukushima nuclear accident caused by a huge earthquake and tsunami disaster in 2011 (Upham et al., 2020) and British media representations of Japanese popular culture (Hinton, 2014).

PART II

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

Chapter IV – Research questions and methods

The main objective of the current study is to analyze how Portuguese students perceive Japanese culture and construct social representations of Japan and the Japanese. In order to approach our principal research problem, we have constructed theoretical framework and contextualized our study in Part I. By doing so, we have drawn major questions that will have to be examined in our empirical studies. In this chapter, we would like to state our research questions and the methods taken for the empirical investigation. We will discuss how we combine quantitative and qualitative studies to focus on the research questions from different dimensions. The first section of this chapter is dedicated to articulate the theoretical arguments developed in the previous three chapters in Part I with the problem statements, which we hope will justify our research questions.

4.1. Articulation

The last three chapters were dedicated to develop a theoretical framework in order to contextualize our present study. In Chapter I, we first briefly reviewed the meaning of cultures, identities and Orientalism (Said, 1978), which are important issues and concepts in Cultural Studies. Especially, it was identified that Orientalism is a very powerful concept that researchers should take into account for investigating intercultural issues between West and East. We also acknowledged that Orientalism has been argued in relation to Japan from different perspectives such as Techno-Orientalism (Morley & Robins, 2002), Self-Orientalism (Abe, 2001) and innocent Orientalism (Oguma, 2017). To our knowledge, these notions of Orientalism on Japan have been hardly integrated into the empirical studies in the scope of Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) context, with which our study is also associated.

Representations is also another important issue from Cultural Studies. In Chapter I, we have discussed how Japan, the Japanese or Japanese cultures have been represented particularly in audio-visual media products such as Japanese films and animation. By doing so, we have acknowledged various associated issued such as encoding-decoding model (Hall, 2003), audience and reception studies (Ang, 1989; Morley, 1992), Self-Orientalism in Japanese films, reality construction in *anime* (Nelmes, 2004), perception of "Japaneseness" in *anime* (Napier,

2016) and so on. First of all, it is important to bear in mind that representations involve encoding and decoding process (Hall, 2003) so that there may be a discrepancy between the intension of the producer and the reception of the audience. In some studies of Japanese films, it was pointed out that Western scholars have focused on examining how Japanese films are "different" from Western conventions and cultures so that Orientalized Japan has been emphasized (Davis, 1996). This tendency was then taken advantage of by some Japanese film directors such as Takeshi Kitano who shifted his film making for aiming at attracting Western audiences (Davis, 2001). Thus, self-Orientalism (c.f. Said, 1978) has come to be involved in Japanese film representation, which may influence the viewers' image construction about Japan.

On the other hand, Japanese animation is characterized with its flexible representation. Practically, there is no physical restriction in expressions and movements of the characters and sceneries, unlike live action films. In some studies about representation of Japan or "Japaneseness" in *anime* in Film Studies or *Anime* Studies, (e.g. Napier, 2016), it was argued that one of the unique styles of *anime* representation was "statelessness" or in other words Japaneseness was intentionally erased. However, the issue of how the viewers actually perceive *anime* and what social representations of Japan and the Japanese they construct through *anime* has been scarcely studied. Considering the distinctive art form of *anime* and recent transnational circulation of *anime*, it will be meaningful to involve *anime* as an object of study. More precisely, we would like to use it for the topic of focus group in our empirical study.

In Chapter II, we have focused on the development of post-war Japanese Studies. According to Japanese scholars' perspective, Japan was an exotic and mysterious country that had to be explained well to the Westerners in the early 20th century (Aoki, 2013; Sugimoto, 2014). Induced by World War II and the subsequent post-war economic growth of Japan, many *Nihonjinron* literatures were published. These *Nihonjinron* books have arguably consolidated the images of Japan as unique and homogeneous society (Sugimoto, 2014). It was also argued that Japan's national identity has been repeatedly re-constructed and oscillated between positive and negative, influenced by the contemporary position of Japan relative to the Western dominant countries, specially, to the USA (Aoki, 2013).

More recently in globalized world, Japan seemingly obtained a new position between Asia and the West, which was possible because of Japan's role as an interpreter of Western cultures to Asia and Japanese cultures to the West. Iwabuchi (2002) argues that Japan's ability of

hybridization of Western and Japanese cultures works for a smooth bidirectional distribution of the cultural objects. However, local reception of such hybridized Japanese culture as well as social representations of Japan through such cultural commodities has been limitedly studied. Especially, European context has been much less concerned than Asian context.

Due to an enhanced transnational flow of Japanese cultural products supported institutionally by Japanese authorities in 2000s, overseas JFL education has also been boosted. Some scholars insist that *anime* is one of the strong motivations for young students to learn Japanese language (Armour & Iida, 2016; Fukunaga, 2006). However, in JFL context, education of Japanese culture has been less carefully treated by policy makers, researchers and actual language teachers. Kubota (2013) and Liddicoat (2007) problematize that Japanese culture "taught" in JFL classes may consolidate essentialized and stereotyped representations of Japanese culture. This problem may not be an exception in Portuguese JFL context. In fact, this fundamental problem of teaching Japanese culture outside Japan by native Japanese teachers was our initial motivation to start the present research.

In order to approach our research problem of how Portuguese students construct the images of Japan and the Japanese in JFL context, our methodological choice was made based on the previous empirical studies used for examining social stereotypes. A literature review of theoretical and empirical studies of social stereotypes from the early 20th century provided us basic knowledge about human cognitive processes related to perception of other social groups and cultural factors. In addition, we have acknowledged that social identity and intergroup relations are also important notions to discuss the images of a particular social group. Besides these relevant theories found in the studies of social stereotypes, we would also like to take into account historical, cultural and ideological reasons that might affect social representations of Japan. Although it is a limited scope to investigate Portuguese JFL students' social stereotypes of the Japanese in Portugal, we hope that contextualization of our investigation and construction of theoretical framework by articulating relevant studies and specific issues may contribute to approach the similar research problems.

From the next section, we will start presenting a methodological strategy for our empirical studies.

4.2. Methodological strategy

The present study was designed by combining quantitative and qualitative studies. This mixed approach is considered beneficial in order to fill the gaps of knowledge developed by taking only one method. Briefly, characteristics of both studies can be summarized as follows.

Quantitative study is aimed at "developing generalisations about the relations between social 'facts' that establish basic connections of cause and effect" (Deacon et al., 2007, p. 4). Methodologically, this kind of study is characterized by predetermined experimental settings that researchers can control and statistical techniques that can process numerical data collected by experiments and surveys (e.g. questionnaire). It is a strong approach in testing and verifying hypotheses or theories, identifying and relating variables in questions, generating unbiased results, and so on (Creswell, 2014, pp. 18–19).

On the other hand, qualitative approach is aimed at seeking for the meanings of individual experiences or socially and historically constructed meanings (Creswell, 2014, p. 18). In this respect, by referring to the idea of Marshall and Rossman (2006), Creswell indicates four types of qualitative research questions: "exploratory (e.g., to investigate phenomenon little understood), explanatory (e.g., to explain patterns related to phenomenon), descriptive (e.g., to describe the phenomenon), and emancipatory (e.g., to engage in social action about the phenomenon)" (2013, p. 107). The outcome of such qualitative investigation could be a development of theory or patterns of a certain phenomenon. Methodologically, advocacy and participatory studies such as ethnography, grounded theory and case study are applicable. In this type of studies, researchers tend to set open-ended questions and apply interpretative analysis to the collected data. Data types of qualitative studies are various, such as texts, images, videos, among others.

A mixed methods approach benefits a combination of these features of quantitative and qualitative approaches illustrated above. A strategy of investigation or project plan which involves both quantitative and qualitative data collection depends largely on individual research problem. Therefore, a mixed method is characterized as "consequence-oriented, problem-centered, and pluralistic" (Creswell, 2014, p. 18). In order to approach research problems, it is possible to use open-ended and closed-ended questions either simultaneously or sequentially (Brannen, 2017; Bryman, 2003; Creswell, 2014). A simultaneous use will provide a general picture for the question, and validate the conclusions by mutual confirmation. As a consequence of sequential

use, quantitative research can facilitate qualitative research by providing background information on the context, the participants or a source of hypotheses while qualitative research can facilitate quantitative research by providing detailed information or explanations for the relationship of the variables.

As stated in the beginning, our study takes a mixed methods approach, by conducting a questionnaire survey first and then focus group interviews. This sequential strategy was chosen by taking advantage of the merits stated above, that is to say, 1) by a questionnaire survey, we would like to present a general picture of Portuguese students' social representations of Japan and the Japanese. As we conduct this survey in JFL context, the results may reveal similarities/differences in comparison to the findings derived from the previous studies in Asian context. Moreover, we will be able to identify and confirm key problems that must be further investigated in focus group; 2) after acknowledging vaguely examined issues by the quantitative study, our subsequent qualitative study aims at providing the explanations in more detail and meanings to the results obtained from the questionnaire survey. At the same time, by setting our mind free from predetermined objectives and questions, we will seek for the themes, topics or objects significant and relevant for the context of our study from the data collected from focus group by Thematic Analysis. This simultaneous approach surely ensures and enriches our descriptions about the findings and conclusive reflection. In order to extract and construct such themes, we bear in mind that the knowledges supported by theories and concepts employed in this study will contribute to our organization of thoughts, and furthermore consolidate the relevancy of the themes to be focused.

Another concept which supports multiple strategies to approach research problems is "triangulation" (Denzin, 1970/2017). In this concept, it is encouraged to utilize not only different methodologies but also multiple data types, investigators and theories (Denzin, 2017; Flick, 2008, 2014; Flick et al., 2004). Apart from our employment of two methodologies discussed above, triangulation of theories is also respected in the present study. According to Flick, the utility and exercise of various theoretical points of view for analyzing data is "to extend the possibilities for producing knowledge" (2014, p. 444). This perspective might be very familiar among the researchers in Cultural Studies. We have also been trying to articulate multiple theories and concepts throughout the current study, for generating research questions as well as choosing methods for data collection and data analysis.

4.3. Research questions

Through shaping theoretical and methodological articulation, our abstract research problem set in the beginning of the study has been transformed to more concrete research questions. We will present three principal research questions as follows.

Q1: What are the social representations of Japan among Portuguese students? [Study 1]

To our knowledge, there is no study about social representations of Japan with a considerable number of participants in Portugal so that it will be, first of all, important to understand what images the Portuguese students construct about Japan. As we will explain in more detail later, a questionnaire survey will be performed for approaching this question. In order to analyze from various perspectives, a questionnaire will include different types of questions (e.g. free word association, Likert scale ascription, etc.). In this study, our interest is placed especially in examining if there are any specific characteristics in European context, compared with the previous studies about the images of Japan, in which Asian context is a major focus. A comparison between the JFL group and the non-JFL group will also be examined.

Q2: What are the social stereotypes shared among Portuguese students? [Study 2]

In the same questionnaire survey in Study 1, some questions related to the participants' images of the Japanese are included. Portuguese social stereotypes of the Japanese have also been scarcely studied scientifically so that it will be useful to take a simple but powerful statistical analysis for revealing a general tendency as well as some details in Study 2. From these data analysis, we will be able to get not only descriptive statistics but also several examinations of significant relations between the images and, for instance, the information sources that might have influenced the participants' image formation. Among various numerical measurements, we would especially like to focus on variability in social stereotypes that was merely focused in the previous studies in JFL context. Same as Study 1, a comparative study will be conducted between two groups. Although both groups do not represent the entire Portuguese population statistically and contextually, it may be possible to consider that the non-JFL group members are close to lay Portuguese who do not actively have contact with Japanese culture in particular.

Q3: Through a transnational cultural object, *anime*, how do Portuguese students represent Japan and the Japanese? [Study 3]

This question was set based on our articulation of the following three factors. First, recently very popular Japanese cultural product, *anime*, is deeply associated with JFL students, for instance, as one of the strong motivation for studying Japanese, as evidenced in some previous studies (e.g. Fukunaga, 2006). Therefore, it is plausible to use *anime* as an object to talk about. Therefore, our analysis is not aiming at understanding what the participants think about *anime* but how they talk about Japan and the Japanese through the cultural object that connects them with the target country and people. Secondly, as this question will be examined by qualitative method, that is, focus group discussion, it is expected to give more explanations to the results obtained in Study 1 and 2 from the quantitative survey. Thirdly, the qualitative method will surely provide flexibility to argue our main research problem by articulating 1) the theories identified in Cultural Studies, *Nihonjinron* and Social Psychology, 2) findings from our quantitative study and 3) even new findings from the current study. We will use thematic analysis to derive themes from the focus group discussions. This method is advantageous because it allows us to take inductive approach toward the question. More details of the benefit of this analytical method will be discussed later in this chapter.

4.4. Research methods

As mentioned briefly in the previous section, we have planned to use two research methods, questionnaire survey and focus group. Below, the outline and procedure of these methods, the selection of participants, data analysis strategies and limitations of the present study will be explained.

4.4.1. Methods

In order to answer Question 1 and 2, we use a questionnaire survey. In Question 1 and 2, we examine Portuguese students' social representation of Japan and social stereotypes of the Japanese with two principal variables, namely, JFL students and non-JFL students. The structure of our questionnaire is composed of the questions prepared for the above questions. For convenience for writing the results in the next two chapters, we set two studies (from the same survey) according to the research questions as follows:

[Study 1] Examination of social representations of Japan

[Study 2] Examination of social stereotypes of the Japanese

In order to approach the research questions in the above two studies from various perspectives, different types of questions were combined in a questionnaire such as free word association for the term "Japan", multiple choice out of 20 options for the participants' interest about Japan, free recall of famous Japanese personalities, ascription of 24 descriptions about the Japanese by five Likert Scale and so on.

Although the previous studies (Li, 2006; Oh, 2008; Xia, 2010) considerably provided useful suggestions for the quantitative survey methods, it is very important to implement a questionnaire taking into account the European or Portuguese context. Therefore, we conducted a pilot study about the images of Japan and the Japanese with free description by the participants. This pilot study will be illustrated in more detail in section 4.6.

In Study 3, a qualitative method is designed to approach our research question 3. In this study we have decided to use focus group interviews in which participants are asked to discuss freely about the topics given by a facilitator who hosts, encourages and monitors the participants' discussion. This method was chosen due to its flexibility for organization of the discussion and possibility to discover new explanation for the results obtained from our quantitative study, and fill the gap or unrevealed relations between the variables in the survey data as well as to seek for new answers and explanations relevant for our research problems. To incentivize and motivate the discussion, Japanese animation films will be used as a tool, or a topic to talk. As we argued in Chapter II, Japanese animation (*anime*) is one of the influential cultural products that have been circulating widely and reaching the transnational consumers. Moreover, many JFL students are familiar with *anime,* which would make them easy to talk about Japanese people and cultures. We chose two *anime* films produced by a Japanese *anime* creator, Hayao Miyazaki. More information about the films and a development of guide for mediating discussion and procedures of focus group will be described elsewhere appropriately in this thesis.

4.4.2. Participants

The participants for the present study are Portuguese students in higher education in Portugal. We defined "Portuguese" as those whose mother tongue is Portuguese. Therefore, we will eliminate non-Portuguese native students from analysis. There are two principal groups that

we would particularly like to consider in our studies. One is a group of Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL), whose members are the students who are or were learning Japanese as a foreign language in institutional courses in Portugal. Another is a group of non-JFL, whose members are the students who have never learnt Japanese language but are learning other disciplines in higher education in Portugal. We chose this categorization because the JFL students are forming one of the important social groups outside Japan, in that most of the members tend to be actively involved with interpreting and constructing social representations of Japan. Additionally, to our knowledge, there is no study that analyzes a JFL group in comparison with a non-JFL group in the studies of social stereotypes in a Portuguese context so that our study will hopefully be meaningful to provide a new or complementary explanation to the theories developed by the similar studies from different contexts.

For the data collection from the JFL students, we contacted Japanese JFL teachers who teach in higher education in Portugal through a network of Japanese teachers' association and ask for collaboration. By sending the questionnaire sheets by post, we received 297 responses from five major universities and two institutions in Portugal. For asking collaboration from non-JFL students, we contacted several professors from different departments[22] in University of Minho, Portugal. We handed in the survey sheets to the professors or visited their classes to distribute the questionnaires directly to the students. Thanks to their cooperation, we have received 297 responses, too. According to the survey of the Japan Foundation in 2012, the number of Japanese language learners in Portugal was 436 in total, including non-higher education institutions[23]. Although this survey has limitation and the number may be rather underestimated, we can have an idea that our sample number is satisfactory to represent the JFL group for the quantitative study.

As for a procedure, in most cases, the students were asked to answer the questionnaire in the classes. There are some students who brought the sheet home, filled in at home and then

[22] Due to difficulty of collecting data of non-JFL students from different universities, the survey was performed on the students from different areas of study such as economy, social sciences, human sciences, education, engineering, etc. in the university that the author belongs to.

[23] Briefly, this survey was performed in 128 countries and 8 regions by the Japan Foundation. The same survey is conducted every three years in order to count the number of Japanese learners, Japanese teachers and the institutions which offer the Japanese courses over the world. According to the guideline of the survey, the survey's method is a hearing to the local Japanese teachers by the stuff members of the Foundation's offices. The number of Japanese learners includes those who enroll in the institutional course provided in primary, secondary and higher education. Therefore, the students who learn in short course and private lessons as well as self-learners are not included. In 2012 survey, the total number of Japanese learners was 3,985,669 and since the first survey in 1979 it increased more than 30 times with a constant increase. Of the total number in 2012, 82.5 % of the learners was from Asian countries and 8.8 % was from European countries (for more details, see http://www.jpf.go.jp/e/index.html).

submitted to the teacher. It is notable that JFL students answered questions about Japan and the Japanese in front of their Japanese teachers. A Japanese researcher was present in the classes of non-JFL students during their filling in the questionnaire. This situation may cause some influence on their answers, for instance, responding the questions more in favor of Japan and the Japanese. We need to consider such bias when we analyze data. Regarding the timing of the survey, in order not to have much influence from the Japanese language classes to the JFL participants for their images of the Japanese and Japan, we conducted the survey in the beginning of the academic year or in the initial phase of the beginner level of the language course. This, however, does not mean that long-period learners, for example, more than one year, are excluded from the survey. The period of JFL learning and an experience of direct contact with the Japanese are asked in the survey as they are important variables.

As for the participants of focus group discussion, we asked for volunteers when we conducted the questionnaire survey. Due to a limitation of time and place, we have received the participants only from University of Minho but from different departments. Five groups of the JFL students and two groups of the non-JFL students were organized. All the focus group sessions were conducted after the questionnaire survey. More details about the procedure of focus group will be described in Chapter VII.

4.4.3. Analytical method

For the data collected by a questionnaire survey, we will apply statistical analysis by using a software SPSS (ver. 24 for Windows, IBM). Apart from descriptive statistics, cross tabulation, test of significant correlation of the variables and factor analysis will be performed for examining social stereotypes of the Japanese. Briefly, by factor analysis, it is possible to see if there are any underlying variables, or factors, in a set of large amount of data (Hinton, 2014; Hinton et al., 2014). Factor analysis can summarize data and researchers can find explanations for the data so that this method is specifically called explanatory factor analysis[24] (Hinton et al., 2014). In the case of our study, the question about the images of the Japanese consists of 24 items to score by five-point Likert scale. This means we prepare 24 descriptions about the

[24] Another method is confirmatory factor analysis, by which researchers can confirm the theory that they wanted to examine by collected data. Therefore, the questionnaire for this method is implemented based on the prior beliefs, concepts or theories (Hinton et al., 2014).

characteristics of the Japanese (e.g. "The Japanese are hard-working.[25]") and the participants choose one option among 5 scores (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). These 24 descriptions are extracted from our pilot study (see section 4.6). In this way, we will be able to find out, from these 24 items, what characteristics are salient, what tendency can be seen or what we can explain in relation to social stereotypes of the Japanese. Besides this, as mentioned in the statement of research questions, variability assessment will be done by using standard deviation of the mean of each item's score, which will enable a comparison between the JFL group and the non-JFL group. In the following two chapters (V and VI), we will discuss the results drawn from Study 1 and 2 by taking into account the concepts and previous empirical studies of social stereotypes presented in Chapter III.

For the data collected from focus group, we would like to use Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2013). The data type that we are going to get from focus group is text, which is the transcription of recorded conversations among the participants of each focus group. There exist several useful methods to analyze this type of data corpus such as Critical Discourse Analysis (Dijk, 2001; Leeuwen & Leeuwen, 2008) and Content Analysis (Flick et al., 2004; Krippendorff, 2018). However, we selected Thematic Analysis due to its flexibility to articulate data, theories and our analytical views to bring out the themes that are relevant for explaining what the data represent, fulfilling unanswered questions raised from the quantitative study, generating new findings among others.

Briefly, Thematic Analysis[26] is defined as "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). One of the attractive points of Thematic Analysis is that it allows to identify themes from the data "in an inductive or 'bottom up' way or in a theoretical, deductive or 'top down' way" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 12). By an inductive approach, the researchers can obtain the themes based on the collected data but at times there is little relationship to the actual questions used during the focus group interviews. Furthermore, the themes would not be necessarily driven by either the preconceptions or theoretical frameworks that the researchers have set for the study in advance.

---

[25] Since Portuguese has masculine and feminine nouns, there are both versions of "the Japanese" such "os japoneses" (masculine) and "as japonesas" (feminine) on the questionnaire, and they were used in roughly equal numbers.

[26] As for methodological procedure, there are six steps to do Thematic Analysis: 1. Familiarizing yourself with your data, 2. Generating initial codes, 3. Searching for themes, 4. Reviewing themes, 5. Defining and naming themes, and 6. Producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Researchers are encouraged to go back and forth these steps accordingly so that such recursive process will refine your themes.

Contrary to the inductive analysis, in a theoretical approach the researchers' theoretical interests tend to be more considered during the coding of data. Therefore, the themes may become more descriptive and explicit for supporting the assumptions made for the particular research. In this sense, the inductive analysis requires interpretative work against the data and the researchers need to work on constructing meanings from that interpretation. For this process, as Braun and Clark (2006) admits, researchers cannot completely avoid from their theoretical and epistemological commitments. Rather, it is important for researchers to acknowledge their theoretical positions and values and "the active role the researcher always plays in identifying patterns/themes, selecting which are of interest, and reporting them to the readers" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 7) no matter which approaches are used.

Another point that we would like to draw attention is the existence of three "questions" in Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The first one is research questions or more broadly a research problem that leads the researchers to their own studies. The second is the questions that are actually asked to the participants in focus group interviews. Usually, the guide for focus group is prepared by researchers to facilitate the discussion. Our guide consists of a series of questions about three major topics, that are 1) impression of the film that the participants watched in the beginning of the session; 2) thoughts on *anime* in general and perception of "Japaneseness" in it and 3) *anime* viewing and language learning (see Appendix C for all the questions). The third question involved in Thematic Analysis is the questions that are used when researchers code and analyze the data. This might be a particular question by which the researchers want to examine through the data or a latent theme produced by analyzing the data. Importantly, the authors claim that there is no need to establish a particular and reasonable relationship between these three questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Rather, a disjuncture among them could provide better solutions. In our study, the first question is considered to be a research question specific for Study 3, which is namely "Through a transnational cultural object, *anime*, how do Portuguese students represent Japan and the Japanese?". The second question comprises several questions in our guide for focus group, some of which are, for example, "How do you feel about the portrayal of Japanese people in *anime*?", "Do you feel that you've learned something about Japanese culture by watching *anime*?" and so on. We set these questions not only because we want to know the answers for these questions but also, more importantly, we want to examine "how" they answered for these questions and "how" they developed their

discussion from that question. By examining these points, it will be possible to know their thoughts about Japan and the Japanese. In this sense, focus group adopts an indirect measurement. Then, the third question in our study could be somewhat between a particular one and a latent one. We would like to search for new themes if we encounter repeated patterns of meaning across the data set. At the same time, we always need to bear in mind the theoretical framework presented from Chapter I to III. Especially, our focus will go to Orientalism and power relations between West and East, which we believe is inevitable when we study social representations that involve two cultures from West and East. Another theory that we need to take into account in our coding process is *Nihonjinron*, which was developed principally by Japanese thinkers. Last but not least, the Thematic Analysis in our qualitative study should provide better explanation for the results drawn by our quantitative study, too.

4.5. Limitations and difficulties

Before presenting our pilot study, we would like to identify limitations and difficulties in this study. First of all, as mentioned in the section 4.4.2, the presence of a Japanese researcher during the questionnaire survey and focus group discussion could affect the participants' written answers, oral responses and attitudes, which must be carefully considered in our data analysis. By referring to the relevant theories and previous studies and performing a comparative examination between the JFL and non-JFL groups, we strive to reduce the bias caused by this condition as much as possible.

Another difficulty may be due to the different linguistic background of the researcher and the participants. A principal researcher in this study speaks Japanese as mother tongue, English as the second and Portuguese as the third language. Majority of the participants are native Portuguese speakers. In this kind of situation, according to Seidman (2006), it is ideal to use the language by which interviewers and participants "can most authentically reflect their thinking" (p.88). Therefore, we decided to use Portuguese in focus group discussion as well as in the questionnaire survey. Although the principal investigator's language proficiency in Portuguese is limited, this decision was made in order not to restrict participants from expressing their thoughts and opinions. It was also possible for us to ask native Portuguese speakers to support our study in transcription of the conversation, translation into English and verification of the meanings in three different languages. Not only the semiotic aspects but also the socio-linguistic aspects of

the languages were carefully considered. Although the use of multiple languages in one project seems to be a complex issue, it makes the study unique and distinctive. Indeed, it might be one of the advantageous points in that we were able to examine the literatures of concepts and previous studies developed by both western and eastern researchers in their own languages. We hope and believe that the use of multiple languages is justified enough to make the outcomes fruitful in the context of this study.

4.6. Pilot study

In this section, we will present a pilot study conducted in April and May in 2016 and a development of the questionnaire to be used for Study 1 and 2.

4.6.1. Objectives

Our pilot study was designed to do a preliminary and open study about Portuguese JFL student's perception about Japan and the Japanese. Additionally, we wanted to know how JFL students retrieve information about Japan. By assuming that majority of these students has almost no opportunity to have direct contact with the Japanese except for their Japanese teachers (if they are Japanese), we suppose that information from mass media or cultural products available in digital format may have great influence on their construction of images. Thus, a primary assumption of the relation among their images, cultural consumption and JFL education can be established through this pilot study. The main questionnaire for Study 1 and 2 will be developed based on the results of this study.

Considering the above, more specific objectives of this pilot study can be described as follows:

(1) To find out the Portuguese JFL students' interests about Japan and the sources of information that provide the objects of their interests;

(2) To find out their images of the Japanese and/or Japan as well as the origin of information sources from which they formed those images;

(3) To know about their experience of visiting Japan and direct contact with the Japanese in Portugal;

(4) To know their motivation for studying Japanese language.

4.6.2. Method

In order to implement our pilot study, we made a simple questionnaire to ask the following questions (see Appendix A for the actual questionnaire sheet[27]).

Q1. Have you been to Japan?

Q2. Have you already known any Japanese people except for your Japanese teacher?

Q3. What is your motivation to learn Japanese?

Q4. What are your interests about Japan? How do you get information about your interests?

Q5. Write your images of the Japanese and/or Japan. Write the information sources that you think helped with forming your images.

For the creation of these questions, we referred to several previous studies which also aimed at examining the images held among the JFL or non-JFL students (e.g. Kagami et al., 2014; Li, 2006; Oh, 2008). According to those studies, the images of the Japanese are measured by scaling by points for predetermined items that describe the characteristics of the Japanese. It depends on the studies whether the instruments are taken from other studies or prepared originally. We suppose that the items to be examined in European context should be quite different from Asian context in which most of the previous studies mentioned above were conducted. Therefore, we have decided to construct our own set of items for the main survey, based on the results drawn from the present pilot study.

In order to collect as many free descriptions about the characteristics of Japanese people and the images of Japan as possible, we avoided multiple options in the survey so that all the questions were open-ended and the participants were to answer with their own words. More precisely, the participants were asked to write freely up to five interests about Japan and up to five images of Japan and/or the Japanese. For each answer, they were also asked to write freely the information sources from which they receive the information about their interests, and by which they think that their images were formed respectively.

[27] The original questionnaire sheet is written in Portuguese and most of the answers were also written in Portuguese. In the main text of this thesis, we write these questions and answers in English. Translation was done by the author.

4.6.3. Participants

The participants for this pilot study were 66 students from University of Minho (from the first-year to the third-year students), who were studying Japanese as foreign language at the time of the survey. Detailed information of the participants is summarized in Table 4.1. All of them are Portuguese native speakers. The participants were asked to answer the questionnaire in their Japanese language or culture classes. In all the classes, a native Japanese teacher was present during the survey. This survey was conducted in April and May in 2016.

Table 4.1. Demographics of the pilot study[28]

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Female	20	21	6	47 (71.2%)
Male	7	11	1	19 (28.8%)

4.6.4. Results

(1) Experiences of visiting Japan and direct contact with the Japanese

All the participants had no experience of visiting Japan. Considering a geographical distance (more than 10,000 km; approximately 15 hours-flight trip), Japan is not the country for Portuguese students to visit easily.

Table 4.2 shows the number of students who have already known any Japanese people in Portugal except for their Japanese teachers. To distinguish the first year students who are relatively new in a JFL course and not yet much influenced by the lectures given by Japanese native teachers, we categorized the participants into the first year students and the senior students (the 2nd and the 3rd) for the presentation of the results. While only one fourth of the first year students have already had the Japanese acquaintance, more than 80 % of the senior students already experienced direct contact. One of the principal reasons for this increase in the senior students is an international students' exchange program. Most of the participants claimed that their first meeting with the Japanese was in the university, where they met the Japanese students who came to Portugal to study Portuguese language (Japanese PLE students[29]). From

[28] In the JFL classes where we have conducted our pilot study, there were many more female students than male students, which is reflected in imbalanced data collection in sex category.

[29] PLE refers to "Português Língua Estrangeira" in Portuguese, which means "Portuguese as Foreign Language".

our observation, the number of Japanese exchange students in Portugal is very limited[30]. Those PLE students normally stay in Portugal for one or two semesters. Therefore, the contact time is relatively short for Portuguese students. Nevertheless, JFL students in universities have much easier access to the Japanese since there are not many Japanese residents in Portugal in the first place[31].

We can summarize that Portuguese JFL students have significantly different situation compares with Asian JFL students in terms of the opportunity for direct contact. In this pilot study, there was no student who visited Japan before. Direct contact with the Japanese is restricted to their native Japanese teachers and possibly Japanese PLE students for a short period of time. As we have discussed in Chapter III, direct contact does not necessarily mean to reduce prejudice and change the stereotypes but it is important to comprehend our participants' situation in relation to direct contact.

Table 4.2. Japanese acquaintances in Portugal

Length of JFL learning	The number of students who know the Japanese in Portugal
The first year students (*N*=27)	7 (25.9 %)
The second and the third year students (*N*=39)	32 (82.1 %)

(2) Motivation for studying Japanese

We asked the students to describe what their motivation for learning Japanese is. Many students wrote more than one motivation. We went through all the answers, categorized them and summarized in Table 4.3, showing top ten motivations. As can be seen, their interest in Japanese language itself is the most stated motivation. Close examination of the participants' description reveals that their impressions of Japanese language are "beautiful", "interesting", "new", "different", "difficult", "challenging" and "useful to know Japanese culture and people". Some students significantly mentioned that they like (learning) languages in general and Japanese is, among foreign languages, the one that they want to learn most because it is very

[30] Usually, major Portuguese national universities receive those PLE students from Japan but the number is relatively small (e.g. from one to five students per semester). Some universities may not receive them at all and the reception may not be constant. Another reason could be based on the fact that, to our knowledge, there are only six universities in Japan, which offer the degree course specialized in Portuguese Studies. This means the absolute number of Japanese PLE students in Portuguese speaking countries is already small.

[31] The survey of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan reveals that the number of Japanese residents in Portugal is 594 in October, 2015 (http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/portugal/data.html).

"different" from the other languages. In addition to the interest in linguistic and cultural differences, there were some practical reasons stated such as "to visit Japan", "to work in Japan" and "advantageous for the future work". Some cultural objects such as *anime* and TV series were mentioned as the motivation that first made the students interested in Japan. Then, they started learning Japanese in order to be able to watch them without subtitles. It is worth noting that five students answered that Japanese is a mandatory for the course and one answer was "I don't like Japanese".

To sum up, besides linguistic interest and practical motivation, a consumption of cultural product is included for the motivation. It also appears that the "difference" from their own European language and culture attract the students.

Table 4.3. Motivation for studying Japanese

Motivation	N	%
Interested in Japanese language	37	56.1
Interested in culture of Japan	27	40.9
Want to visit Japan	12	18.2
Advantageous for future work	10	15.2
Watching *anime*	9	13.6
Want to work in Japan	7	10.6
Want to talk with Japanese friends	5	7.6
Mandatory for the course	5	7.6
Interested in Japanese history	4	6.1
Watching Japanese TV series	3	4.5

(3) Interests in Japan and the sources of information

We asked the participants to write freely their interests about Japan (up to five interests). We examined all the description, categorized them and counted the items. Top ten interests are shown in Figure 4.1. Most selected interest was "Culture" followed by "Food" and "*Anime*". "Culture" is rather a general word and can include anything that is already specified in the other interests. Therefore, it will be necessary to exclude this word from the items in the main questionnaire for Study 1 & 2. The other highly stated items are either the objects of popular culture (e.g. *anime*, *manga*, films, etc.) or the objects of touristic attractions for foreign travelers to Japan (e.g. culture, food, landscapes, etc.). Language and history might be the objects to study for the students, too. We can recognize that some items are associated with the five

product categories such as content, fashion, food, lifestyle and tourism that were nominated by the Japanese government to promote the country as a strategy of cultural diplomacy in the early 2000s (Creative Industries Division, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan, 2012). Figure 4.2 shows the sources from which the participants normally obtain information about their interests on Japan. In the present questionnaire, we asked the source of information for each interest that the students stated. However, for this graph, we only counted the times each source appeared, without associating with the interest. From this, we can observe that most of the participants obtain information about Japan through mass media while local sources of information, such as "Japanese language classes" and "Japanese restaurant", are scarce. Internet media was extremely in high use but we cannot tell from this survey which type of contents (e.g. social, visual, text, etc.) is used through internet. Therefore, it will be necessary to specify the contents available in Internet for the main survey.

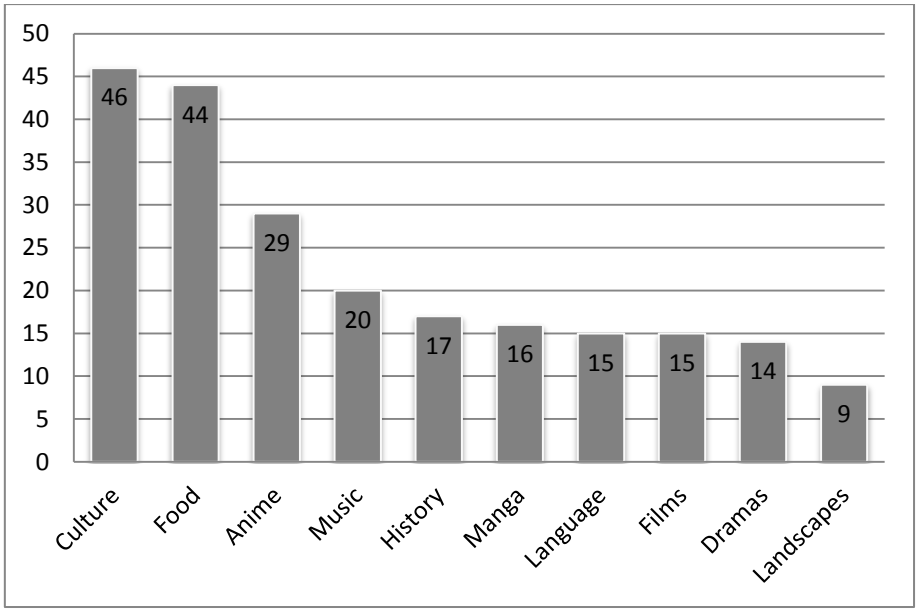


Figure 4.1. Top ten Portuguese JFL students' interests about Japan

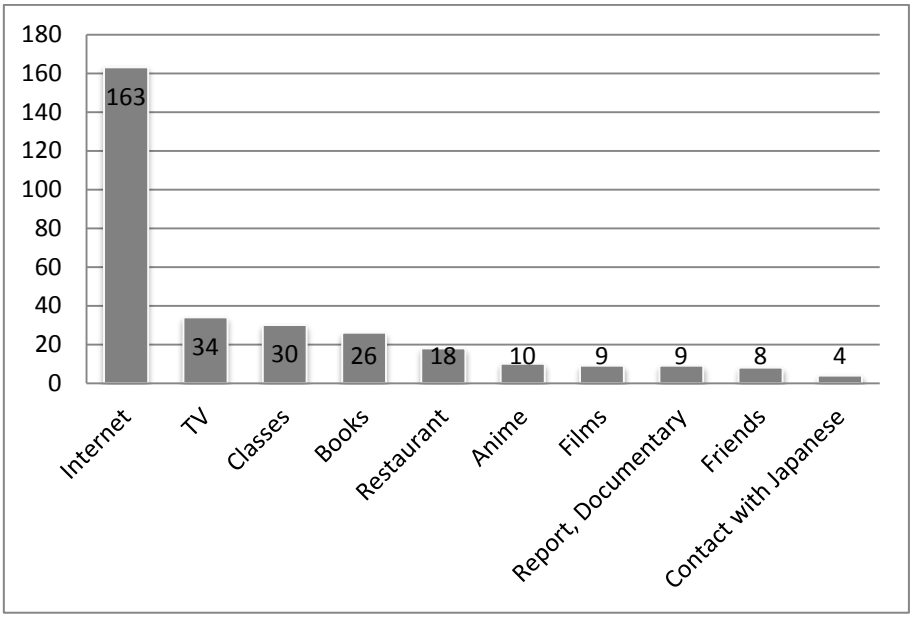


Figure 4.2. Top ten information sources for Portuguese JFL students' interests about Japan

(4) The images of Japanese people and/or Japan and the information sources that helped the participants with forming those images.

The participants were asked to write freely up to five images of Japanese people and/or Japan with the sources of information by which they think those images were formed. By examining all the descriptions, 70 items were identified. Then, we reduced them to synonymous, which brought 30 items. The names of images were defined by considering the synonymous, taking into account a representative description and the frequency of the emergence of the descriptions. However, we did not exclude the minor descriptions that we considered were distinctive and meaningful in the context of our study.

Table 4.4 shows the 30 images in the order of the frequency of the emergence. The most stated images were "Educated" (50.0 %) followed by "Hard-working" (36.4 %) and "Kind" (27.3 %). The first two images are often appeared in the previous surveys about stereotypes or images of the Japanese. The images of "Innovators, creative" and "Traditional" are possibly reflected from the country's images. Only once appeared descriptions such as "Conservative" and "Intelligent" may be worth including for our survey since they are also often included in the previous studies. We will need to examine more closely these descriptions to create our main questionnaire.

The sources of information from which the images were formed are shown in Figure 4.3[32]. The most stated information source was "Internet" followed by "Television", "Japanese teachers" and "Classes related to Japan". The results share many items with the information sources identified in the previous question for the participants' interest in Japan. However, we can recognize that several items associated with direct contact, such as Japanese teachers and their classes, are significantly contained. It is necessary to include these items for the options of information sources in the main survey.

Table 4.4. Images of Japan and the Japanese derived from the pilot study

Image	N	%
Educated	33	50.0
Hard-working	24	36.4
Kind	18	27.3
Organized	16	24.2
Innovators, creative	13	19.7
Shy	13	19.7
Traditional	11	16.7
Others	11	16.7
Rigorous	9	13.6
Reserved	8	12.1
Evolved technology	8	12.1
Serious	8	12.1
Demanding	6	9.1
Traffic in the city	5	7.6
Strange	5	7.6
Interesting culture	5	7.6
Calm	4	6.1
Professional	4	6.1
Cute	4	6.1
Cheerful	4	6.1
Anime	3	4.5
Social obligation	3	4.5
Longevity	2	3.0
Formality	2	3.0
Committed	2	3.0
Beautiful	2	3.0
Useful	2	3.0
Hospitable	2	3.0
Healthy	2	3.0
Expensive life	2	3.0

[32] The method taken for elaborating these items is the same as the same question for the interests on Japan.

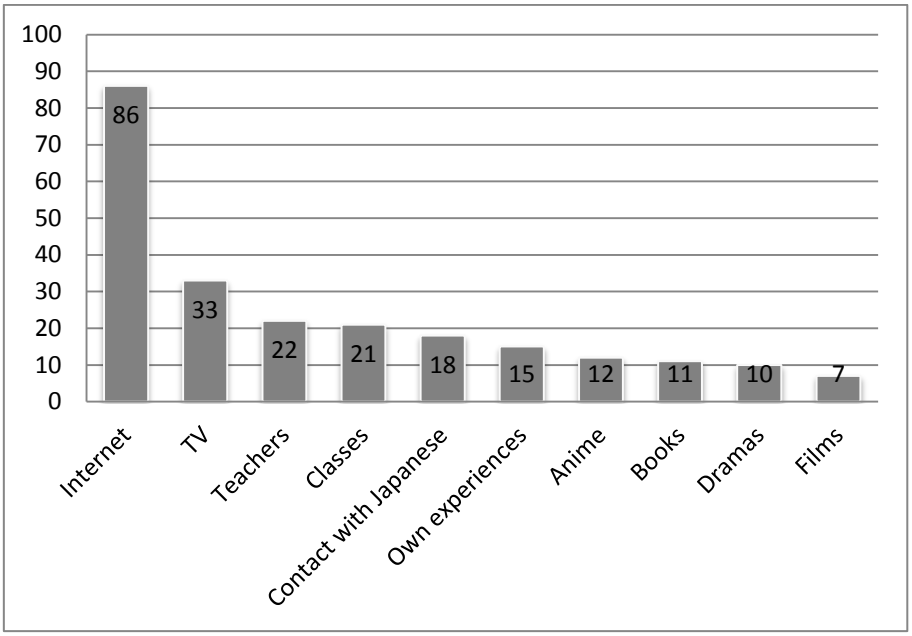


Figure 4.3. Information sources influential for Portuguese JFL student's images of Japan and the Japanese.

4.6.5. Development of a questionnaire for Study 1 and 2

The pilot study provided not only preliminary results but also useful information for developing the questions for a questionnaire used in our empirical Study 1 and 2.

In order to understand social representation of Japan and the Japanese among Portuguese students, we have decided to include different types of questions to approach them. For instance, we will use multiple choice questions for "interests about Japan" and "information sources", free word association (FWA) for the term "Japan" and free recall for famous Japanese personalities. All of them are multiple-answer questions, allowing up to three answers. The results of pilot study were used to define 20 choices for the interests about Japan and 19 choices for the information sources as shown in Table 4.5 and 4.6 respectively. The open-ended questions such as FWA and free recall were included taking into account the methods used in some previous studies about social representations and collective memories (Liu et al., 2005, 2009).

Table 4.5. Choices for the interest about Japan

1	Anime	11	Historical sites
2	Language	12	Life style
3	Literature	13	Sports
4	Manga	14	Technology
5	People	15	Music
6	Landscape	16	History
7	Mode	17	Video games
8	Traditional arts	18	Food
9	TV series	19	Anime festival
10	Films	20	Others

Table 4.6. Choices for the information sources

1	Friends/People (non-Japanese)	11	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced in Japan
2	Cultural events outside Japan	12	Other TV shows produced in Japan
3	Shops/restaurants outside Japan	13	Books and magazines published in Japan
4	Classes outside Japan	14	Videos, websites, blogs, Facebook and/or other services on the Internet
5	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced outside Japan	15	Japanese teachers and their classes
6	Books and magazines published outside Japan	16	Contact with the Japanese (except for Japanese teachers)
7	Japanese anime and/or manga	17	Personal experiences
8	Japanese TV series	18	Japanese products
9	Japanese films	19	Others
10	Japanese music		

As for examination of social stereotypes of the Japanese, we have decided to use five-point Likert scale questions. The participants will be asked to ascribe 24 images of the Japanese by selecting one out of the following five options: “strongly disagree”, “disagree”, “neither disagree nor agree”, “agree” and “strongly agree”. With this scale assessment, we can conduct factor analysis that will provide a general view on the data and make it possible to verify a tendency in European context by comparing with Asian context.

Briefly, those 24 images were defined as follows. As mentioned earlier, we have obtained 30 images from our pilot study (see Table 4.4) but they are based on the images of Japan and the Japanese. Therefore, we went back to the original data and collected the descriptions only related to the characteristics of the Japanese. After removing irrelevant descriptions, we

combined the synonym terms and similar adjectives and then determined 24 images listed in Table 4.7. Regarding the information sources in relation to the image formation, the same 19 options defined for the interests in Japan will be used as multiple choice questions (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.7. Images for ascribing Japanese people

(1)	Hard-working
(2)	Educated
(3)	Organized
(4)	Demanding
(5)	Kind
(6)	Innovator
(7)	Reserved
(8)	Strict
(9)	Helpful
(10)	Intelligent
(11)	Healthy
(12)	Traditional
(13)	Timid
(14)	Humble
(15)	Cute
(16)	Calm
(17)	Patriotic
(18)	Conservative
(19)	Cheerful
(20)	Honest
(21)	Serious
(22)	Stubborn
(23)	Individualistic
(24)	Strange

It is worth noting again that the present study involves different languages among the survey (in Portuguese), the analysis (in Portuguese, Japanese and English) and the thesis (in English). Therefore, we asked one Japanese native JFL teacher and two Portuguese JFL university students, who have experience of studying Japanese in Japan for one year, to check the translation of the terms used for the questionnaire. We have carefully confirmed the meanings of terms and expressions not to lose or change the original meanings after translation. In fact, we have discovered a few minor discrepancies in the meanings of adjectives for the

Japanese characteristics so that several terms were amended appropriately and integrated in the questionnaire.

Last but not least, in addition to those main questions mentioned above, some demographic questions, such as sex, length of studying Japanese (only for the JFL students) and experience of visiting Japan, were included. The actual questionnaire sheets can be seen in Appendix B.

From the next chapter, we will present our three empirical studies.

Chapter V – Social representations of Japan among Portuguese students[33]

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will present the results of the empirical studies about social representations of Japan by Portuguese university students [Study 1]. First of all, the examination of the data obtained from a questionnaire survey will reveal in which aspects the students are interested in Japan and what types of information sources are used in search of their interest. Other measurements such as free word association with "Japan" and free recall for "famous Japanese personality" are expected to provide the tendencies of students' perception, which can be discussed by referring to the previous studies about social representations of world history (Liu et al., 2005, 2009). Our study will focus on a comparative analysis between two groups that consist of 1) Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) students and 2) non-JFL students. In addition, by taking into account the previous studies of images of Japan conducted in Asian context (Li, 2006; Oh, 2008; Ohe, 2012), we will discuss some trends found in the Portuguese context.

5.2. Methods

5.2.1. Questions in the survey

A questionnaire survey was conducted. The questionnaire was created based on our pilot study. The process of the construction of the questionnaire was described in Section 4.6.5, Chapter IV and the entire questionnaire can be seen in Appendix B. Briefly, the followings are the main questions related to Study 1 in the questionnaire:

(1) select up to three interests about Japan (multiple choice out of 20 options);

(2) select up to three sources from which the participants retrieve information about Japan (multiple choice out of 19 options);

(3) write up to three words associated with "Japan" (free word association);

(4) write up to three names of famous Japanese personalities (free recall).

[33] Some preliminary results of Study 1 and 2 presented in Chapter V and IV were published in Yaginuma (2019a).

The first question was made based on our pilot study, in which the collected interests about Japan were categorized and summarized in 20 items. By the second question, we will examine information sources from which the participants usually obtain information of their interest about Japan. Our analysis will attempt to clarify what objects Portuguese students represent and which information sources may be influential for their social representation about Japan.

The third and fourth questions were adopted from the studies about social representations of world history (Liu et al., 2005, 2009). In these studies, collective memory is considered to be "an ensemble of social representations of the past, shaped by a given social group" (Cabecinhas, 2014, p. 495). Time and space are thought to be important factors for socially constructed memory, that means memory is subject to change with social process especially through human communication (Cabecinhas, 2014). By examining how people remember events and people in the past, we can understand a given group's social identity as well as shared historical memories. This concept and method can be applied to our study to examine Portuguese student's social representations of Japan by analyzing the words associated with "Japan" and the shared Japanese personalities. Although our questions are set not exactly in the same perspective used in those previous studies of social representations (e.g. Hanke et al., 2015; Liu et al., 2005, 2005), we will attempt to analyze our data referring to the theories developed by them.

Besides those questions, several demographic questions were also included as follows:

- Experience of Japanese language learning by a length of time
- Experience of visiting Japan
- Existence of the Japanese acquaintance
- Age
- Sex
- Mother tongue
- Motivation for learning Japanese (for the JFL group)

5.2.2. Participants and procedure

The questionnaire survey was conducted for the JFL students in November and December in 2016 and for the non-JFL students in October and November in 2017. For the JFL

group, we reached 297 participants, most of whom are or were enrolled in Japanese language courses in either university or language institutions located in six cities in Portugal[34]. The realization of this survey became possible through a network of Japanese teachers. Regarding a procedure of the survey, some participants were asked to answer the questionnaire during the classes of Japanese, while the others were distributed by the Japanese teachers in the classes, and the questionnaires were filled in outside the classes, and finally returned to the teachers. We met most of these collaborating Japanese teachers through the meetings organized biannually by a Liaison of Japanese Teachers in Portugal[35]. We handed personally the questionnaire sheets to the collaborators or sent by post. We collected 297 answer sheets in total from the JFL students.

In terms of the non-JFL group, our questionnaire survey was able to perform with a help of several professors from difference departments in University of Minho. The survey was conducted during the collaborating professors' classes. In some classes, I was present to do the survey while in the other classes was not present. The students who participated in this survey are majored in various areas of studies, either in Undergraduate or Master courses, such as communication, psychology, education, economics, culture, engineering, mathematics, philosophy, translation and so on. We collected 297 answer sheets from the non-JFL students.

After the collection of the questionnaires, all the data, except for free description, was input in software for statistical analysis, SPSS (ver. 24 for Windows, IBM) in order to perform statistical analysis. From the original data, we removed the samples that contain certain conditions such as those who have an experience of staying in Japan for more than one year, non-native speakers of Portuguese and so on. After such process, the number of valid samples for the JFL group and the non-JFL group became 270 and 275 respectively. The effective response rate was 90.9% for the JFL group and 92.6% for the non-JFL group.

5.3. Demographic data

The summary of the demographic data of this study is shown in Table 5.1. We tried to balance the number of female and male participants. However, the female participants exceeded

[34] These six cities are namely, Aveiro, Braga, Coimbra, Guimarães, Lisbon and Porto. The collaborating institutions include Language Institute of NOVA University of Lisbon, University of Aveiro, University of Coimbra, University of Minho and University of Porto.

[35] In 2019, this Liaison became an association called "Associação de Professores de Japonês em Portugal" (Association of Japanese Teachers in Portugal).

the male participants in both groups. The mean ages are 23 years-old in the JFL group (*SD*=6.52) and 22.4 years-old in the non-JFL group (*SD*=6.54).

Table 5.1. Demographic data of the participants for Study 1 and 2

	JFL (*N*=270)		Non-JFL (*N*=275)	
Sex	Female	Male	Female	Male
	169 (62.2%)	101 (37.4%)	143 (52.0%)	132 (48.0%)
Mean age	23.0		22.4	
Experience of visiting Japan	Yes	No	Yes	No
	28 (10.4%)	242 (89.6%)	0 (0%)	275 (100%)
Existence of acquaintance of the Japanese	Yes	No	Yes	No
	145 (53.7%)	125 (46.3%)	24 (8.7%)	249 (90.5%)

5.3.1. Japanese learning experiences

Figure 5.1 shows the additional information only applicable for the JFL group. All the participants of JFL group answered the question of "how long have you studied Japanese?" with a multiple choice question as shown in the graph of Figure 5.1. Almost half of the JFL participants have studied less than one year so that they are the beginners of Japanese language. We intentionally selected those beginners as our participants by assuming that their images of Japan and Japanese people are still not yet deeply affected by their Japanese teachers and their classes. It is noteworthy that we executed this survey in the early period (November and December) of the academic year. Nevertheless, another half of the participants have already learnt more than one year so that some influences of JFL education may be inevitable.

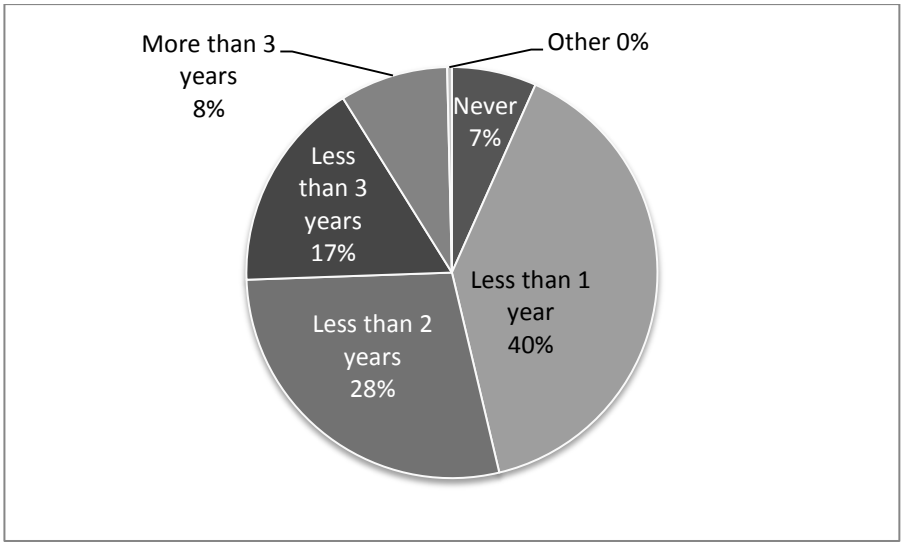


Figure 5.1. Period of learning Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL group, *N*=270)

5.3.2. Experiences of visiting Japan and direct contact with the Japanese

In order to know the participants' experiences about visiting Japan, we asked if they have been to Japan. About 10 % of JFL students (*N*=28) said that they have been to Japan. In the non-JFL group, there was no one who has been to Japan. We further asked those who have been to Japan the duration of their stays by free description style. Within 28 visitors, half of them stayed in Japan for less than 15 days. About 90 % stayed for less than half a year. There were two participants who stayed for one year. We eliminated the data of the participants who have stayed in Japan more than one year. From this question, the purposes and the frequencies of the visits are not known. However, the possible purposes are traveling and studying.

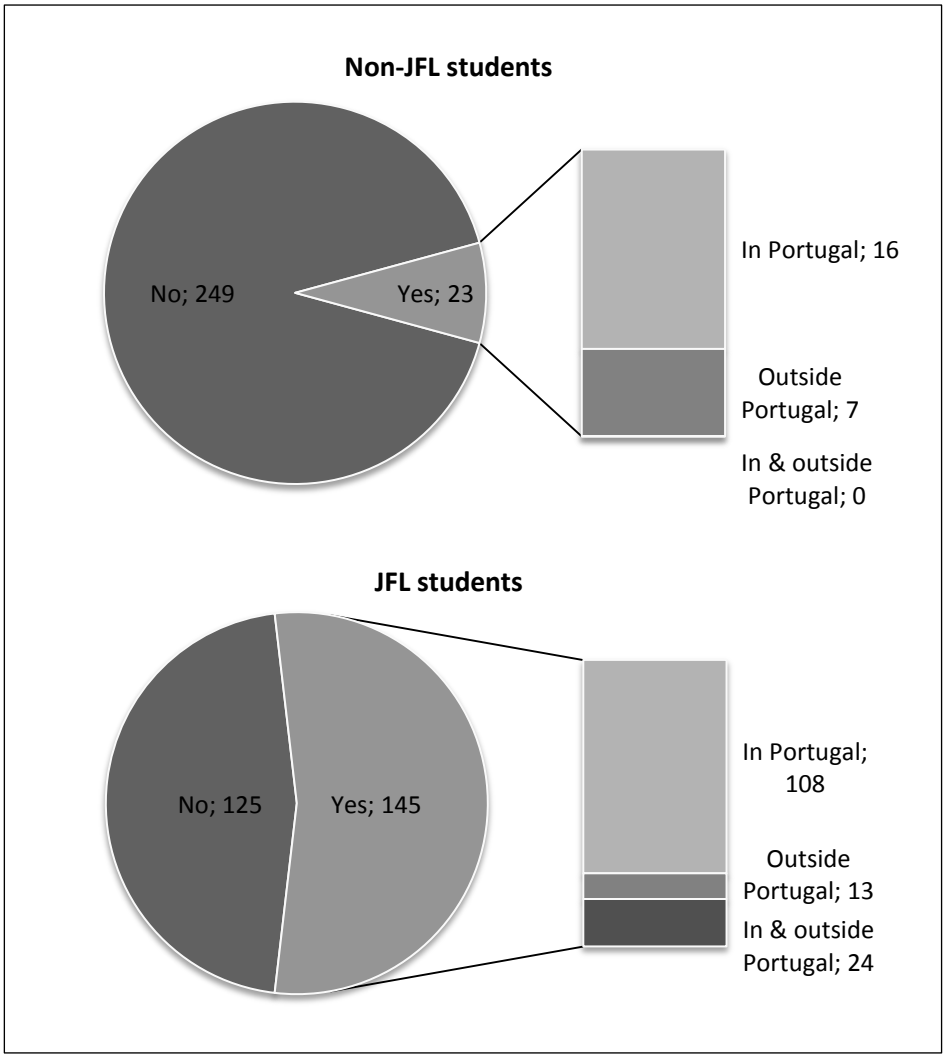


Figure 5.2. Japanese people that the students know (except for Japanese teachers) and the country where they met

In terms of the direct contact with the Japanese, more than half of the JFL students said that they personally know the Japanese except for their Japanese teachers. For those who know the Japanese, we asked where they met her/him by two options: in Portugal and outside Portugal. As can be seen In Figure 5.2, more than 70 % of them answered that they met the Japanese in Portugal. The rest answered "outside Portugal" or selected both choices probably because they know more than two Japanese people. From these results, it is highly probable that the Japanese that those JFL students met are the Japanese exchange students who came to Portugal to learn Portuguese since the participants' universities are receiving several Japanese students every year constantly. In general, those Japanese exchange students stay in Portugal for a short period of time (usually half a year or one year). It was not possible to examine the intimacy of the relationship between the JFL students and the Japanese students from this survey. However, from our personal observation, some JFL students actively contact with the Japanese students during their stay for language exchange and friendship.

Only very few non-JFL students (8.4 %) know the Japanese personally and about two third answered that they met the Japanese in Portugal. Again, we do not know the relationships between the participants and their Japanese acquaintances.

Overall, the non-JFL group shows a tendency of less direct contact with the Japanese compared with the JFL group. More than half of the members of the JFL group had experiences of meeting Japanese people, mainly in Portugal and about 10 % of the students have visited Japan, most of whose stay is less than half a year. Considering the majority of the participants of this study are young university students, we assume that most of their Japanese acquaintances are also young Japanese students and their direct contact is relatively temporal. Therefore, it is feasible to say that the constant contact with the Japanese of this study's participants is relatively limited, except for the contact with the native Japanese teachers for the JFL group.

5.4. Results and discussion

5.4.1. Interests about Japan

Table 5.2 shows top ten interests about Japan selected by the JFL students out of 20 items. The most selected was "*Anime*" (38.5 %), and then "Language" (33.3 %), "Landscape" (31.1%), and "Food" (28.1%) follow. Since these participants are Japanese language students,

the choice of "Language" is reasonably high. The most selected "*Anime*" as well as other cultural objects such as "Food", "Life style" and "*Manga*" reflect the recent transnational flow of Japanese pop-culture, as discussed in Chapter II. Our results also corroborate with the arguments of JFL students' strong association with Japanese pop-culture in relation to their motivation (Armour & Iida, 2016). In our survey, we asked the reasons why JFL students decided to learn Japanese. According to their answers by free description, *anime* is one of the influential objects by saying that *anime* viewing made them got interested in Japanese language and culture. One of their objectives of leaning Japanese is to be able to watch *anime* without subtitles.

The interests in the country are often associated with tourism. "Landscape", "Food" and "Historical sites" are included in higher positions.

Table 5.2. JFL students' interests about Japan (*N*=270)

	Interest	***N***	**%**
1	*Anime*	104	38.5
2	Language	90	33.3
3	Landscape	84	31.1
4	Food	76	28.1
5	Life style	64	23.7
6	Historical sites	45	16.7
7	*Manga*	43	15.9
8	Traditional arts	42	15.6
9	Music	40	14.8
10	History	39	14.4

We can compare the interests about Japan of the JFL and the non-JFL students by Table 5.3. By examining ten most selected items, both groups share the same nine items although their order is slightly different. Relatively big difference can be seen in "Technology" in that 44.0 % of non-JFL group students selected while 14.1% of JFL group students selected. This may imply that non-JFL students are more interested in technologically developed aspect of the country or of related industries and companies. Instead, their interest in language is much lower. Overall, "*Anime*", "Landscape" and "Food" are very popular items among the students regardless of the group category whereas "Literature", "Fashion", "Sports" and "*Anime* festivals" are those items less popular or more "niche".

Table 5.3. Interests about Japan by the JFL and the non-JFL students

Non-JFL students (*N*=275)				JFL students (*N*=270)			
	Interest	***N***	**%**		**Interest**	***N***	**%**
1	Technology	121	44.0	1	*Anime*	104	38.5
2	Landscapes	90	32.7	2	Language	90	33.3
3	*Anime*	84	30.5	3	Landscapes	84	31.1
4	Food	75	27.3	4	Food	76	28.1
5	Traditional arts	67	24.4	5	Life style	64	23.7
6	Historical sites	50	18.2	6	Historical sites	45	16.7
6	Life style	50	18.2	7	*Manga*	43	15.9
7	Language	48	17.5	8	Traditional arts	42	15.6
8	Video games	44	16.0	9	Music	40	14.8
9	History	41	14.9	10	History	39	14.4
10	*Manga*	18	6.5	11	Technology	38	14.1

5.4.2. Information sources

We asked how the students usually obtain information of their interests about Japan by selecting up to three sources out of 19 options. For this question, as can be seen in Table 5.4, "*Anime* and/or *manga*" was selected by nearly 60 % of the JFL students, and then "Videos, websites, blogs, Facebook and/or other services on Internet" (56.3 %), "Japanese teachers and their classes" (38.9 %) and "Reports or journalistic documentaries produced in Portugal or other countries (except for Japan)" (18.5 %) follow. It is noteworthy that (audio-)visual media such as *anime*, *manga* and Japanese films are significantly providing information about Japan to the JFL students. Including Japanese music and TV series, four information sources in top ten are the major objects of Japanese pop-culture circulating transnationally. They are all possible to be distributed in digital formats[36]. We should also be aware that all of these (audio-)visual media objects are based on fictional components and significantly associated with representations. We would like to discuss how the students relate such fictional art works and their interpretation with their representations of Japan and the Japanese more in our qualitative study (see Chapter VII).

The second most selected item, social media platforms available on the internet, for instance, videos uploaded by individuals in YouTube have varieties of contents about Japan, including language lessons, travel videos, *anime* reviews and so on. From our observation of the JFL students, they actively watch the personal videos of travel to Japan, extracts of TV

[36] Japanese *manga*, or visual novels, are available as e-books on the internet nowadays.

documentaries, Japanese comedy shows, Japanese language tutorials, music videos and so on. Highly accessible digital contents provided by non-professional individuals are often subjective and lack a fact checking. It does not mean that TV documentaries are completely fair and credible in their production but are rather biased by the intension of the program production. As we have seen in Chapter I, both encoding of the content makers and decoding of the audiences work in meaning making no matter which media format is. Therefore, we must be careful that authenticity of the information is not the matter of question but how the students perceive, interpret and represent what they watch is a central issue.

Table 5.4. Sources to obtain information about Japan (JFL group, *N*=270)

	Information sources	*N*	%
1	Japanese *anime* and/or *manga*	154	57.0
2	Videos, websites, blogs, Facebook and/or other services on the Internet	152	56.3
3	Japanese teachers and their classes	105	38.9
4	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced in Portugal or other countries (except for Japan)	50	18.5
5	Japanese films	37	13.7
5	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced in Japan	37	13.7
6	Contact with the Japanese (except for Japanese teachers)	36	13.3
6	Japanese music	36	13.3
7	Friends/People (non-Japanese)	35	13.0
8	Japanese TV series	32	11.9
9	Cultural events outside Japan	26	9.6
10	Classes in schools in Portugal	21	7.8

The JFL students answered that they get information about Japan from their Japanese teachers (38.9 %) and other Japanese except for their Japanese teachers (13.3 %). The direct contact with native Japanese teachers must be considered very influential for JFL students. First of all, the students might have tendency to trust what the native Japanese say because they are "native". In addition, a teacher-student relationship could emphasize the credibility of teachers' opinions. The students would even validate their knowledge and images of Japan and the Japanese by listening to the Japanese teachers' thoughts and observing their attitudes as if they were a representative of the Japanese.

Reports and journalistic documentaries produced outside Japan (18.5 %) and inside Japan (13.7 %) are also prominent information sources. The former may include some special programs made by major international news channels such as BBC and CNN which are usually

shown with Portuguese subtitles. From our observation, the themes of these special programs about Japan generally focus on Japanese cultures, whether traditional or modern, that are unfamiliar, exotic and strange for the Western viewers. In this sense, there may be possible to consider the contents of these programs emphasize Orientalized Japan. On the other hand, the latter includes the programs made by Japanese TV companies of which main target is Japanese domestic viewers. Therefore, it might be possible to assume that those Japan-made programs, except for NHK World-Japan[37], are principally not produced in an auto-Orientalized manner.

Japanese cultural events in Portugal (9.6 %) are local events which promote Japanese culture and cultural products either commercially and non-commercially. The organizers are divided mainly by two entities: one is Japanese authorities such as the Embassy of Japan and another is Portuguese merchants or commercial companies such as shop owners or venders of Japanese *anime*-related character goods. The former case usually organizes non-profitable events, which eventual purpose is to improve the images of Japan. So, this type of events is regarded as one of the strategies of cultural diplomacy by the Japanese government. One of the major events of this type in Portugal is "Festa do Japão" (Festival of Japan) annually organized by the Embassy of Japan in Lisbon. In this event, both traditional culture and popular culture are presented through exhibitions, performances, workshops and so on. Normally, some professional musicians and performers, for example, *shamisen* three strings Japanese guitar players and traditional *taiko* drum players, are invited from Japan. A competition of Cosplay[38] among the participants is one of the popular events both in Japanese and Portuguese organization.

The commercial festivals also have the same type of events described above but the focus is more on modern Japanese pop-culture, especially *anime*. Therefore, *anime*-related Cosplay, workshop of drawing *manga*, *karaoke*, video games, live band performance of J-pop music, etc. are commonly included. In addition, in the site of this kind of cultural events there is a space for the local shops to set up the booths to sell *anime*-related goods. One of the biggest

[37] NHK World-Japan (https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/) is an international broadcast service provided by Japanese public broadcaster called NHK. Since 1995, NHK World-Japan has broadcasted TV and radio programs through satellite and cable TV targeting foreign viewers so that all the programs are available in English. The programs include international and domestic news, documentaries or reports on various topics such as sightseeing, traditional arts, technologies, culinary and so on. In Portugal, the program is available through cable TV.

[38] Cosplay is a blended word of "costume" and "play" and regarded as a performance of "player" who transforms herself/himself by wearing the costume and makeup to some character that is originated in *anime*, *manga*, live-action film, video-game and so on. Cosplay is deeply associated with sub-culture and fandom of those pop-cultures and has become even a competition in some *anime*-related events not only in Japan but in other countries since 1990s (Lamerichs, 2011; Rahman et al., 2012; Winge, 2006).

Japanese cultural events in Portugal is "Iberanime[39]" but there are plenty of similar events organized locally all over the country (e.g. "Aonime[40]" in Braga).

By comparing the information sources that the JFL and the non-JFL students selected (see Table 5.5), the most prominent difference lays in that the non-JFL students do not depend on the contact with the Japanese (1.5 %) for information retrieval. Instead, they communicate with non-Japanese friends and people about Japan (22.5 %) more than the JFL students (13.0 %). School education does not appear to influence the non-JFL students at all.

Table 5.5. Comparison of information sources between the JFL and the non-JFL students

Non-JFL students (*N*=275)				JFL students (*N*=270)			
	Information resources	***N***	**%**		**Information resources**	***N***	**%**
1	Videos, websites, blogs, Facebook and/or other services on Internet	169	61.5	1	Japanese *anime* and/or *manga*	154	57.0
2	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced outside Japan	103	37.5	2	Videos, websites, blogs, Facebook and/or other services on Internet	152	56.3
3	Japanese *anime* and/or *manga*	94	34.2	3	Japanese teachers and their classes	105	38.9
4	Friends/People (non-Japanese)	62	22.5	4	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced outside Japan	50	18.5
5	Japanese shops/restaurants	57	20.7	5	Japanese films	37	13.7
6	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced in Japan	52	18.9	5	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced in Japan	37	13.7
7	Books, magazines and/or other documents published outside Japan	44	16.0	6	Contacts with the Japanese (except for Japanese teachers)	36	13.3
8	Japanese films	43	15.6	6	Japanese music	36	13.3
9	Japanese products	36	13.1	7	Friends/People (non-Japanese)	35	13.0
10	Others	18	6.5	8	Japanese TV series	32	11.9
11	Japanese music	12	4.4	9	Cultural events in Portugal	26	9.6
12	Cultural events in Portugal	11	4.0	10	Classes in schools in Portugal	21	7.8

If we classify the information sources into three categories based on the origin of the information production such as inside Japan, outside Japan and unknown, we can observe the following tendencies. First, the JFL students relatively rely on the information produced in Japan whereas the non-JFL students are more dependent on the information produced outside Japan. Secondly, variability of the ways of information retrieval is lower in the JFL group, which means

[39] https://www.iberanime.com/

[40] http://www.aonime.com/

the JFL students' seeking of information is highly concentrated on the original sources from Japan. This tendency must be examined in Study 2 about social stereotypes of the Japanese. Then, we will discuss how this categorization possibly is meaningful for the students' image formation.

5.4.3. Interests about Japan and information sources

We performed cross tabulation by interest about Japan and information sources for JFL students group. Those who selected "*Anime*", "Language", "*Manga*", "History", "Video games" and "*Anime* festivals" as their interests about Japan chose *Anime*/ *Manga* as their information sources most. Indeed, the JFL students' strong interest and consumption of *anime* and *manga* are observed in the previous studies (Fukunaga, 2006; Kondo & Muranaka, 2010). The interests in "People", "Landscape", "Mode", "Traditional arts", "Historical sites", "Life style", "Sports", "Technologies", "Music" and "Food" are associated more with information on the internet. This implies that the students are retrieving various types of information from the internet. Those top three selected interests such as *anime*, language and landscape are all significantly associated with the top three information sources of Japanese *anime* and/or *manga*, information on the internet and Japanese teachers and their classes.

In relation to direct contact, Japanese teachers are associated with "Literature", "Language", "Life styles" and so on. These interests may be related to the subjects taught in Japanese language and culture classes at university. There were very few students who selected "Japanese people" for the information source for their any interest about Japan. This tendency may imply the students' contact and interaction with the Japanese may have not that constant or deep.

5.4.4. Words associated with "Japan"

We asked the participants to write freely up to three words which are associated with "Japan". We listed all the collected words by the order of frequency and presented top ten words written by JFL students in Table 5.6. The most written word was "*Anime*" (*N*=124, 45.9 %), and then "*Sushi*" (*N*=66, 24.4 %), "Technology (*N*=44, 16.3 %) and so on. Like in the other questions, "*Anime*" is strongly associated with Japan. The second word "*Sushi*", the fourth word "*Sakura* (Cherry blossoms)" and some other words such as "*Samurai*" and "*Kimono*" have been widely

recognized as symbolic representations of Japan, both inside and outside Japan. Besides these typical representational objects, relatively new cultural objects such as "*Anime*" and "*Manga*" are newly added keywords associated with Japan. According to Iwabuchi's analysis on Japanese cultural diplomacy (2015), around the early 2000's, Japanese policy makers started institutionalizing pop-culture diplomacy. By utilizing audio-visual media contents such as Japanese animation, the authorities projected Japan's attractive brand images. Around the same time, a spread of internet use made digitized *anime* and *manga* available all over the world. Thus, these cultural objects were disseminated widely to the Western countries, where Japanese *anime* programs aired on the television had not been as popular as in Asian region. Interestingly, some of the participants told us that they started watching Japanese *anime* on TV when they were children without noticing that they were made in Japan.

The terms "Technology" and "Organization" are associated with Japan's image of technologically developed country. It is worth pointing out that more than half of the words are Japanese words and denote relatively concrete objects. On the other hand, those non-Japanese words are relatively abstractive concept.

Table 5.6. Words associated with "Japan" (JFL group, *N*=270)

	Words	*N*	%
1	*Anime*	124	45.9
2	*Sushi*	66	24.4
3	Technology	44	16.3
4	*Sakura* (cherry blossom)	42	15.6
5	Culture	31	11.5
6	Tradition	26	9.6
7	*Samurai* (warrior)	24	8.9
8	*Manga* (visual novel)	23	8.5
9	*Kimono* (traditional outfit)	19	7.0
10	Organization	15	5.6

Table 5.7 shows a comparative view of free word association (FWA) for "Japan" of the JFL students and the non-JFL students. As can be seen, the top three words that the non-JFL students wrote are the same words of JFL students but the order of "*Anime*" and "*Sushi*" is opposite. The rest of the words also have similarity in writing cultural objects so that it appears to be no significant difference in FWA between two groups. In addition, the total number of words

stated was 732 from the non-JFL students (on average 2.7 words per person) and 807 from the JFL students (on average 3 words per person). This means that all the JFL students wrote maximum number of words while the non-JFL students wrote slightly less words.

Table 5.7. Comparison of FWA between the JFL and the non-JFL students

Non-JFL students (*N*=275)				JFL students (*N*=270)			
	Interest	***N***	**%**		**Interest**	***N***	**%**
1	*Sushi*	126	45.8	1	*Anime*	124	45.9
2	*Anime*	90	32.7	2	*Sushi*	66	24.4
3	Technology	37	13.5	3	Technology	44	16.3
4	Tokyo	29	10.5	4	*Sakura*	42	15.6
5	*Samurai*	20	7.3	5	Culture	31	11.5
6	Culture	17	6.2	6	Traditional	26	9.6
7	Rice	16	5.8	7	*Samurai*	24	8.9
8	"*Arigato*" (Thank you)	14	5.1	8	*Manga*	23	8.5
9	*Manga*	12	4.4	9	*Kimono*	19	7.0
10	Martial arts	11	4.0	10	Organization	15	5.6

5.4.5. Famous Japanese personalities

We included free recall of famous Japanese personalities in the questionnaire with the intention of analyzing the responses by using the theories of social representations and collective memory (Liu et al., 2005, 2009; Pennebaker et al., 2006). The findings of the studies about social representations of world history revealed the following biases: 1) centrality of warfare and politics, 2) recency bias, 3) Western-centric bias and 4) sociocentric bias. Briefly, the first bias refers to a tendency that wars, conflicts and revolutions are regarded as the most important events in world history, while the events associated with scientific, technological and socioeconomic issues are underrated. Next, recency bias means that people put importance more on the recent events, say, the occurrences in the last 200 years, than the ones of longer time ago. Thirdly, Western-centric bias means that the events related to Western regions, more specifically in Europe and in the United States of America, are considered to be important. This tendency is seen cross-culturally, which underlines the world power relations among the countries. In other words, social representations of world history tend to reflect the representations of the Western dominant nations and cultures. Lastly, sociocentric bias is a tendency of recalling more national events than the events happened outside their own state.

We cannot simply compare our results with the results found in the previous studies because their findings are based on the important events and personalities represented in the context of world, national or supranational history (Brasil & Cabecinhas, 2017; Cabecinhas, 2014; Liu et al., 2005, 2009) and not the famous personalities of the target country in the context of social representations of that country by the other nations. Nevertheless, if we use free-recall measurements, regardless of any themes, human cognitive process of remembering should be involved so that these biases are worth taking into account for the analysis of the results drawn by free recall. Based on this idea, we will attempt to examine and discuss our results of famous Japanese personalities by considering the cognitive and social biases presented above. Before doing so, we will first briefly present our results of top ten nominated personalities.

5.4.5.1 Brief description of the personalities named by the JFL students

The most frequently written name by the JFL students was Hayao Miyazaki (28.1 %) who is a Japanese animation creator (see Table 5.8). Miyazaki's *anime* films are very popular inside and outside Japan and it is feasible to say that Miyazaki is a contemporary representative figure or even a legend in Japanese animation history. One of the reasons why his *anime* films became so popular worldwide is a collaboration of Walt Disney for the distribution of his films. For example, his master piece *Spirited Away* (2001) was released in more than fifty countries, including Portugal. This animation film won The Golden Bear, the highest prize awarded for the best film, at the Berlin International Film Festival in 2002. It was the first time in one of the biggest three international film festivals in the world to provide the best film prize, which is normally given to a live action film, to the animation movie. Generally speaking, commercial animation films are categorized into children's movie. However, by this prize awarding, it became possible to talk about Miyazaki's films at the same level of live action films and convinced the adults to consider it is worth watching. In this sense, this event not only confirmed Miyazaki's contribution for enhancing the status of *anime* in the world film industries but also justified the use of *anime* for a new cultural object of soft power as Japan's cultural diplomacy. In relation to Japanese films, Akira Kurosawa (4.1 %) is also named in the seventh place. He is also regarded as a legend of Japanese film director who has been admired by Western film makers and audiences as explained in Chapter II.

Table 5.8. Famous Japanese personalities nominated by JFL students (*N*=270)

	Name (Profession)	***N***	**%**
1	Hayao Miyazaki (*Anime* creator)	76	28.1
2	Haruki Murakami (Writer)	51	18.9
3	Nobunaga Oda ("*Samurai*" warrior)	32	11.9
4	Shinzo Abe (The current prime minister)	19	7.0
5	Eiichiro Oda (*Manga* creator)	16	5.9
6	Masashi Kishimoto (*Manga* creator)	14	5.2
7	Akira Kurosawa (Film director)	11	4.1
7	Akira Toriyama (*Manga* creator)	11	4.1
8	Emperor Akihito (The 125th Emperor)	10	3.7
9	Takeru Sato (Actor)	9	3.3
10	Hideo Kojima (Video game creator)	8	3.0
10	Ryuichi Sakamoto (Musician)	8	3.0

Next, 18.9 % of the participants named Haruki Murakami who is one of the Japanese best-seller novelists. His early novels (e.g. *Norwegian Wood*) became popular in the 80s in Japan. Since then, his books have been constantly sold well and translated into more than fifty languages. Some of his novels in Portuguese version are also available. Murakami is currently living in the United States and works as a translator, too. Some book reviewers consider his works are worth the Noble Prize in Literature. Same as Murakami, Ryuichi Sakamoto (3.0 %) is a Japanese musician who also moved to the United States to work more internationally since the 90s. His famous works as a film composer (and also as an actor) include *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence* (Ôshima, 1983) and *The Last Emperor* (Bertolucci, 1987).

The third person was Nobunaga Oda (11.9 %), who was a lord of *Owari* province in Western Japan in the 16th century. He ended his life tragically by a betrayal of his man in the course of unification of the country. Despite of his alleged cruel characteristics, Nobunaga Oda is counted as one of the popular *samurai* warriors as a competent leader even today. He is also known as a lord who showed strong interest in Western cultural objects brought mainly by Portuguese Catholic missioners in the Age of Discovery. Matchlock gun or "espingarda" in Portuguese is one of them. Oda used guns in the domestic battles for the first time in Japan's history. Although he was not a Christian, several Portuguese missionaries had contact with him and wrote about him in their diaries or reports, one of which is Luís Fróis' *Historia de Iapam*

(History of Japan)[41]. This document is regarded as a precious historical document that contains the most detailed description about Oda. Because of this distinct relation between Oda and Portugal, the Portuguese JFL students' knowledge of this figure may be reasonably meaningful. Their Japanese teachers could mention it, too.

Shinzo Abe (7.0 %) is a Japanese politician, currently being a Prime Minister since 2012. He is the only contemporary politician named by the JFL students in the top ten personalities. As a symbolic figure of Japan, the Emperor Akihito (3.7 %) is also included in the eighth place. Akihito reigned as the 125th emperor of Japan from 1989 to 2019 so that he was in a reign at the time of this survey.

Besides the personalities named above, in the top ten personalities, there are three *manga* creators, one actor and one video game creator, all of whose works or "contents" are available transnationally. From another perspective, it is possible to say that, except for Nobunaga Oda, Shinzo Abe and the Emperor Akihito, most of the personalities have or had professions related to popular culture. Almost half of the top ten personalities is from the field related to the modern popular culture, namely, *anime*, *manga* and video games.

5.4.5.2 Comparison of the famous personalities named by the JFL and non-JFL students

Table 5.9 shows both the personalities named by the JFL and non-JFL students. Nearly half of the top ten personalities, or six out of fourteen figures, named by the non-JFL students are shared with the ones in the top ten of the JFL group, such as Hayao Miyazaki, Shinzo Abe and Emperor Akihito. Two football players who were playing in European club teams around the time of this survey, namely Keisuke Honda (8.4 %) and Shinji Kagawa (6.5 %), are included in the first and the third place. This recall of Japanese athletes might be related to strong Portuguese football culture. The JFL students also named some Japanese football players but the frequency is much lower, which is a difference between two groups. Similar to the recall of Nobunaga Oda by the JFL students, it can be a kind of sociocentric bias, which means that the participants tend to remember the events and the persons that are more relevant for their own country than that of not relevant.

[41] Luís Fróis (1532-1597) is a Portuguese missionary who landed on Japan in 1563 and dedicated his life for a missionary work in Japan. His several documents about Japanese language, culture, political and religious incidents are very precious historical records for study in linguistics, history and comparative studies (http://embaixadadeportugal.jp/).

Table 5.9. Famous Japanese personalities nominated by the JFL and the non-JFL students

Non-JFL students (*N*=275)			JFL students (*N*=270)		
Name (profession)	**N**	**%**	**Name (profession)**	**N**	**%**
Keisuke Honda (Football player)	23	8.4	Hayao Miyazaki (*Anime* creator)	76	28.1
Hayao Miyazaki (*Anime* creator)	19	6.9	Haruki Murakami (Writer)	51	18.9
Shinji Kagawa (Football player)	18	6.5	Nobunaga Oda ("*Samurai*" warrior)	32	11.9
Shinzo Abe (Politician)	11	4.0	Shinzo Abe (Politician)	19	7.0
Jackie Chan (Actor)	10	3.6	Eiichiro Oda (*Manga* creator)	16	5.9
Emperor Akihito (The 125th Emperor)	9	3.3	Masashi Kishimoto (*Manga* creator)	14	5.2
Oliver and Benji (*Anime* characters)	8	2.9	Akira Kurosawa (Film director)	11	4.1
Haruki Murakami (Writer)	7	2.5	Akira Toriyama (*Manga* creator)	11	4.1
Hideo Kojima (Video-game creator)	7	2.5	Emperor Akihito (The 125th Emperor)	10	3.7
Shigeru Miyamoto (Video-game creator)	6	2.2	Takeru Sato (Actor)	9	3.3
Emperor Hirohito (The 124th Emperor)	5	1.8	Hideo Kojima (Video-game creator)	8	3.0
Masashi Kishimoto (*Manga* creator)	5	1.8	Ryuichi Sakamoto (Musician)	8	3.0
Naruto (*Anime* character)	5	1.8			
Yoko Ono (Artist)	5	1.8			
Total	273		**Total**	653	

Oliver and Benji as well as Naruto are the popular characters of *anime* that have been shown in Portuguese TV. In addition to these characters, 10.2 % in the non-JFL group and 3.8 % in the JFL group are occupied by some *anime* figures. Does *anime* have an enough impact on the students to substitute the Japanese personalities for the invented figures in *anime*? The reason why the non-JFL group named more *anime* characters than the JFL group may be the former group members' unfamiliarity with the famous Japanese "human" personalities. In fact, the average number of the personalities named per student is 2.4 by the JFL group and 1.0 by the non-JFL group, where the maximum number is 3.0. In addition, although the percentage is very low (c.f. 6.5 % by the non-JFL students and 0.8 % by the JFL students), the persons that are not Japanese[42] are included. The most written name by both groups is Jackie Chan who is a movie actor born in Hong Kong, whose major carrier was made in Hollywood film industry. Another is a South Korean singer, PSY, who became enormously popular with *Gangnam Style* (2012). Considering most of those non-Japanese personalities are Asian personalities, we can interpret this tendency as homogeneity effect, which in this case is adopted as the participants' homogenization of Asian region.

[42] Here, "not Japanese" means those who do not have Japanese nationality.

5.4.5.3 Discussion

Now let us see if we can understand some of the tendencies found in our results by adopting previously discussed four biases: 1) centrality of warfare and politics, 2) recency bias, 3) Western-centric bias and 4) sociocentric bias (Liu et al., 2005, 2009). Again, the theme of our study is not social representations of world history but social representations of the target country (Japan) by the other national group (Portuguese) so that our attempt is to use the previous findings for examining and discussing our results.

First, following the method of previous studies (e.g. Brasil & Cabecinhas, 2017; Liu et al., 2005), for the nominated personalities, we tagged the theme or realm of the representative achievements of those personalities. For instance, Hayao Miyazaki is tagged to "Arts and Entertainment*",* Shinzo Abe is tagged to "Warfare and Politics" and so on[43]. Then, we counted the number of personalities in each category and examined which categories are more concerned by the participants. As can be seen in Table 5.10, more than half of the personalities were nominated from the realm of "Arts and Entertainment" in both JFL (81.7 %) and non-JFL (59.0 %) groups, mainly because of the many nominations of *anime* and other popular culture-related professionals. Then, in the non-JFL group, "Sports" and "Warfare and Politics" follow, whereas in the JFL group the same categories appeared but in the opposite order. Overall, concentration in the category "Arts and Entertainment" in the JFL group is much higher than the non-JFL group.

Table 5.10. Categorization of the themes

Non-JFL students	%	JFL students	%
Arts and entertainment	59.0	Arts and entertainment	81.7
Sports	19.3	Warfare and Politics	8.6
Warfare and Politics	9.6	Sports	4.1
Science and Engineering	7.2	Economy and Business	3.0
Economy and Business	2.4	Science and Engineering	2.5
Other	2.4	Other	0.0

From this result, the centrality of arts and entertainment in social representations of Japan by Portuguese students is underlined. It might be worth noting that this trend is in line with the study of social representations of national history (Cabecinhas, 2018), in which the events

[43] The categories for the tags were defined referring to the previous studies mentioned in the text as well as considering the tendency of our data. In total, there defined six categories such as "Arts and Entertainment", "Sports", "Economy and Business", "Science and Engineering", "Warfare and Politics" and "Other".

related to war are less concerned, compared with the context of world history (c.f. Brasil & Cabecinhas, 2017; Cabecinhas et al., 2011; Liu et al., 2005, 2009). In a cross-cultural survey of nomination of Japanese personalities, the same tendency was observed (The Japan Press Research Institute (JPRI), 2015).

Next, the periods that each nominated personalities were most active in their professional activities were coded as can be seen in Table 5.11, where the coding scheme was adopted from the previous studies (Liu et al., 2005, 2009). In the two groups, the active periods of more than 70 % of the personalities are concentrated in the 20th and 21st centuries. Therefore, recency bias is seen in free nomination of famous Japanese figures without any limit in a past time. Nevertheless, the active periods of the JFL group looks more dispersed than that of the non-JFL group. Probably, the JFL students' knowledge about the history of Japan or at least some famous *samurai* worriers might have contributed to this tendency.

Table 5.11. Active periods of the personalities nominated by the JFL and the non-JFL groups

Century	Non-JFL group	%	JFL group	%
Prehistoric times (before 10,000)	-	-	-	-
Ancient history (10,000-1000BC)	-	-	-	-
Classical period I (1000 BC-500 AD)	0	0.0	1	0.4
Classical period II (500-1000 AD)	0	0.0	0	0.0
Second millennium (1000-1400 AD)	1	0.9	6	2.5
16th century (1500s)	1	0.9	5	2.1
17th century (1600s)	0	0.0	4	1.7
18th century (1700s)	0	0.0	0	0.0
19th century (1800s)	3	2.8	5	2.1
20th century (1900s)	33	30.8	70	29.7
21st century (2000s)	43	40.2	118	50.0
No time period classifiable	27	25.2	27	11.4

With regard to sociocentric bias, as discussed earlier, the nomination of some of the Japanese personalities are affected by Portuguese cultural interest (e.g. football players). This tendency is underlined by another example in that those Japanese football players nominated in our study are substituted by a Japanese Major League Baseball player in the JPRI's study (2015). As baseball is one of the most popular sports in the US, we can interpret that the American's nomination of Japanese football player reflects a sociocentric bias.

Finally, the personalities were coded for where they are/were most actively working according to the following simple system: 1) Japan, 2) outside Japan, 3) not known or not

applicable. The results are in non-JFL group: 1) 43.9 %, 2) 20.6 %, 3) 35.5 % and in JFL group: 1) 77.1 %, 2) 5.9 %, 3) 16.9 %. The JFL students nominated the figures who work or worked mainly inside Japan while in the non-JFL group there is not as much distinctive tendency as in the JFL group. Majority of those personalities in the category of outside Japan are/were active in the USA or European countries and very few are in Asia or Latin America and no one was identified from Africa and Oceania. Indeed, the actual number of Japanese figures who work in Africa and Oceania may not be as high as the Western regions. However, this tendency clearly replicates Western-centric bias, or more precisely, Europe and America-centric bias.

In addition to the effect and biases stated above, despite out of our scope of study, it is worth pointing out the gender asymmetry in free recall nomination of the famous Japanese personalities. From the JFL students, 236 names were nominated, in which 171 are male figures (72.5 %), 52 are female figures (22.0 %), 7 are group's names[44] (3.0 %) and 6 are impossible to categorize (2.5 %). From the non-JFL students, 107 names were nominated, in which 75 are male figures (70.1 %), 14 are female figures (13.1 %), 16 are group's names (15.0 %) and 2 are impossible to categorize (1.9 %). As can be seen in Table 5.9, the only female personality appeared in top ten is Yoko Ono in the non-JFL group. It might be possible to understand that this nomination is due to a celebrity of Yoko Ono as a wife of John Lennon. Although Yoko Ono works as an artist and an activist in the USA, this fact is probably not well known in Portugal. From this, we can recognize not only gender asymmetry but also Western-centric tendency when people imagine representative persons from one country, which eventually could affect social stereotypes of the members of national category.

5.5. Summary

In this chapter, we focused on the question of how Portuguese students represent Japan by taking into account the concepts associated with social representations. From our examination of various results from a questionnaire survey, we have identified that cultural aspects of Japan, especially of popular culture (e.g. arts and entertainment) and touristic attraction (e.g. landscape, food, historical sites, etc.) were highly emphasized in their perception. Among all, recent transnational cultural objects such as *anime* revealed to be significantly involved with the

[44] Group's names include family names and some of them are relatively large company's names. This nomination may imply the image of Japanese workers' strong commitment to the company and their ties like family members (c.f. "Toyota-men").

students' representations of Japan. Reliance on *anime* seemed to be higher in the JFL group. Other differences were also observed between two groups. Social representations of the JFL group tend to show relatively wider range of knowledge about Japan, enhanced by better accessibility for information, including Japanese teachers and PLE students, local cultural events and media texts produced in Japan. On the other hand, the non-JFL group tends to represent less familiarity with Japan, configuring homogenization of Asia and sociocentric bias. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that by observing the results of the FWA with Japan, the symbolic objects were represented almost in the same way by both groups. This tendency may be interpreted as the image of Orientalized Japan being continuously constructed among Portuguese students.

As a result of Study 1, which considers social representation theory and previous studies in the context of Asia, it is possible to draw the following remarks and suggestions. First, the influence of direct contact with the Japanese for the JFL students should be more carefully examined in the study of social stereotypes of the Japanese in Study 2. Secondly, the origins of the production of information sources, either "in Japan" or "outside Japan", may be worth considering as the variables to examine if there is any influential distinction for the participants' formation of images. Lastly, a consideration of social representation theory developed in the studies of collective memory was very useful in order to analyze a free recall of famous Japanese personalities. From this analysis, we have observed some trends that tend to configure recency effect, sociocentric bias and Western-centric bias. These tendencies are worthy of examination in our subsequent studies, too.

In the next chapter, we will move on to the analysis of social stereotypes of the Japanese.

Chapter VI – Social stereotypes of the Japanese among Portuguese students

6.1. Introduction

In Study 1, we found out that Portuguese students' perception about Japan centered around Japanese popular culture that is accessible mainly through the internet and they can actively consume in their daily lives in Portugal. While the JFL students demonstrated variability in the knowledge about Japan, the non-JFL students showed less familiarity with Japanese culture. It was possible to observe a relatively new cultural object, *anime*, seems to have a strong impact on the JFL students. However, the typicality of images of Japan did not differ from that of the non-JFL group.

In this chapter, we would like to advance our analysis on Portuguese students' social representations focusing on their perception about Japanese people. As argued in Study 1, opportunity of direct contact with the Japanese is very restricted in Portugal but it appears to be an important factor to influence the students' images. In Study 2, we will examine the images of the Japanese by articulating several contexts and concepts such as the JFL and non-JFL group variables, European context and theories of social stereotypes.

6.2. Methods

6.2.1. Questions in the survey

The questions prepared for Study 2 were integrated in the same questionnaire sheet used for Study 1 (c.f. Appendix B). The following are the questions:

(1) ascribe by five-point Likert scale the 24 characteristics of the Japanese;

(2) select up to three information sources that helped you to perform an ascription of the Japanese characteristics in the previous question (multiple choice out of 19 options).

The first question was prepared based on our pilot study by which we constructed 24 categories of images or characteristics of the Japanese. The participants for the current survey were asked to ascribe each category by five-point scale, from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". This ascription will allow us to perform factor analysis which can generate an overall

tendency of how the participants ascribed the characteristics of the Japanese, hence, social stereotypes of the Japanese. Moreover, by analyzing standard deviation of each characteristics item, we can assess variability of the stereotypes that the JFL and non-JFL students may differently have.

In the second question, we will examine information sources that the participants reported as influential for their (dis)agreement with the description about the Japanese characteristics. Hence, we will examine which information sources are thought to be more influential for their stereotype formation. Furthermore, the impact of direct contact, visit to Japan and the length of Japanese language learning will be examined for any possible correlation with the students' images of the Japanese. For all the statistical analysis, SPSS (ver. 24 for Windows, IBM) is utilized.

6.2.2. Participants and procedure

As these above questions are included in the same questionnaire sheet, the participants for Study 2 are exactly the same as in Study 1, which comprises two groups, namely, JFL students (N=297) and non-JFL students (N=297). Therefore, we will not repeat the demographic information of the participants as well as the survey procedure (see Section 5.2.2. and 5.3., Chapter V for this information).

6.3. Results and discussion

6.3.1. Five factors of social stereotypes of the Japanese

In order to examine a tendency of the Portuguese students' social stereotypes of the Japanese, a factor analysis by Maximum Likelihood method with Varimax Rotation was performed on the scores from the five-point Likert scaled survey items. By considering low factor loadings, five items were eliminated from the original 24 items and the same factor analysis was repeated on the remaining 19 items. Items with factor loadings of 0.36 or more were retained. As a result, five factors with eigenvalues of more than 1 were drawn (See Table 6.1).

The first factor is constituted by eight items such as "The Japanese are helpful", "humble" and "educated", which characteristics might be drawn from careful consideration for keeping interpersonal relations smooth and harmonious. Therefore, the factor name "Politeness"

was given for Factor 1. The second factor consists of five items such as “The Japanese are strict”, “demanding”, “organized”, etc. As these items may represent the manner and attitude of working hard and efficiently, we named “Diligence” for Factor 2. The third factor consists of two items such as “The Japanese are reserved” and “timid”. It is possible to interpret that this tendency is caused by hesitation for insisting your opinion in public or shyness for transmitting true feeling to the others. Therefore, “Shyness” was named for Factor 3. For the fourth factor, two items, namely “The Japanese are traditional” and “conservative”, had high loadings, from which we can recognize the valorization of long-supported concept in Japanese society and culture. Therefore, we named “Conservativeness” for Factor 4. The fifth factor was identified with two items of “The Japanese are intelligent” and “innovator”. Intelligence and innovation might be associated with Japan’s technological advance in industries, which was significantly reflected in post-war economic growth in the 70s and the 80s. Hence, Factor 5 was named as “Innovativeness”.

Table 6.1. Results of factor analysis for social stereotypes of the Japanese

		Factor loading				
Factor	**Item**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Factor 1:	Helpful	**.683**	.134	.146	-.073	.034
Politeness	Humble	**.663**	.082	-.028	.047	.011
	Educated	**.639**	.269	.165	-.075	.103
	Kind	**.628**	-.062	.133	-.038	.154
	Healthy	**.509**	.122	.031	.177	.022
	Honest	**.452**	.101	.036	-.062	.093
	Cute	**.409**	-.107	.176	-.121	.173
	Calm	**.368**	.044	.257	.268	.149
Factor 2:	Strict	.123	**.788**	.080	.102	.143
Diligence	Demanding	.001	**.621**	.185	.162	.269
	Organized	.369	**.569**	-.029	.129	.133
	Hard-working	.346	**.376**	.095	.001	.243
	Serious	.001	**.374**	.193	.215	.068
Factor 3:	Reserved	.209	.204	**.710**	.209	-.022
Shyness	Timid	.169	.105	**.664**	.087	-.025
Factor 4:	Traditional	-.034	.128	.072	**.694**	.177
Conservativeness	Conservative	-.093	.279	.241	**.577**	-.083
Factor 5:	Intelligent	.203	.250	.054	.092	**.590**
Innovativeness	Innovator	.150	.278	-.117	.074	**.550**

The traits identified in these five factors are also identified in the previous studies of Asian context (e.g. Li, 2006; Xia, 2010), in which Factor 1 (Politeness) and Factor 2 (Diligence) have relatively high factor loadings, too. From this, it appears to be possible to say that the Portuguese students have cross-culturally shared social stereotypes of the Japanese. However, as discussed in the previous chapters (III and IV), it is important to take into account European contextual variables to explain this tendency.

From our results, compared with the results of Asian context, it is possible to observe that relatively positive stereotypes[45] are held among the Portuguese students. Indeed, during the course of factor analysis, some of the traits such as "stubborn" and "strange", which could be categorized as negative stereotypes, were eliminated due to low factor loading. In the first place, negative descriptions about the Japanese were hardly collected in the pilot study, which are reflected in the development of 24 traits for the survey. It is also important to note that the data in the pilot study were collected from the JFL students. It has been pointed out that the selection of the participants, methods and survey instruments affect the results in the study of social stereotypes (e.g. Cabecinhas & Amâncio, 1999; Simon, 1992). Therefore, we did not adopt any existing instruments but developed the set of traits originally. This way, our results reflect Portuguese students' context. Furthermore, by contrasting the data obtained from non-JFL students, particularly with respect to outgroup homogeneity effect, it will be possible to evaluate the tendency of JFL students' social stereotypes from a different perspective. Later, we will come back to this issue.

Another important contextual variable may be associated with sociocultural norms. Historical background of Japan's international relationship with Portugal significantly differs from that with China and South Korea. Although there was a moment of tension between two countries in East Timor during World War II, this event has come into oblivion in both countries. Rather, a friendly relationship is emphasized by political authorities (e.g. the Embassy of Japan in Portugal). Therefore, there is almost no negative feeling arisen from the war experiences from each other. Additionally, by recency effect, historically very important contact period between Portugal and Japan in the 16th century may tend to be less concerned for the students. In this regard, it is

[45] Although the present study does not provide the valences of each trait to show which traits are evaluated as positive or negative by the participants, we referred to other studies in the same context (e.g. Cabecinhas, 2017) for our categorization.

more reasonable to assume that Portuguese students' recall about Japan may be focused on the impact of Japan's post-war economic growth, industrial and technological developments and Japanese workers' dedication for that. Such a historically intensive moment in modern Japan, especially a post-war period, is corresponding to the time when a number of *Nihonjinron* literatures were published. As argued in Chapter II, *Nihonjinron* was widely read outside Japan and the concepts constructed by *Nihonjinron* became knowledge about Japan and the Japanese, which have been recursively consolidated and socially shared even today. Indeed, in *Nihonjinron*, the way how the Japanese work in the companies or Japanese way of management were one of the popular themes because Japan's success in business and economy was attractive for the foreign readers (Aoki, 2013). Therefore, the responses of the participants of our study may also be affected by the images constructed by that period, which might be reflecting in the factors of "Diligence" and "Innovativeness". However, this explanation is not enough and valid for the other factors, "Politeness", "Shyness" and "Conservativeness". We will attempt to find more explanations for Portuguese social stereotypes of the Japanese with other possible variables, such as information sources and direct contact later in this chapter.

6.3.2. Homogenization and variability in social stereotypes: Comparative analysis of the two groups

In Social Psychology, outgroup homogeneity effect is said to be one of the indicators that can be used to analyze intergroup social stereotypes. In our study, there is no data from outgroup so that it is not possible to adopt the methods for examining asymmetric structures by homogenization between ingroup and outgroup. However, the concept of homogeneity effect is applicable for our data analysis. By comparing the mean score values and standard deviations in the ascription of the Japanese characteristics between the non-JFL and the JFL groups, we will attempt to provide more explanations for the social stereotypes identified by factor analysis.

Table 6.2 shows a comparative view of the results of the both groups' ascription of 24 traits by scores from five point Likert scale to the Japanese, where 1 indicates "strongly disagree" and 5 indicates "strongly agree". In the table, the traits are ordered according to the mean values of the scores, the highest in the top and the lowest in the bottom in each group. As can be seen from the results, "Hard-working" is most highly scored by both JFL and non-JFL students. Then, in the JFL group, "Educated", "Organized" and "Demanding" follow. The traits that represent the

factor of “Diligence” from a factor analysis are concentrated in their high-ranked ascription. In the non-JFL group, “Traditional”, “Innovator” and “Demanding” are included in the highly scored traits. The first two of them are rather contrasting traits and the traits that represent three different factors gathered in top four. Some negative traits such as “Strange”, “Individualist” and “Stubborn” are lowest ascribed in both groups.

Table 6.2. Comparison of the two groups on the ascription for all the traits

Non-JFL students	Mean score	SD	JFL students	Mean score	SD
Hard-working	4.19	0.66	Hard-working	4.58	0.58
Traditional	4.05	0.74	Educated	4.54	0.58
Innovator	4.05	0.77	Organized	4.15	0.70
Demanding	4.00	0.77	Demanding	4.10	0.75
Intelligent	4.00	0.70	Kind	4.10	0.71
Strict	3.95	0.70	Innovator	4.07	0.81
Organized	3.93	0.68	Reserved	4.04	0.69
Educated	3.87	0.69	Strict	4.03	0.73
Patriotic	3.76	0.72	Helpful	4.03	0.69
Conservative	3.67	0.83	Intelligent	3.96	0.72
Reserved	3.62	0.71	Healthy	3.94	0.75
Calm	3.57	0.73	Traditional	3.86	0.72
Healthy	3.51	0.80	Timid	3.81	0.76
Kind	3.49	0.68	Humble	3.80	0.73
Serious	3.48	0.74	Cute	3.75	0.82
Timid	3.47	0.74	Calm	3.70	0.73
Helpful	3.40	0.60	Patriotic	3.66	0.75
Humble	3.31	0.57	Conservative	3.62	0.79
Honest	3.28	0.53	Funny	3.50	0.68
Cute	3.24	0.73	Honest	3.48	0.78
Funny	3.20	0.69	Serious	3.40	0.77
Stubborn	3.09	0.45	Stubborn	2.95	0.58
Individualist	3.08	0.68	Individualist	2.80	0.78
Strange	2.89	0.95	Strange	2.31	0.98
Mean SD		0.36	Mean SD		0.51
Mean of all scores	3.59		Mean of all scores	3.76	
Max. score	4.19		Max. score	4.58	
Min. score	2.89		Min. score	2.31	

Next, we performed a *t*–test to examine a significant difference in the mean values between the two groups at each trait (see Table 6.3). Except for seven traits, namely “Conservative”, “Demanding”, “Intelligent”, “Serious”, “Innovator”, “Patriotic” and “Strict”, in 17 traits significant difference (p<.05) was identified. In most cases, the mean values of the JFL group are higher than the non-JFL group. For instance, the traits of which differences in the mean values by more than 0.5 points are “Kind”, “Cute”, “Educated” and “Helpful” where the JFL group demonstrated a stronger agreement with these traits than the non-JFL group. The

opposite case is a trait "Strange". In this negative trait, the JFL group had a lower agreement than the non-JFL group although both groups showed relatively low agreement (c.f. JFL: *M*=2.31, non-JFL: *M*=2.89). If we do not consider a significant difference, the traits that showed higher mean values, hence, higher agreement, by the non-JFL group (than the JFL group) include "Traditional", "Conservative", "Intelligent", Individualistic", "Serious", "Patriotic" and "Stubborn" (see Figure 6.1). Overall, a comparison of mean scores suggests that the JFL group generally has more positive images of the Japanese than the non-JFL group.

Table 6.3. Variability assessment on the trait ascription by comparing the standard deviation between the two groups

		Non-JFL students		JFL students			
		M	***SD***	***M***	***SD***	***p* value**	
1	Hard-working	4.19	0.66	4.58	**0.58**	.000	**
2	Timid	3.47	**0.74**	3.81	0.76	.000	**
3	Traditional	4.05	0.74	3.86	**0.72**	.003	**
4	Kind	3.49	**0.68**	4.10	0.71	.000	**
5	Conservative	3.67	0.83	3.62	**0.79**	.599	
6	Demanding	4.00	0.77	4.10	**0.75**	.164	
7	Intelligent	4.00	**0.70**	3.96	0.72	.510	
8	Reserved	3.62	0.71	4.04	**0.69**	.000	**
9	Calm	3.57	0.73	3.70	0.73	.040	*
10	Cute	3.24	**0.73**	3.75	0.82	.000	**
11	Individualist	3.08	**0.68**	2.80	0.78	.000	**
12	Serious	3.48	**0.74**	3.40	0.77	.249	
13	Funny	3.20	0.69	3.50	**0.68**	.000	**
14	Innovator	4.05	**0.77**	4.07	0.81	.786	
15	Patriotic	3.76	**0.72**	3.66	0.75	.112	
16	Healthy	3.51	0.80	3.94	**0.75**	.000	**
17	Educated	3.87	0.69	4.54	**0.58**	.000	**
18	Strict	3.95	**0.70**	4.03	0.73	.262	
19	Strange	2.89	**0.95**	2.31	0.98	.000	**
20	Humble	3.31	**0.57**	3.80	0.73	.000	**
21	Organized	3.93	**0.68**	4.15	0.70	.000	**
22	Stubborn	3.09	**0.45**	2.95	0.58	.002	**
23	Honest	3.28	**0.53**	3.48	0.78	.000	**
24	Helpful	3.40	**0.60**	4.03	0.69	.000	**

The lower *SD* between the two groups is marked in bold for each trait.

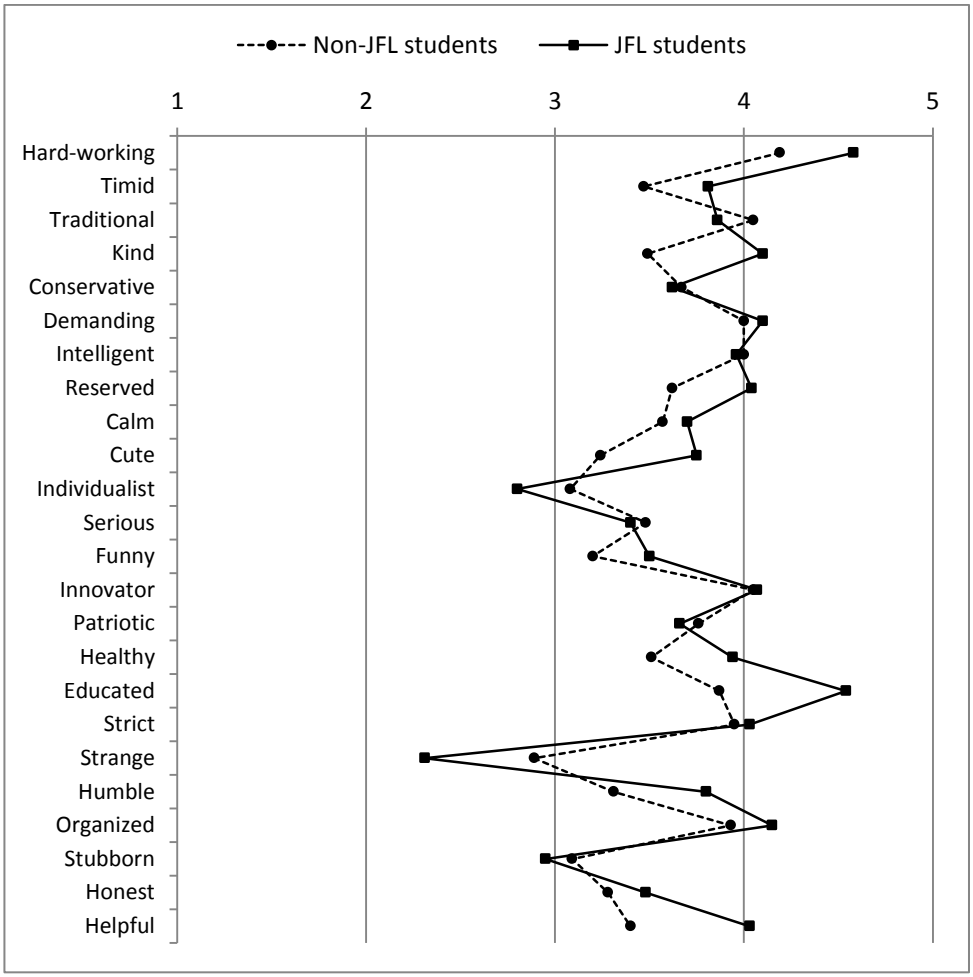


Figure 6.1. Plots of mean scores of all the traits' ascription by the JFL and non-JFL groups

In relation to a homogeneity assessment, we would like to propose the examination in two levels: 1) in each trait level by comparing the standard deviations between the two groups; 2) in all the traits level by examining a distribution of the mean values within the group. We assume a lower value in standard deviation means a lower variability, which then implies homogenization in the participants' social stereotypes of the Japanese. From the first level assessment, we found out that in 15 traits out of 24 traits the non-JFL group has lower values in standard deviation than the JFL group (see Table 6.3 where the lower *SD* values are marked in bold). This means that homogenization was observed more in the non-JFL group's perception on the Japanese characteristics that the JFL group. However, when we look at the highly scored traits in each group, in the first top four traits, the values of *SD* from the JFL group are lower than the non-JFL group (See Table 6.2). This means that the highly ascribed traits from the JFL group share high

agreement (or less variability) within the group. On the contrary, in relatively negative traits, the non-JFL group shows higher agreement than the JFL group.

Next, a distribution of the mean values of 24 traits ascription was examined. As we took a five-point Likert scale, the range of the scores stays between 1 and 5. In Table 6.2, a standard deviation and a mean of all the mean scores as well as the maximum and the minimum mean scores are illustrated in the bottom of each group column. From the mean value of all the mean scores, it does not appear to have a significant difference between the two groups (JFL *M*=3.76; non-JFL *M*=3.59) but a wider distribution is observed from the difference of standard deviations, indicating a higher mean *SD* value from the JFL group (*SD*=0.51) than the non-JFL group (*SD*=0.36). In fact, the maximum and the minimum mean values confirm the wider range in the scores from the JFL group. From this variability assessment, we can interpret that the JFL group provides more extreme ascription than the non-JFL group. In other words, the JFL students have a clearer and stronger opinion about the Japanese characteristics. This tendency could stem from the thought that the JFL students think they know well about the Japanese because they actively learn Japanese culture and consume the cultural products. As those JFL participants were asked to have collaborated the survey in their Japanese classes, their identity as JFL students might have been intensified, which might have led to a favorable ascription. This also means that their social identity was positively enhanced. In fact, if we round up each mean score to the whole number and count the value of 3 (mid-point) that corresponds to "neither agree nor disagree", the non-JFL group has more mid-point scores (*N*=11) than the JFL group (*N*=4). The implication of this tendency is that the non-JFL group might have homogenized outgroup in a way that they either do not know very well about the Japanese characteristics or do not have interest in ascribing them. This may underline this group's unfamiliarity and indifference in Japan and the Japanese.

Now, we go back to the five factors derived from factor analysis and examine more tendencies according to the factors.

Table 6.4. Mean scores of ascribed traits identified in five factors by groups

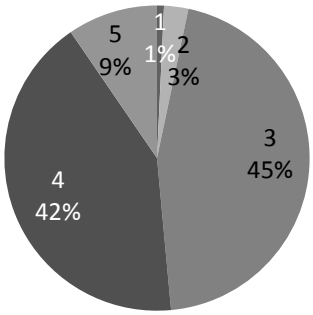
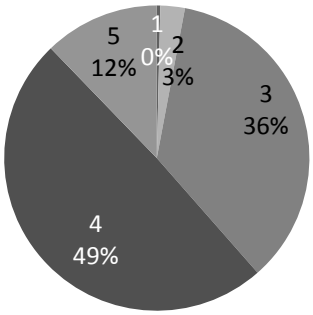
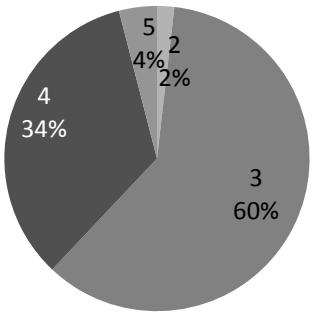
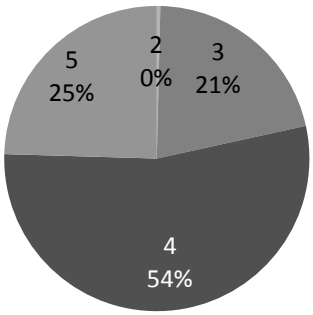
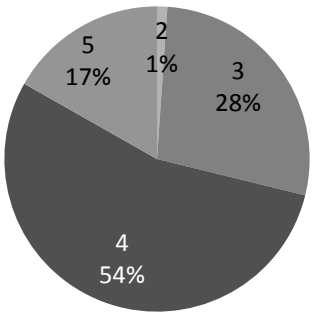
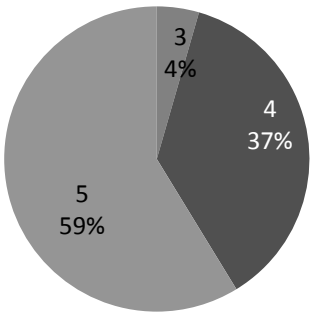
		Non-JFL students		JFL students		*t*-test of M	
Factor	**Traits**	***M***	***SD***	***M***	***SD***	***p* value**	
1	Helpful	3.40	0.60	4.03	0.69	.000	**
	Humble	3.31	0.57	3.80	0.73	.000	**
	Educated	3.87	0.69	4.54	0.58	.000	**
	Kind	3.49	0.68	4.10	0.71	.000	**
	Healthy	3.51	0.80	3.94	0.75	.000	**
	Honest	3.28	0.53	3.48	0.78	.000	**
	Cute	3.24	0.73	3.75	0.82	.000	**
	Calm	3.57	0.73	3.70	0.73	.040	*
	Mean	**3.46**		**3.92**			
2	Strict	3.95	0.70	4.03	0.73	.262	
	Demanding	4.00	0.77	4.10	0.75	.164	
	Organized	3.93	0.68	4.15	0.70	.000	**
	Hard-working	4.19	0.66	4.58	0.58	.000	**
	Serious	3.48	0.74	3.40	0.77	.249	
	Mean	**3.91**		**4.05**			
3	Reserved	3.62	0.71	4.04	0.69	.000	**
	Timid	3.47	0.74	3.81	0.76	.000	**
	Mean	**3.55**		**3.93**			
4	Traditional	4.05	0.74	3.86	0.72	.003	**
	Conservative	3.67	0.83	3.62	0.79	.599	
	Mean	**3.86**		**3.74**			
5	Intelligent	4.00	0.70	3.96	0.72	.510	
	Innovator	4.05	0.77	4.07	0.81	.786	
	Mean	**4.03**		**4.02**			

$^{**}p < .01$, $^{*}p < .05$

The factor "Politeness" was identified by eight traits, all of which has significant difference in mean scores by groups (see Table 6.4). In average, the JFL group ascribed higher values in these traits than the non-JFL group. In order to analyze the distribution of selected scale points by group, a pie chart was created for each group and a chi-square test was performed and marked with asterisk symbol beside the trait name in Figure 6.2. When the difference of selected scale value is significant, the asterisk symbol is added. From this analysis, we can observe the tendency of the ascription in more detail.

In terms of Factor 1, only in the trait "Calm", it appears to have conformity in ascription between the two groups (see Figure 6.2). In the four traits "Helpful", "Humble", "Kind" and "Healthy", about a half of the participants of non-JFL group selected 3, which refers to "Neither disagree nor agree". On the other hand, about a half or more than half of the participants of JFL group selected 4 ("Agree") for the same traits. As for the traits of "Honest" and "Cute", majority of non-JFL students concentrated on the option 3. Both groups provided high-scored ascription

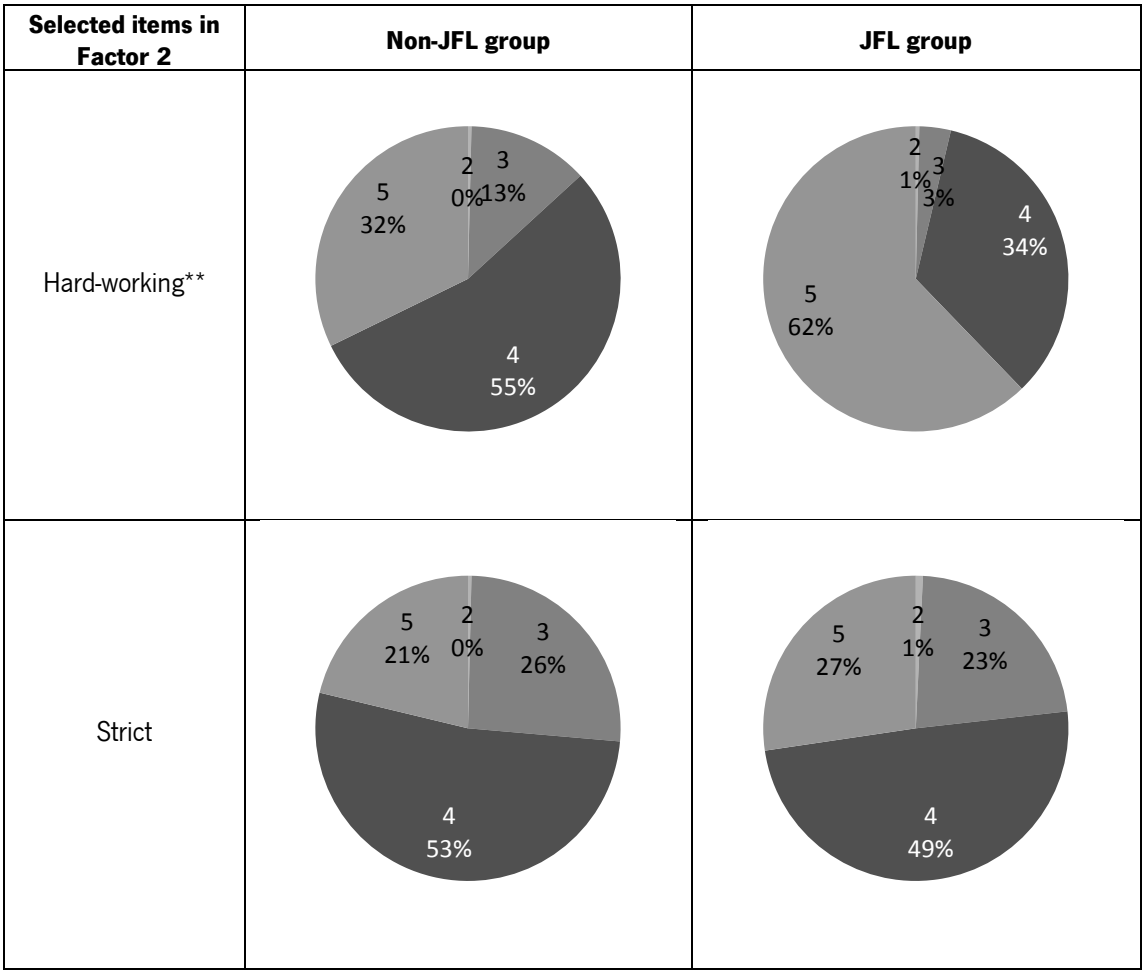
on the trait "Educated", showing that the sum of the option 4 and 5 occupied more than 90 % in the JFL group and 70 % in the non-JFL group. From this, in the factor of "Politeness", it is possible to observe that educated attitude was attributed to the Japanese by Portuguese students.

Selected items in Factor 1	Non-JFL group	JFL group
Calm		
Helpful**		
Educated**		

Scale: 1 = "Strongly disagree", 2 = "Disagree", 3 = "Neither disagree nor agree", 4 = "Agree" and 5 = "Strongly agree"
Chi-square test: ** $p < .01$

Figure 6.2. Selective and comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 1 "Politeness"

Next, the factor 2 “Diligence” was derived from five traits, all of which were positively ascribed by both groups (see Figure 6.3). The JFL group gave significantly higher ascription for “Organized” and “Hard-working” than the non-JFL group. As distribution of these ascriptions also shows, the rate of the option 4 and 5 is much greater in the JFL group, which is justified by chi-square test, too. In the other traits such as “Strict”, “Demanding” and “Serious”, the tendency of distribution was relatively similar between two groups.

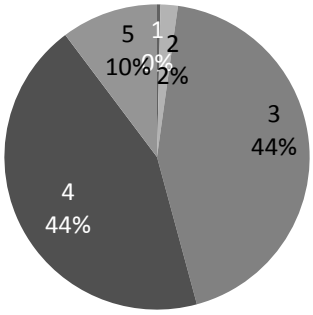
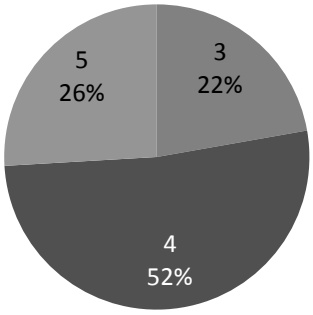
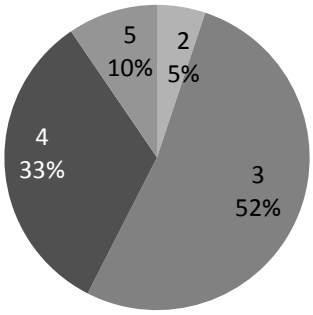
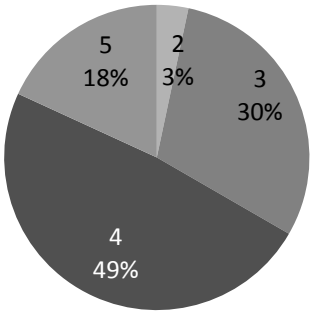


Scale: 1 = “Strongly disagree”, 2 = “Disagree”, 3 = “Neither disagree nor agree”, 4 = “Agree” and 5 = “Strongly agree”
Chi-square test: ** $p < .01$

Figure 6.3. Selective and comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 2 “Diligence”

The third factor “Shyness” includes two items of “Reserved” and “Timid”. The mean score of these items are 3.55 and 3.93 in the non-JFL group and the JFL group respectively. The difference of these values is significant. Distribution of selected scale-point was also significantly different between two groups (see Figure 6.4). Both in “Reserved” and “Timid”, a half of the non-

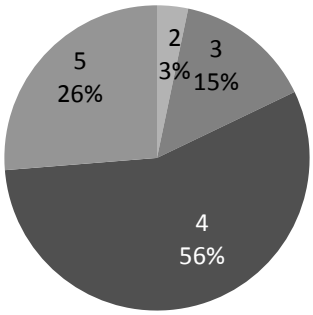
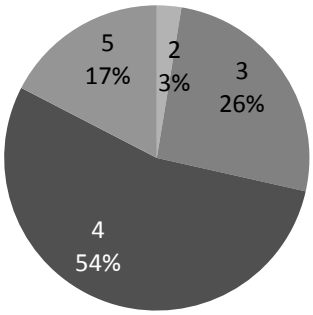
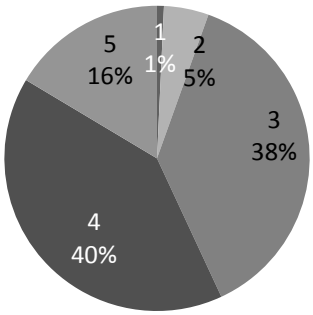
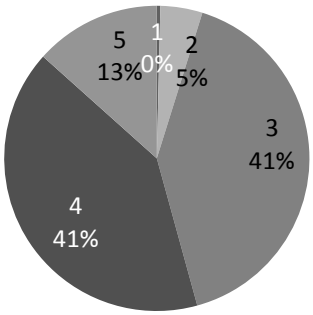
JFL students showed a neutral ascription with the option 3 while three fourth of the JFL students demonstrated agreement clearly.

Factor items	Non-JFL group	JFL group
Reserved**		
Timid**		

Scale: 1 = "Strongly disagree", 2 = "Disagree", 3 = "Neither disagree nor agree", 4 = "Agree" and 5 = "Strongly agree"
Chi-square test: ** p < .01

Figure 6.4. Comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 3 "Shyness"

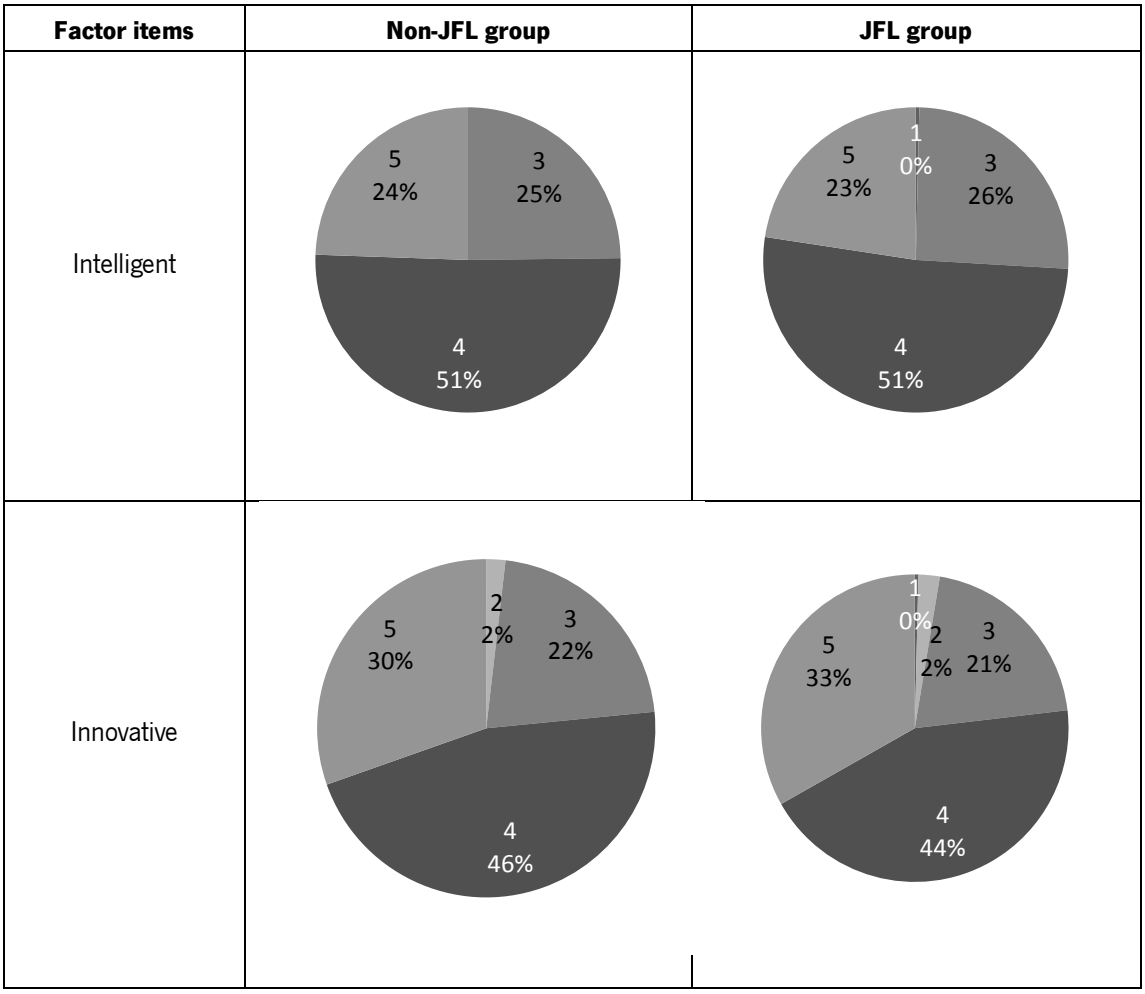
The fourth factor "Conservativeness" differs from the other factors in that the mean scores of two items "Traditional" and "Conservative" are slightly higher in the non-JFL students than in the JFL students. The item "Traditional" shows significant difference in the mean score and distribution by group. The pie chart in Figure 6.5 does not seem to be very different but the sum of the option 4 and 5 by the non-JFL group is greater than the JFL group.

Factor items	Non-JFL group	JFL group
Traditional**		
Conservative		

Scale: 1 = "Strongly disagree", 2 = "Disagree", 3 = "Neither disagree nor agree", 4 = "Agree" and 5 = "Strongly agree"
Chi-square test: ** p < .01

Figure 6.5. Comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 4 "Conservativeness"

The fifth factor of "Innovativeness" does not show significant difference in mean score of two items "Intelligence" and "Innovativeness" by group. As the pie chart below (see Figure 6.6) illustrates, the ascription of these items are almost identical by both groups, showing high agreement.



Scale: 1 = "Strongly disagree", 2 = "Disagree", 3 = "Neither disagree nor agree", 4 = "Agree" and 5 = "Strongly agree"
Chi-square test: ** $p < .01$

Figure 6.6. Comparative view between the two groups of ascribed traits identified in Factor 5 "Innovativeness"

6.3.3. Information sources for image formation

From the same 19 options used in Study 1, the participants were asked to select up to three information sources that might have helped them with ascribing the Japanese characteristics in the above question. Table 6.5 shows the top ten most selected information sources by the non-JFL and the JFL students. In both groups, videos, blogs, websites and SNSs on the internet is the most selected information sources (non-JFL=54.2%, JFL=46.7%).

Table 6.5. Information sources used for ascribing the traits of the Japanese

	Non-JFL students	*N*	%		JFL students	*N*	%
1	Videos, websites, blogs, Facebook and/or other services on the Internet	149	54.2	1	Videos, websites, blogs, Facebook and/or other services on the Internet	126	46.7
2	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced outside Japan	112	40.7	2	Japanese teachers and their classes	102	37.8
3	Japanese *anime* and/or *manga*	67	24.4	3	Japanese *anime* and/or *manga*	99	36.7
4	Friends/People (non-Japanese)	62	22.5	4	Contact with the Japanese (except for Japanese teachers)	82	30.4
5	Books, magazines and/or other documents published outside Japan	53	19.3	5	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced outside Japan	59	21.9
6	Japanese shops/restaurants	53	19.3	6	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced in Japan	50	18.5
7	Reports or journalistic documentaries produced in Japan	50	18.2	7	Friends/People (non-Japanese)	36	13.3
8	Japanese films	40	14.5	7	Personal experiences	36	13.3
9	Others	26	9.5	8	Japanese films	33	12.2
10	Contact with the Japanese (except for Japanese teachers)	23	8.4	8	Japanese TV series	33	12.2
11	Books, magazines and/or other documents published in Japan	17	6.2	9	Other TV shows produced in Japan	24	8.9
11	Japanese products	17	6.2	10	Cultural events outside Japan	17	6.3

Again, the accessibility of the media available on the Internet makes it easy for students to obtain information through it, although the quality and credibility of the information is questionable. The students might become selective on which information they trust by their own beliefs. After the information on the internet, in the JFL group, "Japanese teachers and their classes" (37.8 %), "Japanese *anime* and/or *manga"* (36.7 %) and "Contact with the Japanese (except for Japanese teachers)" (30.4 %) follow. Direct contact with the Japanese as well as the representations of the Japanese in animations and visual novels are considered to be influential for the JFL students' image formation. In the non-JFL group, "Reports or journalistic documentaries produced outside Japan" (40.7 %), "Japanese *anime* and/or *manga*" (24.4 %) and "Friends/People (non-Japanese)" (22.5 %) were selected by more than 20 % of the participants. Although there seems to be little opportunity for contact with Japanese people, the non-JFL students tend to access a variety of information sources, including objects that are not necessarily from Japan, such as documentaries produced outside Japan and local Japanese shops/restaurants. Notably, the influence of *anime* and *manga* was identified in this group as well as the JFL group.

As discussed in Study 1, we attempted to categorize 19 options of information sources according to the three criteria based on the origins of the production or the place where the source is available, namely, 1) in Japan, 2) outside Japan and 3) not known or irrelevant. For instance, "Japanese *anime* and/or *manga*", "Japanese TV series" and "Direct contact with the Japanese" are categorized to the first category. The second category may include "Reports or journalistic documentaries produced outside Japan", "Japanese shops and/or restaurant" and "Friends/people (non-Japanese)". "Videos, websites, blogs, Facebook and/or other services on the Internet", "Your own experiences" and "Others" may belong to the third category. In the previous studies in Asian context, it was revealed that the information originated in Japan was associated with the enhanced images of Japan and the Japanese (Li, 2006; Oh, 2008). On the contrary, the domestic information such as local TV programs and school education were revealed to be associated with the negative images. In the Portuguese context, the information sources produced outside Japan may tend to be biased by Western-centric view on Japan, which could Orientalize Japan and the Japanese. On the other hand, we assume that the audio-visual media objects produced in Japan, including *anime*, *manga*, TV documentaries, TV shows, etc., are principally made for the domestic audiences. Therefore, these objects are probably less biased toward Orientalist way of production.

Figure 6.7 shows the information sources sorted by three categories defined based on the assumption stated above. By comparing the two groups from this graph, we can observe that the JFL group tends to have more access to the first category, which contains the information produced in Japan and the interaction with the Japanese. On the other hand, the non-JFL group seems to have more access to the information produced outside Japan (category 2). Next, we need to examine how this categorization and the tendencies of each group are associated with the images of the Japanese. In the following section, we will find out by correlation analysis.

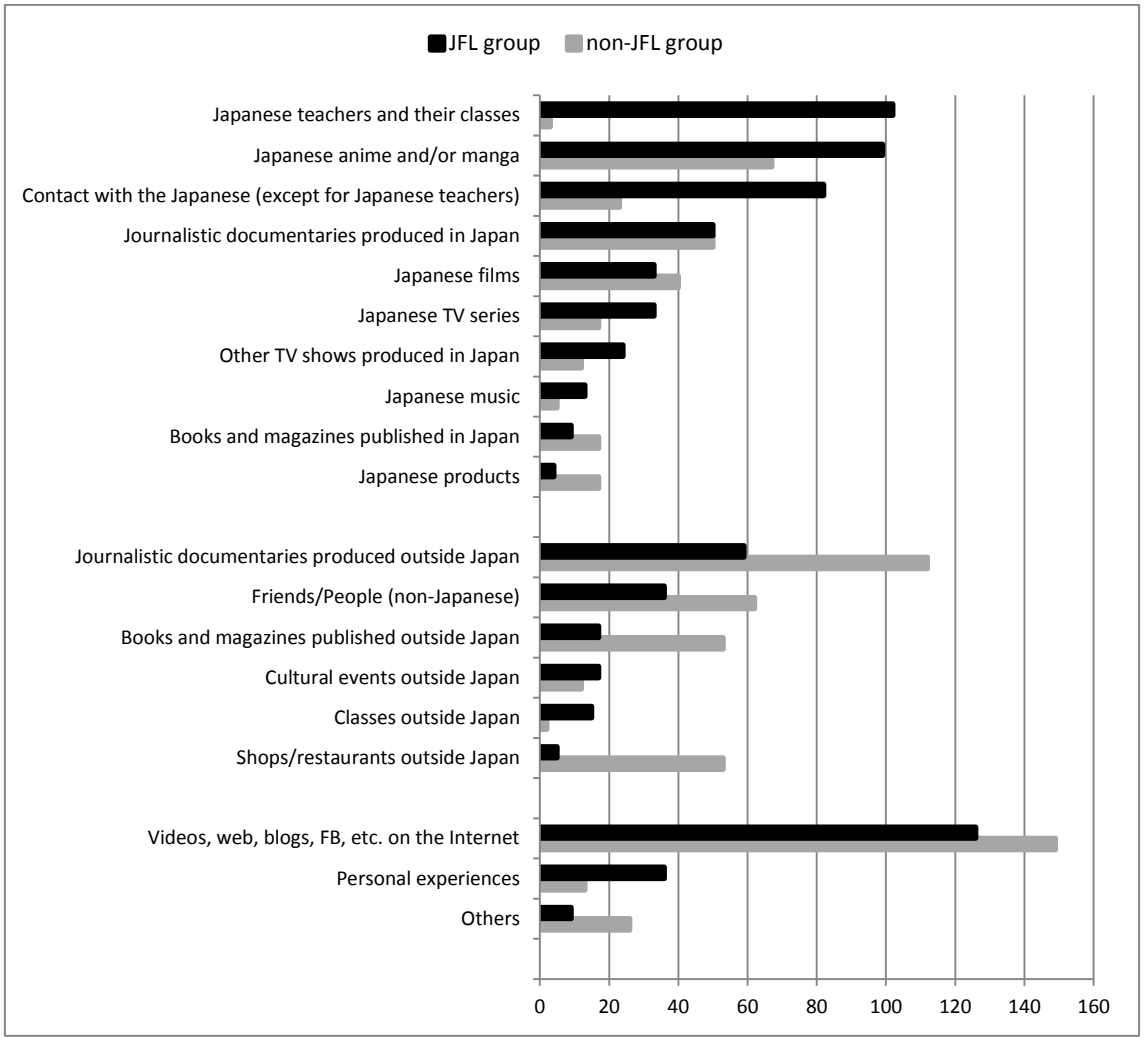


Figure 6.7. Categorical view of selected information sources. Ten items in the top are category 1 for those information sources produced or originated in Japan while the next six items are category 2 for those produced or are available outside Japan. The last three items are category 3 for the items not able to be categorized by any of the above two categories.

6.3.4. Correlation between selected variables and the image factors

We have been identifying five factors of Portuguese students' images of the Japanese and discussing the tendencies by the comparison of two groups. In this section, we would like to analyze how these images are associated with situational and contextual variables of Portuguese students. Using statistical method, we have applied correlations test on some selected variables that were considered to be relevant for examination.

For this analysis, factor score of each factor was calculated by SPSS for all the participants and added to the data. These scores reflect the individual's ascription of the traits of

each factor so that we can use them to examine the correlations with the other variables. In other words, this test examines how five factors are correlated with selected six variables, namely, 1) JFL group or non-JFL group, 2) the length of Japanese language, 3) visiting experience to Japan, 4) existence of the Japanese acquaintance(s), 5) access to information sources produced in Japan (category 1 defined in the previous section) and 6) access to information sources produced outside Japan (category 2 defined in the previous section). For each variable, a positive correlation would be achieved when 1) one belongs to JFL group; 2) the length of Japanese learning is longer; 3) one has visiting experience to Japan; 4) one has Japanese acquaintance(s); 5) one obtains information more from the information sources produced in Japan and 6) one obtains information more from the information sources produced outside Japan. Negative correlation is supposed to be opposite of these conditions. Table 6.6 shows the results of correlations between six variables and the five factors. Not many variables showed strong correlations[46] but it is possible to identify some tendencies.

First, groups had strong correlation with factor 1 “Politeness”. This means a membership of JFL group was positively correlated with this factor. In other words, being a JFL student is significantly associated to configure the image of polite Japanese people. Considering the other weak positive correlations with the variables such as length of Japanese language learning, experience of visiting Japan and existence of Japanese acquaintance, it is feasible to understand that the actual interaction with Japanese people and culture as well as JFL education may underline the students’ perception of Japanese politeness. A similar tendency can be observed for the factor 3, “Shyness”, although the positive correlation is much weaker.

The variables of groups, length of Japanese learning and existence of Japanese acquaintance have a weak negative correlation with factor 4 “Conservativeness”. This implies that being a JFL student who has a long study period and knows the Japanese may contribute to construct the less conservative image of the Japanese.

For the factors 2 “Diligence” and 5 “Innovativeness”, there was no significant correlation except for the very weak positive and negative correlations with the length of Japanese language learning respectively. This tendency can be interpreted that these two factors represent the

[46] It is assumed correlation coefficient is between -1 and 1 where from .00 to ±.40 is considered to be “no” or weak correlation and from ±.40 to ±1.00 is considered to be intermediate or strong correlation.

strong stereotypes of the Japanese without being influenced by any particular situational and contextual conditions.

Table 6.6. Correlations between six variables and five factors

	Factor				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Groups (JFL or non-JFL)	.523**	n.s.	.253**	-.141**	n.s.
Length of Japanese learning	.444**	.102*	.224**	-.104*	-.112*
Experience of visiting Japan	.264**	n.s.	.106*	n.s.	n.s.
Japanese acquaintance(s)	.322**	n.s.	.237**	-.142**	n.s.
Information sources produced in Japan	.218**	n.s.	.149**	n.s.	n.s.
Information sources produced outside Japan	n.s.	n.s.	-,094*	n.s.	n.s.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
n.s. No significant correlation.
Factors: 1. Politeness, 2. Diligence, 3. Shyness, 4. Conservativeness, 5. Innovativeness

In terms of information sources, the same categorization in the previous section was used for the correlation test. That is to say, those who selected more than two information sources produced in Japan for their image formation were considered to belong to "Japanese information sources" (JIS) -oriented group. On the other hand, those who selected more than two information sources produced outside Japan were considered to be "non-Japanese information sources" (NJIS)-oriented group. As a result, it was possible to observe that the JIS-oriented group had a weak positive correlation with the factor 1 "Politeness" and 3 "Shyness", which are corroborating with the tendency of JFL group. The NJIS-oriented group showed only very weak negative correlation with the factor 3.

From these outcomes, it may be difficult to conclude that the categorical difference of information sources has a meaningful influence on the images of the Japanese. In the South Korean case (e.g. Oh, 2008), the explanation for the influence of information sources on positive and negative stereotypes was based on the improvement from the negative images which were associated with the politically biased information and domestic school education to the positive images which were associated with Japanese media products. In the Portuguese context, our

assumption was that the information sources produced outside Japan may have Orientalized characteristics that might have influenced on the images of the NJIS-oriented group. However, from our results, we could not obtain any evidence to explain this assumption.

As for the information sources produced in Japan, we presumed that it had the less Orientalized characteristics. Although the results showed a weak but positive correlation with two factors "Politeness" and "Shyness", the same two factors were correlated more strongly with the other variable, that is "being a JFL student". This tendency may suggest that the social identity as a JFL student is more influential than the types of information sources for the construction of social stereotypes of the Japanese. In this sense, we will need to examine more carefully JFL students' social identity by considering their situation specific in Portugal. In Study 3 in the following chapter, this issue must be taken into account.

6.4. Summary

In Study 2, social stereotypes of the Japanese among Portuguese students were examined by quantitative methods. By factor analysis, five factors for the Japanese characteristics were drawn, namely, "Politeness", "Diligence", "Shyness", "Conservativeness" and "Innovativeness". These factors have been observed in some previous studies conducted in Asian context, targeting university students mainly in China and South Korea. In this sense, it is possible to say that these characteristics are cross-cultural social stereotypes of the Japanese. However, contextual differences can be seen in the results, where much less or almost no explicit negative images were identified in the Portuguese context. Negative stereotypes of the Japanese represented in Asian context are often associated with the war experiences between the countries. Although Portugal and Japan had experienced some episodes of conflict in the past, this experience has been forgotten in both countries, and a good international relationship has been disseminated by the political authorities, which might be a socio-cultural reason for the predominant positive stereotypes in the results (for more details see Araújo, 2020). In addition, recency effect may have led human perception more focused on the images constructed in post-war Japan, which was characterized by a rapid industrial and economic growth. Therefore, the images of diligence and innovativeness may be strongly associated with the social stereotypes emphasized by that period. These two images are corroborated by the *Nihonjinron* arguments (Aoki, 2013) and the notion of Techno-Orientalism (Morley & Robins, 2002).

In terms of differences in tendencies between two groups, JFL and non-JFL, largely, more positive images were held among the JFL group than the non-JFL group although some traits such as educated, organized and hard-working were ascribed highly by both groups equally. Outgroup (the Japanese) homogeneity effect was observed in the non-JFL group but the JFL group also homogenized outgroup in highly ascribed positive traits significantly. From this, it is possible to say that the JFL students tend to show more variability than the non-JFL students except more positively configured traits.

Lastly, it was observed that the most influential information sources for Portuguese students' image construction were available on the internet such as SNS, videos and websites. The JFL group tended to access actively information produced in Japan while the non-JFL group had a tendency to retrieve more information produced outside Japan. More importantly, the JFL students had more opportunities to have direct contact with the Japanese, which appeared to have made difference in their images especially in politeness and shyness. As a correlation test showed, in these two factors a positive correlation was observed with the JFL learning period, experience of visiting Japan and direct contact with the Japanese. The same correlation test also suggested that JFL/non-JFL groups are more influential variable than the origins of information in relation to the formation of social stereotypes.

Chapter VII – Social representations of Japan and the Japanese through Japanese animation as a transnational cultural object

7.1. Introduction

The present chapter is dedicated to describe the last one of three empirical studies planned for the present research. This study takes a qualitative approach, namely Focus Group, in order to deepen our analysis on social representations of Japan and the Japanese by complementing the results of the previous two studies based on a questionnaire survey. In addition, new themes that were not specifically identified by the previous studies are expected to be found out.

There may be a number of methods to conduct Focus Group but we have decided to use Japanese animation (*anime*) as a topic for the participants to discuss. It would be relevant to focus on *anime*, as this transnational cultural object was proved to be significantly consumed by Portuguese students in Study 1 and 2. However, these quantitative analyses did not clearly explain the assumption of the influence of media information on students' image formation. Therefore, our approach would hopefully provide an alternative solution to understand the influence of media to social representations, by examining what Portuguese students talk about Japan and the Japanese through the discussion on *anime*.

Dynamic semi-structured group discussion will also be suitable to analyze the content of social stereotypes identified in Study 2 in more detail, not only for examining whether positive or negative images they are but also for providing actual situational and contextual examples, which make our analysis and interpretation of the quantitative results more meaningful.

7.2. Methods

Focus Group was selected as a method in Study 3 due to high possibility to obtain more dynamic discussion and various opinions than (semi-) structured interview for the individual participants. The collected audio data will be converted to the text data by transcription and then submitted to Thematic Analysis, in which the students' conversations are coded by different approaches. Then, the themes identified through the coding will be presented and discussed (see section 7.3). In the following section, the information about the selected *anime* films for the discussion, focus group participants, discussion strategy and procedure will be explained.

7.2.1. Selection of *anime* films

A short sequence of *anime* film will be shown to the participants at the beginning of Focus Group in order to induce and develop the group discussion. As explained in Chapter IV, our objective is not a mere analysis of the students' film criticism. Rather, what they talk about Japan, the Japanese and Japanese culture through *anime* will be examined in order to understand social representations of Japan and the Japanese that they might have constructed unconsciously or unintentionally. We also understand that it is not completely possible to avoid various social psychological biases, including the presence of a Japanese researcher in front of the participants. However, we believe that the use of *anime* makes our questions more indirect than we actually ask the participants directly "What do you think about the Japanese?". For this purpose, two *anime* films directed by Hayao Miyazaki were selected, namely *Spirited Away* (Miyazaki, 2001) and *Howl's Moving Castle* (Miyazaki, 2004).

As Study 1 evidenced, Miyazaki is not only one of the prestigious *anime* creators but also a representative figure of Japan among Portuguese students. It is feasible to consider his *anime* films have been widely watched and well-known. This is one of the reasons that his *anime* was selected. Furthermore, among the films produced by Miyazaki, *Spirited Away* is probably the most iconic film as it has been keeping the record of best box office sales in Japan since 2001[47]. After the winning of the Golden Bear (the best film prize) at the 52nd Berlin International Film Festival in 2002 and the Best Animated Feature at the 75th Academy Awards in 2003, this film truly made Miyazaki a legend of *anime* director both inside and outside Japan.

Another film that we selected is *Howl's Moving Castle*, which screenplay was written based on the fantasy novel of the same name by British author Diana Wynne Jones, first published in 1986. Although several differences from the original novel were identified such as elimination of some characters and plots, the main storyline was kept unchanged in the film (Boyd & Charlton, 2008; Kimmich, 2007; Smith, 2011; Vieira & Kunz, 2018). This film hit the second highest sales[48] among the works of Studio Ghibli[49], as the subsequent film that Miyazaki directed right after *Spirited Away*. In fact, these films have been top two bestsellers from Studio

[47] Box office figure in Japan is more than 30 billion yen, which approximately corresponds to 250 million euros. (Retrieved from http://www.kogyotsushin.com/archives/alltime/ in September 2020.)

[48] Box office figure in Japan is nearly 20 billion yen, which approximately corresponds to nearly 160 million euros. It has been the 6th place of the sales of all time since its release. (Retrieved from http://www.kogyotsushin.com/archives/alltime/ in September 2020.)

[49] Studio Ghibli is a Japanese animation film studio established by Hayao Miyazaki, Toshio Suzuki (producer) among others in 1985. Most of Miyazaki's animation films were made in this studio (https://www.ghibli.jp/).

Ghibli so far. Considering all the above, it appears relevant to use *Howl's Moving Castle* as an alternative film, fairly distinctive from *Spirited Away* in terms of film setting and narrative.

The synopsis and production information about these two films are summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Information about the films used for Focus Group[50]

English title	Spirited Away	Howl's Moving Castle
Portuguese title	A Viagem de Chihiro	O Castelo Andante
Director	Hayao Miyazaki	Hayao Miyazaki
Producer	Toshio Suzuki	Toshio Suzuki
Distributer	Toho (Japan)	Toho (Japan)
Release year	2001 (Japan), 2003 (Portugal)	2004 (Japan), 2005 (Portugal)
Plot of the selected sequence	Ten-year-old Chihiro and her parents are moving to a new town in the countryside. On the way to their new home, Chihiro's father makes a wrong turn and drives down a lonely one-way road that dead-ends in front of a dark tunnel. Her parents decide to stop the car and explore the area. They go through the tunnel and find a seemingly abandoned amusement park on the other side. When they find an empty food stall with full of delicious steaming food, Chihiro's parents immediately begin to eat. Chihiro feels uneasy and refuses to eat. Leaving her parents, she decides to explore further and meets a mysterious boy named Haku, who warns her to leave the site before sunset. However, Chihiro discovers too late that her parents have metamorphosed into pigs. In addition, the theme park turns out to be a town inhabited by demons, spirits, and evil gods. At the center of the town there is a bathhouse where these creatures go to relax. Chihiro must rely on Haku to save her parents in hopes of returning to their world.	Sophie is eighteen-years-old apprentice hat-maker in a small shop. She lives in a city, which suburbs has a highland where a gigantic, metallic object moves on four spindly legs. It is said that this "moving castle" belongs to a lone wizard named Howl who is reputed to steal the hearts of beautiful young women. Sophie leaves the store and takes a walk downtown alone. Avoiding the main street packed with the people for a parade of soldiers, she enters a back alley. There, she bumps into a couple of soldiers who begin to flirt with her. A handsome young man, Howl, appears and saves her by using his magic. Howl has also been followed by a number of ominous black creatures so that he apologizes for getting Sophie involved and puts his arm around her waist before flying high in the air. They step through the air together and Howl sets Sophie down on the balcony of her sister's bakery. On the same day at night in her shop, the Witch of the Waste visits her and transforms her into a ninety-year-old woman. Seeking to break the curse, Sophie meets Howl again.
Box office (cumulative world gross)	$ 355 million (US)	$ 236 million (US)

[50] Most of the information in this table is adopted from Internet Movie Database (Retrieved from https://www.imdb.com, in September 2020).

7.2.2. Strategy of guide for the focus group

In order to make focus group discussion smooth and active, a guide was prepared for the facilitator to follow and give topics for the participants to talk. Although the guide basically organizes a rough flow of discussion, it is only a reference so that a dynamic and spontaneous conversation among the participants will be encouraged, which may eventually provide new findings in the process of analysis. Our strategy of guide is firstly giving relatively easy-to-answer questions in the initial part of the session in order to make the participants feel comfortable to talk. Therefore, several questions about the *anime* film that the participants watched shortly before the discussion starts, such as the impression about the *anime* characters, setting and story development, will be asked at the beginning.

Then, the subsequent questions attempt to examine if those *anime* characters' appearances and behaviors look like the Japanese ones. The answers to this question as well as the way how the participants answer the question must be carefully analyzed as they may reflect social stereotypes of the Japanese and social identity of the participants. The following questions may widen the theme and encourage the participants to discuss *anime* in general. In this part of discussion, representations of Japan, the Japanese and Japanese culture in *anime* as well as the participants' social representations of them are to be the central topic but other issues might be encouraged to discuss, depending on the relevancy and the participants' interest. For the JFL students' groups, we expect to listen to their opinion about the relation between Japanese language learning and *anime* viewing.

Lastly, as part of debriefing, more direct question such as "Do you feel that watching *anime* has changed or reinforced your impressions (stereotypes) of Japan and the Japanese?" will be given to ask their opinion about stereotyping. Some of the questions in this guide was adapted from the previous study about the impact of *anime* fandom on education of JFL and culture (Williams, 2006). The guide used in Study 3 is attached in Appendix C.

7.2.3. Participants

The participants of this focus group were volunteers who have also contributed to our questionnaire survey and all of them were the students from University of Minho. In total, seven groups were organized, where five groups consisted of the JFL students from Department of

Asian Studies and two groups consisted of the non-JFL students[51], one of which comprises the students from Communication Studies while another of which comprises the Master students from Engineering. The total number of participants was 63 while the size of group was in the range of 4 to 16. More female students than male students (*F*=41, *M*=22) have participated the discussion. The mother tongue of all the participants is Portuguese, except for one student as Spanish. All the students, except for one student, speak English as another language and some of them speak more languages, such as Spanish and French among others. Several JFL students stated Chinese and/or Japanese as other language ability, too. The JFL groups were organized according to the students' grade, from the first year to the third year. The mean age of the participants was 21. None of them had visited Japan before. In the socio-demographic sheet, it was asked how often the participants watch *anime*. The students of non-JFL group answered that they "rarely" or "never" watch *anime* while the answers from the students of JFL group vary from "rarely" to "everyday". In average, the JFL students frequently watch *anime*. The *anime* film to show at the beginning of the session was selected randomly except for one group (Group 3) in which both films were shown. The demographic data explained above is summarized in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2. Demographic data of focus group

Group	JFL or non-JFL	N	Sex		Film
			F	M	
1	non-JFL	8	6	2	*Spirited Away*
2	non-JFL	4	1	3	*Howl's Moving Castle*
3	JFL, 2nd-year	4	2	2	*Spirited Away*
4	JFL, 2nd-year	10	5	5	*Howl's Moving Castle*
5	JFL, 1st-year	11	8	3	*Howl's Moving Castle*
6	JFL, 1st-year	10	7	3	*Spirited Away*
7	JFL, 3rd-year	16	12	4	*Spirited Away, Howl's Moving Castle*

7.2.4. Procedure

All the focus group sessions were executed in a classroom of University of Minho. The participants were first greeted and explained about the objective and procedure of focus group by a facilitator. Importantly, it was confirmed that the audio of conversation will be recorded but

[51] Although one of the non-JFL groups included one student who had learned Japanese language, we did not eliminate his participation because from our observation his opinion derived from the JFL experience did not specifically dominate the entire discussion of the group.

anonymity and confidentiality will be protected. After the agreement, the informed consent of the same content explained orally was signed by all the participants. They were also asked to fill a socio-demographic sheet that asks age, sex, nationality, mother tongue, other languages ability, experience of visiting Japan and learning Japanese, and frequency of *anime* viewing, all of which responses are summarized in the previous section.

In the beginning of the session, a short sequence of one of the *anime* films of Hayao Miyazaki, either *Howl's Moving Castle* or *Spirited Away* was shown by a projector. The sequences were both about the first 10 minutes of the films. Then, a voice recording was started and the discussion was initiated by the facilitator, following the guide. For the discussion, Portuguese language was used. The duration of each group discussion was approximately 40 minutes. All the focus groups were organized in November and December in 2017.

After all the focus groups, the collected voice data was transcribed and coded by using a qualitative data analysis software called QDA Miner. Although Portuguese language was used in the coding process, the extracts of conversations were translated in English and presented in this thesis. To maximize the advantage of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2013), we took both deductive and inductive approaches as a coding strategy. Therefore, the transcripts were repeatedly analyzed from different perspectives, which were aimed at discovering more detailed explanations for the results of our quantitative study as well as possible new themes derived from the focus group. As a result, seven themes were obtained, which will be presented in the next section.

7.3. Results and discussion

In the focus group discussion, it was possible to collect various opinions and thoughts, in relation to the characteristics of Japanese people, society and culture identified in *anime*, *anime* production and arts in general, act of *anime* viewing and so on. In principal, most of the JFL students were very familiar with Japanese *anime* so that their discussion often became very detailed. The examination of these discussions made it possible to analyze not only their social representations of Japan and the Japanese but also their social identity of JFL students. On the other hand, the non-JFL students were not as much familiar with Japanese *anime* as the JFL students but their point of view on *anime* and Japanese culture as well as their way of perception were very suggestive, which significantly contributed to a comparative analysis between the JFL

and non-JFL groups. Through the process of Thematic Analysis on the data of focus group discussion, series of conversations were divided up and reorganized according to the two axes that we have defined as a coding strategy, which are namely a top-down approach and a bottom-up approach.

In the former approach, we have concentrated on finding the themes related to social representations of Japan and social stereotypes of the Japanese, which were examined quantitatively in Study 1 and 2. Briefly, in these studies, we have identified high impact of Japanese popular culture, including transnational cultural objects such as *anime*, *manga*, food, J-Pop and so on, upon the Portuguese students' images of Japan. In terms of social stereotypes of the Japanese, five factors were drawn, which largely corroborate with the results of previous studies in Asian context but lack an examination from the perspective of European context. Therefore, our coding in the top-down approach was focused on seeking evidence to complement, add explanation to or refute the findings of those studies stated above. As a result, we have obtained the following four themes: 1) cultural objects of new and old Japan, 2) social stereotypes of the Japanese, 3) homogenization of Asia and 4) gender stereotypes of the Japanese.

In the latter approach, that is, a bottom-up analysis, we have particularly paid attention to the patterns in the discussion, in which the issues recursively spoken and emphasized by the participants were regarded important. In this type of coding, "how" the students are talking is as much important as "what" they are talking about. From this analysis, we have identified the following three themes: 1) Japan in West and East dichotomy, 2) social identity of JFL students and 3) reality of *anime*. Indeed, these three themes were not completely free from the theoretical framework constructed for the present study. However, we distinguished them from the former explanatory themes because it was not entirely possible to draw these themes only from the quantitative study. Especially, the third theme was identified from the students' spontaneous but very intensive discussion about the comparison between *anime* and live action films. As *anime* is one of the important information sources for Portuguese students in association with social representations of Japan and the Japanese, it will be meaningful to examine how the students think about *anime* expression of "reality" and to how much degree they think that representations in *anime* look realistic. We will present our analysis of these seven themes from the following section. The selective extracts of the students' conversations that consolidate our

argument will be inserted appropriately by indented and smaller letter sized text. Anonymity of the speakers will be kept only providing the information of sex and the group to which the speaker belonged.

7.3.1. Cultural objects of new and old Japan

In Study 1, it was revealed that Portuguese students' social representations of Japan concentrate on cultural objects such as *anime*, landscape, technology, food, language, life style and traditional arts. The first theme that was identified from a deductive thematic analysis in the present study is associated with such representations. One of the most mentioned objects that represent Japanese culture is related to the beliefs long supported among Japanese people, including myth, folk tale, Shinto and Buddhism. More concretely, the students talked about *yokai* (monsters or imaginary creatures), temples, alters, bridge, boats and so on, most of which appeared in *Spirited Away* but also mentioned in the other part of discussion.

> [G6, Laura] [52] I found that the film itself has a lot of symbolism and Japanese mythology that are very present throughout the film (...) In that respect, I think so, at least, the more traditional part perhaps of Japan is represented.
>
> [G5, Diogo] The first film I saw of Miyazaki was *Spirited Away*. That was a while ago. I watched some other, *Ponyo* and *Princess Mononoke*. It's always Japanese folk tales, there's always a lot of Japanese folklore in his films.
>
> [G5, Bruno] Another thing that is constant in Miyazaki, the presence of Shinto, as those black dolls appeared, separating us (from the spiritual world). Miyazaki always has that element of the supernatural.
>
> [G4, Eduardo] But there are also several such Japanese myths portrayed in different *anime*. Even the very representation of certain animals or some kind of monster from Japanese folklore is quite represented in various *anime* and even in *anime* where we wouldn't expect so much something like that would happen.

Indeed, some critics and scholars (e.g. Napier, 2016) have also identified the importance of mythology and folktales that are often represented in Miyazaki's films. It is also possible to say that different *anime* films may evoke different cultural objects. However, there is no way to underestimate that the students actively identify the objects that they associate with Japanese old beliefs and traditional aspects as the extracts above show.

Other cultural objects identified through the discussion center around architecture and landscape, which corroborates with the results of the questionnaire survey, too. Upon those objects, it was possible to observe the students' representations of Orientalized Japan. The

[52] For the extracts of the students' discussion, the group from which the extract was taken is indicated by "G + the number of group", where "G1", for example, refers to "Group 1". Pseudonyms were used to anonymize the participants. These indications are inserted in the head of each conversation. When the extract is a continuous conversation, no space is inserted between each utterance.

abandoned remain of theme park, the stalls with a lot of food, the neon lights at night and the building of hot spring bath in *Spirited Away* (see Figure 7.1.a) were associated with Orientalized Japan. On the other hand, a steam locomotive, the military tanks, the battle planes and the moving castle in *Howl's Moving Castle* (see Figure 7.1.b) were associated with Techno-Orientalized Japan, as such modern architecture and industrial machinery were talked in relation to industrialization, seen as equivalent to Westernization of Japan.

> [G2, Rodrigo] (...) then I thought the atmosphere created was original. The city looked like the middle age but then they already had a train, that is, there was a mixture that looked like different technologies. The city was old but it already had some technology, for example, the train, the walking castle, and the creatures. Then at the level of the mentality of the characters, I thought it was, I don't know, a little conservative, a little traditional, by the way they dressed, by the way they talked and related to each other.



(a) **(b)**

Figure 7.1. Architecture of the films. **(a)** Bath house in *Spirited Away* (© 2001 Studio Ghibli・NDDTM)[53]; **(b)** Moving castle in *Howl's Moving Castle* (© 2004 Studio Ghibli・NDDMT).

Having examined these extracts of the conversations, we can recognize that there are various cultural objects that construct social representations of Japan, which can be characterized by a mixture of old and new aspects of Japan. In Miyazaki's films, the old aspects are represented by mythology and folklores and the new aspects are represented by modern technology. From this tendency, it is worth noting that two factors drawn from factor analysis of the images of the Japanese in Study 2, namely Conservativeness and Innovativeness, may be influenced by the recognition of these old and new aspects of Japan. The point is that in both Studies (2 and 3) it is a mixture or co-existence of old, traditional, Orientalized Japan and new, innovative, Techno-Orientalized Japan that was perceived by the students.

[53] All the visual shots of Miyazaki's films used in this chapter are taken from the images provided officially by Studio Ghibli for non-commercial use (https://www.ghibli.jp/).

[G7, Ana] I think Haku has a cloth, if I'm not mistaken, from the Muromachi[54] period and the buildings look a bit more recent than that period. The *onsens* (hot spring facilities or Japanese style spas) I think were around the time of the *Edo* period that they started to be very popular. So, there is a mixture of many mythologies and from various times in Japan and then there are also in the cities with the neons that are supermodern. So, maybe it's just like the Dad (of Chihiro) had said, a kind of historical theme park.

[G2, Rodrigo] The last one I saw was *Attack on Titan* (...) And it also portrays an older era mixed with recent technology.

7.3.2. Social stereotypes of the Japanese

The second theme is to complement social stereotypes of the Japanese examined in Study 2. Through the quantitative analysis, Portuguese students' images of the Japanese were summarized in five factors, which highlighted polite, diligent, shy, conservative and innovative aspects. Some of these factors can be explained in more detail from the results of the Thematic Analysis in the present study.

First, it was observed that the participants tend to point out the appearance, cloth, personality and behavior of the characters in the *anime* films for referring to the characteristics of the (non-)Japanese. With regard to the appearance, the color of the hair and the eyes, as well as the body shape, was particularly mentioned. Especially, the blond hair and blue eyes were associated with non-Japanese features. However, the students did not speak about the color of skin and the shape of the eyes. For instance, slightly slanted eyes of Haku (but still fairly big) could be associated with the Japanese or Asian feature but none of the students mentioned it (see Figure 7.2.a). We can interpret that this act of "not voicing" reflects the students' hesitation in using discriminative expression for describing a certain nation, ethnic group or race. Relatively well-built body of the father of Chihiro was expressed as "American" (see Figure 7.2.b), which implies the opposite skinny body shape was assumed to represent the Japanese.



(a) **(b)**

Figure 7.2. Character appearances of *Spirited Away* (© 2001 Studio Ghibli • NDDTM). **(a)** Haku; **(b)** Chihiro (back) and her parents (front).

[54] Muromachi period refers to a division of Japanese history running from approximately 1336 to 1573.



(a) **(b)**

Figure 7.3. Clothes of the characters. **(a)** Haku and a frog in the kimono outfits (© 2001 Studio Ghibli・NDDTM); **(b)** Sophie and Howl in the Western style clothes (© 2004 Studio Ghibli・NDDMT).

In terms of clothing (see Figure 7.3), a kimono style of outfits in *Spirited Away* became salient to represent the Japanese character while a Western style of outfits in *Howl's Moving Castle* was associated with the European. *Anime* characters are argued to be designed as *mukokuseki* (no nationality) figure without any apparent ethnic or racial physical characteristics, which makes it accessible to the viewers of any cultural background (Iwabuchi, 2002). However, from these results, it does not seem to be possible to completely avoid perceiving *anime* characters from associating with a certain nation or culture.

> [G1, Sara] Haku didn't look like a boy when I saw him. He looked like a girl, but then she said, "o Haku" and I said, "Okay, it's a boy." But he looks Japanese by his clothes and his hair...
>
> [G4, Raquel] For example, Howl, right at the beginning of the film, he has blonde hair, eyes...
> [G4, Rita] Blue.
> [G4, Cristina] Blue-green.
> [G4, Paulo] Blue.
> [G4, Raquel] This is not usually the appearance of a Japanese person.
>
> [G6, Sofia] Even with the clothes.
> [G6, Inês] Really the clothes and everything.
> (...)
> [G6, Liliana] The hair.
> [G6, Laura] Yes, the hair and face.
> [G6, Afonso] The eyes.
>
> [G7, Joana] Dad is too big and fat to be Japanese. He looks like he's either mixing with American. He looks more American than the daughter and the woman who look more Japanese. That is my opinion.
>
> [G5, Beatriz] If you cared about the style of dress there (in *Howl's Moving Castle*) and you would say it was no longer Japanese.

Some of the personalities such as careful, timid, reserved and calm were underlined from the discussion of the principal roles of Miyazaki's films and associated with the Japanese characteristics. These personalities corroborate with the factors of "Politeness" and "Shyness"

that were drawn from the factor analysis of Study 2. Shyness was mentioned for both female and male characteristics of the Japanese. However, boy's shyness was especially associated with a hesitated behavior in romance represented in *anime* narratives. As a counter personality such as careless, some participants mentioned certain characters as "very American".

> [G7, Vitória] Haku, especially, is quite Japanese in appearance and Chihiro perhaps in behavior. While the parents were very careless and very American, perhaps, Chihiro was more careful about ways of not taking food without the person there, and so on.
>
> [G5, Isabel] A girl (Sophie) looks reserved and timid.
>
> [In relation that Sophie looked like Japanese]
> [G5, Bruno] By the color of her hair, the way, too shy. I don't think she's very different from the Japanese.
> [G5, Diogo] He (Howl) is comfortable talking to Sophie and shaking her hand. A Japanese man, a Japanese boy doesn't have that will the first time he meets her.
>
> [G4, Nuno] (...) even if the *anime* is like a happier *anime* or more of action, there's always that little romance in the *anime* that represents the Japanese mentality, which is... in comparison to Europeans, they're, like, much more afraid of interacting with girls. They're much more ashamed. Most *anime* always represent that.
>
> [G2, Gustavo] Now, I can't describe what's probably Japanese, because like... I don't know. I don't think they ever scream. That's funny. It never seemed like...

Among others, politeness was significantly discussed identifying a social hierarchy in Japanese society, where the students imagine that the respectful attitude is highly expected to the elder people and the persons in a superior position. In some groups, this topic was discussed by comparing with Portuguese society so that the degree to which politeness is required was talked with some situational examples.

> [G6, Lídia] The Japanese values in terms of talking to people who is above us, and that kind of thing I think represents quite well.
> [G6, Inês] (...) and even the formalities between the characters because, for example, there is that "*senpai*[55]", for example. It's something we don't have here and I, too, kept noticing it (...)
>
> [G5, Clara] That's right. Even the idea that we have that younger people have to treat older people, even at school, students among themselves, have to treat them more politely or even cannot talk to them sometimes directly or approach them more directly and can be repressed because of it. Older people can repress them because of that.
> [G5, Maria] (...) You, for example, were the oldest or an older person who said that they have to talk with respect. For me it was almost impossible to think like that, but that's the mentality in Japan, for example.
>
> [G7, Hugo] Respect for older people and for those who have already died. We also see a great deal of respect for grandparents and parents and everything else here. Although we also have, we notice that they (the Japanese) have a lot more than we do.

[55] *Senpai* means a senior or superior student or colleague. A younger opponent is called "*kouhai*" and the *senpai-kouhai* relationship generally begins to be constructed from junior high school and continues afterwards. *Kouhai* is expected to keep a respectful attitude to *senpai* until they become very intimate. It is fairly common to form this hierarchical relation by age or length of membership among the members of any social groups in Japanese society.

As for the behavior, diligence was recognized not only in the *anime* characters and narratives but also in the intensive effort and hard work of Miyazaki himself. The students were aware of his dedication to *anime* creation, which is eventually reflected in the quality of his films.

> [G1, Bárbara] (...) I think there's always a person who works a lot in the *anime*. Always!
> [G1, Maria] Being polite, too.
> [G1, Sara] And being organized. I think they're very organized people.

> [G6, Inês] They talk a lot about the final exams there because they have to study a lot for those exams to be able to go to university because otherwise they don't get in. That shows a lot in a lot of *anime*, the final exams and so on.

> [G7, João] I think he (Miyazaki) is a master at what he does, he is very hard-working because he likes it. He has had success and hence all this kind of attention. So I think he already has that freedom to do what he wants without too much criticism.

During the discussion, the students often talked about school life as it probably was very familiar to them. In relation to diligence of the Japanese, the Portuguese students significantly mentioned how hard Japanese students may need to study for passing competitive exams to enter good universities. They even understood that the students who failed such entrance exams and job interviews could have tougher life afterwards. These pressures that the Japanese students and businessmen might feel were presumed to cause more serious problems such as mental illness and suicide, which some participants believed affect Japanese society immensely.

> [G4, Cristina] I think there are still quite a few who notice that they have some kind of criticism of Japanese society today, either positive or negative. Or even, in a more general way, to society, as a whole.
> [G4, Paulo] I think most of *anime* always have some parts that represent Japan. For example, the vast majority of the *anime* that I have seen, they all talk about that problem which is the pressure on them (the Japanese) in which if they are not good, they are practically rejected from society. Like... they either go into depression or they kill themselves because of their grades. One thing that here in Portugal, that... I've never seen anyone do that. And in Japan it's a pretty serious problem that most *anime* reflect that.
> [G4, Cristina] So, there he was talking about the pressure students feel and also some may show social exclusion that can... that can lead to being a bad student. I remember, for example, the *anime* of the *Assassination Classroom*, or *Ansatsu Kyoshitsu*, (...) the fact that there is a class that is far from everything because everyone is less good, is a reflection of the social exclusion that can happen to students in Japan if they are not good students. This also speaks, of course, of the pressure that people who don't want to go there have. (...) It denotes such social pressure on Japanese children and adolescents who are still studying. Then, it can extend to society and the pressure put on them at work. Of course, in other *anime*, we can see that the work, the pressure and stress of Japanese life are also immense and affect society a lot.

As discussed in the previous Chapter, one of the factors identified in Study 2 was "Diligence". In this theme, we have identified this aspect in various perspectives such as *anime* narrative themes, Miyazaki's dedication to his *anime* creation, pressures at schools and working places in Japan and so on. This result corroborates with the previous studies about the images of the Japanese in Asian JFL context, too. Not only that, it is possible to consider this trait has been one of the typical stereotypes of the Japanese since the pioneer empirical studies conducted in Princeton University revealed (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins et al., 1969; Katz & Braly, 1933). In some of

these previous quantitative studies about the Japanese characteristics, the traits related to diligence (i.e. “hard-working”, “organized”, “serious”, etc.) are considered positive stereotypes, according to general categorization. If not clearly categorized, it has been discussed not negatively. However, the examination of the extracts related to the Japanese’ diligence in this focus group revealed the emphasis was rather placed on negative aspects. The students have an image of the excessive rigorousness that the Japanese impose on their work. In fact, *karoshi* or “overwork death” is one of the most popular themes that the students selected for the assignment in a class of Culture of Japan at the course where some of the participants actually took (Yaginuma, 2020). From our observation, even linguistically fluent JFL students often demonstrate hesitation to obtain job opportunity in Japan because of the “difference” of attitude toward the work in Japanese society. The focus group underlined this excessive diligence, which has been one of the strong social stereotypes of the Japanese.

In addition to that, direct contact with a Japanese exchange student seemed to give a high impact on the images of the Japanese, especially of seriousness and diligence. It was observed that the students even reinforced these traits through an actual socialization with some Japanese exchange students in Portugal as can be seen in the extract below.

> [G4, Paulo] The contact we had last year reinforced even more than the idea of the *anime* is true. Whenever we tried to arrange to go out with Japanese students, most of the time they always said "We can't go out because we have to study. We can't go out because we have to do homework." Even when... even when we could get out, at eleven midnight they said "We have to go home because we have school tomorrow." Even if we had class tomorrow, we would go home by 6:00 a.m.! (Laugh)

Most of the students were very much aware of the risk of stereotyping so that they showed hesitation to generalize what they perceived in a particular *anime* and acknowledge it as Japanese stereotypes. However, they do not seem to hesitate to verify their images by a real experience obtained from direct contact with the Japanese. Rather, for the students, it appears that there is a need of knowing real Japanese people to confirm their opinions and images of the Japanese constructed by, for example, watching *anime*.

> [G2, Andreia] (...) We don’t know if it’s stereotype. When I say we see *anime* and do they increase our stereotypes about people? I don’t know because I’ve never met a Japanese person. So, it’s hard to know if what I know is really a stereotype or not. So, I don’t know.

> [G3, Hugo] We are not going to generalize and assume that everything is in a certain way because we have seen it in *anime*, but there are certain traits that you can see that Japanese society follows. For example, the fact that everyone in the trains is always quiet. About these ideas, we manage to keep but I don’t know to what extent this helps us to form an opinion about the personality of people in general.

> [G3, Rui] We don't have much of an object of comparison. As we know there are few real Japanese people (in Portugal) we can't compare much with what we see in the *anime* whether or not it actually happens.
> [G3, Hugo] For example, if you see a lot of *anime* and have characters, for example from North America, they tend to behave more extrovertly, more openly. That's not to say that all people are like that, but it does give a general idea. Without knowing them personally it is difficult to make a comparison.

If direct contact is not possible for validation, the students search for another option, for instance, YouTube videos that contain the sequence of daily lives in Japan or the interview with the Japanese.

> [G3, Sandra] I think it's a little bit more research on the part of the observer. As I've always been very interested, I follow the Youtuber or I follow people on the internet who are showing their life in Japan and when I see two girls who say: let's go to a bathroom now, let's take a shower together and sometimes they show photographs or something like that, and I realize that it really is something that exists, it's really a real situation. But there is something more, it has to be a little more the user who is watching the film to really research and see it from the outside. I don't think you can get the perception just from the film.

> [G4, Rita] But it also happened that I've gotten some misperceptions through *anime*, mainly about some subjects where, for example, I am able to see in an *anime,* and find "The Japanese think like that..." and then I am able to see, I don't know, a channel on Youtube where someone is going to ask questions to normal Japanese people passing in the street...university students and... students of the "circle (a kind of activity club)", normal workers and what people transmit, their opinion is totally different from what an *anime* transmits. (...) In other words, you also have to see the *anime* always with a bit of doubt if, really, I'm seeing something that represents 100% faithfully the Japanese reality.

According to Hall's concept of coding-encoding in media communication (Hall, 2003), YouTube video is just another media text that can have discrepancy in meanings between the intention of the creator and the reception of the perceiver. There is no way to check the authenticity of what is filmed in the video, either. However, from those discussions in focus group, it looks that the students are roughly making a judgement about the authenticity of information by the format of the media. In that assessment, *anime* is probably placed lower than YouTube videos in that they can see the actual scenery of Japan and hear the real voice of the Japanese. In any case, there seems to be no doubt that the students perceive and validate stereotypes through direct contact with the Japanese very firmly.

Nevertheless, it all comes to the intensity or degree of the confirmation as our analysis in this study already showed, which at the same time implies social stereotyping is not inevitable in our lives. In other words, no matter what types of information sources the individuals use, social stereotypes are reinforced by the degree of conformity between the images constructed by one cultural object (e.g. *anime*) and the same or similar aspects found in other comparable objects (e.g. YouTube videos, TV documentaries, etc.). Notably, in that process of judgement, the values and norms of the social group to which the individuals belong, as well as the relationship with the target outgroup have a significant influence.

Last but not least, it is worth noting that a group of the third year JFL students demonstrated a little more analytical opinions about *anime* in that *anime* can be used as a strategy of cultural diplomacy by attracting foreign audiences as well as domestic audiences and improving Japan's images. From this view point, the students claimed that "most popular stereotypes" are encouraged to be integrated in *anime* characters and narratives. This opinion, however, was countered in the same discussion by the assertion that *anime* is an author's artistic creation that is not intended to contribute to the enhancement of the country's image. Besides that, as we have argued Self-Orientalism found in Japanese films (see Chapter I, section 1.4.4.), it would be difficult to eliminate all the possibilities of self-Orientalized representations in *anime* films, too. In any case, it might be a good practice for the students to be aware of the potential involvement of (self-) Orientalism and cultural diplomacy.

> [G7, Teresa] I think there are a lot of stereotypes exactly because much of the *anime* is part of the whole Cool Japan movement. Hence they are reinforcing the most popular stereotypes to pull more Japanese people and more Western people. They always push for stereotypes to reach more audiences, whether Japanese or Western.
> But, in fact, these *anime* were not created to improve Japan's image. What do you think? In general terms there are creators and they create stories, characters. This is a bit separated from diplomacy, but still, *anime* works like improving images.
> [G7, Gabriela] But it is very difficult to talk about it when we have so many genres and thousands of *anime*. It is very difficult to see them all and it is very difficult to be analyzing everything in general because some can be done personally as the artist who had that idea did what he thought and was successful, as it could have been an *anime* that came because a game was overpopulated or because it is good for the country's advertising. I think it's a bit difficult to answer, in general.

7.3.3. Homogenization of Asia

In Study 1, homogenization of Asian personalities by non-JFL students was identified through the examination of the nomination of famous Japanese personalities. In the present study, the same tendency of homogenization of Asian people and countries was observed mainly in the groups of non-JFL students. The extracts below demonstrate their confusion, unfamiliarity and indifference toward the difference between the Japanese and other Asian nations as well as Japan and the other Asian countries. It is noteworthy that those homogenized countries, namely China, South Korea and Taiwan are arguably considered as in the same level as Japan in power relations in Asian region (Iwabuchi, 2002).

> [G1, Maria] I think in Japanese culture, and maybe in Chinese culture too, I don't know, movies always create creatures of the fantastic and things that we're not used to seeing.

> [G1, Maria] But look, if we even go to *Mulan*, of Disney, I think you can see the appreciation of the family, because they talk a lot about their ancestors and they have...
> [G1, Bárbara] Is *Mulan* from Japan or China?

[G1, Durante] It's from China.
[G1, Sara] It is from China!
[G1, Luís] Yes, but...
[G1, Maria] But that's it, the culture turns out to be similar, I think. And they also have... there came those little houses to pray in.
[G1, Ana] That's right.
[G1, Maria] And those bridges with those drawings on top, which you don't use much here and you seem to use a lot there.

[In relation to pop-culture for image formation]
[G1, Maria] About what K-Pop is?
[G1, Duarte] No. It's J-Pop. It's Japanese.
[G1, Luís] It's J-Pop, K-pop is from Korea.
[G1, Sara] Yes, it's from Korea.
[G1, Maria] I don't know it, so I can't talk.
[G1, Bárbara] Neither do I.

[G2, Rodrigo] I've already lived six months with a girl from Taiwan and she said that she's highly influenced by Japanese culture, so, yes, it is true that here in Portugal it is very rare to meet the Japanese but the *anime* is almost a worldwide phenomenon now and that all children see on TV.

7.3.4. Gender stereotypes of the Japanese

The last theme in the explanatory themes is about gender stereotypes. Although gender stereotypes of the Japanese is not in the scope of our study, we have observed androcentrism (male-centric) in nomination of Japanese famous personalities in Study 1. As some conversations in focus group were also significantly related to this issue, we would like to analyze briefly the perception of the gender of *anime* characters.

Several students pointed out that the main character in most of *anime* films of Miyazaki is female. If it were male, it would not have been even mentioned. The centrality of male figure in the films, however, is probably not Japanese tendency but the convention long maintained in the major commercial films, which might have been reproducing gender asymmetry.

Regardless of acknowledgement of the female protagonists in Miyazaki films who usually behave bravely and independently, the students perceived representation of Japanese women in *anime* or other Japanese media as "submissive", "inferior to men" and "no personality". It was also pointed out in the discussion that these representations were opposed to the Western female characteristics. There was a student who said that "the (Japanese) mentality doesn't match ours", emphasizing that it is not acceptable such gender inequality in Western society, especially, in the working place. Although gender asymmetry is a worldwide problem and not only a Japanese or Eastern specific issue, the Japanese women tend to be strongly associated with vulnerability and inferiority, and conversely superiority of Western society in gender equality was emphasized.

With regards to the representation of Japanese men, some pointed out that aggressive and dominant male figure is necessary as a counter role of submissive and dominated female figure in *anime* narratives. However, contrary to that, a "girl-like" looking, "cute" male character is one of the popular figures in *anime*. It appears that representations of male and female figures in *anime* and gender stereotypes of the Japanese must be analyzed further in the future study.

> [G5, Mário] One thing I notice and this happens in most Miyazaki films is that the main character is a woman. It's rarely a man, which is interesting.
>
> [G5, Isabel] (...) For example, the idea we have is that women are much more submissive and always below men, who do not have a big role in society, etc. This is all very much dealt with in the *anime* and reinforces the idea we had that, for example, women in the East are more submissive. So I think it reinforces this idea, at least in women and men as well.
> [G5, Diogo] Yes, the men are in another position because if you have the submissive woman then you have to have the dominant man.
> [G5, Clara] Very much so. Sometimes aggressive.
> [G5, Diogo] This certainly reinforces because it was a recurring theme in all the *anime*, (...) For example, you often see this gesture: "I'm weak and vulnerable", when we here in Europe have already started to get the opposite idea. Women are much more resistant in certain things than men. Yes, I think that this certainly reinforces the concept of Japanese women.
>
> [G5, Beatriz] But what I realized a little while ago is that a member of parliament in Japan went with a baby to the Assembly to debate that she didn't have enough maternity leave to get. This really happened in Japan a little while ago. In real life these problems are being contained. Maybe it would be good if she was represented in the *anime* to get to the West that this is happening, not only the good parts, but also the less good parts.
>
> [G6, Sofia] Even some female characters in some series always fall a bit into the clichés.
> [G6, Liliana] Fall too much into the clichés.
> [G6, Sofia] It is rare to see a female character who has personality.
> [G6, Liliana] Unfortunately, always ends up being a bit the stereotype that some Westerners have, for example, that she is submissive and very quiet, that kind of thing, and that doesn't represent, maybe not at all, the women in Japan.

7.3.5. Japan in West and East dichotomy

As have been already seen in some of the extracts in the previous section, during the course of discussion, Western customs or values were often exemplified in order to compare with the Japanese ones. This implies that the participants discussed about Japan and the Japanese from the perspective of West and East dichotomy. However, close examination suggests that it is too simple to reduce and fall into this traditional dichotomy to analyze social representations of Japan and the Japanese in the Portuguese context. In focus group, apart from ideological "Western" based on the dichotomy of Western and Eastern people and culture, "Western" was heterogenized and articulated by different terms with different categories such as European, Portuguese or American.

All participants in this study have Portuguese linguistic and cultural background. They live in Portugal and have Portuguese nationality except for one participant. Therefore, their national

identity become more salient in this situation, especially in the situation where they are intended to talk about another nation, the Japanese. However, there were very few conversations in which the term “Portugal” or “Portuguese” were explicitly used to indicate their own nation and culture during the session. However, when the students identified themselves clearly as Portuguese, their discussion became significantly detailed. The extract below is a good example in which the politeness to the elder in the working place is discussed.

> [G5, Bruno] Whenever it is in a school context, it happens to you. The hierarchy, if we notice each other well, is already there. I'm in the ninth grade, that one's in the eleventh grade, like this. The hierarchy is already done in our heads. There is not so much that thing of disrespect, nor do we give it a name, but there is already an established hierarchy.
> [G5, Beatriz] (...) There's also in the workplace. You enter your workplace and you have to respect the people who entered more years ago than you. And you have to calculate like: that one came in two years ago.
> [G5, Isabel] But in Portugal it doesn't happen so much.
> [G5, Clara] But before when I went to school I even treated people who are older than me with more respect. It's not mandatory, it's something I have to follow to feel good. Because it is the person who has more years of experience than I, supposedly knows best to take on certain situations, it is not something that is determined by culture. It's something that I do instinctively.
> [G5, Beatriz] For example, here in Portugal I had jobs where the boss turned to me and said: "call me ‘tu’" and I'm at ease and in Japan it's not really like that. In the first week, you have to be formal with your boss but from the moment your boss becomes informal with you, you are always informal.
> (...)
> [G5, Maria] But I don't think that in Japan even with a month or two, or even a year, you can reach that informal level. He's older, have some respect, let's set things right.
> [G5, Isabel] Maybe outside of work there's more intimacy, but at work, not.

Indeed, when the students use the term “we” or “us”, it seems to mean “Portuguese”. However, from our observation, there was a tendency to consider themselves more as Westerners or European than Portuguese in that case. As the next extract shows “us, Westerners”, it appears that homogenization of the Westerners was acceptable for the students to argue the differences of culture from Japan. On the contrary, the JFL groups rarely homogenized the Asians, distinguishing the Japanese from the Chinese as the extract below exemplifies.

> [G6, Afonso] I went to Paris and one thing I noticed, not to say bad things about the Chinese, and I noticed that the Japanese there respected monuments very much and, for example, statues and people. When they were taking pictures, they did not put themselves in front or anyone, in contrast to the Chinese who touched anything, put themselves in front of people, who did not want to know anything. But the Japanese were very respectful on everything, they didn't make any noise, they didn't speak loudly, they were very civilized.
> [G6, Inês] Ah, and in concerts, too. The Japanese who are in a concert are super-calm.
> [G6, Laura] And they're always listening attentively and it's supposed to be only for a really important moment when they applaud. It's a little different.
> [G6, Inês] If they applaud, it’s a good sign.
> [G6, Laura] I don't doubt that they've changed a bit now or that there are some different people and more similar to us, Westerners, but in general I think they are much calmer and more respectful.
> [G6, Afonso] There was a stereotype, say, that I had that they were very organized and civilized and I am confirming that it was even a bit true. I think, in my opinion.

Now, in the view of West and East dichotomy, how do the students represent the relation between Japan and the West in particular? In some conversations, it was observed that the Japanese were assumed to admire Western culture, more precisely American and European cultures. Therefore, the students claimed that some *anime* characters were "Americanized and Europeanized" in their look and some recent *anime* adopted Western culture.

> [G5, Miguel] I don't think the Japanese *anime* characters look much like the Japanese. I think the Japanese fascination with the world outside Japan is reflected in the animations. The characters are Americanized and Europeanized. I'm talking about the look. The rest I can't say.

Nevertheless, the students understand that *anime* is a creation that should reflect the creators' opinion. Therefore, most students agreed upon if a creator is Japanese, *anime* must have some aspects very Japanese, even though the Westerners may not be able to recognize them. As for Miyazaki, the students even showed their respect on his "extravagant" film direction. Probably, they might have wanted to say Miyazaki's films transcend the concept of Japanese or Western. Having admitted these various opinions, some students could not help insisting that Japanese *anime* creators may already have a Westernized view or may have needed to westernize their *anime*. In the last conversation in the extract below, one student claimed that the creators have to "normalize" the objects that are unfamiliar for the Westerners, with rephrasing by "Americanize" them, although this student said it was wrong.

> [G5, Afonso] In this film, what I think is very Japanese is perhaps the fascination with the West, but here it's more the artist Miyazaki. His films are very extravagant. It seems to me to be the different behavior of the Japanese in society, a lot of rules... but then when he creates the art it's all very extravagant, a lot of colors, a lot of fantasy. Maybe it's a reflection of Japanese culture.
>
> [G4, Marcelo] There may be some way of thinking that can be reflected on...Okay, on the Japanese way of thinking about it, because each author leaves a piece of himself in the work he creates and then obviously he will have to leave his opinion in his work, even if he westernizes it immensely.
> [G4, Afonso] (...) the author himself may have a very westernized view of what he is trying to portray, which is not necessarily bad. But it is also with the eyes of a Japanese person, someone who was brought up as a Japanese person. In other words, there are certain things that are really Japanese, although for us they may not be so obvious to recognize.
>
> [G4, Rita] (...) it seems very westernized to us as well ... but it's still, in a way, a Japanese view of what is westernized.
>
> [G4, Raquel] They (*anime* creators) looked for a masterpiece, which has no other name, a work of art, right? And they tried... they must have had something strange or worked a little with the culture, and they must have tried to normalize these things, to Americanize them. ...It's wrong.

It is emphasized that the students perceived the Japanese fascination with the Western culture. This notion is often argued in *Nihonjinron*, as has been discussed in Chapter II. In that argument, Western superiority in West and East binary is usually emphasized. According to some

scholars (Napier, 2016; Newitz, 1994) and Miyazaki's interview (Miyazaki, 2013), it is also true that the early Japanese *anime* creators were significantly influenced by Disney animation. Considering the complexity of modern Japanese culture interwoven with Western culture, it is difficult to separate one from another following a simple West and East binary.

Normalization to American culture also implies the influence of cultural imperialism in that American culture dominates in the world entertainment business. As far as Japanese animation is concerned, it was pointed out by some scholars (e.g. Iwabuchi, 2002; Napier, 2016) that cultural "odorless-ness" and Americanization made *anime* more familiar and accessible for the viewers outside Japan. This notion also corroborates the students' assumption that a commercial success of *anime* in the USA promises the world-wide success. On the other hand, there is another aspect in that digitalization of *anime* made it possible transnational circulation without extensive distribution supported by American huge media network. Our questionnaire survey also proved that the students' information retrieval depends largely on the internet.

The students remarkably perceived Westernized Japan and Westernized view of the Japanese. At times, this westernization significantly meant Americanization and the students regarded Japanese admiration for the West as something inevitable so that their discussion on this issue was not dominated by negative tone. However, when the topic turned to be American version of one Japanese *anime* called *Death Note* (Nakatani et al., 2006) that was produced in a live-action film By Netflix in 2017, the students intensely criticized the Americanization (from American side) by using very strong negative words such as "stupid", "horrible" and "ruined". Many JFL students are fans of *anime* so that they almost worship original version, even avoiding dubbed version. What matters to them is "who" Americanized *anime* so that the students did not hesitate to express hostility toward the American adaptation of Japanese *anime* and severely accused "misinterpretation" of the original *anime* narrative and characters. Furthermore, it is worth noting that, in this particular topic, they categorized themselves more as "we, who know better about Japanese *anime*" than just Portuguese or Westerners. From this, it is possible to say that multiple identities had been switched, according to the topic, during the focus group discussion. The issue about social identity of JFL students will be discussed in the next section, too.

> [G4, Nuno] (...) the case of *Death Note*, which was... The film was horrible, even though the anime is one of the best animations I've ever seen. And that's also a bit due to the fact that, first, the person who made the live action was simply not used to the universe of *Death Note* itself. (...)

[G6, Lídia] They've changed a lot. They also try to put a huge series in a small movie and ruin everything.
[G6, Miguel] Exactly, they wanted to adapt Japanese story more to the American public and that probably didn't go well... I don't think it went well. But those who don't know the story see and even feel a little intrigued but those who know the main story and know that the core of that *anime* (don't agree with the alteration).

So far, we have attempted to examine how Portuguese students articulated "Western" and positioned themselves in relation to the Japanese within their discussion about Japanese culture, mainly about *anime*, which is something very familiar especially for most of the JFL students. The JFL students tended to develop the discussion in favor of Japanese culture except for the issue of gender inequality. It was possible to identify that Portuguese students tend to categorize themselves largely as Westerners. However, when they compare some aspect of Japanese culture with American culture, the West was more heterogenized, in a way that European was differentiated from American. In that case, American features represented in *anime* were talked relatively in a negative way. On the contrary, the discussion that involved the comparison between European/Portuguese culture and Japanese culture was maintained fairly in a calm way in that careful assessment was performed without using any aggressive words.

The non-JFL students by and large had the same tendency in terms of self-categorization as Westerners but demonstrated relatively more neutral attitude during the discussion about Japanese *anime.* They concentrated on the content of *anime* and did not actively develop the opinion about representations of Japanese culture. Only significant difference from the JFL students was their homogenization of the Asian as mentioned earlier.

7.3.6. Social identity of JFL students

As have mentioned in the previous theme, in our focus group, social identity of the participants was one of the themes that must be focused. In Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1979), the membership of a social group is important to differentiate one group from another group. The perception of the self is based on self-categorization in that the person acknowledges his/her own membership of a social group (or groups) and attaches the value and emotional significance, usually positive one, to that membership.

One of the participants' identities was "Westerners" as identified in the previous theme. We also discussed diverse membership within Westerners. Another one might be "students" as their discussions, whether *anime* or their real lives, significantly involved the events or the problems that happened or could happen at school. This tendency seems to be observed

because they were all university students at the time of focus group and the membership of the students might have been intensified in the participation in the focus group conducted in their university. In particular, the group of JFL students showed a certain membership.

From our observation, there are not few JFL students who admit that there was no friend to talk deeply about *anime* until entering the course of Asian Studies at University of Minho. In other words, Japanese *anime* is a common cultural object that can be deeply shared among the JFL students. If *anime* contributes to unite the students, which plays an important role in intensifying the membership of the JFL students group, it is feasible to understand that the students put positive values on *anime* and other *anime*–related objects and events. This social identity was not found in the focus groups of non-JFL students.

> [G3, Filipa] We usually exchange more ideas between us, because we watch (*anime*). I even give my example. I sort of didn't know almost anyone until two years ago. So, I ended up not talking to anyone about what I watched. Even those movies I liked and wanted to talk to other people, I knew they probably wouldn't be interested. But then about two years ago I started meeting people and we started exchanging impressions and recommendations and that's even something we do within our course, too.

It was also observed how *anime* was anchored and objectified among the students. The JFL students claim that some Japanese cultural aspects represented in *anime* is hard to understand or even not possible to recognize. Then, by learning Japanese language, history and culture, these unfamiliar things started "making sense". Some students, however, admit that without knowing specific Japanese culture, it is possible to follow what *anime* conveys by its own narrative. One student insisted "I don't think knowing Japanese culture is going to influence the way I see *Dragon Ball* at all". It depends a lot on the genres of *anime*, too. Nevertheless, the JFL students emphasize the advantages of holding the knowledge of Japanese culture as it can enhance the pleasure of viewing *anime*. The following extracts show the process of familiarization of Japanese culture through *anime*.

> [G4, Cristina] I think many of them (*anime*) are a good introduction to culture.
> [G4, Nuno] And others, after we have already had this introduction, are a good continuation to deepen.

> [G7, Gabriela] Perhaps before studying anything about Japan, it was all a bit, say, the exotic, the fascination about the exotic, things that are not part of our culture but after we learn, it is more the feeling of "There it is, I know this". And it really is.

> [G7, Joana] Many times before we study the culture itself we see the series and the *anime* and we don't understand why a certain character gets upset or why they don't talk to another character but after studying the culture and seeing the *anime* a person ends up understanding why they act in a certain way and how a person should act with the Japanese.

In relation to the process of anchoring and objectification, it is not always a passive way in that the Portuguese students only learn and accept Japanese culture as "Other". As have been seen in some arguments about politeness and social hierarchy at school and working place, similar values in Portuguese culture are actively negotiated. As a result of this kind of process and if the "strange" culture were familiarized and objectified well enough, it would not be anymore "Other" culture but would become a part of "Our" culture. Such integration could happen in daily lives. The extract below gives a good example.

> [G3, Sandra] (...) it's one of those things that I sometimes get into my daily life here in Portugal, that, for example, my mother doesn't take off her shoes when she enters the house and I start to sweat. (Laugh) I myself started a bit to insert Japanese culture, because of the influence not only of the *anime* but also of the normal Japanese films and the knowledge of the culture, in my own daily life. In other words, I sometimes expect from people some behavior that does not exist here in Portugal. But I think that for us at first some of these behaviors are strange.

Thus far, we have argued the issues around social identity of JFL students. With regards to *anime* influence on non-JFL students, it was possible to identify the idea of "*anime* as an entrance to Japanese culture". As previous studies argued (Armour & Iida, 2016; Kondo & Muranaka, 2010), by watching *anime*, those who "didn't care much about Japanese culture" could get interested in it.

> [G2, Andreia] I happen to think that when I started watching *anime*, I started to get more interested in Japanese culture.
> [G2, Tatiana] That's right.
> (...)
> [G2, Andreia] (...) And one day I'd like to visit Japan, too. But I think from the moment we have contact with the *anime* we can get to know more, and like it more. I've come to like it. Before, I didn't care much about Japanese culture, it wasn't something I thought about a lot, and from then on I started to pay more attention.
> (...)
> [G2, Tatiana] So the *anime* could be... like the door.
>
> [G5, Bruno] (...) when I started watching, for example, I didn't even dream of studying something like that, but watching the *anime* and seeing how they behave, what they eat and how they treat each other I think they serve much more as a teaching of culture than we need to study culture in order to understand the *anime*.

Anime can be a motivation to learn Japanese language and culture while the knowledge of language and culture enrich the experience of *anime* viewing. This reciprocal relation may result in familiarization with Japan's "strange" culture. At the same time, this process might also serve as validation and reinforcement of social stereotypes. Now, what do the students think about reality construction of *anime*? We have argued that animation can manipulate with huge freedom anything projected on the screen such as character design, movement, voice,

environment, dialogue, music, etc. in order to generate *anime*-specific reality (Nelmes, 2004). From which features of *anime*, do the students socially represent Japan and the Japanese more? We will examine these issues in the next section.

7.3.7. Reality of *anime*

In Film Studies, it is regarded that animation films can seek reality by interpreting how reality might be perceived and reconstructing it in the world of animations (Nelmes, 2004). For reality construction in *anime* fantasy, Yoshida (2010) insists that active involvement of audiences is inevitable in meaning-making. In terms of audience, some empirical studies of television audience (e.g. Ang, 1989; Lobo & Cabecinhas, 2010; Morley, 1992) revealed categories of audience group (e.g. sex, race, class, nationality, etc.) could influence the interpretation of media text. The concept of encoding-decoding claimed by Hall (2003) and subsequent empirical studies (e.g. Ross, 2011; Wu & Bergman, 2019) also acknowledged a variety of patterns in making meanings from both sides of encoder and decoder. The process of meaning-making involves other issues such as ideological values (e.g. Orientalism) and identity construction (e.g. social identity of JFL group) as have been argued in this study, too. Bearing in mind those notions, in this last theme, we would like to focus on the issue of how *anime* reality is actually thought by the participants in relation to the representations of Japanese culture.

In relation to the reflection of reality in *anime* in general, the students admitted it does not entirely correspond to reality but Japanese culture is definitely represented. They pointed out that *anime* is a cultural product to sell to the consumers so that reconstruction of reality, including exaggerations, is unavoidable in order to appeal to the viewers.

> [G3, Hugo] Japanese culture is embedded in *anime*, it certainly is. Now some probably represent, others not so much. I don't know, maybe it depends on the *anime*.
> [G3, Filipa] Because they also have to show in a way that appeals to the public in other countries, so not to correspond 100% to reality but to give a way to attract people who come from outside as well.
> [G3, Rui] It doesn't represent Japanese culture in its entirety but it has instilled in.
> [G3, Sandra] But it always represents a bit.
> [G3, Hugo] These, the most recent, are also widening the horizons.
> [G3, Filipa] It is also a good way, in general, to make others aware of a little of their own culture, but I think it still doesn't correspond 100% to reality.

> [G6, Marcelo] But these exaggerations aren't just in the *anime*. In English comics, whatever it is, or in soap operas, there are always those situations of exaggeration that are to sell to people.
> [G6, Laura] Everything that is animated makes sense, being a bit over the top.
> [G6, Sofia] Yes, exactly.
> [G6, Miguel] Do not exactly portray (reality).

Many students claimed a preference of watching *anime* to live-action movie. In the discussions about *anime* reality, live-action film became an object of comparison and several reasons why the students prefer *anime* were revealed, which eventually helped us with analyzing the issues related to reality construction through *anime* viewing.

Several participants across the groups insisted that *anime* art form is more suitable for constructing reality than live-action films. Various reasons were identified from their opinions. First of all, animation is practically free from any restriction in expression and extremely versatile in describing anything what the human being can do and beyond. Some students admitted *anime* has a way to convey the characters' feeling very effectively, for instance, by voice-over, background music among others. These effects are also used in live-action films but conventionally not as much as in *anime*. Particularly, the students were very sensitive with the special effects in live-action films, a wrong or bad use of which they think ruins the film.

> [G5, Diogo] I much prefer to watch animated films because whenever I watch a film, like, of real actors and people, the film is very restricted. There's a lot they can't do in a film. If not, it's gonna get ugly. Either the special effects have to be very good or you have to have a lot of money to make a film with very good special effects, or if it's doing something not so well, it just ruins the film. While in an *anime*, they have a lot more freedom to do, like, fantasy, monsters, special effects.
>
> [G3, Sandra] The problem is that even if this film existed as a live-action, and I saw it first, I would prefer animation because animation is not restricted to what the human being can do in the studio (...). In other words, they can do a little bit of everything and, at least in terms of animated films, it is phenomenal because I don't need to go to the cinema to see a film that's not very well done on a subject, that is not exactly real, and I can see an animated film that's very well done with great voice actors and a great soundtrack.
>
> [G4, Rita] You can never act so well in a film without the special effects. (...) There are certain things that in *anime* they represent well, the emotions they're feeling. In a (live-action) movie, no matter how good an actor he is, you never... I don't think you can ever, like, understand what he's feeling at that moment as well as what's happening like in *anime*.
> [G4, Cristina] It's true. There's a lot of ways to convey emotions in *anime*.
> [G4, Pedro] Yes, I think in an *anime*... For example, a quiet moment in an *anime* says much more than a quiet moment in a (live-action) movie.

Some students expressed almost hatred against live-action films. This was probably due to a bad adaptation of *anime* film to live-action film. Especially, the JFL students have tendency to respect the original version so that they prefer watching *anime* with subtitled not dubbed. Indeed, there are always strong and weak points both in *anime* and live-action format but for those who like fantasy elements in films, *anime* art form is stronger in connecting two worlds that are constructed by reality and fantasy without making the viewers feel awkward.

> [G5, Diogo] A live action of that *anime*... usually 99% of movies are always very bad. And the *anime* is very good and the movie is always very bad.

[G5, Mário] But it seems to be interesting because, although it looks real (in *anime*), it also seems to have a lot of things, like, fantasy. And it seems that the two worlds are very well connected with each other.

In fact, Miyazaki believes that people do not trust films that deal with things like love or justice if they are made with real people, by saying that "I think the last thing that Japanese people want to see is the Japanese" (Miyazaki, 2013, p. 55). He insists *anime* can successfully "dilute" those embarrassing aspects of live-action films. Indeed, *anime* was perceived as an excellent tool to illustrate the thoughts that the Japanese have and the students considered knowing these thoughts through *anime* is easier than through a documentary, for example. Another student pointed out that *anime* can create more reality because *anime* normally consists of a series of episodes that can manage to develop the story better and deeper than the other shorter audio-visual media such as a two-hour live-action film. The genres of *anime* also affect the students' perception in that the story of everyday lives of the Japanese reflects more reality than the story of fights in a fantasy world, for example.

[G7, Ana] It depends a lot on the *anime*, but it demonstrates more the thought that the Japanese have of themselves and of the foreigner than what is seen from outside in relation to Japan. And one can perceive more of their culture and thought through the *anime* they make than simply by watching a documentary. It is easier by the *anime*.

[G6, Lídia] I think live action loses out to the *anime* in the fact that the story is probably not so developed. Because, normally, in *anime* we have a series, we have several episodes and then we manage, maybe, to get more involved in the story than maybe in the live-action which, maybe, loses in it and, in that sense I think the *anime* becomes more real than the live-action.

[G5, Bruno] Yes, the genre, the *anime*, when more related to people's personal life, tries to be as realistic as possible, while those of fights and more of fantasy do not try to be as faithful to the Japanese, people's behavior.
[G5, Maria] And they end up representing, even, people's daily behavior.

The students often mentioned the difficulty to generalize the opinion about *anime* due to the vast range of themes, from common to unusual, that *anime* can deal with. Because of this, one student emphasized artistic aspects of *anime* so that representation of Japanese people or culture is only one of the inclusive elements if necessary for a certain theme. In other words, reality construction in *anime* does not necessarily require Japaneseness and it all comes to the centered theme. This inclusiveness of *anime* art form was then considered as "Japanese culture" by another student.

[G3, Sandra] I think I have a slightly different opinion in the sense that although I've seen *anime* that are more main stream and that everyone knows, I see more *anime* that is not known and addresses more unusual topics, and these *anime* only focus on art in animation and story. In other words, they don't care about what the Japanese person or Japanese culture is. They only exist on the level of art. In other words, I have never associated *anime* with Japanese culture in the sense that this is a reflection of everyday life. It's just art and story.

[G2, Tatiana] Because only the *anime* itself is already Japanese culture, so it is already characteristic. I think if you see a film with Japanese people or an *anime* film, even though it's the same, I think you associate it more quickly since that image is there, I think. I think it's one of the most characteristic things (...)

So far, versatility of *anime* in reality construction has been focused in comparison with live-action film in its inferior side but in fact there were also some positive opinions about live-action films, where the students believed live-action is much more realistic than *anime*. For those students, *anime* looked too fantasized and idealized despite it is more impressive and funnier.

[G5, Diogo] It (live-action film) is completely realistic and reflects reality much more than *anime*. It's really like the Japanese are saying "OK ready, let's fantasize, let's idealize everything". In the movie it's different and the characters are much more conventional than in the *anime*.

[G5, Diogo] It (live-action film) is more real, but also the money is tighter, so they have to be more careful with what they do, and sometimes, it's not so impressive.

[G5, Vera] The films... The films are more faithful than *anime*.
[G5, Mário] And they do not lose their essence.
[G5, Vera] Of course, it's always a little funnier to see them in *anime* because it's always... there you go, they're more colorful, more...

Previously, it was discussed that everyday lives reflect well reality in *anime*. However, there was a counter opinion that even daily lives can be fantasized in *anime*. For example, in the theme very realistic to the students, such as a school life, they feel realism was destroyed by a success story of a perfect protagonist. The students know that a lot of *anime* deal with the real problems that happen commonly at school (e.g. bulling, examination hell, etc.) and imagine that the Japanese are bound by strict rules in the closed society. However, in those idealized stories, a happy ending is prepared and the students feel it does not reflect reality.

[G5, Diogo] I don't think there's much realism (in *anime*). I think there's a lot of fantasy even in the context of everyday reality. I mean, this is all very fantasy. There's always the perfect character, the perfect girl or the perfect boy and these characters seem to betray a bit the mentality of the Japanese that I think they're so closed in society and in the rules that then when they have the opportunity to go overboard they shoot everything at the table.

[G5, Clara] There are many *anime* that show kind of complexity and problems.
[G5, Diogo] But in the context of reality, they are not very realistic. In other words, you have lots and lots of *anime* of which action takes place in a school. There is no more realistic context of reality than this and yet you have the perfect character on one side and another perfect character on the other side, then everything happens so that the two are together.

In this sense, live-action films seem to deal better with serious social problems than *anime* films in the students' perception. However, this is also a relative issue so that *anime* could become a fantasy for the viewers to escape from a harsh reality and, on the other hand, could use a metaphor to represent a real problem as a fantasy.

> [G5, Mónica] I think Japanese films for what I've seen tend to be, they focus on a more serious subject. For example, what I saw was called *My Little Sister*, which was the case of a girl who lost her father. The father died and she was living with the stepmother and a half-brother and the father had daughters from another marriage and the stepmother treated her daughter badly. I think it is a problem that still happens today, unfortunately. It's real problem. And then the daughter went to live with the other sisters. I think this is a serious problem, it's real and these problems are not so common to appear in *anime* because it is the reality and usually people come to *anime* to get a little away from reality. To see such a fantasy, I don't mean to exaggerate, but to see fantasy and I think that in *anime* was not something that affected a person so much. We know that with real people the feeling is really reality.

> [G2, Andreia] (...) while the animation part then also has that fantasy part about not sometimes being clear situations but having a metaphor behind it. In other words, this castle here, which is a walking castle, could be, I don't know, a sign of pollution. I think it's part of the *anime* to try to talk in other ways about a problem that's not so direct either.

When focused on the theme that represents a real problem, whether personal or social it is, it was considered that the viewers are able to experience to deal with it and overcome it through the *anime*'s story and characters. Miyazaki was named by the students as one of the *anime* creators who can competently construct such reality in *anime* fantasy. In this sense, what matters in reality construction is neither media format nor how realistic it looks but reasonable reality in which the viewers can immerse themselves convincingly.

> [G5, Maria] Sophie's character I feel is a young girl who's trying to fight her shyness, her will to achieve something more. And it's a theme that appeals a lot from the characters in Miyazaki's films. Within a fantasy world, they're trying to fight off problems that occur. People who are watching the film can identify with those problems. They look real. Like, a young woman who is different from the others, who is working, who wants to succeed and who wants to deal with society. (...) Through fantasy he works with real issues.

A summary of Study 3 is integrated into the discussion in Conclusions.

CONCLUSIONS

In this final section, we will present the main findings of each empirical study and provide general discussion by comparing the results with each other. Then, the major limitations, suggested future works and principal contribution of the present study will be illustrated.

Major findings and general discussion

One of the major findings in Study 1 is the centrality of popular culture in social representations of Japan among Portuguese students. More specifically, Japanese *anime* was significantly associated with the images of Japan, which was evidenced in different questions of the questionnaire survey asking for a word association with the term "Japan", major information sources to access and so on. This tendency may support the effect of "Cool Japan" phenomena enhanced by transnational circulation of Japanese popular culture and Japan's governmental strategy (Iwabuchi, 2002; McGray, 2002; Sugimoto, 2014). When asked to mention famous Japanese personalities, the most indicated name was Hayao Miyazaki, due to the popularity of his *anime* films. Through the analysis of these figures, it was possible to observe recency effect, sociocentric bias and Western-centric bias, which are in line with the results found in the studies of social representations of world history (Liu et al., 2005, 2009) and national history (Cabecinhas, 2018).

In Study 2, we have analyzed social stereotypes of the Japanese, by performing factor analysis, which delivered five factors, "Politeness", "Diligence", "Shyness", "Conservativeness" and "Innovativeness". The results largely corroborate the tendency drawn in the previous studies although they were executed in different cultural, situational and methodological contexts. From this, it is possible to consider that these stereotypes of the Japanese are cross-culturally shared. However, comparing the Asian context, much less or almost no explicit negative stereotypes were observed in the Portuguese context. A comparative analysis between the two groups of students revealed that the JFL group tends to ascribe more positively most of the Japanese traits than the non-JFL group. By a variability assessment, outgroup homogeneity tends to be stronger in the non-JFL group than in the JFL group, except in the highly positively configured traits. This trend can be explained by the fact that the JFL students in general tend to show more variability in the

ascription of the traits than the non-JFL students, except in the case of more positively ascribed traits, which are strongly associated with the factor of diligence.

As regards the influential information sources for the students' representations of Japan, digital media available on the internet, including *anime* and *manga*, were highly and commonly selected in both groups. The difference was observed as the JFL group tends to rely more on the information produced in Japan while the non-JFL group tends to mostly access information produced outside Japan. However, these differences had a very weak influence on the representation factors. Rather, "being a JFL student" appears to give higher impact on factors such as politeness and shyness. A correlation analysis has also showed that direct contact with Japanese people either in Portugal (e.g. in the classroom) or in Japan (e.g. by traveling) has a significant influence on the same factors.

In Study 3, seven themes were highlighted from the focus groups in which the Japanese *anime* films of Hayao Miyazaki were used to induce the participants' discussion about Japan, the Japanese and Japanese culture. They are 1) cultural objects of new and old Japan; 2) social stereotypes of the Japanese; 3) homogenization of Asia; 4) gender stereotype of the Japanese; 5) Japan in West and East dichotomy; 6) social identity of JFL students, and 7) reality of *anime*. Some of the themes have supported and added more explanations to the results delivered by Study 1 and 2.

As found out in Study 1, social representation of Japan is related to cultural objects. Many references to them were also observed in Study 3. More specifically, in the discussion about *Spirited Away*, the long-standing Japanese customs and beliefs as well as the objects related to myths and Shinto were significantly mentioned by the students, showing their strong interest in old and traditional aspects of Japan. On the other hand, modern architecture and industrial machinery represented in *Howl's Moving Castle* were mentioned as a reflection of Japanese modernization and industrialization, or as a technologically advanced Japan. These old and new aspects discussed in focus groups may contribute to support the concept of "Orientalized Japan" and "Techno-Orientalized Japan", which have been theoretically discussed in many studies in different disciplines such as Film Studies (Davis, 2001), Audience Studies (Morley & Robins, 2002a), and Cultural Studies (Abe, 2001). The "Conservativeness" and "Innovativeness" factors identified in Study 2 as social stereotypes of the Japanese might also be influenced by these representations of Japan.

For the second theme, we have further focused on the discussions that seemed to support or provide more explanation for the Japanese stereotypes found in Study 2. Among many different points of view, first of all, it was the appearance, personality and behavior of *anime* characters that led the students to reflect upon how much they look like Japanese, in comparison with Caucasian or Western characteristics. It is noteworthy to point out that the students did not use discriminatory expressions especially as regards the Japanese specific physical features. In the previous studies of *anime*, the statelessness (*mukokuseki*) of characters and settings is regarded as a factor for a favorable acceptance of *anime* by transnational viewers (Iwabuchi, 2002; Napier, 2016). However, this notion was not particularly developed in the present study.

So far as Japanese traits, students mentioned other characteristics such as timidity, cautiousness and thoughtfulness, some of which are in line with the traits that were summarized as "Politeness" and "Shyness" in Study 2's factor analysis. According to the students' perception, politeness of Japanese people is regarded as an important attitude toward elder people and those who are higher than us in social hierarchy. Although the students admit this attitude also exists in Portuguese society, the degree of importance and formality is more highly perceived in Japan.

Many opinions were expressed from different perspectives on diligence, which may be one of the strongest cross-cultural stereotypes of the Japanese and was identified in our factor analysis as well. From the behavior of the characters in *anime* to Hayao Miyazaki's enthusiastic work style, an industrious aspect was significantly focused during the discussion. Although diligence is generally considered a positive stereotype (e.g. Cabecinhas, 2017), in this focus group, students consider that excessive diligence in Japanese society is a negative phenomena, referring to "examination hell" at schools and *karoshi* ("overwork death"). Overall, it was possible to observe that the students think that Japanese are living in a very stressful life and it is one of the serious social problems of Japan. In this way, Portuguese students' social representations of Japan and the Japanese identified in Study 1 and 2 were complemented by several detailed explanations.

The students are aware of the danger of generalization of the Japanese characteristics throughout the discussion. It was often seen that they expressed their opinions after making such a preface. However, it seems that a certain image such as diligence tends to be reinforced by repetitive representations by different formats of media including *anime*. Socialization with the

Japanese students also seems to be one of the key factors that had an impact on the students, especially of the JFL group.

In the discussion about the Japanese characteristics, homogenization of Asian people (theme 3) was observed among the non-JFL students, which corroborates the result of Study 1. Gender stereotype (theme 4) was also represented by emphasizing the submissive and vulnerable aspect of Japanese women in comparison with Western women. Although most of Miyazaki's films' protagonists are females, this was perceived as an "interesting" fact, which implies that a male protagonist is taken for granted in general.

As we have argued Japan's position in West and East dichotomy in Chapter II, the same theme was examined in relation to Portuguese students' view, which became the fifth theme in Study 3. From this analysis, it was possible to observe that Portuguese students identify themselves not only as Portuguese but also as European or Westerners when they talk about Japan and the Japanese. Furthermore, they consider that the Japanese have a longing for the West. In the perception of *anime*, it was discussed that the Japanese admiration for Western culture encourages the creation of westernized characters and stories or at least western aspects are expected to appear in *anime* because the creators themselves are influenced by Western ideas in the first place.

Indeed, Western influence on Japanese culture and its adoption have been widely discussed in *Nihonjinron* literature, too. More specifically, westernization in this case equates to Americanization. In Japanese *anime* production, it is said that early directors were greatly influenced by Walt Disney animation. Therefore, it might be difficult to discuss Japanese culture in general and *anime* in particular by separating them from Western culture that has already been permeated in Japanese culture in a complicated manner. While the students recognize some reflection of Western elements in *anime*, they particularly show relatively negative reaction to American influence on *anime*, which implies heterogenization of the West by Portuguese students. This tendency was mainly observed in the JFL group.

Regarding social identity, we found out that a membership that significantly characterizes the JFL group was the appreciation of *anime* (theme 6). According to some JFL students' experience, there had been few opportunities to talk about *anime* until they entered the current university course specialized in Asian Studies, where they are able to share thoughts on *anime* that they use to watch. Considering some previous studies that also pointed out the importance

of *anime* in JFL context, especially regarding their motivation for learning Japanese language (Armour& Iida, 2016; Fukunaga, 2006; Kondo &Muranaka, 2010), this identity of JFL students seems to have continuously been important and worth examining. Furthermore, an example of familiarization and objectification of a certain Japanese culture represented in *anime* was also identified in this study. From the conversation of non-JFL students, we understood that *anime* can be a "gateway" to Japanese culture, which is in line with the previous studies referred above.

The last theme drawn from focus groups was about reality construction in *anime*. Supported by several results from the questionnaire survey, we understood *anime* as very influential cultural object among Portuguese students. In the focus group, we have observed how the students perceive Japanese culture as well as Japan's representation and the characteristics of the Japanese through their *anime* watching experience. Then, we attempted to examine how the students feel reality in *anime*, through which social representations of Japan and the Japanese are constructed. In order to discuss this issue, differences of representations between *anime* and live-action films became a major topic. As a result, we found out that *anime* is seen as a versatile art form and well suited to convey the emotions, thoughts and behaviors that the characters have in different circumstances, by which *anime* can construct reality according to the students. More importantly, it was supposed that such reality would be sustained depending on how much a convincing and consistent world can be constructed by *anime* and how much the viewers can absorb that world. With regards to the reflection of Japaneseness in Miyazaki's *anime*, as Miyazaki briefly mentioned in his interview (Miyazaki, 2013), there seems to be "less hesitation" to express how the Japanese feel especially about love and justice in *anime* narratives than in live-action films. Therefore, through his films, Japaneseness might be more convincingly perceived with a certain degree of "reality" by the students, which might have influenced their social representations of Japan and the Japanese.

As argued in Chapter II, Japan's representation has significantly shifted from post-war rapidly developed economic superpower to culturally "cool" powerhouse around the 90s. It is possible to observe that this socio-cultural background is significantly reflected in our results. On one hand, a continuity of one strong social stereotype of the Japanese, "diligence" was identified. This representation was probably reinforced in Japan's postwar reconstruction period and has persistently been cross-culturally shared since then. On the other hand, the popularity of *anime* among Portuguese students, especially of JFL, was confirmed in different types of survey

questions and focus groups discussions. Although we have identified a continuity of some Japanese stereotypes in the students' discussions about *anime*, we can assume that their representations are subject to change since the students of JFL showed variability in social stereotypes in Study 2.

Considering the above, teachers and researchers who are engaged in JFL or Japanese Studies should acquire knowledge of the historical transition of social representations of Japan and (dis)continuity of social stereotypes of the Japanese along with the associated theoretical and empirical explanations, since their educational and investigational activities may give an impact on the students' image construction. In order to have such knowledge, as suggested by Said (1978/1994) and Aoki (2013), it might be important to (re)examine the canonical works that have investigated what differentiates one culture from the other, taking into account the world power balance and the intercultural relations of the target countries.

Limitations, contribution and future direction

In this very last section, we would like to state our thoughts on major limitations of the present study, possible future works that were basically inspired from the limitations and beyond. In addition, we will summarize some contributions that this study might have achieved by corresponding to our initial motivation.

As major limitations, first of all, it is important to acknowledge that social representations of Japan and the Japanese identified in this study are not exhaustive and cannot be generalized considering the sampling strategy for the questionnaire and focus groups discussions as well as the methodological choice for the analysis. Although the data of JFL group for the questionnaire were collected from different universities in different regions, the samples of non-JFL group were collected from a single university. The focus groups were also organized by the participants from the same university. Therefore, we should bear in mind that different data collection and treatment or analytical approach may shed light on different aspects of social representations in question. The methodological variation may be worth taken into account for further investigation.

Secondly, we should be aware that the selection of films to use in focus groups may affect the participants' discussion, more specifically the topics or the aspects to be covered. From this, it is possible to consider the possibility of other consequences, too. Therefore, it will be interesting to complement the present study by using films with different characteristics in terms

of production, genre, and theme for example. This way, we believe there is considerable space for the use of *anime* in empirical studies for social representations. In particular, if we concentrate on the intercultural relation of Portugal and Japan, it is possible to study representations of a certain object that might connect two countries as a common identity, such as "the ocean[56]", for example.

Thirdly, as mentioned in the chapter of methodology, the presence of Japanese investigators or teachers during the execution of surveys and focus groups has to be carefully considered as a possible cause for bias in the participants' responses. In order to reduce such influence, indirect method should be used in future works.

Regarding the main contributions of this study, we believe that we were able to provide a detailed description of social representations of Japan and the Japanese shared among Portuguese students, and we hope that the present study can contribute as one case of intercultural studies between Portugal and Japan in particular, and between Europe and Asia in a wider sense.

Through this study, we have identified the importance of triangulation of theories, empirical methods and analytical approaches for knowledge production, which was probably the major advantage of doing this investigation in an interdisciplinary subject, Cultural Studies.

We also hope that our study raise greater awareness among JFL teachers and researchers regarding the questions of how to approach (inter)cultural issues. We would particularly like to emphasize how important it is for the educators and the scholars to have knowledge of the history of Japanese Studies and understand how Japan has been represented particularly by the Western intellectuals in their studies. "Teaching culture" should not simply mean providing socially represented Japanese culture of a selected period of time. There are plenty of concepts that have to be considered, which involves social identity, intergroup relations, social representations, Orientalism and so on.

If I could add one more thought on the future of Japanese Studies, I would like to draw attention to the gap between Japanese Studies in Japan and overseas as suggested by Oguma (2017). According to his assertion, international, intercultural and inter-intellectuals' dialogues

[56] The sea plays a central aspect of Portuguese culture. As the sea, water and the respect for the nature play a significant role in Hayao Miyazaki's films, it will be possible to link and discuss different cultures through the representation of water for a certain social issues such as the current environmental problems.

are scarce in the discipline but have an essential role in area studies. Nowadays, local social problems caused by racism, gender inequality, discrimination toward minority groups, etc. can rapidly be transnationally shared by SNS. Through such fast sharing of new incidents, social acts and public opinions, there is an increasing possibility that something "taken for granted" in one culture becomes subject to change or to be revised from other culture's norm. In case of Japan, such cultural flow is often unidirectional, mainly from "Western developed" countries to Japan. As Kawai (2020) states, a transcultural critical view is necessary to examine (re)construction of Japaneseness that is constantly changing with the influx of new cultural and social norms. To investigate intercultural relations, which therefore enhance intercultural dialogues, as suggested by Brasil and Cabecinhas (2019), the combined use of concepts related to Cultural Studies and Social Psychology is one possible approach. We hope that this thesis has contributed to support this strategy.

REFERENCES

Abe, K. (2001). *Samayoeru nashonarizumu: Orientarizumu, japan, guroobarizeeshon [Wandering Nationalism: Orientalism, Japan, Globalization]*. Sekaishiso-sha.

Akita, K. (2006). Orientalism and the Binary of Fact and Fiction in Memoirs of a Geisha. *Global Media Journal, 5*(9), 1–11.

Allison, A. (2001). Memoirs of the Orient. *Journal of Japanese Studies, 27*(2), 381–398. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/3591971

Allison, B. M. (2008). *Authenticity from Cartoons: US Japanese Animation Fandom as an Agency of Informal Cultural Education* [PhD Thesis]. University of Georgia.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Doubleday.

Anderson, B. R. O. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso.

Anderson, J. I., Richie, D., & Anderson, J. L. (1982). *The Japanese film: Art and industry*. Princeton University Press.

Ang, I. (1989). *Watching Dallas: Soap opera and the melodramatic imagination*. Psychology Press.

Ang, I. (2005). Who needs cultural research? In P. Leistyna (Ed.), *Cultural Studies: From Theory to Action* (pp. 477–483). Blackwell Publishing.

Aoki M. (Ed.). (1998). *Kinema jyunpou '98, 10 gatsu gejyun aki no tokubetugou, tsuitou Kurosawa Akira [Kinema jyunpou '98, Special issue of autumn in late October, In memory of Akira Kurosawa]*. Kinema jyunpou sha.

Aoki, T. (2013). *Nihonbunkaron no henyo: Sengo nihon no bunka to aidentitii [Transformation of the theories of Japanese culture: Postwar Japanese culture and identity]*. Chuoukouronsha.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Theory, Culture & Society, 7*(2–3), 295–310. https://doi.org/10.1177/026327690007002017

Appadurai, A. (1999). Globalization and the research imagination. *International Social Science Journal, 51*(160), 229–238. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2451.00191

Appadurai, A. (2000). Grassroots globalization and the research imagination. *Public Culture, 12*(1), 1–19.

Appadurai, A. (2010). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, A. (2014). Arjun Appadurai. *Globalizations, 11*(4), 481–490. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2014.951209

Araújo, M. (2020). Os'' compridos narizes'' dos portugueses: Expo'98, manuais escolares e história em multiperspectividade. *Língua-Lugar: Literatura, História, Estudos Culturais, 1*, 66–85. https://doi.org/10.34913/ journals/lingua-lugar.2020.e208

Armour, W. S., & Iida, S. (2016). Are Australian fans of anime and manga motivated to learn Japanese language? *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 36*(1), 31–47.

Arnold, M. (1869). *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*. Smith, Elder & Company.

Baptista, M. M. (2009). Estudos culturais: O quê e o como da investigação. Carnets. *Revue électronique d'études françaises de l'APEF, Première Série-1 Numéro Spécial*, 451–461. https://doi.org/10.4000/carnets.4382

Barker, C. (2003). *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. SAGE.

Befu, H. (1987). *Ideorogii toshite no nihonbunkaron [On theories of Japanese culture as ideology]*. Shiso no kagakusha.

Befu, H. (2008). Consumer Nihonjinron. In D. Ö. Hans (Ed.), *Theories and Methods in Japanese Studies: Current State and Future Developments* (pp. 345–355). Bonn University Press.

Befu H. (1996). Nihon bunka no tokushusei, fuhensei: Hikaku bunka ron no tachiba kara [Peculiarity and universality of Japanese culture: From the standpoint of comparative studies of culture]. *Kyoto Conference on Japanese Studies*, 345–354.

Befu, H., & Guichard-Anguis, S. (2003). *Globalizing Japan: Ethnography of the Japanese presence in Asia, Europe, and America*. Routledge.

Benedict, R. (2006). *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Bordwell, D., & Thompson, K. (1997). *Film Art: An Introduction*. McGraw-Hill.

Boyd, J. W., & Charlton, S. E. M. (2008). Contemporary Japan Though the Lens of Howl's Moving Castle. *Japan Studies Association Journal, 6*(1), 1–16.

Boyd, J. W., & Nishimura, T. (2016). Shinto Perspectives in Miyazaki's Anime Film'' Spirited Away''. *Journal of Religion & Film, 8*(3), 4.

Brannen, J. (2017). *Mixing Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Research*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315248813

Brasil, J. A., & Cabecinhas, R. (2017). *Social representations of Latin American history and (post)colonial relations in Brazil, Chile and Mexico*. Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 5, 537–557. https://doi.org/doi:10.5964/jspp.v5i2.701

Brasil, J. A., & Cabecinhas, R. (2019). Intercultural dialogue and intergroup relations in Europe: Contributions of Cultural Studies and Social Psychology. *Comunicação e Sociedade, Special Issue*, 105–118.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Bryman, A. (2003). *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. Routledge.

Byram, M. (2014). Twenty-five years on–from cultural studies to intercultural citizenship. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 27*(3), 209–225.

Cabecinhas, R. (2014). *Who wants to be erased? Social representations of world history and decolonisation of thought*. Colonialisms, Post-Colonialisms and Lusophonies: Proceedings of the 4th International Congress in Cultural Studies. http://hdl.handle.net/1822/44936

Cabecinhas, R. (2015). *Representações sociais da história nacional: Estudos comparativos em contexto lusófono*. In M. L. Martins (Ed.), Lusofonia e interculturalidade – promessa e travessia (pp. 335–354). Húmus. http://hdl.handle.net/1822/39713

Cabecinhas, R. (2017). *Preto e branco: A naturalização da discriminação racial*. Campo das Letras. http://hdl.handle.net/1822/37335

Cabecinhas, R. (2018). *Memórias (des)alinhadas. Representações sociais da história e comunicação intercultural* [Sumário da lição, Universidade do Minho]. http://hdl.handle.net/1822/62836

Cabecinhas, R., & Amâncio, L. (1999). Asymmetries in the perception of other as a function of social position and context. *Swiss Journal of Psychology, 58*(1), 40–50. https://doi.org/10.1024//1421-0185.58.1.40

Cabecinhas, R., & Brasil, J. A. (2019). *Social Representations of History in the Global South: Remembering the colonial past from the margins*. In S. Seidmann & N. Pievi (Eds.), Identidades y conflictos sociales. Aportes y desafíos de la investigación sobre

representaciones sociales (pp. 489–518). Editorial de Belgrano. http://hdl.handle.net/1822/61833

Cabecinhas, R., Liu, J. H., Licata, L., Klein, O., Mendes, J., Feijó, J., & Niyubahwe, A. (2011). Hope in Africa? Social representations of world history and the future in six African countries. *International Journal of Psychology, 46*(5), 354–367.

Calhoun, C. J. (1997). *Nationalism*. Open University Press.

Chapman, D. (2006). Discourses of multicultural coexistence (tabunka kyōsei) and the 'old-comer'Korean residents of Japan. *Asian Ethnicity, 7*(1), 89–102.

Choo, K. (2008). Girls return home: Portrayal of femininity in popular Japanese girls' manga and anime texts during the 1990s in Hana yori Dango and Fruits Basket. *Women: A Cultural Review, 19*(3), 275–296.

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist, 26*(2).

Clausen, L. (2010). Moving beyond stereotypes in managing cultural difference: Communication in Danish–Japanese corporate relationships. *Scandinavian Journal of Management, 26*(1), 57–66.

Cook, P. (1999). *The Cinema Book* (M. Bernink, Ed.; 2nd Revised edition). BFI Publishing.

Creative Industries Division, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan. (2012). *Cool Japan Strategy*. https://www.meti.go.jp/english/policy/mono_info_service/creative_industries/pdf/120116_01a.pdf

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. SAGE.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE.

Croteau, D., & Hoynes, W. (1997). *Media-society: Industries, images, and audiences*. Pine Forge Press.

Dale, P. N. (1986). *The myth of Japanese uniqueness*. Taylor & Francis.

Davis, D. W. (1996). *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental style, national identity*, Japanese film. Columbia University Press.

Davis, D. W. (2001). Reigniting Japanese Tradition with" Hana-Bi". *Cinema Journal*, 55–80.

Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Murdock, G., & Golding, P. (2007). *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Denzin, N. K. (2017). *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315134543

Dijk, T. A. van. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis: Discourse and dialogue* (pp. 352–371). Academic Press.

Doi, T. (1981). *The Anatomy of Dependence*. Kodansha International.

Doise, W., Deschamps, J.-C., & Meyer, G. (1978). The accentuation of intra-category similarities. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 159–168). Academic Press.

Doise, W., & Sinclair, A. (1973). The categorisation process in intergroup relations. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 3*(2), 145–157. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420030204

Flick, U. (2008). *Managing Quality in Qualitative Research*. SAGE.

Flick, U. (2014). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. SAGE.

Flick, U., Kardoff, E. von, & Steinke, I. (2004). *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. SAGE.

Freiberg, F. (1998). Japanese cinema. In J. Hill & P. C. Gibson (Eds.), *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*. Oxford University Press.

Fujita M. (2016). Nihonbunkaron no kenkyu: Meijiizen, meiji, taisho [Study of theories of Japanese culture: Before the Meiji era, Meiji era and Taisho era]. *Bulletin of Center for International Education and Research, 11*, 45–61.

Fukunaga, N. (2006). "Those anime students": Foreign language literacy development through Japanese popular culture. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, 50*(3), 206–222.

Futagoishi Y. (2021). Ryuugakusei 30mannin keikaku no tassei to sonojitsujou o saguru: Ryuugakusei no nyuugakukeiro to sotsugyougo shinro ni kansuru ichikousatsu [Exploring the achievements and realities of the 300,000 International Students Plan: An analysis of admissions and graduation paths for international students]. *Ryuugaku kouryuu [Study abroad exchange], 120*, 42–60.

Geertz, C. (1988). *Works and lives: The anthropologist as author*. Stanford University Press.

Giddens, A. (2013). *The consequences of modernity*. John Wiley & Sons.

Gilbert, G. M. (1951). Stereotype persistence and change among college students. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 46*(2), 245–254. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0053696

Gonçalves, J., Navio, C., & Moura, P. (2021). The occidental otaku: Portuguese audience motivations for viewing anime. *Convergence, 27*(1), 247–265. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856520923966

Grossberg, L. (1996). Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That all There is? In S. Hall & P. Du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 87–107). SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446221907

Haga, T. (2014). America ni okeru Miyazaki Hayao no jyuyou: Nihon bunka to rekishi no atarashii hyoushou [Alternative Images of Japanese Culture: Hayao Miyazaki in the US]. *Chiba daigaku hikaku bunka kenkyuu [Chiba University Comparative Cultural Studies], 2*, 73–102.

Hall, I., & Smith, F. (2013). The struggle for soft power in Asia: Public diplomacy and regional competition. *Asian Security, 9*(1), 1–18.

Hall, S. (1980). Cultural studies: Two paradigms. *Media, Culture & Society, 2(*1), 57–72. https://doi.org/10.1177/016344378000200106

Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, culture, difference* (pp. 222–237). Lawrence & Wishart.

Hall, S. (1992a). The Question of Cultural Identity. In D. Held & A. G. McGrew (Eds.), *Modernity and its futures: Understanding modern societies : an introduction* (pp. 273–325). Polity Press in association with the Open University.

Hall, S. (1992b). The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power. In B. Gieben & S. Hall (Eds.), *Formations of modernity: Understanding modern societies: an introduction*. Polity Press in association with Blackwell and the Open University.

Hall, S. (1997a). Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities. In A. D. King (Ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-system: Contemporary conditions for the representation of identity.* University of Minnesota Press.

Hall, S. (1997b). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. SAGE.

Hall, S. (2003). Encoding/decoding. In S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, & P. Willis (Eds.), *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 1972-79. Routledge.

Hall, S., & Du Gay, P. (1996). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Sage.

Hamilton, D. L., & Gifford, R. K. (1976). Illusory correlation in interpersonal perception: A cognitive basis of stereotypic judgments. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 12*(4), 392–407. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-1031(76)80006-6

Hamilton, D. L., & Trolier, T. K. (1986). Stereotypes and stereotyping: An overview of the cognitive approach. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 127–163). Academic Press.

Han, C. Y., & Ling, W. N. (2017). The Use of Anime in Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language. *Malaysian Online Journal of Educational Technology, 5*(2), 68–78.

Hanke, K., Liu, J. H., Sibley, C. G., Paez, D., Gaines, S. O., Moloney, G., Leong, C.-H., Wagner, W., Licata, L., Klein, O., Garber, I., Böhm, G., Hilton, D. J., Valchev, V., Khan, S. S., & Cabecinhas, R. (2015). "Heroes" and "Villains" of World History across Cultures. *PLoS ONE, 10*(2). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0115641

Hara S. (2016). Nihongo gakushuusha ga deau "tasha" towa dareka: Furansu no daigaku ni okeru" 'nihon' no imeeji" wo meguru gakushuusha no tairitsu jirei no kousatsu [Who are the "others" that Japanese learners meet? Consideration of learner conflict cases over "images of 'Japan'" at a French university]. *Riterashiizu [Literacies], 18*, 89–105.

Hayashi, F., & Prescott, E. C. (2002). The 1990s in Japan: A lost decade. Review of Economic Dynamics, 5(1), 206–235.

Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture*. Routledge.

Hendry, J. (2003). *Understanding japanese society*. Routledge.

Hills, M. (2002). *Transcultural otaku: Japanese representations of fandom and representations of Japan in anime/manga fan cultures*. Media in Transition 2: Globalization and Convergence, Mass. Institute of Technology.

Hinton, P. (2014). Representation or misrepresentation?: British media and Japanese popular culture. *NECSUS. European Journal of Media Studies, 3*(1), 89–108.

Hinton, P. R. (2014). *Statistics Explained*. Routledge.

Hinton, P. R. (2019). *Stereotypes and the Construction of the Social World*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315205533

Hinton, P. R., McMurray, I., & Brownlow, C. (2014). *SPSS Explained*. Routledge.

Hirai, M. (2000). "Nihonjinrashisa" ni tsuiteno sutereotaipu: "Ippan no nihonjin" to "Jibunjishin" no sai [Stereotypes about the Japanese: Differences in evaluations between "The

Japanese" and "Myself"]. *Jikken Shakai Shinrigaku Kenkyu [Japanese Journal of Experimental Social Psychology], 39*(2), 103–113.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations*. Sage publications.

Hoggart, R. (1957). *The Uses of Literacy*. Essential Books.

Höijer, B. (2011). Social representations theory: A new theory for media research. *Nordicom Review, 32*(2), 3–16.

Hosaka T., Gehrtz-Misumi T., & Kadowaki K. (2012). Eizousakuhin o riyoushita nihongokyouiku no taikeika ni mukete: Kaigai ni okeru riyoujittai to kyoushi no ishiki kara [Toward the systematization of Japanese language education using visual materials: From the actual situation of overseas usage and the awareness of teachers]. *Bulletin of University of Tokushima International center*, 47–59.

Hosokawa, H. (2000). Kotoba to bunka wa donoyouni oshierareteki taka: "Nihonjijou" kyouiku kenkyuu shoushi no kokoromi [Language and culture in Japanese as a foreign language 1960～1999]. *Bulletin of Center for Japanese Language,Waseda University, 13*, 103–112.

Hosokawa, H. (2017). From learners' entity to citizen language:History and innovation of linguistic and cultural education as a politics. *Studies of Language and Cultural Education, 15*, 58. https://doi.org/10.14960/gbkkg.15.58

Hutchinson, R. (2006). Orientalism or occidentalism? Dynamics of appropriation. In S. Dennison & S. H. Lim (Eds.), *Remapping world cinema: Identity, culture and politics in film* (pp. 173–187). Wallflower Press.

Istanto, J. W. (2009). The use of films as an innovative way to enhance language learning and cultural understanding. *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching, 6(*1), 278–290.

Iwabuchi, K. (1998). Marketing 'Japan': Japanese cultural presence under a global gaze. *Japanese Studies, 18*(2), 165–180.

Iwabuchi, K. (2002). *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism*. Duke University Press.

Iwabuchi, K. (2006). Japanese popular culture and postcolonial desire for Asia. *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan*, 15–35.

Iwabuchi, K. (2014). De-westernisation, inter-Asian referencing and beyond. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 17*(1), 44–57.

Iwabuchi, K. (2015). Pop-culture diplomacy in Japan: Soft power, nation branding and the question of 'international cultural exchange.' *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 21*(4), 419–432. https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2015.1042469

Iwasaki, N. (2013). Ryuugaku zengo no nihongo gakshuusha no nihonkan nihongokan: Fukubunka fukugengo shiyousha toshite [Images about Japan and the Japanese held by Japanese language learners before and after study in Japan: As pluricutlural and plurilingual users]. *Ochanomizujoshi Daigaku Hikakunihongaku Kyouikukenkyuu Center Kenkyuu Nenpou, 9*, 175–182.

Jang, G. & Paik, W. K. (2012). Korean Wave as tool for Korea's new cultural diplomacy. *Advances in Applied Sociology, 2*(3), 196-202.

Johnson, R., Chambers, D., Raghuram, P., & Tincknell, E. (2004). *The Practice of Cultural Studies*. SAGE.

Kadowaki, K. (2013). Eizousakuhin wo riyoushita ibunkarika notameno nihongo kyouiku [National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics Bibliographic Database of Japanese Language Research]. *Nihongakkan [Journal of Japanese Studies], 16*, 4–22.

Kagami, T., Moriya, T., & Iwai, A. (2014). Kankoku ni okeru 20dai no nihongo jyoukyuuwasha no nihon imeeji [Image of Japan in case of Korean advanced-level speakers of Japanese in their 20s]. *Ochanomizujoshi Daigaku Jinbunkagakukenkyuu, 10*, 69–82.

Kamise, Y. (2012). Sutereotaipu no shakaishinrigaku: Henken no kaishou ni mukete [Social psychology of stereotypes: For resolving prejudice]. Saiensusha.

Karatsu, R. (2018). Innovation as Conservation: Reflexivity, National Cinema, and Male Hegemony in Takeshi Kitano's Hana-bi. *Arts, 7*(4), 71. https://doi.org/10.3390/arts7040071

Karlins, M., Coffman, T. L., & Walters, G. (1969). On the fading of social stereotypes: Studies in three generations of college students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 13*(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0027994

Kato, S. (1955). Nihonbunka no zasshusei [Hybridity of Japanese culture]. *Shisou, 372*.

Katz, D., & Braly, K. (1933). Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28*(3), 280–290. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0074049

Katz, E., & Liebes, T. (1990). Interacting with" Dallas": Cross cultural readings of American TV. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 15*(1).

Kawai, Y. (2020). *A Transnational Critique of Japaneseness: Cultural Nationalism, Racism, and Multiculturalism in Japan*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Kazufumi, M., & Befu, H. (1993). Japanese cultural identity: An empirical investigation of nihonjinron. *Japanstudien, 4*(1), 89–102.

Kimmich, M. (2007). Animating the fantastic: Hayao Miyazaki's adaptation of Diana Wynne Jones' Howl's moving castle. *Fantasy Fiction into Film*, 124–139.

Kondo, Y., & Muranaka, M. (2010). Can Japanese pop culture enthusiasts be considered as potential Japanese language learners? *Kokusaikouryuukikin Nihongokyouiku Kiyou [Bulletin of Japanese Language Education, the Japan Foundation], 6*, 7–21. https://doi.org/info:doi/10.20649/00000069

Kouno R. (2003). Daigakuin deno "Nihonjijou" kyouiku: "Nihonjinron" wo tooshite ["Japanese Culture" education at Graduate School: Through "Nihonjinron"]. *Nihongokyouiku kara bunka riterashii e, 21 seiki no nihonjijou [From Japanese language education to cultural literacy, 21st century Japanese culture], 5*, 96–109.

Kouno, R. (2010). Chuugoku no daigaku ni okeru nihon bunka ni kansuru jyugyou no genjou: Shanhai no daigaku no chousa kara [Current status and issues in teaching Japanese culture at Chinese universities: A case study in Shanghai]. *Journal of Global Education, 1*, 57–66. https://doi.org/info:doi/10.15057/18802

Kowner, R., Befu, H., & Manabe, K. (1999). The Human Profile of Japanese Nationalism: A Study of Nihonjinron Followers. *Jurnal Komunikasi, 15*, 73–96.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. SAGE Publications.

Krueger, J., & Rothbart, M. (1990). Contrast and accentuation effects in category learning. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(4), 651.

Kubota, R. (1999). Japanese culture constructed by discourses: Implications for applied linguistics research and ELT. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(1), 9–35.

Kubota, R. (2003). Critical teaching of Japanese culture. *Japanese Language and Literature, 37*(1), 67–87.

Kubota, R. (2013). Nihongokyoiku niokeru bunka: America ni okeru Nihongo kyouiku no kako, genzai, mirai. *American Association of Teachers of Japanese*.

Lamerichs, N. (2011). Stranger than fiction: Fan identity in cosplay. *Transformative Works and Cultures, 7*(3), 56–72.

Lawson, S. (1999). Perspectives on the study of culture and international politics: From Nihonjinron to the new Asianism. *Asia-Pacific Review, 6*(2), 24–41.

Lebra, T. S., & Kuji, T. (2012). Nihonjinron no yougo [Defending Nihonjinron]. *Tohokugakuindaigaku Kyouyougakubu Ronshu, 161*, 137–167.

Leeuwen, T. V., & Leeuwen, D. of H. and S. S. T. V. (2008). *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford University Press.

Leong, J. (2011). Reviewing the 'Japaneseness' of Japanese Animation Genre Theory and Fan Spectatorship. *Cinephile The University of British Columbia's Film Journal, 7*(1), 20–25.

Li, Y. (2006). Chuugokujin no nihonjin imeeji ni miru media no eikyouu: Pekin deno daigakuseichousa no kekka kara [The influence of the media on the Chinese's images of the Japanese: An analysis based on the results of a survey of opinions from university students in Beijing]. *Journal of Mass Communication Studies, 69*, 22–40.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2007). Internationalising Japan: Nihonjinron and the intercultural in Japanese language-in-education policy. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 2*(1), 32–46.

Linville, P. W., Salovey, P., & Fischer, G. W. (1986). Stereotyping and perceived distributions of social characteristics: An application to ingroup-outgroup perception. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 165–208). Academic Press.

Lippmann, W. (1997). *Public Opinion*. Simon and Schuster.

Liu, J. H., Goldstein-Hawes, R., Hilton, D., Huang, L.-L., Gastardo-Conaco, C., Dresler-Hawke, E., Pittolo, F., Hong, Y.-Y., Ward, C., & Abraham, S. (2005). Social representations of events and people in world history across 12 cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 36*(2), 171–191.

Liu, J. H., Paez, D., Slawuta, P., Cabecinhas, R., Techio, E., Kokdemir, D., Sen, R., Vincze, O., Muluk, H., & Wang, F. (2009). Representing world history in the 21st century: The impact of 9/11, the Iraq war, and the nation-state on dynamics of collective remembering. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 40*(4), 667–692.

Lobo, P., & Cabecinhas, R. (2010). The Negotiation of Meanings in the Evening News. *International Communication Gazette, 72*(4–5), 339–358. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048510362611

Lu, B., Zhang, S., & Fan, W. (2016). Social representations of social media use in government: An analysis of Chinese government microblogging from citizens' perspective. *Social Science Computer Review, 34*(4), 416–436.

Ma, D., & Cheng, L. (2016). The Spread of Confucianism in Hayao Miyazaki's Animations. *Open Access Library Journal, 3*(10), 1–9.

Madon, S., Guyll, M., Aboufadel, K., Montiel, E., Smith, A., Palumbo, P., & Jussim, L. (2001). Ethnic and National Stereotypes: The Princeton Trilogy Revisited and Revised. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*(8), 996–1010. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167201278007

Mahoney, C. (2009). Teaching culture in the Japanese language classroom: A NSW case study. *New Voices, 3*, 104–125.

Marková, I. (2015). On thematic concepts and methodological (epistemological) themata. *Papers on Social Representations, 24*(2), 4–1.

Marques, S. R. F. (2007). *Imaginando o Este: Representações do Japão no cinema de Hollywood* [Master Thesis, Universidade de Aveiro]. http://hdl.handle.net/10773/4843

Maykovich, M. K. (1971). Changes in Racial Stereotypes Among College Students. *Human Relations, 24*(5), 371–386. https://doi.org/10.1177/001872677102400503

McGray, D. (2002). Japan's gross national cool. *Foreign Policy, 130*(1), 44–54.

Mihara, R. (2010). Uroborosu no wa, aruiwa anime Orientalism shiron [Ouroboros Ring, or Anime Orientalism Essay]. *Hitotsumashi Business Review, 58*(3), 68–85.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (2008). *Ryuugakusei 30 mannin keikaku [Plan for 300,000 international students]*. https://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/koutou/ryugaku/1420758.htm

Minkov, M. (2018). A revision of Hofstede's model of national culture: Old evidence and new data from 56 countries. *Cross Cultural & Strategic Management*.

Mita, Y. (2001). "Nihonjijou" niokeru "bunka" no kotonaru shiten: Hosokawa Hideo shi niyoru "bunka" eno apuroochi riron. [Different perspectives on "Culture" in "Japanese Culture": Hideo Hosokawa's theory of Approaching "Culture"]. *Shouwa Joshi Daigaku Daigakuin Nihongo Kyouiku Kenkyuu Kiyou, 1*, 74–81.

Miyazaki H. (2013). *Kazeno kaeru basho: Naushika kara chihiro madeno kiseki [Where the wind blows: From Nausicaa to Chihiro]*. rockin'on.

Moliner, P., & Bovina, I. B. (2020). On Serge Moscovici's 95th anniversary: The theory of social representations-history, postulates and dissemination. *RUDN Journal of Psychology and Pedagogics, 17*(3), 542–553.

Morley, D. (1992). *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*. Routledge.

Morley, D. (2006). Unanswered questions in audience research. *The Communication Review, 9*(2), 101–121.

Morley, D., & Chen, K.-H. (Eds.). (1996). *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Routledge.

Morley, D., & Robins, K. (2002). Techno-Orientalism: Japan Panic. In D. Morley & K. Robins (Eds.), *Spaces of Identity Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (pp. 147–173). Routledge.

Moscovici, S. (1981). On social representations. *Social Cognition: Perspectives on Everyday Understanding, 8*(12), 181–209.

Moscovici, S. (1988). Notes towards a description of social representations. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 18*(3), 211–250.

Moscovici, S., & Duveen, G. (2001). *Social representations: Explorations in social psychology*. New York University Press.

Mouer, R., & Sugimoto, Y. (1990). *Images of Japanese Society: A Study in the Social Construction of Reality*. Kegan Paul International.

Mulvey, L. (1989). Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. In *Visual and other pleasures* (pp. 14–26). Springer.

Nakane, C. (1984). *Japanese Society*. Charles E. Tuttle.

Napier, S. J. (2016). *Anime from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation*. St. Martin's Press.

Needham, G. (2006). Japanese cinema and orientalism. In D. Eleftheriotis & G. Needham (Eds.), *Asian cinemas: A reader and guide*. University of Hawaii Press.

Nelmes, J. (2004). *An introduction to film studies*. Routledge.

Newitz, A. (1994). Anime otaku: Japanese animation fans outside Japan. *Bad Subjects, 13*(11), 1–14.

Nozaki, Y. (2009). Critical teaching about Asia: Orientalism, postcolonial perspectives and cross-cultural education. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 30*(2), 141–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860902766941

Nye, J. S. (1990). Soft power. *Foreign Policy, 80*, 153–171.

Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., & Turner, J. C. (1994). *Stereotyping and Social Reality*. Wiley.

Oda, R. (2003). Bunka jinruigaku kara mita karuchuraru sutadhiizu—Bunka, minzokushi, posuto koroniaru. [Cultural studies from the viewpoint of cultural anthropology-culture, ethnography, postcolonial]. *Nihonjouminbunkakiyou [Bulletin of Japanese folk culture], 23*, 1–46.

Odaka, K. (1965). *Nihon no Keiei [Management in Japan]*. Chuoukouronsha.

Oguma, E. (2017). Studying Japan as 'the other': A short history of Japanese studies and its future. In K. Okano & Y. Sugimoto (Eds.), *Rethinking Japanese Studies: Eurocentrism and the Asia-Pacific Region* (pp. 19–31). Routledge.

Oh, J.-B. (2008). Nihongogakushusha no nihonjin imeeji ni mirareru tokuchou to sono keiseiyoui: Kankoku no daigaku ni okeru gakushusha to higakushusha no hikaku [Characteristics and influences on Japanese language learners' image of the Japanese: A comparative analysis of Korean university student learners and non-learners]. *Sekai No Nihongokyouiku [Japanese Language Education around the Globe], 18*, 35–55.

Ohe, K. (2012). Kankokujin nihongogakushuusha no tainichi imeeji [Impressions of Japan by Korean students of the Japanese language]. *Tokyo joshi daigaku gengobunka kenkyuu, 20*, 16–29.

Osaka, E. (2014). Daigakusei no nihongo gakushuudouki to tainichi imeeji no kentou: Hong Kong to Chuugoku kan no hikaku [An examination of Japanese language learning motivation and images of Japan/the Japanese: A comparison between university students of Hong Kong and Mainland China]. *Dai 9 Kai Kokusai Nihongo Kyouiku Nihon Kenkyuu Symposium Taikai Ronbunshuu*, 127–137.

Otmazgin, N. K. (2012). Geopolitics and soft power: Japan's cultural policy and cultural diplomacy in Asia. *Asia-Pacific Review, 19*(1), 37–61.

Park, B., & Judd, C. M. (1990). Measures and models of perceived group variability. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(2), 173–191. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.59.2.173

Park, B., & Rothbart, M. (1982). Perception of out-group homogeneity and levels of social categorization: Memory for the subordinate attributes of in-group and out-group members. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42*(6), 1051–1068. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.42.6.1051

Pecora, V. P. (2001). *Nations and Identities Classic Readings*. Blackwell.

Pennebaker, J. W., Páez, D., Deschamps, J.-C., Rentfrow, J., Davis, M., Techio, E. M., Slawuta, P., Zlobina, A., & Zubieta, E. (2006). The social psychology of history: Defining the most important events of the last 10, 100, and 1000 years. *Psicología Política, 32*, 15–32.

Perdue, C. W., Dovidio, J. F., Gurtman, M. B., & Tyler, R. B. (1990). Us and them: Social categorization and the process of intergroup bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(3), 475–486. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.59.3.475

Rahman, O., Wing-Sun, L., & Cheung, B. H. (2012). "Cosplay": Imaginative self and performing identity. *Fashion Theory, 16*(3), 317–341.

Rappleye, J. (2018). In favor of Japanese-ness: Future directions for educational research. *Educational Studies in Japan, 12*, 9–21.

Rateau, P., Moliner, P., Guimelli, C., & Abric, J. C. (2011). Social representation theory. In *Handbook of theories of social psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 477–497). Sage Thousand Oaks, CA.

Ross, S. (2011). The encoding/decoding model revisited. *Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association*, Boston, MA.

Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Vintage.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. Teachers College Press.

Serikawa, Y. (2018). *Heiseiseikenshi [History of Heisei administration]*. Nikkei BPM.

Simon, B. (1992). The Perception of Ingroup and Outgroup Homogeneity: Reintroducing the Intergroup Context. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European Review of Social Psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 1–30). Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1080/14792779243000005

Smith, L. (2011). War, Wizards, and Words: Transformative Adaptation and Transformed Meanings in Howl's Moving Castle. *The Projector, 11*(1), 36–56.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*, 21–78.

Steinberg, M. (2014). Realism in the Animation Media Environment: Animation Theory from Japan. In K. Beckman (Ed.), *Animating Film Theory* (pp. 287–300). Duke UP.

Storey, J. (1996). *What Is Cultural Studies?: A Reader*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Sugimoto, Y. (2014). *An Introduction to Japanese Society*. Cambridge University Press.

Sugimoto, Y. (2017). Turning towards a cosmopolitan Japanese Studies. In K. Okano & Y. Sugimoto (Eds.), *Rethinking Japanese Studies: Eurocentrism and the Asia-Pacific Region* (pp. 167–183). Routledge.

Sumner, W. G. (1906). *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals*. Ginn.

Suzuki, E. (2013). Furansu no daigaku no nihongo kyouiku to gakusei no motsu nihon no imeeji [Japanese language education and images about Japan held by university students in France]. *Artes Liberales, 91*, 37–53.

Suzuki, K. (2006). Theoretical and practical study on introducing. *ICU Studies in Japanese Language Education, 3*, 81–91.

Swale, A. (2015). Miyazaki Hayao and the Aesthetics of Imagination: Nostalgia and Memory in Spirited Away. *Asian Studies Review, 39*(3), 413–429.

Tai, E. (2003). Rethinking Culture, National Culture, and Japanese Culture. *Japanese Language and Literature, 37*(1), 1–26. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/3594873

Tajfel, H. (1969). Cognitive aspects of prejudice. *Journal of Biosocial Science, Suppl 1*, 173–191. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0021932000023336

Tajfel, H. (1981). Social stereotypes and social groups. In J. C. Turner & H. Giles (Eds.), *Intergroup Behaviour* (pp. 144–167). Blackwell.

Tajfel, H, Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1(*2), 149–178. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Nelson-Hall Publishers.

Tajfel, H. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33–48). Brooks/Cole.

Takagishi M. (2016). Shokyuu, shochuukyuu reberu gakushuusha taishou no nihon no bunka jyugyou no jissen houkoku [Report on "Japanese culture" course for elementary and pre-intermediate level learners]. *Departmental Bulletin of Doshisha University, Japanese Studies, 14*, 169–189.

Takano, Y., & Osaka, E. (1997). Nihon-jin no shuudanshugi" to "amerika-jin no kojinshugi": Tsuusetsu no saikentou ["Japanese collectivism" and "American individualism": Reexamining the dominant view]. *Japanese Journal of Psychology, 68*(4), 312–327.

Takano, Y., & Osaka, E. (1999). An unsupported common view: Comparing Japan and the US on individualism/collectivism. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2*(3), 311–341.

Takano, Y., & Osaka, E. (2018). Comparing Japan and the United States on individualism/collectivism: A follow-up review. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 21*(4), 301–316.

Takasaki, S., & Do, E. (2016). How to Teach Japanese Culture to Overseas Japanese Learners. — Practice of Active Learning Method. *Ohakagakuen University Journal of the School of Liberal Arts, 8*, 115–127.

Tanimoto, N., Azuma, S., Inomata, N., Masuda, N., & Yamanaka, C. (2013). France ni okeru nihon anime no jyuyou: Nisoukasuru literacy [How to recognize Japanese animation in France: Two forms of interpretations]. *Jouhou Kenkyuu: Kansai Daigaku Sougou Jouhou Gakubu Kiyou [Journal of Informatics], 39*, 37–50.

Tayler, S. E. (1981). A categorization approach to stereotyping. In David L. Hamilton (Ed.), *Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behavior* (pp. 83–114). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

The Japan Press Research Institute. (2015). *Shogaikoku ni okeru tainichi media yoronchousa: Dai 1 kai chousa [Media Public Opinion Survey on Japan in Foreign Countries, No.1]*. Shinbun tsuushin chousakai [The Japan Press Research Institute]. https://www.chosakai.gr.jp/project/notification/

Thwaites, T., Davis, L., & Mules, W. (2002). *Introducing Cultural and Media Studies: A Semiotic Approach*. Macmillan Education UK.

Tomlinson, J. (2012). Cultural imperialism. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*.

Tsunoda Y. (2008). *Kaisetsu: Kiku to katana [Commentary on Chrysanthemum and the Sword]*. Koubunsha koten shinyaku bunko.

Tsunoyama S. (1995). *Ajia Runessansu [Asian Renaissance]*. PHP Kenkyusho.

Tunstall, J. (2008). *The media were American: US mass media in decline*. Oxford University Press Oxford.

Uchida, Y. (2013). Tai no chuutoukyouiku koukikatei sotsugyousei eno interview kara miru tainichi bunkaninnshiki: Nihon no dentoubunka ni taisuru ninshiki to sono haikei [Perception of Thai and Japanese culture through the intervers for the graduates from high schools in Thailand]. *Kokusai kouryuukikin Bankoku nihonbunka sentaa nihongo kyouiku kiyou, 10*, 107–116.

Umezao T. (1998). *Bunmei no seitaishikan [Introduction to an ecological view of civilization]*. Chuuoukouronshinsha.

Upham, P., Eberhardt, L., & Klapper, R. G. (2020). Rethinking the meaning of "landscape shocks" in energy transitions: German social representations of the Fukushima nuclear accident. *Energy Research & Social Science, 69*, 101710.

Vala, J. (2013). Racisms: Social representations, racial prejudice and normative pressures. *Papers on Social Representations, 22*, 1–29.

Vieira, C., & Kunz, S. (2018). Howl's moving castle: Perspectives from literature to film. *CONFIA 2018 Proceedings - International Conference on Illustration & Animation*, 27–37.

Vignoles, V. L. (2018). The "common view", the "cultural binary", and how to move forward. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 21*(4), 336–345.

Vogel, E. F. (2013). *Japan as number one: Lessons for America*. Harvard University Press.

Wagner, W. (2011). Social Representation Theory. In *The Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology*. American Cancer Society. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470672532.wbepp260

Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Farr, R., Jovchelovitch, S., Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., Marková, I., & Rose, D. (1999). Theory and Method of Social Representations. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2*(1), 95–125. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-839X.00028

Watsuji, T. (1961). *Climate and Culture: A Philosophical Study*. Greenwood Press.

Williams, K. L. (2006). *The impact of popular culture fandom on perceptions of Japanese language and culture learning: The case of student anime fans* [PhD Thesis]. University of Texas.

Williams, R. (1958). Culture is ordinary. In B. Highmore (Ed.), *The everyday life reader* (pp. 91–100). Routledge.

Winge, T. (2006). Costuming the imagination: Origins of anime and manga cosplay. *Mechademia, 1*(1), 65–76.

Wu, S., & Bergman, T. (2019). An active, resistant audience–but in whose interest? *Participations: Journal of Audience & Reception Studies, 16*(1), 107–129.

Xia, S. (2010). Chuugoku ni okeru nihongo senkou gakushuusha no nihonjin imeeji: Nihongo gakushuudouki tono kanren o chuushin ni [The image of the Japanese among Chinese learners of the Japanese language: With a focus on its connections with the Japanese learning motivation]. *Gengobunka to nihongo kyouiku, 39*, 112–121.

Yaginuma, T. (2019). The images of the Japanese held by Japanese-learning students in Portugal. In J. Teixeira, H. Kawabata, & I. Sá (Eds.), *Relações entre a península Ibérica e o Japão: Dos déc. XVI aos dias de hoje* (pp. 55–80). Centro de Estudos Lusíadas da Universidade do Minho.

Yaginuma T. (2020). Nihonbunka no tayousei eno kizuki: Nihongo gakushuusha ga motsu nihon/nihonbunka nitaisuru imeeji o shuppatsuten ni [Awareness toward diversity of Japanese culture: The images about Japan and Japanese people held by JFL students as a starting point.]. *Proceedings of the 5th Symposium of Association of Japanese Professors in Spain*, 41–46.

Yodogawa N. (Ed.). (1998). *Firumumeikaazu 2, Kitano Takeshi [Filmmakers 2, Takeshi Kitano]*. Kinema jyunpou sha.

Yoshida, K. (2010). Fantasy ni okeru ideorojii teki imisayou no kousatsu: Animeeshon kenkyuu no kenkai to tenbou [Analysis of meaning-making function in fantasy – views and perspectives of animation studies]. *Ritsumeikan gengo bunka kenkyuu [Ritsumeikan studies in language and culture], 22*(1), 147–161.

Yoshida, K. (2011). National Identity (Re) Construction in Japanese and American Animated Film: Self and Other Representation in Pocahontas and Princess Mononoke. *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies, 11*(3).

Yoshimi, S. (2000). *Karuchuraru sutadhiizu [Cultural Studies]*. Iwanami shoten.

Yoshino, K. (2005). *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry.* Routledge.

Zhang, Y. (2013). Nihongo gakshuusha no ibunka taido ni kansuru ishikichousa: Nihongo senkou no chuugokujin daigakusei o taishou ni [A survey of cross-cultural attitudes of Japanese language learners in China]. *Nihongokyouiku, 154*, 100–114.

Films

Bertolucci, B. (Director). (1987). *The Last Emperor* [Film]. Recorded Picture Company (RPC), Hemdale, Yanco Films Limited.

Kitano, T. (Director). (1997). *Hana-bi* [Fireworks] [Film]. Bandai Visual Company, TV Tokyo, Tokyo FM Broadcasting Co.

Kurosawa, A. (Director). (1950). *Rashômon* [Film]. Daiei.

Kurosawa, A. (Director). (1954). *Shichinin no samurai* [Seven samurai] [Film]. Toho Company.

Kurosawa, A. (Director). (1985). *Ran* [Film]. Greenwich Film Productions, Herald Ace, Nippon Herald Films.

Nakatani, T., Tamura, M., Maruyama, M. (Producers). (2006-2007). *Death Note* [Animation, TV series]. D.N. Dream Partners, Madhouse, Nippon Television Network (NTV).

Marshall, R. (Director). (2005). *Memoirs of a Geisha* [Film]. Columbia Pictures, Dreamworks Pictures, Spyglass Entertainment.

Miyazaki, H. (Director). (1997). *Mononoke-hime* [Princess Mononoke] [Animation, Film]. DENTSU Music And Entertainment, Nibariki, Nippon Television Network (NTV).

Miyazaki, H. (Director). (2001). *Sen to Chihiro no kamikakushi* [Spirited away] [Animation, Film]. Tokuma Shoten, Studio Ghibli, Nippon Television Network (NTV).

Miyazaki, H. (Director). (2004). *Hauru no ugoku shiro* [Howl's moving castle] [Animation, Film]. Buena Vista Home Entertainment, DENTSU Music And Entertainment, Mitsubishi.

Ôshima, N. (Director). (1983). *Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence* [Film]. National Film Trustee Company, Antares-Nova, Recorded Picture Company (RPC).

Scott, R. (Director). (1982). *Blade Runner* [Film]. The Ladd Company, Shaw Brothers, Warner Bros.

Scott, R. (Director). (1989). *Black Rain* [Film]. Paramount Pictures, Jaffe-Lansing, Pegasus Film Partners.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – Questionnaire for pilot study

Inquérito: a motivação de aprendizagem do japonês e a sua imagem sobre o Japão

Curso:_____ Ano: 1º ☐ 2º ☐ 3º ☐ Sexo: F ☐ M ☐

Já foi para o Japão?

_____

Já conhece alguma pessoa japonesa, exceto o seu professor japonês, em Portugal?

_____

1. Quais são as suas motivações de aprender língua japonesa?

2. O que está interessado sobre o Japão? Como é que recebe a informação desses interesses?

Os seus interesses sobre o Japão	Origem da informação
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

3. Descreva as suas imagens dos japoneses e/ou o Japão. Descreva quais são as origens da informação que formaram essas imagens na sua opinião.

A sua imagem dos japoneses e/ou Japão	Origem da informação
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Muito obrigada! ご協力ありがとうございました。

APPENDIX B – Questionnaire for Study 1 and 2

As imagens sobre o Japão e os japoneses

No contexto do desenvolvimento de uma tese de doutoramento em Estudos Culturais na Universidade do Minho, pedimos a sua colaboração para responder ao seguinte questionário, que tem como objectivo analisar as suas imagens sobre o Japão e os japoneses. Os dados recolhidos são anónimos e confidenciais, e serão utilizados apenas no âmbito deste estudo.

Agradecemos, desde já, a sua participação.

I. Alguma vez estudou língua japonesa? ☐ Sim ☐ Não

Se a resposta for afirmativa (Sim), quanto tempo estudou Japonês?

☐Inferior a 1 ano. ☐Inferior a 2 anos. ☐Inferior a 3 anos ☐Mais do que 3 anos

II. Já foi ao Japão?

☐ Sim ☐ Não

Se a resposta for afirmativa (Sim), quanto tempo ficou no Japão? _____

III. Conhece pessoalmente alguma pessoa japonesa?

☐ Sim ☐ Não

Se a resposta for afirmativa (Sim), seleccione uma das seguintes opções ou ambas.

☐ Conheceu-a em Portugal ☐Conheceu-a fora de Portugal

IV. Escreva até TRÊS palavras que associa ao "Japão".

_____

_____

_____

V. Escreva <u>até TRÊS nomes</u> de japoneses famosos.

_____

_____

_____

VI. O que acha mais interessante sobre o Japão? Escolha <u>até TRÊS interesses</u> nas seguintes opções (1-20).

1. Anime	2. Língua	3. Literatura	4. Manga
5. Pessoas	6. Paisagens	7. Moda	8. Artes tradicionais
9. Séries de TV	10. Filmes	11. Sítios históricos	12. Estilo de vida
13. Desportos	14. Tecnologia	15. Música	16. História
17. Video-jogos	18. Comida	19. Feiras de anime	20. Outros

VII. Como é que costuma obter informações sobre o Japão? Escolha <u>até TRÊS fontes de informação</u> nas seguintes opções (1-19) no quadro abaixo.

1. Amigos/ pessoas (não japoneses)
2. Contacto com japoneses
3. Aulas em escolas fora do Japão
4. Eventos culturais fora do Japão
5. Lojas e/ou restaurantes japoneses
6. Reportagens ou documentários jornalísticos produzidos fora do Japão
7. Livros, revistas e/ou outros documentos publicados fora do Japão
8. Anime e/ou manga japoneses
9. Séries de TV japonesas
10. Filmes japoneses
11. Músicas japonesas
12. Reportagens ou documentários jornalísticos produzidos no Japão
13. Outros shows de TV produzidos no Japão
14. Livros, revistas e/ou outros documentos publicados no Japão
15. Vídeos, websites, blogs, Facebook e/ou outros serviços na internet
16. Experiência própria
17. Produtos japoneses
18. Professores japoneses e suas aulas
19. Outros

VIII. Assinale o seu grau de concordância com as seguintes descrições sobre os japoneses.

	Discordo fortemente	Discordo	Não discordo nem concordo	Concordo	Concordo fortemente
Os japoneses são trabalhadores.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são tímidos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são tradicionais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são simpáticos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são conservadores.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são exigentes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são inteligentes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são reservados.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são calmos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são fofinhos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são individualistas.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são sérios.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são animados.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são inovadores.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são patrióticos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são saudáveis.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são educados.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são rigorosos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são estranhos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são humildes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são organizados.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são teimosos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são honestos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Os japoneses são prestáveis.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

IX. Indique (seleccione) <u>até TRÊS fontes da informação</u> das opções (1-19) no quadro abaixo, que ajudaram a seleccionar as suas opções de grau de concordância na questão anterior (VIII).

1. Amigos/ pessoas (não japoneses)	12. Reportagens ou documentários jornalísticos produzidos no Japão
2. Contacto com japoneses	13. Outros shows de TV produzidos no Japão
3. Aulas em escolas fora do Japão	14. Livros, revistas e/ou outros documentos publicados no Japão
4. Eventos culturais fora do Japão	15. Vídeos, websites, blogs, Facebook e/ou outros serviços na internet
5. Lojas e/ou restaurantes japoneses	16. Experiência própria
6. Reportagens ou documentários jornalísticos produzidos fora do Japão	17. Produtos japoneses
7. Livros, revistas e/ou outros documentos publicados fora do Japão	18. Professores japoneses e suas aulas
8. Anime e/ou manga japoneses	19. Outros
9. Séries de TV japonesas	
10. Filmes japoneses	
11. Músicas japonesas	

X. Responda às seguintes questões.

Idade _____ Sexo: ☐Feminino ☐Masculino Língua materna _____

[ForJFL students] Porque decidiu aprender japonês?

_____

[For non-JFL students] Gostaria de aprender japonês? Caso afirmativo, quais são as motivações para aprender japonês?

_____

_____

Muito obrigada pela sua cooperação.

APPENDIX C – Guide for focus group

About the anime shown

- Have you ever watched this anime before? If so, when?
- Já viram este anime? Caso afirmativo, quando?

- Tell me your impression about the anime you have just watched.
- Diga-me as suas impressões sobre este anime.
    - Characters (Spirited Away: Chihiro, Chihiro's parents, and Haku/ Howl's Moving Castle: Howl and Sophie)
    - The settings/ os ambientes

- Do the characters look like Japanese? (Appearances and behaviors)
- Acham que as personagens parecem japonesas? (aparências e comportamentos)

- Do you think that the anime reflect Japanese culture? If so, how?
- Acham que o anime reflecte/representa a cultura japonesa? Caso afirmativo, como?

- What do you think most "Japanese" from the sequence?
- Quais os aspetos que acham que são mais "japoneses" nesta sequência?

- How do you think the story will develop after this sequence?
- Como é que acham que esta história se vai desenvolver depois desta sequência? O que acham que vai acontecer depois desta sequência?

Anime in general and perception of Japaneseness

- How do you feel about the portrayal of Japanese people (female/male?) in anime?
- O que acham sobre a representação/descrição das pessoas japonesas no anime em termos gerais? (female/male)

- How do you compare watching Japanese anime with viewing live action film/video?
- Qual a diferença entre ver um filme anime e ver filmes normais.

- Do you feel that you have to have knowledge of Japanese culture to understand anime?
- Acham que é importante conhecer a cultura japonesa para perceber o anime?

- Do you feel that you've learned something about Japanese culture by watching anime? Can you give me some examples?
- Acham que aprenderam algum aspeto sobre cultura japonesa ao verem o anime? Podem dar-me alguns exemplos?

- How much do you think you can learn about Japanese daily life by watching anime?
- O que acham que podem aprender sobre a vida cotidiana do Japão ao verem o anime?

- Do you feel that you have learned something about the Japanese (male and female roles in Japan) from watching anime? Can you explain in detail?
- Acham que aprenderam alguma coisa sobre as pessoas japonesas ao verem o anime? Podem dar exemplos?

- There are many stereotypes of Japan. Do you feel that watching anime has changed or reinforced your impressions of Japan and the Japanese (society)? Can you give me some examples? (Hard-working, polite, kind) (Comparison with a live action film/TV series)
- Existem vários estereótipos do Japão. Acham que ao ver o anime alterou ou reforçou as vossas impressões sobre o Japão e os japoneses? Podem dar-me alguns exemplos?

Language learning, anime and the images of Japan/the Japanese

(For Japanese learning participants, If time allows)

- Do you think that learning Japanese language has changed your impression of Japan and the Japanese? Can you explain in detail?
- Do you feel that your knowledge of Japanese language help you with watching anime? How? Can you explain in detail?