

Situated Learning of International Students through Internship in Japan – Professor as Reflexive Anthropologist Managing *Uchi/Soto* Relations –

Naomi Tsunematsu

Introduction

In this article I will examine how cultural factors such as *uchi/soto* (inside/outside) concept and power relationship function in the operation of internship practicum for international exchange students in Japan, who participated in the Hiroshima University Study Abroad Program (HUSA Program)¹, from the perspective of a reflexive anthropologist. The operation of internship course works very differently from a majority of university courses due to its characteristics of requiring cooperation from the local industry, local administration, local associations, etc. International experiential learning requires understanding of various cultural practices in authentic contexts, and students are required to connect their higher-order knowledge obtained in the university with the situated practices in everyday context. The major focus of the paper is on the important cultural concepts in the management of international exchange students' internship that is closely associated with the local society². I will examine these concepts based on actual cases in which international exchange students worked with the local administration and the local society for projects to revitalize local society in a course titled "the Globalization Support Internship."³ I have been offering this internship course since 2003 and in 2012 I changed the paradigm of this course to the student-initiative type internship. The conceptual framework of this paper is limited to the context of internship management for international exchange students in Japan.

The characteristics of international exchange students with diverse cultural backgrounds add further complexity in the management of internship practicum when students closely work with local people whose lives are based on conventional practices. By objectifying my role

¹ From now henceforth, I will refer to 'Hiroshima University Study Abroad Program' as 'HUSA Program.' Hiroshima University has concluded exchange agreements with 66 universities in North America, Europe, Oceania, and Asia in approximately 24 countries and two consortiums in the world (as of November 2015). Approximately 40 students attend the HUSA program annually, and a majority of them study at the Hiroshima University for one academic year. I will refer to the participants of the HUSA Program as "HUSA students," and I will refer to the HUSA students who took the internship course as "HUSA interns."

² In the internship course I developed from 2003 through 2016, I have dealt with various kinds of local companies, local administration offices, local associations, and local people surrounding them. In this article, I will use the term "local society" as a concept representing the local societies in general, without specifying the particular community or group of people for its anonymity.

³ I shall focus on the cultural concepts themselves in this paper, rather than analyzing any specific case of real local body, such as a particular local society or local company.

as an intermediary connecting international student interns with local people in Japan, I shall analyze what the real hindrances and difficulties to establish these connections are. The analysis of this paper is limited to the framework of relationship management focusing on *uchi/soto* (out/inside) and power relationship for the internship practicum. Through my lenses as a reflexive anthropologist, I shall examine the cultural dilemma and incongruence in the context where foreign cultures meet the local culture in Japan. This will shed light on the actual issues to be dealt with for enhancing cross-cultural understanding and for developing the understanding of multicultural coexistence in Japan.

I have developed an internship course for international exchange students at Hiroshima University in Japan who participated in the HUSA Program⁴ since 2003. The purpose of this internship course is to create educational opportunities for international students to apply their academic knowledge about Japan in real life context and have social experiences through interactions with the working people in Japan. Based on my experience of operating this internship course with the local industries, etc., I have set a high level of Japanese language standard for this course; however, I would usually accept any student with a strong aspiration to participate considering this internship is for education. The majority of the HUSA students are proficient in English, and only a few students are proficient in Japanese in each academic year. The students who take the internship course are very limited with high motivation to seek challenging experiences in Japan. The internship practicum could also develop students' leadership and interpersonal skills through connecting themselves with people in Japan in real-life situations. Through my experience of playing the role of the intermediary between international students and the local people, I was placed in the position to make sense of the incongruence between the students' foreign cultures and the Japanese local culture. Mediating both sides led me to ask the crucial question about cultural conflict and dilemma, that is, how I can connect international students and local people in a meaningful way when their cultural beliefs and behavioral codes differ?

Although globalization is often raised as an important issue without a clear definition, different cultural perspectives of international students have very little influence on the local culture in Japan. Rather than influencing the local people, international students, whose position is so minor, will be required to abide by the unwritten rules and rituals practiced in the

⁴ In order to participate in the HUSA Program as an international exchange student, the student is required to be proficient either in English or Japanese. Usually the students with high Japanese language proficiency are from Korea, China, and Taiwan. HUSA students' major varies such as Japanese, Asian Studies, International Relations, IT, Business, Engineering, Anthropology, Economics, Biochemistry, etc. HUSA students have strong interest in Japanese language acquisition, and they usually take the most appropriate Japanese language courses among the five levels from the elementary to the advanced.

local society if they wish to be able to relate to them. Our internship practicum represents this well. The internship practicum working with the local society created a unique educational context: I, a Western-educated female Japanese academician, am bringing international students to the local society in Japan. I, who can understand both the Japanese and Western culture, am standing in the mediator position facing two sides — cultural paradigms of the students and the local people. The international student interns have learned Japanese culture as higher-order knowledge at the university, but they do not know in what way the cultural beliefs and behavioral codes function in people's everyday lives in Japan. For students, entering the world of the local people who follow their customs, rituals, and formalities, which are strictly defined in the local context, is totally a new experience.

In the area of research on international students' association with the local people in Japan, such as internship, service learning, and international exchange, we need to explore further the issues of relationship building and how the cultural dilemma occurs in the encounter of different cultures. These sensitive issues have not been analyzed sufficiently. Research on the Japanese way of defining oneself and how to relate oneself to other, such as identities, situated self, *uchi/soto* (inside/outside) relationship, and power relationships, has attracted the interest of Western anthropologists (Kondo 1990; Bachnik 1998; Bachnik 1994a; Bachnik 1994b; Rosenberger 1992; Rosenberger 1994). We need to examine, from the anthropological perspective, the cultural conflicts in the scenes where foreigners meet Japanese culture, and investigate more the tangible issues to be dealt with in the development of cross-cultural understanding in today's global age. Creating the educational opportunities for international students to cooperate, or work with the local people in Japan needs the "real picture." The cross-cultural understanding and development of "Multicultural Co-existence Promotion Program" (*tabunka kyôsei suishin puran*) have been promoted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication since 2006⁵; however, the cultural dilemma and incongruence of cultural differences in the actual scenes in connecting foreigners with local people are rarely discussed openly.

Position as a Manager of Internship in Japan – Perspectives of a Reflexive Anthropologist

Recently, the importance of incorporating multicultural perspectives has been presented in some research. There are studies that argued the importance of developing multicultural perspectives in social work in Japan (Ishikawa 2009), and the importance of understanding the

⁵ For the details of the Multicultural Co-existence Promotion Program promoted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, see the proposal by the Ministry on the homepage.

cultural competency from Japanese perspective in the field of occupational therapist (Odawara 2005). In addition, research related to the issue of the ‘Multicultural co-existence’ (*tabunka kyōsei*) has been further undertaken. For example, Funai (2013) conducted research on how digital media can act as a bridge between the local community and migrant youth in a creative manner, by giving significance to the migrants’ actions and their voices. The research found that digital media helped building a space for community engagement between migrant youth and local community, and brought the opportunities for migrants to become cultural citizens. What should be noticed is that the research on the issues of connecting foreigners with the local residents in Japan has a tendency to position foreigners as “guests” or people who need assistance from the residents in Japan. Foreigners are not usually placed in the position who can take initiatives by exercising their agency. When they are not placed on equal standing with Japanese residents, the critical issues existing as cultural barrier and dilemma are difficult to reveal. What is needed now is the real depiction of hurdles and boundaries existing between different cultures, and how these boundaries function in the situations where different cultural values and behavioral codes meet.

My reflection in the intermediary’s position reveals the sensitivity of bringing other cultures to the local society in Japan. Being caught between international students and the local culture in Japan, my role was to ensure things work in a manner to make sense to both sides in carrying out the internship project. To describe the “sense of self” in Japan, Kondo (1990:33) explains that “relationally defined selves in Japan,” which are inextricable from the context, challenge Western assumptions about fixed essentialist identities. The cultural concept of *uchi/soto* (inside/outside) which defines the distance of relationships to others, hierarchy, and power relationships, cannot be avoided in discussing the relationships in Japan, and my internship situation is not an exception. Interpersonal relationships and the *uchi/soto* boundary are closely related to identity and power relationship in Japanese society. Rosenberger (1994:91) proposes that social life operates along an axis with the “outer pole of more distant, authoritative relations” and the “inner pole of more intimate, spontaneous relations”. In the *soto* context, discipline and detachment from personal feelings are encouraged, to enhance the group’s productivity in relation to other groups. In contrast, in the *uchi* context, the expression of personal feelings as individual selves is allowed (Bachnik 1987; Lebra 1976; Rosenberger 1989). Bachnik (1992:155) points out that for Japanese, learning “the ability to shift successfully from spontaneous to disciplined behavior, through identification of a particular situation along an ‘inner’ or ‘outer’ axis” is a crucial social skill in achieving adulthood. The person who manages the internship project needs to be aware of *uchi/soto*, the complexity of relationships and power relations in the context where the project

is being carried out. It is required for the academic supervisor to establish trust-based relationship with people in the local society including the local administration, local associations, voluntary groups, etc., and to connect international student interns with local people. Furthermore, it is the supervisor's role to give guidance to student interns about the Japanese cultural codes operating in the local society as they have significant meaning for the people residing there.

As Nazaruk (2011:73) points out, discussing reflexivity in anthropology is not really a new approach; however, analyzing the real human interactions within the context of internship practicum where various cultures interact, by using the method of reflexive anthropology, will provide new perspectives on how international students could relate to the local society in Japan. In my analysis of my internship course based on my experiences of establishing, developing, and transforming it for the last thirteen years, it is crucial to find my voice, the person who has been closely involved with its management. Nazaruk (2011:81) acknowledges that, "In practice, reflexivity has relied on anthropology's recognition that its writings have to take into account the political and epistemological forces that condition them." In my analysis of the internship, I need to recognize my own social and cultural position which conditioned the way I operated the internship, and the way I related my student interns and myself to the local people. In the internship practicum my student interns and I, who were regarded as one unit, "the university group," were situated and conditioned based on the value and the significance of our association with the local society.

I cannot deny the fact that my educational and career background, such as educational and work experiences in Japan and overseas, affected and shaped the way I interacted and negotiated with the local administration and local associations. My living experiences in the USA and Australia where the sense of selves and the way people relate to each other differ from that in Japan influenced the way I relate myself to the people involved. Furthermore, my research experience on the topic of identity and power relations in a local community in Japan (Tsunematsu 2002; Tsunematsu 2004) also affected the way I decided to construct amicable relationship with the local associations and the local people. I had pre-recognition on how to create better internship practicum for international students by finding 'a middle way' of various cultures using my instincts, and fully utilizing my own multiple selves as a Japanese and Western educated academician depending on the context. Objectifying me as a manager of the internship program from the perspectives of a reflexive anthropologist can be the most closely examined research on the real scenes of cultural encounter. Involved parties, including myself, are positioned in meaningful relationships in the defined context for the actualization of the project. Being in the middle of both sides of the international students and

the local people, I myself experienced sensitivity and incongruence of cross-cultural encounters.

Situated Learning for International Students – Contextualized within Japanese Society

In my course, “the Globalization Support Internship,” international student interns are expected to work on a group project to revitalize the local society by closely working with local people. Student interns have been challenged by “conducting international market research for the local industry,” “working as a tour guide to introduce local history to the world,” “coordinating an international exchange historical tour,” “planning international exchange events in the local festival,” and “making a short movie to introduce Higashi-hiroshima City.” Five to eight students from various countries, such as China, Taiwan, Korea, USA, Australia, Poland, and Germany, annually register for the course. Their major varies, such as Japanese language, Japanese literature, IT technology, anthropology, history, business, and Asian studies. The project required student interns to take leadership and carry out the project with the local administration and organizations under the guidance of the academic supervisor, myself.

In order to create this experiential learning opportunity for international students, I would usually start negotiation with the local city hall and the local associations even before the students’ arrival in Japan which is usually in late September, and I would continue to do so after the students’ arrival. The reason why I never conceal my negotiation scenes, hindrances encountered, and the actual reactions behind the scenes is because I have decided to create an internship course where international student interns learn how difficult negotiations take place when we try to connect foreigners with the local people. This will lead to the true understanding of the Japanese society by acquiring knowledge and skills to be able to manage real problems in authentic situations. Without this, international students are treated as guests or objects that need support as they have been often represented in most of the international exchange events in Japan. By being directly exposed to the real cultural practices and the community power structure, students could recognize the real challenges for them to relate to the Japanese society.

Any student who has taken my internship course has experienced the challenge in connecting knowledge acquired in classrooms to the actual contexts distinct in the real world outside the university. Students’ difficulty in connecting knowledge acquired via formal learning to everyday context due to the decontextualized learning of facts has been raised (Nair et al. 2012; Perkins and Salomon 1992:9-10). The difficulty in making connections

between theory and practice and the lack of understanding of the relationship between practical knowledge and higher-order knowledge (Hislop et al. 1996; Hickman 2016; Cope et al. 2000:850) have been pointed out. This corresponds with the comment of one of the student interns – “my study in business degree program was totally useless in my internship experience in Japan.” It is not that her formal learning was useless, but for her, the learned theory appeared isolated from the real context of her experience in her practicum in Japan. In everyday situations “people use concrete referents and tools extensively, referencing thought and knowledge to specific contexts” (Choi and Hannafin 1995:54), and for this, the formal learning which was context-free, did not actually help her to cope with issues in real life context, especially when it pertains to a foreign culture. Regardless of the major of the intern students, international experiential learning in Japan, which requires the integration of various knowledge and skills in addition to the theoretical understanding of the Japanese culture, is meaningful. Students who go through the difficulty of experiential learning need to be conveyed its academic value to endure the difficult challenge.

Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that learning in practice is acculturation of joining a community of practice, rather than the application of skills or principles. The interns’ acquisition of advanced Japanese language proficiency and theoretical understanding of Japanese culture is not sufficient for them to interact with the local people in real situations that entail social, cultural, and political meanings. Specific skills are important by themselves, however, various kinds of skills, knowledge, and experiences need to be combined in order to make appropriate decisions in real life situations where the internship project is to be carried out. The legitimate peripheral participation is the critical part of the socialization into practice (ibid), and similarly, international students need to activate their agency and socialize with real people, if they are working with the community through practice.

Dreyfus & Dreyfus, and Berliner (as cited in Cope et. al 2000: 851) observe that experts are believed to operate by using “complex situational understanding, a mature and practiced dexterity which comes from their breadth and depth of experience” rather than “following rules derived from higher-order knowledge.” Experts deal with “the contextually-bound demands of the situation which cannot be accounted for by context-independent technical-rational models”. The key to develop skills of the experts is practice in authentic contexts since it is difficult to make expert behavior explicit by external observation or introspective analysis by experts (ibid.). Student interns were directly exposed to the site where their academic supervisor is interacting with the local officials based on her understanding of the contextually bound demands of the situation, and the intern themselves

experienced the acculturation process by joining the whole process toward achieving the goal.

Paradigm Shift in Internship and Power Relationship – Locating Students as Active Agents

In 2012 I shifted the paradigm of the internship course to “student-initiative” project type so that it could change the power dynamics of the internship operation. Moreover, the student interns could be empowered by doing something meaningful. This is to locate international student interns at the center of the projects so that students take the initiative in carrying out the project. This altered the position of interns from the previous position of passive and inexperienced observers in the local companies and the city hall where they were sent. I tried to give autonomy to my students so that they can be motivated and empowered by working for the goal – carrying out the project. Marcketti and Kadolph (2010:131) present, in their research on leadership development, the importance of empowering beliefs as liberating thoughts that allow a student to believe that he/she can have an influence and make a difference. Astin & Astin (2000) and Shertzer & Schuh (2004) support the notion that empowering beliefs encourage students to attain roles of leadership, and the empowerment beliefs emerge from variety of sources including school and family.

I sought to make my students motivated and stand on equal terms with the local companies and the administration by their engagement in beneficial contributions. Steen and Buckey (2014:441), in their research on American social work student attitudes towards fostering youth empowerment, refer to the concept of empowerment whereby clients “create or are given opportunities to control their own destiny and influence the decisions that affect their lives” (Zimmerman 1995:583). By having their autonomy to propose, plan, and work towards its actualization, student interns were empowered and acted differently compared to previous student interns who did not have any autonomy in what they do in practicum. To make this shift, I attempted to emphasize on the assets of international students: (a) their knowledge and perspective as a foreigner, (b) their strong interest in being connected to Japan, and (c) their Japanese language proficiency and their theoretical understanding of Japan.

To put the conclusion first, it was not an easy task to make international students stand on equal terms with the working people because, realistically, getting involved with inexperienced international student interns takes a significant amount of time, and its cost-benefit is low for working people. Without the social experience not only in Japan but also often in their own countries, in most of the cases students are not capable of doing meaningful work for a local society without the detailed guidance of the academic supervisor

and also the cooperation and support from the local society. It is also prerequisite to have a few strong supporters from the local society who understand the value of the internship project. The strong spirit to actualize the project by the academic supervisor, the empowerment of student interns with clear goals, and the cooperation of local people who can foresee the meaning of the cooperation in a larger framework, will make the project achievable.

The power relationship between students and the local society changed slightly in the new project type of internship due to the value of the project to the local society. Consequently, this placed student interns and me in a position to express opinions and suggest proposals, which was quite unlikely in the previous type where interns were not treated as useful workers. However, the amount of labor, time, assistance required to support international student interns, and the fact that it is not really that important and necessary to bring these students to the community who has its own established culture, did not change the power relations too significantly. Student interns still stand in the position of “needing assistance,” and they are not the independent workers for the officials in the local administration and the local people. For the success of the project it is crucial that the academic supervisor takes a strong command of the whole process, and supports the student interns for the project’s feasibility by working as an intermediary to connect students with the local people, and by pushing things forward constantly as a manager of the whole crew. It was prerequisite that I establish a good network with the local administration and community and appropriately manage the hierarchy and *uchi/soto*, by placing involved people in the appropriate social positions based upon the “real” power relationship between the university and the local society. I also needed to give theoretical explanation to my student interns on (a) how relationships are established and their functions in the local society in Japan, (b) how people expect others to follow the unwritten behavioral codes within the community, and (c) the social location of my interns and me, as the professor-supervisor, in our power relationships.

Japanese Culture, Identity and Power – Social Location of the Interns and Professor

One of the difficulties in managing internship is to make it academically valuable. For this, the academic supervisor needs to clearly define its goals, the evaluation system, and the learning outcomes. The challenge is the fact that the supervisor is unable to solely manage the internship, and he/she needs to get approval from the local people for their cooperation. This means, that the practicum, which involves the real interaction with local the people, needs to be placed in an academic context. Student interns learn significantly about Japanese culture

and society and its association with linguistic expressions by observing the real picture of the internship location. As a significant part of cultural learning, students observe the power location of the academic supervisor (myself), international student interns, and the local people – the real people who lead their lives within the community, in the social and cultural context.

One of my biggest academic challenges in the management of my internship course is how to integrate international students with a background of cultural diversity into the local culture in Japan. Paulsell (1991:246) points out the weak position of interns and the difficulty of creating internship, particularly the international internship, raising the fact that interns were in the position of “beggars can’t be choosers” position as they need to take what is offered. This pinpoints the reality of my own experience of internship practicum in early stages before the paradigm shift to the project type. Prior to the shift, student interns literally had “no choice.” However, getting out of this “weak position” framework was the driving force of my constructing the student-initiative type internship in a new paradigm in 2012. To make the new framework function, although the students’ position might still be weak, I needed to create the educational setting where students are given the autonomy to engage in their proposed challenge. For this, my relationship building skill was crucial. Paulsell (ibid.) argues that successful arrangement can be possible when rapport is established between the instructor and the company supervisors. Similarly, in my experience, establishing rapport with the local people, and finding strong supporters have been the prerequisites. In order to obtain cooperation for the project, which sounds so foreign and time-consuming, it is critical to find the strong stakeholders in the community who understand its value and bring in more supporters.

Rosenberger (1992:2) argues that prioritizing collectivity over the individual and controlling oneself within the enmeshed relationships have often been cited as significant formative characteristics of Japanese society. Kondo (1990:33) who uses the term, “relationally defined selves in Japan,” which are inextricable from the context, challenges Western assumptions about fixed essentialist identities. This conceptual explanation depicts well the way I was enmeshed in the web of relationships in my management of the internship practicum where my student interns are “people of my group.” Therefore, I need to manage the distance between “our group” and the people who are not our group. Rosenberger’s (1992:3-4) emphasis on the close links between self, culture, language, relations, and power, and emergence of meaning and power in the “multiplicity of relationships” describes the way international student interns and me, their supervisor who is expected to play the parental role, are located in the power relationship based on our creation of the meaning of the involvement.

When I, a professor in charge of the internship, try to connect international students with

the local society, I constantly need to be aware of who is in *uchi* (inside), and who is in *soto* (outside), to speak accordingly. The identity and power relationship defined in the context of internship practicum were well exhibited in the way I spoke, and also in the way I instructed my student interns to behave and speak in Japanese in public. Kondo (1987:243) proposes, “the most obvious, general, and logically compelling entrée into Japanese conception of selfhood is through language.” Hence, my definition of my selfhood as a person who is requesting cooperation for my students in my group, and is receiving the support is well expressed in the way I used honorifics and humble forms in the Japanese language. Language becomes a crucial factor in expressing the Japanese self, which is specifically defined in a specific context. The identity, power, and hierarchy in the scenes of internship practicum were expressed in the language. The invisible communication factors in the Japanese language, such as terms used to refer to others and speech levels, which are the “metamessage about the relationship between the speaker and the listener, and indexical meaning” (ibid.), were clearly conveyed in the way “my interns” and I spoke in the meetings and in our communication with the local people. There is an invisible identity and power relationship operating in the internship scene, and people could sense the meta-message of defining invisible power relationship from the language. If there is incongruence in the way the identity and power relationship are defined and expressed, some inadequacy occurs in the relationship, and it can eventually affect the cooperation to work together.

As a manager of the internship course, I am a representative of the student interns who are taken care of and getting support in the community as the “outsider” of the community’. Hierarchically, the social position of the university professor is high; however, there are multiple factors that define the power relationship in the scene of internship practicum. These include (a) the social positions, (b) the value of international interns’ work in the community, (c) the interns’ needed assistance from the community, (d) the relationship of the professor to power actors in the local community, (e) the age, (f) the established relationships behind the public scenes, and (g) gender. Being in the position to receive support for the students in “my group,” I need to constantly express gratitude to the local people in a humble manner of speaking. Students are akin to the position of ‘novices’ who are going through apprenticeship placed in the local community, and are learning cultural practices of community. In order to develop competence in the “cognitive apprenticeship,” “modeling, coaching, scaffolding, fading, articulation, reflection, and exploration” are employed (Cope et al. 2000). Intern students, as minor existence, were put in the position of apprentices, and the professor is in the position of bringing “untrained novices” to the community where these novices are given the opportunity to train themselves with the cooperation of the people there.

As I have presented the theoretical issues of identity, hierarchy, and power relations in the Japanese society, in reality, people entering the established community are the people who need to adjust themselves to the local culture. Rosenberger (1992:14-15) contends that cultural elements and social embeddedness strengthen the Japanese people's tendency to engage in "defining and redefining themselves in relation to the distance or difference from other people or other groups." The power relationship and the sense of distance between each other are defined by the associated people in the context, and this has to be expressed in the most expected way. If it is not expressed in conformity, the relationships will start becoming sour, or the intended goal will not be achieved. This accedes to the argument by Kondo (1990:24) that selfhood is "the product of a complex negotiations, taking place within specific, but shifting contexts, where power and meaning, 'personal' and 'political,' are inseparable." As Kondo (ibid.) argues that "identity is not a fixed 'thing,' it is negotiated, open, shifting, ambiguous." Therefore, a mature Japanese person is expected to make appropriate judgment on each other's identity and distance, or closeness of the relationship based on multiple factors, such as age, education level, social status, and how the person is related to others in the context. The power relationship can also be affected significantly by the actual needs and its real necessity.

The difficult part of internship management is, this type of power relationship definition does not correspond with the way most of the university professors are hierarchically placed within the university and in the society. Socially, it is not a common practice in Japan that a professor plays the role to represent "students who take his/her classes" or the "university as a whole" unless he/she is in the top management position of the university. Universities do not function like industries, where employees are treated as one unit towards the outsiders of their company. The sense of unification is often indicated in the expression '*osewa ni narimasu*' (thank you for your favoritism towards our company) expressed to anyone outside the company. University professors are more like independent researchers, and they tend to view themselves as independent personnel. Therefore, professors usually do not place themselves in the position to express appreciation to outsiders "on behalf of students" or as a representative of the university receiving support and assistance from the society. However, in the internship project, which does not follow the university culture, will place the students under the umbrella of the professor's *uchi* (inside) group, and its involvement will place the professor in the position to express gratitude "on behalf of students" who had received support from the outsiders. If the professor's side could not compromise the power relationship placement, the practicum for students' social experiences will not be actualized, unless the students' involvement is meaningful and beneficial from a cost-benefit perspective.

Cultural Dilemma – *Uchi/Soto* Management Facing Two Sides

In this way, in the operation of classes of social experiences for students, the difference between the university culture and the culture outside the university can create a dilemma for most of the professors standing in the middle. These dilemmas are not worth facing for the university professors who could remain only as academicians. According to the research of Coco (2000), 28% of academic faculty do not believe they receive any form of reward for overseeing these programs (as cited in Alpert et al. 2009). The professors' challenges of locating internship in an academic context and the undervaluing of the significant workload of the professor's work for internship development have also been presented in the research of Alpert et al. (2009) who examined the issues of goals, structures, and assessment of internship course from the perspectives of student, companies, and academicians. The reason why innovative internship is not created for a variety of international students in Japan entails the cultural factors additionally. Therefore, we need more analysis on the real hurdles and obstacles in the situations where foreign cultures and Japanese culture meet in future research.

Another dilemma for the professor is the fact that international students do not necessarily operate *uchi/soto* concept, hierarchy, identity, and power relationships in their relationship with the professor who is culturally enforced to operate it outside the university. In other words, double standards operate around the professor. Outside the university, the professor is located in a powerless position towards outsiders as a person who receives assistance for "his/her students," that is "his/her group," and need to express appreciation. However, the international students do not necessarily understand this power structure without having learned these matters through their situated cognition in Japan. They do not view them as "receivers" of the assistance from community and also from the professor who is expressing gratitude on the students' behalf. Rather, students might place themselves as an independent entity who is merely taking his/her class so that he/she could have social experiences in Japan. In my internship practicum, the international students often exhibited "fixed essentialist identities" which are very different from "relationally defined selves in Japan," which are inextricable from the context (Kondo 1990:33). A professor who is developing international experiential learning in Japan cannot avoid facing the incongruent characteristics of the two sides where the incoherent cultural concepts operate.

Another important concept to be noted here is '*amae*' that functions in Japanese society as a concept of affection, consideration, and care given by a person of superior position. The professor, in the position of taking care of the students, and who is more mature, is expected to give some kind of special affection and consideration to students who are inexperienced in

Japan. The concept of '*amae*' in Japan, which Doi (1971) referred to as the desire to be passively cared for, is often mentioned in social and private relationships in Japan. In this internship context, my students are *amae* seekers who are under my protection, the professor, and *amae* giver. As an authoritative figure representing the students, the *amae* giver is expected to protect students from the strict world outside, and to stand for them if any serious matters occur. The Japanese society tends to function as a unit, and a representative is always expected to appear on the front stage if something ever goes wrong with his/her subordinates. Odawara (2005) referred to the importance of being aware of *amae* and *uchi/soto* in her analysis of cultural competency in occupational therapy for Japanese, and presents that *amae* in the same exact sense cannot be found in any other language although similar concept exists all over the world. An intermediary of foreign and local culture in Japan needs to manage various crucial issues, such as *uchi/soto*, *amae* relationships, socially positioning people involved in comfortable positions. These matters need to be analyzed for the genuine development of cross-cultural understanding.

Unpredictability of Managing International Experiential Learning

Ackerman et al. (2003) highlight the academic supervisors' concern about the time for coordinating and implementing internships. This is very plausible according to my experience of creating my internship course. The concern for its heavy burden and the unpredictability of the required time, efforts, and reaction from people getting involved will constantly be the issue for any person operating the internship. The efforts and challenges required for the academic supervisor of internship, pointed out by Alpert et al. (2009) depict well the concerned burden of a professor. Henry et al. and Englander et al. (as cited in Alpert et al. 2009:38) observe the significance of the academic supervisor's participation and the importance of informal meetings as well as formal seminars of students and academic supervisors to gain feedback and share experiences, and this can be fully applied to my actual experiences. A professor in charge of the internship cannot evade the responsibility for all the possible unpredictable work, care, meetings, obstacles, courtesy visits, apology for the wrong doings of students, etc. which are very time-consuming. If it is a project type internship, she/he needs to be responsible for the completion of the project once it is proposed publicly.

In order to create meaningful and academically valuable internship for students, the academic supervisor needs to clarify its academic purpose and the learning outcome to the students. Feldman & Bolino (2000) espouse the importance of the skill utilization, sufficient

communication, specific guidance, and the feedback for successful internship. Further, Alpert et al. (2009:38) point out the importance of engagement with significant work and reasonable expectations for students for their accomplishment. In order to provide a realistic picture to my students, I have incorporated the expectation management into my course content so that students could recognize their actual capabilities and form realistic expectations for themselves in the practicum.⁶ I have also observed that the internship practicum can become meaningless if proper guidance is not provided by the person in the position of a supervisor. In order to meet these matters and make the practicum academically valuable, I created evaluation criteria of students' empowerment and their own self-evaluation.⁷

The other challenge is that a professor who offers internship course for international students in Japan will be required to train international students to acquire formal courtesy and appropriate Japanese language usage in the formal settings in Japan. Complexities of identity and power relationships, social locations and hierarchy of the people involved, and the appropriate usage of the Japanese language in specific context cannot be easily taught in the classroom setting without contextual learning. For this, international students need to engage in situated learning in everyday context with the proper guidance of the academic supervisor. The local community in Japan, like any other community, has its own customs and expected behavioral codes, and it is required for any person entering the community to follow it. The local culture and their customs can never be underestimated when we enter other's community, and it is impossible to actualize the project if we do not follow the unwritten codes therein.

Lave (1988) presents the researchers' observation on the difference of thinking and behaving of individuals in everyday versus controlled environments. Choi and Hannafin (1995:54) point out the critical differences of formal learning settings and informal everyday activities. In formal learning setting, context-free and symbolic knowledge is emphasized. However, in informal learning contexts, "individuals apply knowledge practically and routinely to solve everyday problems (Brown et al. 1989). The project that needs the cooperation of the local society requires understanding of everyday cognition of the local people. The value of internship is bridging the gap between theory and practice and the gap between classroom education and real industry life (Khalil 2015; Hynie et al. 2011; Meredith and Burkle 2008), and international students are challenged to bridge this gap by situating

⁶ In the first week of the "Globalization Support Internship" Course, students are required to take a placement test for the course. The tests consists of (a) a written examination which evaluates the students' knowledge on customs and practices in work settings in Japan and their Japanese language proficiency at business level and (b) an interview test which examines the ability to be able to communicate in Japanese at business level.

⁷ I have been conducting research on students' empowerment through internship practicum and their self-evaluation of their practicum since 2012.

oneself in the everyday setting. In a way, the internship practicum is very unpredictable not only for a professor, but also for students and for the local people. The risk of involvement with something too uncertain, the difficulty of understanding the value of “non everyday situations,” and its unpredictability are not something people with their own everyday cognition would welcome initially. Breaking the barrier, by accessing people who can understand the value of a new challenge, works as a key.

Conclusion

The experiential learning I designed for international students was to enable them to stand as “subjects” who can take an action by fully utilizing their own assets. In order to acquire this power as an active agent, students need to experience situated learning in which they learn how to integrate various resources and knowledge. In this paper I focused mainly on how I managed *uchi/soto* concept and power relationship for the actualization of the internship practicum for international student interns from the perspective of a reflexive anthropologist. My management experience has raised me a critical question about the meaning of cross-cultural understanding and the development of multicultural co-existence that is often discussed today.

Cross-cultural understanding cannot be achieved when just one side make efforts to adjust themselves to the other side. I attempted to create the practicum for international students to make the most of their assets of being foreigners in addition to their knowledge of Japanese language and theoretical understanding of Japan. I created opportunities for international student interns to contribute their perspectives as foreigners, such as working as a guide who could incorporate various historical perspectives in their stories, working as an English-speaking guide, and introducing their cultures as part of the international exchange events in local festival. These actions created a special place for international students to exercise power and express their identities. It is important to be aware that the main cultural framework for behavioral code and speech in the internship practicum tended to be a local culture in Japan. The dominant cultural code is “the Japanese way” which makes local residents comfortable, and international students were placed in the position to follow it.

I, the academic supervisor, work as a manager of cultural differences and stand in the middle of students and the local people so that the encounter of different cultures is comfortable and makes sense for the people involved, and different behavioral code and values will not create any conflict. My concern is that this type of professional role cannot be often played by people in the everyday context. International students’ internship practicum in

Japan should not be confined to the framework of “Japanizing international students” just by their acquisition of Japanese language and cultural understanding. The agency of the international students with various cultural backgrounds should be valued, and international students should be related by the people in Japan as active agents. My internship course raised me the theoretical question of how cultural differences should be managed in local context, and to what extent the academic supervisor should assist and intervene with international students’ efforts to work with the local people in Japan.

The important issue is how we can make this meaningful encounter the educational place to learn how to integrate foreignness and Japaneseness in situated cognition. Unless we realistically see the undecorated situations of incongruence and cultural dilemma, international students in Japan will not learn how to cope with real situations outside the campus. Educational locations need to be created where the elements of foreignness and Japaneseness interact with each other, and face cultural differences and conflicts realistically. In addition to the structured understanding of theories, the international students need unsystematized, informal, everyday cognition through interaction and cooperation with real people if they wish to acquire the power to cope with reality by integrating various resources and knowledge. This will also become an important step to bring new opportunities to open up the Japanese culture to the outside world.

References

- Ackerman, D. S., Gross, B., & Perner, L. (2003). Instructor, Student, and Employer Perceptions on Preparing Marketing Students for Changing Business Landscape. *Journal of Marketing Education*, 25 (1), 46-56.
- Alpert, F., Heaney, J., & Kuhn, K. L. (2009). Internships in Marketing: Goals, Structures and Assessment – Student, Company and Academic Perspectives. *Australian Marketing Journal*, 17, 36-45.
- Astin, A. W. & Astin, H. S. (2000). *Leadership Reconsidered: Engaging Higher Education in Social Change*. Battle Creek, MI: W. K. Kellogg Foundation.
- Bachnik, J. M. (1998). Time, Space and Person in Japanese Relationships. In J. Hendry (Ed.), *Interpreting Japanese Society*, 2nd ed. (pp. 91-116). London and New York: Routledge.
- Bachnik, J. M. (1994a). Introduction: *Uchi/soto*: Challenging Our Conceptualizations of Self, Social Order, and Language. In J. M. Bachnik & C. J. Quinn, Jr. (Eds.), *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language* (pp. 3-37). Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Bachnik, J. M. (1994b). Indexing Self and Society in Japanese Family Organization. In J. M. Bachnik & C. J. Quinn, Jr. (Eds.), *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language* (pp. 143-166). Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Bachnik, J. M. (1992). *Kejime*: Defining a Shifting Self in Multiple Organizational Modes. In N. R.

- Rosenberger (Ed.), *Japanese Sense of Self* (pp. 152-172). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bachnik, J. M. (1987). Native Perspectives of Distance and Anthropological Perspective on Culture. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 60 (1), 25-34.
- Brown, J. S., Collins, A., & Duguid, P. (1989). Situated Cognition and the Culture of Learning. *Educational Researcher*, 18 (1), 32-42.
- Choi, J. & Hannafin, M. (1995). Situated Cognition and Learning Environments: Roles, Structures, and Implications for Design. *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 43 (2), 53-69.
- Cope, P., Cuthbertson, P., & Stoddart, B. (2000). Situated Learning in the Practical Placement. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 31 (4), 850-856.
- Doi, T. (1971). *The Anatomy of Dependence*. Tokyo: Kodansha.
- Feldman, D. C. & Bolino, M. C. (2000). Skill Utilization of Overseas Interns: Antecedents and Consequences. *Journal of International Management*, 6, 29-47.
- Funai, S. (2013). Peace Project: Engaging Migrant Youth for Local Community in Japan through Making a Film. *The Asian Conference on Media and Mass Communication, Official Conference Proceedings*.
- Hickman, M. (2016). Beyond Learning by Doing: An Exploration of Critical Incidents in Outdoor Leadership Education. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning*, 16 (1), 63-77.
- Hislop, S., Iglis, B., Cope, P., Stoddart, B., & McIntosh, C. (1996). Situating Theory in Practice: Student Views of Theory-practice in Project 2000 Nursing Programmes. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 23 (1), 171-177.
- Hynie, M., Jensen, K., Johnny, M., Wedlock, J., & Phipps, D. (2011). Student Internships Bridge Research to Real World Problems. *Education + Training*, 53 (1), 45-56.
- Ishikawa, K. Multicultural Social Work in Japan: The Need for Development. (2009). *World Cultural Psychiatry Research Review*, 4(1), 47-52.
- Khalil, O. E. M. (2015). Students' Experiences with the Business Internship Program at Kuwait University. *The International Journal of Management Education*, 13, 202-217.
- Kondo, D. (1990). *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kondo, D. (1987). Creating an Ideal Self: Theories of Selfhood and Pedagogy at a Japanese Ethic Retreat. *Ethos*, 15, 241-272.
- Lave, J. (1988). *Cognition in Practice: Mind, Mathematics, and Culture in Everyday Life*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lebra, T. S. (1976). *Japanese Pattern of Behavior*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press.

- Marcketti, S. B. & Kadolph, S. J. (2010). Empowering Student Leadership Beliefs: An Exploratory Study. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 22 (2), 131-139.
- Meredith, S. & Burkle, M. (2008). Building Bridges between University and Industry: Theory and Practice. *Education + Training*, 50 (3), 199-215.
- Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication. Improving Assistance for Foreign Residents During Disasters – Overview of 2012 Report by the Council for the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence. (2016, January 20). Retrieved from http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000202431.pdf
- Nair, I., Norman, M., Tucker, G. R., & Burkert, A. (2012). The Challenge of Global Literacy: An Ideal Opportunity for Liberal Professional Education. *Liberal Education*, 98 (1), 56-61.
- Nazaruk, M. (2011). Reflexivity in Anthropological Discourse. *Anthropological Notebooks*, 17 (1), 73-83.
- Odawara, E. (2005). Cultural Competency in Occupational Therapy: Beyond a Cross-cultural View of Practice. *The American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 59 (3), 325-334.
- Paulsell, P. R. (1991). A Cultural Rationale for International Business Internships. *Monatshefte*, 83 (3), 243-264
- Perkins, D. N. & Salomon, G. (1992). Transfer of Learning. *International Encyclopedia of Education*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Rosenberger, N. R. (1994). Indexing Hierarchy through Japanese Gender Relations. In J. M. Bachnik & C. J. Quin, Jr. (Eds.), *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language* (pp. 88-112). Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Rosenberger, N. R. (1992). Introduction. In N. R. Rosenberger (Ed.), *Japanese Sense of Self* (pp.1-20). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenberger, N. R. (1989). Dialectic Balance in the Polar Model of Self: The Japan Case. *Ethos*, 17 (1), 88-113.
- Shertzer, J. E. & Schuh, J. H. (2004). College Student Perceptions of Leadership: Empowering and Constraining Beliefs. *NAPSA Journal*, 42 (1), 111-131.
- Steen, J. A. & Buckey, J. W. (2014). American Social Work Student Attitudes towards Foster Youth Empowerment. *Child Abuse Review*, 23, 440-449.
- Tsunematsu, N. (2004). Gender Power Under Female Leadership: A Local Women's Association in Japan. *Japanese Studies*, 24 (1), 97-114.
- Tsunematsu, N. (2002). Historical Records of a Local Community in Japan: A Feminist Ethnographer's Criticism. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 8 (2), 53-75.