早稲田大学審査学位論文（博士）

Perceptions of Cultural Diversity in the Japanese Workplace.

- Influences of Perceiver's Early International Experience, Target's Nationality, and Contextual Number of Foreign Coworkers -

日本の職場における文化的多様性の認識

— 認識者の初期の国際経験、対象者の国籍、職場での外国人の同僚の数が文化的多様性の利益と脅威の認識に及ぼす影響 —

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政策科学論専攻　国際経営論研究

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2020 年 11 月

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to many persons without whom this thesis would not have been possible.

I would first like to thank Professor Shinji HASEGAWA, my mentor for his guidance, insightful feedbacks and very efficient organization throughout my research, as well as the Professor Ichiro TAKAHASHI for their time and support as supervisors.

I would also like to express a special gratitude to Professors Rémy MAGNIER-WATANABE and Toru UCHIDA, my co-authors in the work related to some sections of this thesis, who also devoted a substantial amount of time and efforts to support me in the research undertaken for this thesis.

Last, my thanks go to all the interviewees who generously offered their time in answering my never-ending questions, despite a busy agenda. Unfortunately, most of them chose to remain anonymous for reasons of confidentiality.

Abstract

Under the dual pressure of globalization and demographic decline, Japanese companies' workforce is becoming increasingly culturally diverse. This phenomenon is twofold, occurring both abroad, in the foreign subsidiaries, and at home in Japan, at the headquarters and in the domestic subsidiaries. The first aspect has been termed "external internalization", and the second "internal internalization". In both cases, Japanese employees have to interact with foreigners. Either as expatriates, abroad, or in domestic workplaces, where they have to rub shoulders with foreign coworkers. These two situations constitute the two sides of a same coin. A Japanese employee working today in Japan with foreign coworkers as member of the local dominant ethnic majority may become the foreigner tomorrow when assigned to a foreign subsidiary. Multinational organizations and their human resource departments may leverage this complementarity by managing the phenomenon holistically. It is against such a backdrop, that this thesis investigates the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace.

Along with a review of the literature (Chapter 2), we started our research with a first phase of exploratory fieldwork research through interviews (Chapter 3). The confrontation of the collected data to the existing literature and a first cycle of coding led us to adopt a perceptional approach to the perception of cultural diversity at work. Specifically, we analyze this perception through three loci: the perceiver, the target, and the context. We then developed our theoretical framework after a second cycle of coding that led us to split cultural diversity in components (Chapter 4). We do not consider perception of cultural diversity as a unidimensional continuum (from bad to good) but as a multifaceted phenomenon. Specifically, following Hofhuis et al. (2015) we divide the perception of cultural diversity along two independent axes, benefits and threats, these two dimensions being themselves divided in nine subdimensions (five benefits and four threats). Our conceptual framework is the combination of these nine subdimensions with the three perceptional loci. It proposes that characteristics of these three loci predict the nine subdimensions of cultural diversity.

Equipped with this theoretical framework, we then moved on to build models and to test their hypotheses, using a questionnaire survey of 572 Japanese employees conducted in February 2019 (described in Chapter 5). We built three models, one for each of the three loci of perception (target, perceiver, and context).

In our first model (Chapter 6), we show that the target's characteristics influence the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. Specifically, we demonstrate a relationship between the target (foreign coworker)'s nationality and the perceptions of cultural diversity. Our results show the Japanese employees working only with Chinese coworkers or only with Western coworkers perceive higher benefits in cultural diversity, especially in terms of understanding diverse stakeholders and regarding social environment.

In our second model (Chapter 7), we show that perceiver's characteristics influence their perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. Specifically, we demonstrate a relationship between the perceiver (Japanese employee)'s early international experience and his or her perceptions of cultural diversity. Japanese employees who have lived abroad for extended periods when young perceive more benefits in cultural diversity at work than Japanese employees who have never been abroad.

In our third and last (Chapter 8), we show that contextual characteristics influence the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. Specifically, we demonstrate a relationship between the absolute number of foreign coworkers a Japanese employee interact with at work and this employee's

perceptions of cultural diversity. Our data suggests interacting with about three foreign coworkers can maximize the perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work among Japanese employees while minimizing its perceived threats. We also proved empirically the token foreigners are just that, a symbolic token just for show, perceived as not bringing any tangible benefit to the workplace.

Chapter 9 is a general discussion. Piecing together our findings, we review their implications for the relationships between multiculturalism at three levels: individual level, organizational level, and national level. Specifically, we discuss how the 'knowledge' and 'internalization' facets of biculturalism at the individual level, mediated by boundary spanning, contribute to multiculturalism at the organizational level (itself conductive to higher organizational performance). We also stress the moderating effect of the third facet of biculturalism at the individual level, 'identification'. We also describe the consequences of their perception by Japanese host country nationals for some foreign residents of Japan, who receive a 'guest' treatment. Chapter 10 concludes the thesis by reviewing its contributions, its limitations, its role as stepping stone for future research, and its implications for individuals, for organizations, and for policy making.

To summarize, this thesis offers a framework that helps to better understand and analyze the antecedents of the perception of workplace cultural diversity and its components. It also proves empirically the relationships between some of these antecedents and the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace. In doing so, we contribute to academic research in the fields of international business, international human resource management, and diversity management. Our findings also help Japanese multinational companies to enhance the management of their international human resources.

Keywords

International business, international human resource management, cultural diversity, diversity management, foreigner, expatriate, migrant, foreigners, tokenism, Japan, multiculturalism, biculturalism, cultural boundary spanning, national culture, organizational culture.

Japanese Abstract

ビジネスのグローバル化と人口減少の二重の圧力の下で、日本企業の労働力はますます文化的に多様化している。この現象は、海外、海外子会社、国内、本社、国内子会社のいずれの場所でも発生している。こうした現象は、 第一に「外部の国際化」と呼ばれ、第二に「内なる国際化」と呼ばれている。どちらの場合も、日本人従業員は今や海外駐在員として、または日本の職場で、外国人の同僚と一緒に外国人と交流しなければならない。ただし、これら 2 つの状況は、同じコインの裏表ともいえる。日本人従業員は、今日、日本で圧倒的多数のメンバーとして外国人の同僚と一緒に働き、一方、将来海外に派遣されて、異なる文化的多数派に囲まれて外国人として働くことも考えられる。今、企業の人事部門はこの現象を総合的に管理する必要がある。　このような背景から、本論文では、日本の職場における文化的多様性の利点と脅威の認識を調査する。

第 1 章は、序論である。第 2 章は、先行研究レビューである。第 3 章は探索的研究のための調査方法（インタビュー）を記述する。筆者は探索的研究の第一段階から研究を始めた。収集したデータを既存の文献と対峙させ、職場での文化的多様性の認識に知覚的アプローチを採用する。具体的には、認知の 3 つの視座、つまり知覚者、ターゲット（対象者）、およびコンテキスト（取り巻く環境）を通じてこの認知を分析する。さらに、文化の多様性の認識を一次元の連続体（悪いものから良いものへ）としてではなく、多面的な現象と見なす。具体的には、Hofhuis et al (2015) がいうように文化的多様性の認識を利益と脅威に分割し、これらの 2 つの次元自体を 9 つのサブ次元（5 つの利益と 4 つの脅威）に分割する。

第 4 章では、これら 2 つの視点を組み合わせて、コンポーネント間の関係を提案する理論的なフレームワークを構築する。具体的には、知覚者、ターゲット、および知覚のコンテキストに関連する特性が、職場における文化的多様性の利点と脅威の知覚予測を提案する。

第 5 章では仮説検証のための調査方法を記述する。2019 年 2 月に実施された 572 人の日本人従業員へのアンケート調査を使用して、モデルを構築し、仮説を検証する。3 つの知覚視座（知覚者、ターゲット、コンテキスト）ごとに 1 つずつ、3 つのモデルを構築した。

第 6 章では、最初のモデルとして、ターゲットに関するモデルを構築し、仮説を検証する。ターゲットの特性が、職場での文化的多様性の利点と脅威の認識に影響することを示す。具体的には、ターゲットの国籍と日本人従業員による文化的多様性の認識との関係を示す。

第 7 章では、知覚者の特性が、職場での文化的多様性の利点と脅威に対する知覚に影響することを示す。具体的には、知覚者（日本人従業員）の初期の国際経験と文化的多様性に対する彼または彼女の知覚との関係を示す。

第 8 章では、3 番目のコンテキストモデルを構築し、その仮説を検証する。 私たちは、認識のコンテキスト（取り巻く状況、環境）が、職場での文化的多様性の利益と脅威の認識にも影響することを示す。 具体的には、外国人同僚の絶対数と日本人従業員の文化的多様性の認識との関係を示す。外国人の同僚が 1 人いるだけでは、文化的多様性における利益の認識は向上しないことを示す。筆者の調査データはまた、約 3 人の外国人の同僚と交流することで、日本人従業員の職場での文化的多様性の認識された利点を最大化し、同時にその脅威を最小限に抑えることができることを示唆している。

第 9 章は、第 6 章から第 8 章までの分析を統括した議論である。前述した筆者の調査結果を結合させて、①個人レベル、②組織レベル、および③国家レベルの 3 つのレベルで A.多文化様相と B.多文化方針間の関係（３×２）に対する影響を確認した。また一方、日本人は外国人に対して、一部ゲストとして扱っている場合があることが示唆された。

第 10 章は論文を総括する。 まず、貢献の概要を説明する。 次に、論文の限界とそれが開く将来の研究の展望を確認する。 最後に、個人、組織、および政策立案に対するその影響について説明する。

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1. Introduction

1.1. Context and Relevance

In contemporary society, characterized by ever-increasing globalization and complexity, the way organizational members perceive the facet of globalization that is cultural diversity in the workplace is vital, not only for their betterment but also for the organizations. Organizations must continuously transform to survive; however, change is stressful and requires employees to have the psychological capacity and time to grow and adapt. Organizations that seek to thrive in this turbulent environment must therefore care about their corporate culture and the way it affects employees, their individual performance, and, ultimately, corporate performance. With the growing stress and complexity of today's ever-changing society, employees need a sense of security and well-being in their workplace (Magnier-Watanabe et al., 2017).

Japan's interest in cultural diversity in the workplace and its perception has been growing; not only it is a component of diversity management in organizations, but it is also related to national policymaking levels, namely governmental policies for immigration and education. A typical illustration is the *tobitate! ryūgakuJAPAN* campaign launched in October 2013 by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. Heavily sponsored by private companies, this program's goal was to double the number of young Japanese studying abroad by 2020: from 60,000 to 120,000 for university students, and from 30,000 to 60,000 for high school students. Aimed at developing individuals who will later play important roles in both business and the government, this campaign is a reminder that, while learning organizations (Senge, 1990) struggle with promoting change at the organizational level or with influencing society, it is at the individual level that they face the most difficulties. They cannot expect short-term results in personal development (de Anca and Vázquez, 2007) — therefore, the importance of early life experiences, which have a deep and long lasting influence on the development of an individual's belief systems. Because Japan is an island country with a long history of isolationism, its unique civilization tends to differ markedly from the cultures of other countries (Huntington, 1993). With the increasing globalization, the need for managers and employees capable of operating in multicultural settings is growing. While part of this need occurs outside the country, the aging and shrinking population has led to greater immigration, and therefore to the development of cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace.

The internationalization of Japanese companies outside the country, in foreign subsidiaries, has been labelled *external internalization* and internalization within the country (notably at the companies' headquarters) has been labelled *internal internationalization* (Yoshihara, 1989; Sekiguchi et al., 2016). In 1988, Bartlett and Yoshihara claimed that human resource management was facing serious problems in foreign subsidiaries of Japanese firms. Wherever the internationalization occurs, organizations need to adapt to and match the variety and complexity of their environment (Ashby, 1957). In order to accomplish this goal, they need members who are both knowledgeable of and attune to this variety (including cultural variety). In other words, since Japanese firms draw an increasing share of their sales from abroad (the background of globalization, with a shrinking domestic market due to the aging population), they must have the same diversity internally as they do externally in the markets they serve. This approach goes a long way in developing products and services that suit the needs of foreign customers. Companies will then need to pay more attention to diversity management as a potentially competitive resource (Magoshi and Chang, 2009). This requires an understanding of the employees' perception of the benefits and threats of a multicultural workforce. These employees are both Japanese and foreigners, and international experience

among Japanese employees varies. According to Japanese state broadcaster NHK, one in five Japanese people have had a foreign coworker in 2018 and half of the population had no relationships with people from abroad (NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, 2020). According to the same source, Japanese's interactions with foreigners were working together (21%), exchanging greetings (17%), studying together (13%), sharing meals (12%), etc. Seventy-four percent of the respondents to a recent Nikkei survey reported an increase of the number of foreigners in their workplaces and neighborhoods. According to the same source, 66 percent of Japanese see this evolution as somewhat positive while only 10 percent as bad (Kono, 2019). While Japanese multinational companies met global successes until the burst of the bubble economy in the beginning of the 1990s, they today face multiple challenges and somehow need to reinvent themselves, notably their human resource management (Sekiguchi et al., 2016). As for multinational companies of other countries, Japanese multinationals increasingly rely on the efficiency of the management of their international human resources to synergize global markets (Kaur, 2015). International experience is becoming more and more sought after as companies have come to the realization that it is a fundamental asset both for themselves and for their managers. International business (IB) necessitates collaboration between people from different cultural backgrounds. In domestic organizations also, people with diverse cultural backgrounds working together is today a quotidian reality. While offering advantages, this cultural diversity also presents several challenges. For instance, if individuals with bicultural or multicultural identities have a proven potential to improve intercultural interactions, how these people bridge cultural gaps, however, remains quite elusive (Backmann et al., 2020).

1.2. Research Questions

It is against such a backdrop that we started our investigation of the perception of cultural diversity in the workplace. This investigation began in the field (Japan) by noting the diversity of opinions on the merits and demerits of cultural diversity at work, or the advantages and disadvantages of working with foreigners. Views seemed to be split among locals (or host country nationals), the Japanese, but also among the foreigners living and working in Japan. This is why we launched our research along these two dimensions. One the one hand is the dichotomy between local employees, the Japanese, and their foreign coworkers. On the other hand, there is the dichotomy between the positive and negative perceptions of cultural diversity. In other words, we started with a two by two matrix. In a first cell, we had the Japanese thinking positively about cultural diversity at work. At the other extreme, foreigners thinking negatively about it. In between were Japanese thinking negatively of diversity and foreigners viewing it positively. This thesis conveys the evolution of our research questioning and framing from this simple two by two matrix toward a three by nine framework revealing the relationships between the three loci of perception (the perceiver, the target, and the context) and cultural diversity disaggregated into nine subdimensions (five benefits and four threats). However, when we started our research and did our first interviews with locals and foreigners in Japan, our research questions were the following. "As a Japanese, what do you think are the merits and demerits of working with foreigners?" and "As a foreigner, how do you see cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace?"

1.3. Originality

Huang et al., (2020) have stressed the importance for Japanese firms of attracting skilled candidates, both at home and abroad and yet how little we know little about the elements making them attractive to foreign

job applicants. They add that among the multiple researches comparing hiring across cultures, some of the most promising are those investigating the influence of diversity management on attractiveness. Indeed, Japanese companies have been increasing their domestic recruitment of foreigners in the recent years (Conrad and Meyer-Ohle, 2019). Some of the most high-profile case has been convenience store chain Lawson. However, Liu-Farrer (2011) has suggested that local employees have not perceive very positively this policy, presumably because Japanese employees have traditionally dominated in the Japanese workplace (Sekiguchi et al., 2016).

Increasingly, however, Japanese companies, manage people with diverse cultural backgrounds. Because their activities spread across borders, the management of their human resources (and, more generally, of the human interactions with their stakeholders) is international. It takes place both outside (external internationalization) and inside (internal internationalization) the parent country: in foreign countries, especially those where they have subsidiaries, and at home, at the headquarters and domestic subsidiaries. In international business literature, research on foreign subsidiary staffing and expatriate adjustment has dominated the first aspect, external internationalization, while research on cultural diversity has dominated the second aspect, internal internationalization. The originality of this thesis is to combine these two threads of research in a unified framework.

A second originality of this thesis is that it complements and extends Komisarof (2012)'s research on the perception of foreigners on their relations with their Japanese hosts. The originality of this thesis is to supplement his findings by looking contrariwise at how Japanese perceive the merits and demerits of working with foreigners

In conclusion, we intend to address a gap in the literature by looking at contemporary perceptions and practices regarding cultural diversity in the workplace, specifically in Japanese organizations. We also provide the first empirical testing of the BTDS scale (Hofhuis et al., 2015) in a Japanese context.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is composed of 10 chapters. Following this introduction (Chapter 1.) and a review of the literature likely to help us in our investigation (Chapter 2.), we split the thesis in two successive phases. The first phase in exploratory in nature and based on interviews (Chapter 3.). The analysis of these interviews leads to the development of a theoretical framework (Chapter 4.). This framework is the basis for the second phase of the thesis, a confirmatory research. This phase starts with a chapter dedicated to introducing a questionnaire survey conducted in 2019 with 572 Japanese respondents (Chapter 5.). In the three following chapters we use this survey to test three models their related hypotheses, all based on our theoretical framework. In the first of these three chapters, we show a relationship between a target (the foreigner)'s characteristic, his or her origin, and the perception of cultural diversity by Japanese employees (Chapter 6). In the following chapter, we show a relationship between the perceiver (the Japanese)'s early international experience and his or her perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace (Chapter 7.). In the last of these three chapters of quantitative testing, we show how the context of perception, namely the number of foreign coworkers, influence the perception of cultural diversity (Chapter 8.). Chapter 9 is a general discussion in which we revisit and expand our findings. The last chapter (Chapter 10. is a conclusion where we underline our contributions, state the limits of our research while linking it with future research perspectives and end the thesis with some implications for individuals, for organizations, and for public entities such as governments or education institutions.

2. Literature Review

Multinational companies, including the Japanese ones, manage people with diverse cultural backgrounds. Because their activities spread across borders, the management of their human resources (and, more generally, of the human interactions with their stakeholders) is international. It takes place both outside and inside the parent country: in foreign countries, especially those where they have subsidiaries, and at home, at the headquarters and domestic subsidiaries. The management of the first has been termed "external internationalization" while the management of the second as been named "internal internationalization" (Yoshihara, 1989; Sekiguchi et al., 2016). In international business literature, research on foreign subsidiary staffing and expatriate adjustment has dominated the first aspect, external internationalization, while research on cultural diversity has dominated the second aspect, internal internationalization.

We structure our literature review starting with the foreign population of Japan, its evolution, and its perception. We then move on to reviewing literature on cultural diversity and its management, including the topics of inclusion climate and tokenism. Next, we look at the interplay between international experience, cultural identity, and international propensity. We end our review with the Englishnization of Japanese companies and the role of boundary spanners.

Foreign Population of Japan

While the concept of diversity management has gained wide acceptance in Western countries, it may hold less well or bring about dissonant views in other cultural contexts (Syed and Özbilgin, 2009). Japanese society can be considered ethnically very homogeneous with 98.1 percent of its population being Japanese. Only 0.5 percent of Japan's citizens are of Korean descent, 0.4 percent ethnically Chinese, and other minority ethnicities (Ainu or Okinawans) account for 0.6 percent (CIA, 2020). Statistics on foreign national residents (medium-/long-term residents and special permanent residents) provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Statistics Bureau's Japan Statistical Yearbook (2019) show that there were 2.5 million (2,561,848) foreigners in Japan at the end of 2017. The breakdown by nationality shows five countries with more than 100,000 nationals residing in Japan: 730,890 Chinese, 450,663 Koreans (Republic of Korea), 262,405 Filipinos, 260,553 Vietnamese, and 191,362 Brazilians. Nepalese were 80,038, Taiwanese were 56,724, and Thais were 50,179, and Indonesians just a little less than 50,000 (49,982). Americans, at 55,713, were the only Western country with more than 50,000 nationals in Japan (17,200 British people, 12,503 French people, and 10,671 Australians).

Evolution of the Foreign Population and Immigration Policy

Foreign population is however slightly increasing, and foreigners accounted for 2.2 percent of Japan's population in 2019 (Official Statistics of Japan, 2020). This small percentage, however, added up to almost 3 million people. Among them, 790,000 had a permanent resident status, and 410,000 were technical intern trainees. While some have been claiming for decades that Western societies have become 'too diverse' (Grillo, 2007), Japan has been increasingly opening to foreigners. After efforts to attract foreign students in the 1980s, a debate around illegal migrants in the 1990s, in the 21st century, Japan has strived to fill the gap created by its decreasing and aging population by opening its labor market to immigrants (Chiavacci, 2012).

The new law on immigration that took effect in 2019 exemplifies this trend (Yamawaki, 2019). In April 2019, the Japanese government implemented a new “specified skills” visa to appeal to foreigners and encourage them to come and work in the country to fill labor shortages created by the shrinking domestic population. However, after one year, their number had only reached 1,621, a number far from the 47,000 the government hoped the visa would attract in its first year (Itabashi, 2020). The Japanese government and numerous Japanese companies encouraged by a stream of both academic and nonacademic literature (e.g. Ozaki, 2018; Magoshi, 2003), seem willing to test the benefits of immigration and cultural diversity.

Perception of Foreigners in Japan

According to the results of surveys conducted regularly between 2003 and 2018 by the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japanese people’s interest in foreigners and foreign countries has been declining in recent years. Only 58 percent of the 2018 survey respondents answered they wanted foreign friends, while the number was 63 percent in 2003. Similarly, only 33 percent said they wanted to go or work abroad, while their number was 43 percent in 2003, a drop of 10 percent. Moreover, Waseda University professor Shunsuke Tanabe suggests that this lack of interest for going abroad or interacting with foreigners is particularly strong among young Japanese (Eiraku, 2019). For most Japanese, foreigners and associated issues are distant ones, unrelated to their daily lives. If 70 percent of Japanese favor an increase of foreigners in the country, the number drops to 57 percent when the respondents are asked if they would favor an increase of foreigners in their own communities (NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, 2020). Popular debate about foreign worker population was at its peak at the end of the 1980s and interest in the issue has since declined in the country (Yamawaki, 2014). Nonetheless, it remains alive, both domestically and in the Western world, where it is often associated with gender diversity in Japan (e.g. Larmer, 2018).

While, in Western societies, some have been claiming for more than a decade that countries have become “too diverse” (Grillo, 2007), Japan is becoming increasingly open. As exemplified by the new law on immigration that took effect in April 2019 (Yamawaki, 2019), the current Japanese government and numerous Japanese companies, encouraged by a stream of both academic and nonacademic literature (e.g. Osaki, 2018; Magoshi, 2003), seem willing to test the benefits of immigration and cultural diversity. This is despite immigration having long been a sensitive national identity issue (Strausz, 2019) and suggestions that the country will maintain long-term social exclusion for the immigrants (Endoh, 2019). Immigration in Japan has been associated with higher criminality and other threats to social harmony, all supposed to lead, in the end, to social disorder (Chiavacci, 2014). This is despite conflicting information such as a report from the *Daily Yomiuri* (February 27, 1997) that “only about one percent of all crimes in Japan are committed by non-Japanese” (Friman, 2011; 334). However, not all nationalities are associated with this assumed increase in criminality. The prime suspects in public opinion or in the discourses of politicians’ speeches (e.g., Tokyo’s mayor Ishihara in 2000) are nationals from the three neighboring countries or former colonies: Korea, Taiwan, and China (the so-called *sangoku*) (Yamamoto, 2005). More recently, crimes by nationals from Southeastern Asian countries have been on the rise, with Vietnam ranking top in 2018 for crimes by non-Japanese, according to Japan’s National Police Agency (Kyodo News, 2018). These facts and fears add to the Japanese’s overall negative perception of other Asians (Stokes, 2016; Fukuzawa, 1885).

Nationality and region		2015	2016	2017
Total		**2,232,189**	**2,382,822**	**2,561,848**
Asia				
India		26,244	28,667	31,689
Indonesia		35,910	42,850	49,982
Korea, Rep. of		457,772	453,096	450,663
Sri Lanka		13,152	17,346	23,348
Thailand		45,379	47,647	50,179
Taiwan		48,723	52,768	56,724
China	1)	665,847	695,522	730,890
Nepal		54,775	67,470	80,038
Pakistan		12,708	13,752	15,069
Bangladesh		10,835	12,374	14,144
Philippines		229,595	243,662	260,553
Viet Nam		146,956	199,990	262,405
Malaysia		8,738	9,084	9,638
Myanmar		13,737	17,775	22,519
Mongolia		6,590	7,636	9,144
America, North				
U.S.A.		52,271	53,705	55,713
Canada		9,538	10,034	10,282
Mexico		2,141	2,304	2,566
America, South				
Brazil		173,437	180,923	191,362
Peru		47,721	47,740	47,972
Bolivia		5,412	5,550	5,751
Europe				
United Kingdom		15,826	16,454	17,200
Italy		3,536	3,824	4,147
Ukraine		1,699	1,867	1,831
Uzbekistan		1,503	1,874	2,921
Sweden		1,805	1,794	1,736
Spain		2,495	2,750	3,037
Germany		6,336	6,773	7,132
France		10,672	11,640	12,503
Poland		1,653	1,420	1,434
Romania		2,408	2,481	2,337
Russia		8,092	8,306	8,672
Africa				
Egypt		1,747	1,886	1,850
Ghana		2,005	2,148	2,287
Nigeria		2,638	2,797	2,911
Oceania				
Australia		9,843	10,387	10,671
New Zealand		3,152	3,239	3,353
Non-nationality		573	594	633

1) Including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. However, excluding those issued with residence cards and the like of which columns of nationality / area have description of Taiwan.

Source: Ministry of Justice.

Figures are from Statistics on Foreign National Residents. Counts of foreign national residents (medium-/long-term residents and special permanent residents) covered by Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. As of the end of year.

Figure 2.-1. Foreign National Residents by Nationality (2015 to 2017).

Cultural Diversity

Diversity has been defined as a combination of attributes making an individual different from others. These attributes include gender (e.g. women), race, ethnicity or culture (e.g. foreigners), age (e.g. older people), education, knowledge, religion, civil status, or disability (Klarsfeld et al., 2012). Previous studies have recognized several benefits of diversity in the workplace and shown how they improve company profitability (Tadmor and Tetlock, 2006). Related frameworks have subsequently been proffered to determine attitudes towards cultural diversity at work. Hostager and De Meuse (2008)'s Reaction-to-Diversity (R-T-D) model classifies perceived diversity into three groups: optimistic, realistic and pessimistic. Nakui et al. (2011)'s Attitudes Toward Diverse Workgroups Scale (ADWS) scores diversity outcomes on two dimensions, both in terms of task performance and affective component. A third and more recent scale, Hofhuis et al. (2015)'s BTDS (for Benefits and Threats of Diversity Scale), distinguishes perceptions of cultural diversity at work between positive and negative ones.

Several models have also been devised to assess attitudes towards cultural diversity in the workplace. The Reaction-to-Diversity (R-T-D) Inventory (Hostager & De Meuse, 2008) categorizes perceptions of diversity into three categories: optimist, realist and pessimist. The Attitudes towards Diversity at Work Scale (ADWS) (Nakui et al. 2011), distinguishes between the effects of diversity on productivity and on affective (social or affective aspects of diversity). Finally, the Benefits and Threats of Diversity Scale (BTDS) (Hofhuis et al., 2015) distinguishes independently the positive perceptions and the negative perceptions of cultural diversity in the workplace. The positive perceptions, called "benefits" are broken down into five dimensions: understanding of diverse groups in society, 2) creative potential, 3) image of social responsibility, 4) job market, and 5) social environment. The negative perceptions of cultural diversity in the workplace, called "threats", are: 1) realistic threat, 2) symbolic threat, 3) intergroup anxiety, and 4) productivity loss. We detail the meaning of these nine dimensions later in the thesis (Chapter 4). In this paper, we have selected this third framework, the BTDS, because it has two advantages over the first two models. First, following Hofhuis et al. (2015) and Van Knippenberg & Schippers (2007), we reckon that cultural diversity is not perceived along a single dimension but along several independent dimensions. Second, the BDTS allows for the measurement of detailed dimensions, making it more usable for both academics and practitioners. Lastly, Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver (2002) emphasize that majority and minority group members do not perceive cultural diversity in the same way. In this paper, we focus on the perception by the majority group members, the Japanese.

Diversity Management

In a widely cited paper, Huselid (1995) showed the impact of human resource management practices on both employee outcomes (turnover and productivity) and corporate financial performance. Cox and Blake (1991) reviewed the links between diversity (gender and ethnic) and organizational competitiveness, and offered suggestions to manage this diversity. Richard (2000) confirmed that cultural (racial) diversity adds value and contributes to organizational competitive advantage within a proper context. However, Davis et al. (2016) have shown that workforce diversity is not automatically well understood nor appreciated and generates widely diverging opinions among employees. While an already popular human resource

management tool in the 1990s, diversity management was still in its infancy at the beginning of this century (Subeliani and Tsogas, 2005), and according to Assmann (2016), Japan is still new to diversity management and has so far mainly focused on gender diversity. Immigration policies have also become ways to provide countries with valuable human resource in the global war for talent (Chiavacci, 2012). Shinzo Abe's government has been pushing for diversity, especially the advancement of women and the employment of skilled foreigners. However, despite young Japanese women being on average better educated than young men (OECD, 2015), Japan is lagging behind with regard to gender equality in career opportunities (Yamaguchi, 2019; Muroga and Crabtree, 2020), and Shiraki (2013) stresses that the attention given to other diversity attributes such as race, ethnicity and nationality is even slimmer. Ota (2016) affirms that it is only recently that Japanese companies have started to show interest for cultural diversity management. Froese et al. (2020) argue that most Japanese companies have trouble with 'internal internationalization' at home, as opposed to 'external internationalization' in foreign subsidiaries (Sekiguchi et al., 2016), because traditional Japanese human resource management practices are too often not compatible with the expectation of most foreign employees (Conrad and Meyer-Ohle, 2019; Sekiguchi et al., 2016; Yoshihara, 2011). At the intersection of 'external' and 'internal internalization', lessening the 'liability of foreignness' of inpatriates assigned to domestic headquarters (Harvey et al., 2005) is also an issue for Japanese international human resources management.

Inclusion Climate and Tokenism

Inclusion climate encompasses the shared employee perceptions of how the organization cares for the social integration of all employee groups, including cultural minorities (Nishii, 2013; Guillaume et al., 2014). Stoermer et al. (2016) claim that national culture has a strong influence on the relationships between organizational diversity, inclusion management, and inclusion climate. People from indulgent cultures (Hofstede et al., 2010) tend to be broad-minded, extroverted, and optimist. In turn, these personality traits lead to a positive attitude toward diversity (Swayerr et al., 2005).

Tokenism is a subtle form of discrimination toward targets of prejudice. It is "the practice of making only a perfunctory or symbolic effort to do a particular thing, especially by recruiting a small number of people from underrepresented groups in order to give the appearance of sexual or racial equality within a workforce" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020). An extreme form of tokenism is reverse discrimination, in which a discriminator holding concealed prejudice towards a minority does ostensibly champion some of its members. Posturing inclusiveness, the discriminator is averting claims of discrimination. Thence, tokenism is associated with concepts such as duplicity, hypocrisy, or insincerity. Reverse discrimination has to be differentiated from positive discrimination (or affirmative action), but the line dividing the two is often difficult to discern (Vaughan and Hogg, 2014), since consequences of tokenism are double-edged. A perverse consequence of tokenism is that it negatively affects the self-esteem of employed minority members, who feel that they have been handpicked solely on the basis of their minority attributes, thereby denying their skills and competences (Chacko, 1982). In other words, policies designed to protect and promote minorities can backfire because their members feel stigmatized and suffer from the humiliation associated with charity (Fothergill, 2003). Another negative consequence of tokenism is that it can be used, by individuals as well as by organizations, as an excuse and justification not to adopt more radical policies they may need in terms of diversity management, by being able to claim that they have "done enough" (Vaughan and Hogg, 2014). Tokenism may also have positive consequences for inclusiveness in the workplace as majority members may move towards aligning their attitudes with their behaviors to eliminate

cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Concerning outgroup members, their responses to tokenism can be action or inaction, individual or collective, normative (conforming to the norms of the majority), or not (Wright and Taylor, 1998). Both majority and minority members' behaviors and attitudes change with their respective numbers.

Building on Simmel (1902)'s insight that numbers matter in intergroup relations, Kanter (1977a, 1977b)'s tokenism theory posits that change in the relative number of minority members in a group – the "tokens" –, also changes their interaction with majority members – the "dominants" – within the group they form together. If numbers alone do not fully explain changes in the relations between minority and majority members, a ratio of 15 percent of tokens has however been confirmed by follow-up research as a threshold (Stichman et al., 2010). While there has been a long-standing theoretical proposition that hostility and discriminatory attitudes toward outgroups are likely to rise with relative size – either actual or perceived – of the outgroup population (Semyonov et al., 2004), this paper focuses on how an absolute number of foreigners in a workplace influences the perception of these foreigners by host country employees. While majority members influence minority members (Asch, 1951), the reverse is also true. Notably, Smith et al. (1996) have shown that attitudes in a homogenous group (of majority members) are changed with the introduction of one or two minority members. Lastly, Richard and Wright (2010) have stressed that tokenism research should not focus only on outgroup minority members but also give more attention to the ingroup majority members, as they loom large in influencing support for change.

Foreigners and National Identity

The increasing opening of the country to immigrants is happening despite immigration having long been a sensitive national identity issue (Strausz, 2019). Endoh (2019) also suggests that the country will maintain long-term social exclusion for the immigrants. Even if the "myth" of monoethnicity has faded, it is still pervasive within the population because of its historical roots, because Japan is an island nation and because it was never colonized (Ronen and Shenkar, 1985, 2013). An additional but different reason for this enduring view are the perceived virtues of ethnic homogeneity: harmony and social strength (Ono and Ono, 2015). Monoethnicity allows the attribution of virtues to ethnic uniqueness and superiority, hence building national pride. Comments expressed by finance minister Taro Aso in 2020 about Japanese superior social manners or cultural standard (*mindo*) are such an illustration (Lewis, 2020). According to Kim (2013), the same word (*mindo*) has also been used in the past to justify Japanese colonialism in Korea. Assmann (2016) proposes that most migrants working in Japan are employed as 'foreign workers' (*gaikokujin rōdōsha*), welcomed for their technical skills, but viewed as temporary human resources that do not need to be integrated in the long-term since membership is limited to those from the ethnic group. Nativism and exclusionary democracy are not unique to Japan but usually associated with developing democracies or advanced democracies that feel threatened (Watts and Feldman, 2001).

Early International Experience

According to the BBC, the number of international students increased by 12% annually in the years before 2012 (Sood, 2012). Studying abroad is much more common today than it used to be (Bennett, 2009), though it is less clear whether this number is increasing for Japan. According to the Japan Times, if the number of Japanese studying abroad has been increasing, this increase is due to short or even very short

(three days) stays being included in the statistics (McCrostie, 2017), while the OECD statistics are showing a decrease in the number of Japanese studying abroad for one year or more. As already mentioned earlier in this paper, the reassessing of deeply rooted beliefs takes time because it resists change (Nespor, 1987). Time is needed to build awareness of one's preexisting beliefs (Aikenhead and Jegede, 1999). For instance, Pedersen (2009) reported that there is no statistically significant difference in intercultural sensitivity between a group that has spent two weeks abroad and a control group that has not. Therefore, competent authorities, namely the government and schools, may need to consider how to facilitate lengthy absence from the national education system for those willing to acquire experience abroad. Busy academic schedules, clubs, part-time jobs, and studying for qualifications are also competing with studies abroad for the time of young Japanese. More generally, schools could also develop diversity workshops and measure the effects of diversity learning experiences on the perceptions and behaviors of their students.

International Experience and National Culture

Bennett (1998) distinguishes between Culture (with a big C), or objective culture, and culture (with a small c), or subjective culture. The former is a "set of institutional, political and historical circumstances that have emerged from and are maintained by a group of interacting people" (Bennett, 2009, S2). It is, for instance, a national culture. The latter, on the other hand, is an individual's worldview, which guides the individual in his or her communication with others. Subjective culture also evaluates phenomena or behaviors as good or bad. On the other hand, objective cultures are generalizations about individuals who belong to a common group. However, each individual group member holds his own little-c culture. International experience, or exposure to other big-C cultures, is a way to acquire linguistic and objective cultural competencies. However, it also profoundly alters the individual-level, subjective, little-c culture or worldview. Early life experiences influence the development of belief systems. Racial and ethnic identity is also developed in early life experiences and influences beliefs about diversity (Brand & Glasson, 2004). This may explain why beliefs, as opposed to knowledge, resist change. Beliefs do not easily vary with exposure to additional information but tend to maintain their suppositions even in the face of new facts (Nespor, 1987). Nevertheless, significant life events affect beliefs, and moving and living in a foreign country is such an event. Moving abroad and confronting cultural differences challenges individuals. They become more consciously aware of their preexisting beliefs and life experiences (Aikenhead & Jegede, 1999). Early international exposure, for instance through exchange programs during high school, is a "lifetime experience" (Magoshi, 2011, p. 213) with a long-lasting influence on the rest of one's life. A parallel at the country level can be drawn with Simonton (1997)'s assertion that in most domains (politics, war, business, religion, medicine, philosophy, nonfiction, fiction, etc.) the number of outstanding personalities in Japan was a function of foreign influence.

International Propensity

Propensity is "a tendency to behave in a particular way" (Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary). For instance, we can measure a firm's international propensity as its export propensity (Vaillant and Lafuente, 2019) or the ratio of its foreign sales over total sales. While 'international propensity' is a static view, a proportion at a given time, we term 'internalization propensity' as the dynamic aspect of the phenomenon,

which is the evolution of this proportion[1]. Both propensities are embedded in the culture of the organization (Kollmann and Christofor, 2014). Others have defined international propensity at the organizational level as an organization's web of external contacts, such as outside sources from where the organization acquires external knowledge, a knowledge later combined and blended with internal knowledge (Boari et al., 2011). International propensity is characteristic of born-global companies. Born-global companies are companies that, from their inception, seek to derive significant competitive advantage from making exports their primary goal (Rennie, 1993).

In a similar fashion, we can define international propensity and internationalization propensity at the individual level (Li et al., 2015). International propensity at the individual level is the degree to which an individual's social capital or network of personal relations covers a wide array of cultures, beyond its own. The dynamic version of the concept, internationalization propensity, is the individual's penchant for enlarging further his or her social interactions beyond their momentary boundaries, to spread among an even larger web of numerous and diverse foreign cultures. As with born-global companies, third culture kids (TCK) (Pollock et al., 2010) and children whose parents are of different cultures (interracial couples), such as Japanese *hāfu* (Kiesel and Haghirian, 2012) are born-global in the sense that, by definition, they are not limited to a mono-cultural environment at birth. ATCK (adult third culture kids) such as returnees, but also inpatriates or self-initiated expatriates are also examples of individuals with high international propensity. Not aware of the larger world, managers tend to be nearsighted and only able to see what is geographically closest to them (Ohmae, 1989).

Internationalization propensity reflects an individual's preferences (Kollmann and Christofor, 2014) in terms of leaving the comfort of one's primary cultural sphere and interact with the members of other, sometimes unfamiliar, cultures. Hence, people endowed with this 'global mindset' (Gupta and Govindarajan, 2002) will tend to consciously seek contact with foreigners or to travel abroad. For instance, Vaillant and Lafuente (2019) have shown that it is a distinguishing characteristic of serial entrepreneurs. Furthermore, it is also possible to expand these conceptualizations of international propensity and internationalization propensity beyond the organizational and individual levels, to the national or geographical level, as the percentage of foreign population (international propensity) or the evolution of this percentage (internationalization propensity). For instance, more than two-thirds of the babies born in London in 2016 had a foreign-born parent (Sullivan, 2016), whereas in Japan it is estimated that 1 in 30 children are born to parents of different race (Saberi, 2015). However, Tokyo metropolitan area (Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba prefectures)'s population has seen its population grow in 2019 more due to the increase of foreigners living in the area than to the number of new Japanese residents (Baseel, 2020).

In summary, propensity toward internationalization, but also the values, perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors associated with this inclination, can occur at the individual and organizational (or group) levels. In the second case, it will be under the influence of the organizational culture and its antecedents, such as the international propensity of the founders or of the key managers (individual level). In turn, both propensity at the individual level and propensity at the organizational level depend on the conjunction of societal factors that blend to makeup a national culture (Kollmann and Christofor, 2014). Past research has shown the influence of national context on individual global perceptions and individual international propensity (Johnston and Hanamitsu, 2015). The concept of 'global mindset' proposed by Gupta and Govindarajan (2002) is a very close construct.

[1] A third level would be the speed of this dynamic aspect or 'internationalization speed' (e.g., Li et al., 2015).

Englishnization

Englishnization in Japanese companies such as the Englishnization of Rakuten decided by its CEO Hiroshi Mikitani goes beyond the adoption of English as the official corporate language. Mikitani declared no employee would be promoted to section or department head without a TOEIC 750 point score (Mikitani, 2012). Based on books written by Mikitani where he explains his philosophy (e.g., Mikitani, 2009) and on interviews with Rakuten employees, Watanabe and Isomura (2019) were able to affirm that this change in corporate language is part of the philosophy of Rakuten. This philosophy, the philosophy of its founder, the *Rakuten Shugi* (basic principles) is to adapt to an ever-increasing globalization in the Internet environment. Other Japanese companies such as Shiseido or Honda have also pushed for the internal use of English. One of the merits of Englishnization is the ability for companies to hire from a larger pool of talent (Cavaliere et al., 2014): Japanese companies where English is widely practiced can attract top-notch candidates who do not speak Japanese or who feel more comfortable using English at work.

Boundary Spanning and Boundary Spanners

The literature is abounding with terms such as mediators, go-betweens, bridge builders, mediators, or brokers, all closely linked to what is the focus of this paper, cultural boundary spanning. The central idea of the construct is that some individuals are in a better position to link, bridge, or mediate the relationship between to different cultural spheres, nodes, worlds. These linkages can be between organizations, typically the headquarters and a foreign subsidiary, but also two foreign subsidiaries or, in fact, any two distant nodes within (or outside) the organization, such as two teams both belonging to a department with a global reach. While the concept of boundary spanners is not limited to the context of bridging between different cultural and national groups (Sekiguchi, 2016), the term used in this paper of "cultural boundary spanner" is restricted to such a context, and has henceforth the same meaning that the term "bridge individual" used by Sekiguchi (2016). The primary aspect of the cultural boundary spanner is of linguistic matter (Harzing et al., 2011): their language skills allow bilingual individuals to bridge between different language groups. The second aspect, which derives from the linguistic one, is about communication. Nuanced communication is reliant on high linguistic proficiency. However, if conditional, the linguistic aspect is not sufficient. Wider cultural knowledge may be of prime importance to convey a message across two (or more) cultures. The cultural knowledge itself covers multiple facets, some of them more or less relevant to a given bridging context. For instance, knowledge of history maybe more pertinent in some circumstances while familiarity with contemporary popular culture may be more appropriate in another mediating situation: multicultural knowledge is context-specific (Vora et al., 2018). This relative cultural proximity gives Japanese immigrants and their descendants in Brazil their potential to become cultural boundary spanners for the local subsidiaries of Japanese multinational companies (Furusawa and Brewster, 2015). The same applies to Japanese self-initiated expatriates in China (Furusawa and Brewster, 2018).

3. Exploratory Research

3.1. Introduction: Methodologies Used in the Research

We use mixed methodologies in our research. In its first phase, we use a qualitative methodology (interviews). In its second phase, once a tentative framework had emerged from the exploratory phase, we used a quantitative approach, conducting a survey to develop and test hypotheses based on the framework.

Answering Birkinshaw et al. (2011)'s call for more qualitative methods in international business research, we start our research journey with a fieldwork of interviews with both Japanese (host country nationals, or locals) and foreigners living in Japan. The use of a qualitative methodology in the first phase of our research is well posited because it is an exploratory research. Qualitative research is justified by the contextual nature of our fieldwork, by the complexity of the phenomenon being studied, and by the nascent aspect of some of the constructs in cultural diversity studies. Qualitative methodology in exploratory research also permits the establishment of new connections between constructs (Edmondson and McManus, 2007).

The use of a quantitative methodology in the second phase of our research is justified because it is an confirmatory research. We conducted in 2019 a survey of 522 Japanese (excluding naturalized ones), asking them about their perceptions of cultural diversity in their workplaces. We detail the methodologies of these two approaches in this chapter (for the qualitative approach) and in Chapter 5 (for the quantitative approach). We also provide supplementary explanations in the Chapter 4, where we apply our qualitative methodology to develop our conceptual framework and in Chapters 6 to 8, where we apply our quantitative methodology to develop and test three models based on our conceptual framework.

Our research is grounded in both theory and fieldwork since we go back and forth between a review of the existing literature, field interviews, and research around publicly available information on some individual cases. On the other hand, the standardized questions used in our survey are mainly used to test hypotheses and therefore lack the richness provided by individual interviews. These two methodologies therefore complement each other.

3.2. Data Collection: Informal Conversational Interviews

Interview designs can be categorized into three formats: informal conversational interview, general interview guide approach, and standardized open-ended interview (Patton, 2015). Since a number of issues approached in our study pertain to individual identity, informal conversational interviews account for the bulk of our interviews. We chose this format because respondents feel freer to confide their thoughts in a candid fashion if they are not recorded, the interviewer is not taking notes in front of them, and eye contact can be maintained (Price and Kerschbaum, 2016). Because information is found naturally in the field this method allows for unobtrusive data collection. Information collected during these interviews were recorded by taking descriptive and reflective field notes (Marshall and Rossman, 2016), including the time and the place of the interview and a brief profile of the interviewees.

We started our interviews with basic open-ended questions, letting the informants follow their own lines of thought with little restraining nudge or pressure from the author of this thesis (Jacob and Furgerson, 2012). As recommended by Fielding and Thomas (2008), we followed the interviewees' lead to make the

interaction ‘natural’ while sometimes reframing the conversation to get back to our topics of interests. We asked follow-up questions when we needed the interviewees to elaborate on some of their answers. Past research has suggested that, because they are rely on more initial relation-building, these informal interviews harvest insights that would not have surfaced in more structured and formal settings (Lafortune et al., 2017). Part of these interviews did not occur in a sedentary settings but were walking interviews, gaining in richness from their context (clues from the physical and human landscape of the host country, i.e. Japan) as this context informed the respondents’ answers by providing for references (Evans and Jones, 2011). While we met some of the interviewees only once (as indicated in the attached table) some are longtime acquaintances of the author. There are advantages and disadvantages in a high degree of familiarity with interviewees (Lempert, 2013). The main advantage of this intimacy is the degree of richness in the content of the interviews. The interviewee is not nervous or intimidated, as may be the case in a first time encounter with a stranger. Friends tend to talk more naturally and freely about their lives and feelings. On the other hand, it takes time to build trust, and people rarely show their true colors in a first meeting. Quite the reverse, they tend to, more or less unconsciously, build and present carefully polished persona of how they want to be perceived (Powdermaker, 1966), especially in a social setting where they construct a professional image (Roberts, 2005). Proximity between the researcher and his informants facilitate the understanding of the phenomenon studied and the apprehension of relevant data (Morgan and Smirchich, 1980). Moreover, it is possible to both cross-reference and triangulate the statements of an interviewee by meeting him or her several times over many years. Last, repeated interviews also allows to detect evolution in the interviewee’s perceptions of cultural diversity, including changes potentially brought about by age, seniority and promotion, new employers, and marital and family situation.

We conducted most of the interviews in French with French nationals, in Japanese with Japanese nationals, in English with others, or in a mix of the three languages depending on the linguistic proficiencies of the interviewees (and of the interviewer). Preferences for the use a particular language was also motivated by the ideas expressed and the language considered best fitted to convey these ideas.

We used multiple criteria to select appropriate respondents (Creswell and Poth, 2018). A first group comprised Japanese nationals and foreigners made up a second group. Interviewees had various backgrounds (gender, age, education, etc.), different international experiences (from never having set foot out of their countries to tens of years abroad), and diverse cultural competences (including language proficiencies). They worked for various organizations (profit and non-profit, small and large, Japanese and foreign) where they had both short and long tenure and low and high hierarchical positions.

3.3. Description of the Interviewees

The table below lists the 56 interviewees whose statements we have used in this thesis, with their individual codes, nationality, gender, age group (e.g., “30” means aged between 30 and 39), industry, employer’s nationality, type, and meeting dates. For Japanese respondents, types are either just “Japanese” or “Japanese returnee”, meaning a Japanese who has spent more than a year in his or her youth. For foreigners, types are “assigned expatriate” (less than 4 years in Japan), “long-term expatriate” (more than 4 years in Japan), or “self-initiated expatriate” (less than 4 years in Japan).

6 (11%) of our 56 interviewees were in their 20s, 17 (30%) in their 30s, 16 (29%) in their 40s, 14 (25%) in their 50s, and 3 (5%) were aged 60 or more. 80 percent were male and 20% female. 22 (39%) were Japanese (including 10 returnees) and 34 (61%) were foreigners (including 28 long-term expatriates).

Among the 34 foreigners, 21 were French, 3 were Americans, 2 were Canadians, 2 were Chinese, and the others were from Spain, Italy, Sweden, Libya, the Philippines, and South Korea (one respondent for each of these countries). 30 (54%) of our informants worked for Japanese companies, 10 (18%) for American companies, 8 (14%) for French companies, the rest working for companies from, China, Korea, Australia, UK, Norway, Germany, Canada. One respondent worked for an Anglo-American company. 21 (38%) of our interviewees worked for manufacturing companies, 16 (29%) for service companies, 6 (11%) for consulting companies, 5 (9%) for IT companies, 5 (9%) in the finance industry, and the last 3 (5%) for media companies.

In this thesis, refer to our interviewees by their code names enclosed between brackets. We point to Japanese interviewees by placing a "J-" before their code names. We point to foreign interviewees by placing an "F-" before their code names. "J" stands for Japanese, while "F" stands for "foreigner". For instance, [J-OY] is a Japanese interviewee, while [F-BF2] is a foreign interviewee.

Code	Nationality	Gender	Age group	Industry	Employer's nationality	Type	Meeting date(s)
AA	Italy	Male	20	manufacturing	Japan	Self-initiated expatriate (less than 4 years in Japan)	2012.12
BA2	Canada	Male	50	manufacturing	Canada	Long-term expatriate	1995~
BA3	Libya	Male	30	IT	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2012.12.23
BC	France	Male	20	manufacturing	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2013~
BJ2	France	Male	50	manufacturing	France	Long-term expatriate	2019.09.26
BM	France	Female	30	manufacturing	USA	Self-initiated expatriate (less than 4 years in Japan)	2011~2014
BP	France	Male	40	manufacturing	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2001~
CA	France	Male	50	manufacturing	Germany	Long-term expatriate	2020.09.18
CF	France	Male	40	manufacturing	France	Assigned expatriate	2017.01.25
CIK	China	Female	30	service	Japan	Long-term expatriate	1996~
CLA	Spain	Male	30	media	Japan	Long-term expatriate	1994~
CS	France	Male	30	IT	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2009~
DC	France	Male	30	finance	France	Long-term expatriate	2017.07.21
DF	France	Male	50	consulting	UK	Long-term expatriate	2015.01.16
DK	Japan	Male	30	manufacturing	Japan	JP returnee	2018~
EH2	Japan	Female	20	finance	USA	JP returnee	2010~2011
FB	France	Male	40	consulting	USA	Long-term expatriate	1994~
FF	France	Male	50	manufacturing	Norway	Assigned expatriate	2007~2009
GD	Japan	Male	30	finance	Japan	Japanese	2009~
GG	Philippines	Female	20	service	USA	Long-term expatriate	1998~
GJ	France	Male	40	manufacturing	USA	Assigned expatriate	2010~2014
HH	Japan	Male	40	service	Japan	JP returnee	2008~
HN2	France	Male	40	service	US-UK	Long-term expatriate	2009~2018
HR	France	Male	40	manufacturing	Australia	Long-term expatriate	2009~
HS3	Japan	Male	30	manufacturing	Japan	Japanese	2012~
IB	Japan	Male	50	service	France	Japanese	2001~
IH	Japan	Male	50	service	Japan	Japanese	1987~
IS	Japan	Female	50	service	France	JP returnee	1990~2010
IT	Japan	Female	40	consulting	USA	Japanese	2019

Code	Nationality	Gender	Age group	Industry	Employer's nationality	Type	Meeting date(s)
KH	South Korea	Male	30	manufacturing	Korea	Long-term expatriate	1993~
KH2	Japan	Male	20	manufacturing	Japan	JP returnee	2020
LJ	France	Male	40	IT	USA	Long-term expatriate	1999~
LN	France	Male	40	manufacturing	France	Long-term expatriate	
LY	France	Male	50	manufacturing	France	Assigned expatriate	2013
MI	Japan	Female	30	service	France	JP returnee	1988~
MJ	USA	Male	60	consulting	USA	Long-term expatriate	2017~2018
MM	Japan	Male	60	service	Japan	Japanese	2018.10.11
NJB	France	Male	40	finance	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2003~
OY	Japan	Female	30	IT	Japan	Japanese	2000~
OY2	Japan	Female	50	service	Japan	JP returnee	2015~
PV	Sweden	Male	40	service	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2010~
RE	France	Male	40	service	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2012~
RJ	USA	Male	30	finance	USA	Long-term expatriate	1995~
RY	France	Male	30	IT	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2007~
SA	USA	Male	50	consulting	USA	Long-term expatriate	2013.01.25
SH	China	Male	30	service	Japan	Long-term expatriate	2007~2013
SH2	Japan	Male	40	manufacturing	Japan	Japanese	2010~2014
SS	Japan	Male	60	manufacturing	Japan	JP returnee	2014~2018
ST	Japan	Male	50	consulting	Japan	Japanese	2015
TE	Japan	Female	20	media	Japan	JP returnee	2015
TM	Japan	Male	50	manufacturing	Japan	Japanese	2001~
UT	Japan	Male	40	service	Japan	JP returnee	2004~
VJ	France	Male	40	media	China	Long-term expatriate	
WE	Canada	Male	30	service	Japan	Long-term expatriate	1995~
YA	Japan	Male	50	manufacturing	Japan	Japanese	2018
YM	Japan	Female	30	service	Japan	Japanese	1992~

Table 3.3.-1. Study participants

3.4. Data Analysis: a Perceptional Approach (First Cycle Coding)

Coding refers to the categorization or tagging of the information collected through field interviews. This step allows for the emergence and discovery of concepts and relationships that will becoming the basis for theorization and framework building. Coding is interpretation of empirical data leading to the understanding of the phenomenon investigated. Data lead to theorization informed by existing theories that can be found in the literature (Van Maanen et al., 2007). Our coding scheme started as a theoretically grounded one, allowing for the emergence of abstract constructs from the collected data. As this coding was informed by literature, it progressively muted into a priori coding (Saldaña, 2015). In fact, our coding can be seen as a priori from its outset as it was framed by the wording of our initial questions (both the research questions and the opening questions used in the interviews). Specifically, we viewed all data as either perceived by a foreigner or perceived by a Japanese. We also, from the beginning, viewed statements by the interviewees as statements 'for' or 'against' cultural diversity in the workplace, or, in other words, as positively or negatively judging the presence of foreign coworkers. Those two dimensions can be understood as pre-existing theoretical frameworks used to investigate collected data, as they were already present in our

research questions. In other words, our preliminary coding or categorizing of statements was along a very simple double dichotomy: Japanese versus foreign interviewees (a form of versus coding, as it opposes two groups), and good versus negative comments about cultural diversity (a form of values coding, as it opposes two worldviews). While writing down the statements of our interviewees, multiple themes repeated. The coding system we developed to analyze the verbal data obtained from the conversations we had with our informers progressively became more refined as we explored the data through an ever-increasing number of criteria or filters.

Coding progresses in cycles (Saldaña, 2015). Beyond our initial two dichotomies (local versus foreigner, and merits versus demerits of cultural diversity), our first cycle coding emerged through in vivo coding, that is through the words used by our interviewees themselves. The first theme, or combination of codes, we noticed was that, when expressing their views on cultural diversity at work, our interviewees categorized the foreigners they used to illustrate the merits and demerits of cultural diversity. For instance, they differentiated along nationality or group of nationalities, between unskilled and highly skilled foreigners, between men and women, between foreigners who were attracted by Japanese culture and those who were solely in Japan for professional reasons. Our interviewees also differentiated the foreigners along their levels of proficiency in Japanese language, according if they had settled in Japan (with a Japanese spouse) or not, or if they knew "how to behave" or not. A second theme revealed by our interviews was that Japanese nationals had various perceptions of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work depending on their profiles, especially their experiences abroad. Both the Japanese themselves and the foreigners interviewed suggested differences due to fluency in English (or any other language), to long stays abroad, to friendships with foreigners (at work and beyond), etc. A third, while less conspicuously evident, pattern emerged from our interviewees' statements. The interviewees mentioned how specific situations could influence their views of the merits and demerits of multicultural diversity. Examples were the number of foreigners in the workplace, the mix of their nationalities, the influence of organizational culture, or the influence of national culture (e.g., "* In Japan, you have to speak Japanese. In the rest of the world, when you meet with foreigners, you speak in English. But here, in Japan, you have to speak Japanese. This creates a very different dynamics." [LF]).

To summarize, our qualitative fieldwork revealed that the merits and demerits of cultural diversity in the workplace, rather than presenting similarities across our respondents, were contingent upon the perceptions of the interviewees. Moreover, it appeared that these perceptions themselves hinged upon the perceiver's background, upon characteristics of the foreigners described, and upon the context of the interactions between locals (Japanese) and foreigners.

Perception is the way people see, organize, and interpret sensory impressions – what they call reality –, allowing them to give meaning to their environment and to behave appropriately (Robbins et al., 2015). It is how people form impressions about others (Aronson et al., 2018). Knowing others is the results of repeated social perceptions (Gilbert et al., 1988). Perception, perception of perception, or self-perception – how targets judge themselves (Malloy and Albright, 1990) – are themes that have long been discussed in the fields of both psychology and philosophy, as Aristotle and Plato already debated them (Knuuttila, 2008). Two different individuals may interpret a same phenomenon differently, even in opposite ways. For instance, while an employee may perceive cultural diversity at work positively, his or her colleague may perceive it negatively. A number of factors shape our perceptual processes. These factors reside in three components or loci: in the perceiver, in the target, and the context or situation of the perception. In a social perception, the perceiver is the subject of the perception, the person who is aware, who is focused on a target. The target is the object of the perception, the person who is perceived. The context, or situation, is the environment of the

perception. As suggested by Hippler et al. (2014), not only interactions with the target do influence the perceptions of the perceiver, but also the contextual situation, or environment, both in non-work settings and in the workplace. In the case of expatriates, Aycan (1997) has shown that their adjustment and the success of their assignment depend on both individual and situational predictors. Individual predictors can be the expatriate's competencies and skills. Contextual predictors can be the support provided by the organization, such as pre-departure training (e.g., cultural and linguistic training at the headquarters) and local support (once posted in the foreign subsidiary). The importance of the context in cultural diversity is echoed by Ota (2016)'s CDE (Context, Distance, and Embeddedness), a framework he suggested to structure the management of cultural diversity. Others types of contextual predictors are the internationalization propensity of the organization, its corporate culture, its values, or its socialization practices.

Since our interviewees are both foreigners and Japanese, some of our perceptional statements are made from the perceiver viewpoint (the Japanese interviewee). However, in other cases, when the interviewee was a foreigner, he or she would talk about how he or she perceived how Japanese employees perceived him or her (perception of perception). In other instances, our interviewee would describe how they perceived themselves (self-perception), and what they thought were the benefits and threats they contributed, as foreigners, to their workplaces. In most cases, however, our interviewees were describing their perceptions of a target from the opposite group: locals if the interviewee was a foreigner and foreigners if the interviewee was a local (Japanese). Lastly, both categories described how they felt elements not directly attributable to either two groups (contextual factors) were influencing the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at their workplaces.

To summarize, a theme with three components based on a perceptional approach emerged from our first cycle of coding. This perspective refined our understanding of cultural diversity at work by providing relevant analytical constructs towards its theorization through a conceptual framework. The development of such a framework is the object of the next chapter.

4. Conceptual Framework

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we develop and present a conceptual and theoretical framework grounded in both the exploratory research outlined in the previous chapter (Chapter 3), on one hand, and on some of the key concepts and theories presented in our literature review (Chapter 2).

We designed this conceptual and theoretical framework to help structure our thinking and present it in a systematic manner. It provides the bases for later empirical research and functions to integrate our exploratory research's results with past research (Stewart and Zinkhan, 2006). It facilitates sense making and understanding of the mechanisms underlying the phenomenon under investigation, which is the perception of cultural diversity in the workplace and its antecedents. In other words, our framework identify the key theoretical constructs and models their relationships. In doing so, it predicts the relationships between these key constructs. These predictions are conceptual hypotheses. They cannot yet be quantitatively tested using variables, because the constructs further need operational definitions to be measured. We will then derive a model focusing on the relationships between the perception of cultural diversity at work and some of its antecedents grounded in the three perception loci, based on our holistic theoretical framework. A conceptual framework focuses on theory development. It does not offer any data, nor perform any quantitative data analysis for theory testing (Yadav 2010).

Our theoretical framework allows for the building of a model with operational hypotheses. It forms the basis of ensuing quantitative work (Stewart and Zinkhan, 2006). Operational hypotheses rely on measurable definitions of our constructs. Construct measurement allows for the quantitative testing of the hypotheses predicting the relationships between the measured constructs (i.e. the variables. The development of operational hypotheses and their testing is the topic of the three chapters from Chapter 6 to Chapter 8. Each of them is dedicated to one of the three loci of perception: the perceiver, the target, and the context. A chapter explaining the methodology selected to test these hypotheses and describing our survey and its sample precedes these three chapters.

4.2. Data Analysis

Our data analysis follows grounded theory and an abductive reasoning. Our conceptual framework developed progressively, induced by both data from our fieldwork, references to theoretical pre-knowledge, and their confrontation to new but selective knowledge.

Grounded Theory

Initial steps in our methodology design are inductive as we based our theoretical framework building on a cyclical process between data collection and coding: we follow a pattern of grounded theory based research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). We started with simple questions to our informants, questions deriving from our own research questions. New questions emerged rapidly in the field as our interviewees were answering the

initial questions, prompting for new questions and new answers, and so forth. Ideas, concepts and relationships between the concepts also emerged from these field interviews. As we collected more data and reviewed it, we were able to tag these constructs in categories or codes and to make preliminary hypotheses on the possible relationships between our embryonic constructs –generating theory– (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). While continuing to gather data in an exploratory way – remaining open to new insights – we also oriented our data collection to make it more selective, with the aim or assessing the validity of – confirming or infirming – the intuitions originating in the first interviews. In so doing, our approach gradually moved from an inductive one to a more abductive one.

Abductive Reasoning

Abductive reasoning starts with observations. It then moves on to finding a naive and most probable explanation for the phenomenon studied. It is a temporary generalization based on extrapolation guided by the data. While plausible, this explanation remains however uncertain and limited in its generalizability. Replication and comparison are necessary to support the suppositions drawn from a limited sample (Firestone, 1993). A pragmatic methodology, abduction is at the crossroad between deduction – applying to general rules to specific cases – and induction – generalizing from specific observations – (Van Maanen et al., 2007). Abductive reasoning has been applied to various qualitative studies, including on expatriates, cultural identity, and cross-cultural adjustment (Peltokorpi and Pudelko, 2020). It is justified to explore perception of cultural diversity in the workplace through fieldwork and interviews since management is an applied discipline. Interview data provide insights for theory building (as in inductive research). Nevertheless, data is no replacement for theory. We may discover empirical patterns in the field (Kaplan, 1964), but it is through theory that we explain causal relationships (Sutton and Staw, 1995). Combination of field data and theory review is at the core of abductive reasoning.

4.3. Second Cycle Coding: the BTDS

In the previous chapter (3. Exploratory Research), we explained our initial coding and how we went through a preliminary round of first cycle coding that led us to a perceptional approach of cultural diversity at work. Qualitative research is well fitted to grasp beliefs and perceptions (Firestone, 1993). We then proceeded to a second round of coding, this time sorting comments made by the interviewees concerning the types of merits and demerits of cultural diversity at work. While, as explained in the previous chapter, we started by differentiating between positive and negative comments made about cultural diversity and the presence of foreigners in workplaces, our next step was to group and categorize within these two large categories. To avoid losing any pertinent material, we initially coded data into wide-ranging categories covering various topics somehow related to cultural diversity. While processing and organizing field data to identify relevant conceptual blocks and relationships, we regularly informed these newly emerging elements with related literature. This recurring process led us to connect field data with the BTDS scale developed by Hofhuis et al. (2015). The main advantage of the perspective on cultural diversity by this scale is that it breaks down the merits and demerits of cultural diversity in multiple subcomponents: 5 'benefits' and 4 'threats'. From then, as we had done for our first cycle of coding, we shifted from an in vivo coding to an a priori coding, with our 9 categories defined by those developed for the BTDS perspective. While keeping two categories of positive and negative opinions about cultural diversity, we further coded interview elements into the 9 subcategories of the BTDS.

Past research has identified several benefits of diversity in the workplace, leading to higher profitability for firms (Stroh and Caligiuri, 1998; Tadmor and Tetlock, 2006). Several models have also been devised to assess attitudes toward cultural diversity in the workplace. The Reaction-to-Diversity (R-T-D) Inventory (Hostager and De Meuse, 2008) categorizes perceptions of diversity into three categories: optimist, realist, and pessimist. The Attitudes toward Diversity at Work Scale (ADWS) (Nakui et al., 2011) distinguishes between the effects of diversity on productivity and on affectivity (social or affective aspects of diversity). Finally, the Benefits and Threats of Diversity Scale (BTDS) (Hofhuis et al., 2015) distinguishes the positive and negative perceptions of cultural diversity in the workplace. The positive perceptions, called "benefits," are broken down into five dimensions: (1) understanding of diverse groups in society; (2) creative potential; (3) image of social responsibility; (4) job market; and (5) social environment. The negative perceptions of cultural diversity in the workplace, called "threats," are: (1) realistic threat; (2) symbolic threat; (3) intergroup anxiety; and (4) productivity loss. We detail the meaning of these nine dimensions in our following section on frameweork development. In this paper, we have selected this third model, the BTDS, because it has two advantages over the first two models. First, following Hofhuis et al. (2015) and Van Knippenberg and Schippers (2007), we reckon that cultural diversity is not perceived along a single dimension but along several independent dimensions. Second, the BDTS allows for the measurement of detailed dimensions, making it more usable for both academics and practitioners. Finally, Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver (2002) emphasized that majority and minority group members do not perceive cultural diversity in the same way. In this paper, we focus on the perception by the majority group members—the Japanese. The table below shows coding categories and statement examples from field informants.

BTDS Dimension	**Perception Locus**	**Japanese Interviewee**	**Foreign Interviewee**
Understanding	Perceiver	* I enjoy working with and learning from foreign colleagues. I guess it may be because of the years I've spent in the US when I was a child. My mother and my sister enjoyed these years very much. [OY2] * I've never been abroad and I don't feel the need to go. I think I can find here all the information I need to live and work in Japan. [IH]	* Japanese, who, like me, have a long experience living in a foreign country, do much better understand my feelings. [FB] * When I discovered that [a Japanese coworker] was a returnee, I suddenly understood why it was easier for me to understand her and vice versa. [PV] * My assistant grew up abroad. She thinks differently from the rest of the staff. She is more open to learning new things. [MJ] * My "very Japanese" staff is not interested in a one-week business trip to Paris. They would prefer three days in Atami. [BJ2]
	Target	* I like to talk with my American colleague. I feel I learn a lot. [TE] * I did not know that my coworker was Chinese. He speaks very well Japanese. I thought he was Japanese. I couldn't see the difference. [GD]	* My Japanese colleagues are curious about my country and ask me a lot of questions. They don't do the same with the Koreans and Chinese who are on our team. They seem to consider them more as "regular" employees. A bit similar to the Japanese. Less exotic. [RJ] * I had people come from South

BTDS Dimension	Perception Locus	Japanese Interviewee	Foreign Interviewee
			America come here to Japan to transfer innovative tricks developed in their countries. The Japanese staff had doubts, but they were curious. [LY]
	Context	* There is a foreigner in my team, but he is even more than Japanese than us. He knows many kanjis, maybe even more than I do. He loves to talk about Japan. More than to talk about his country. [MI]	* Behavior by a single foreigner may be misinterpreted. Repeated instances of a similar behavior by multiple foreigners is needed for Japanese to correctly understand what these behaviors are about. [DF] * I am the only foreigner in my department. It is not enough. My Japanese colleagues would believe me much more if there were other 'gaijins' around who could confirm what I tell them. [RY]
Creativity	Perceiver	* At school in the US we were expected to have our personal opinions on any subject [KH]	* There is this girl in the company who is a bit weird. I think she grew up in the US and in the Philippines.[GG]
	Target	* We expect a lot of new and fresh ideas from [a western coworker] [SH2] * We have Koreans and Chinese in the company, but we expect from them the same things we expect from Japanese employees. We do not make any difference. [UT]	* When we proposed ideas coming from South America, our Japanese colleagues where first skeptical, but then realized that these "bizarre" ideas were working well in Japan too. [LY] * The Japanese expect many original ideas from me just because I am foreigner. It's very difficult to keep up with their expectations. [CLA]
	Context	* When I work with a group of foreigners, some of them escalate in their imaginative solutions. [SS] * I've never been much impressed by the originality of the ideas proposed by the foreigner I'm working with. [ST]	* When my [foreign] boss comes to Japan, it's much easier to persuade the Japanese staff to accept new ideas. When I am alone, there is much more resistance. It's also more tiring to try to persuade them. [FB]
Image	Perceiver	* I think that having quite a number of visible minorities at our headquarters is good for our image. [SS]	* Some very "traditional" Japanese do not perceive well that their copmpanies hire foreigners. [NJB]
	Target	* Ghosn has damaged the image we had of a Westerner reforming a fossilized Japanese company. [MK]	* Many of the best Japanese candidates that we interview tell us that they are attracted by the diversity in our company, notably in terms of gender and cultures. [LN] * I have a very good relationship with the HR boss at my new company. They even put at the top page of the HR page of their website. [BC]

BTDS Dimension	Perception Locus	Japanese Interviewee	Foreign Interviewee
			* My customers are pleased. I am the exotic boss with enough Japanese and who can play golf. It is good to support our sales team. [CF]
	Context	* In the convenience store next to my place there are 3 foreigners at the cash registers. It's too much. [IT] * We have so many foreigners in our company that some candidates think we are a gaishikei. [OY]	* It's good to balance the number of Japanese and foreigners in a team. [BP]
Job Market	Perceiver	* My son [who grew up in the US] feels much more confortable when working with people who, like him, have a multicultural background. That was an important criteria when he chose his employer. [SS]	* My Japanese boss liked me from the hiring interview. Apparently he has good memories of the years she spent in France when she was young. [BC]
	Target	* We want to hire more people from Europe. We think that, because they are more different that people from the neighbouring countries, such as Korea or China, we have more learn. We have already started to do so by leveraging the networks of our present European employees. [TM] * There is a strong network of Chinese from this school. [HS3]	* I was hired by R*** because they already had a lot of employees from my region. They knew we were good in IT and reliable. And cheap. [BA3] * I know many other Chinese who live in Japan. We try to help each other. [SH, CIK]
	Context	* We need to increase the number of foreigners. We have one, but he is "too Japanese". It's nice most of the time but I wish he were a bit more "aggressive" sometimes. [IB]	* We are already 3 foreigners in my company. I think it's more than enough. [HR] * My boss is Australian. But then we are two Frenchmen. I hired the second French by chance. But also because my Japanese colleagues had gotten used to working with me. They understood my work style. [HR]
Social Environment	Perceiver	* My son [who grew up in the US] feels much more confortable when working with people who, like him, have a multicultural background. [SS] * Because of the years I've spent in France and Belgium when I was a child, there are many jokes that I understand. [IS] * I work with a lot of Americans, Canadians, and Australians. It's fun. [EH2]	* One thing that I like much in my company is that there are many people with very various backgrounds. Even the Japanese are not "real" Japanese. Some of them have spent years abroad when they were young. And you can feel it. It's much more enriching for all of us. [RE]

BTDS Dimension	Perception Locus	Japanese Interviewee	Foreign Interviewee
	Target	* We have a Chinese colleague who is always in a good mood. It's contagious. [YM] * I work with a lot of Americans, Canadians, and Australians. It's fun. [EH2]	* My boss is nice. He is not patronizing me because I am Chinese. Many Japanese are. [CIK, China] * I am the Chief Enthusiast Officer in my company. Enthusiasts at work are too scarce. [SA, USA] * I love to conduct my business in Japanese izakayas. [KH, Korea] * Chinese are more fun to work with [than Japanese] [VJ, France]
	Context	* There are too many foreigners where I work. [IT]	* I don't like when there are too many foreigners around. I feel less unique. But at the same time it's nice to have someone you can talk with. About subjects you cannot talk about with Japanese. [LJ] * I am the Chief Enthusiast Officer in my company. Enthusiasts at work are too scarce. [SA]
Realistic Threat	Perceiver	* I think Japanese companies should leverage more their foreign employees. But they don't know how to do it. [SS]	* This [traditional Japanese] guy wouldn't last one day at [large US technology conglomerate]! [GJ] * My "Japanese Japanese" coworkers are half asleep most of the day. I constantly need to wake them up. [HN2]
	Target	* In our company we give responsibilities to Koreans because we can communicate easily with them. It's less the case with Chinese. And furthermore less for Westerners. [UT] * He is Dutch, but his Japanese is almost perfect. That's why he was able to climb the corporate ladder. [MI]	* I feel I'm only here for the façade. I'll never get a manager job here. [LJ] * Because I work more (and better) than my Japanese coworkers, my boss had to hide my promotion and my salary. Part of my salary is paid in China. My Japanese colleagues here in Japan do not know. [SH]
	Context	* We needed to put a foreigner on the board to match the diversity of our customers. [OY]	* There are too few jobs for foreigners in my company. I'll have to move to a different company to get promoted. [BP]
Symbolic Threat	Perceiver	* I and many other of my Japanese colleagues dislike the Japanese returnees. They are worse than the expatriates. [DC]	* Some Japanese are very afraid that the way they work could become "westernized". But those who have been abroad don't seem to care that much. [CA]
	Target	* I think Japanese management today is too much influenced by Anglo-Saxon capitalism. Hopefully, in my company we still value efforts over results. An employee doesn't meet "his" target. It is "our" target that we miss. Together. [MM]	* Soon in the future, Japanese workplaces will be invaded by Chinese and South-East Asians. It is a pity. [LJ]

BTDS Dimension	Perception Locus	Japanese Interviewee	Foreign Interviewee
		* I wouldn't like my boss to be from China or Korea [IT].	
	Context	* After the new boss started to hire more foreigners from his country the atmosphere has changed a lot in my department. [OY]	* I remember that when I was the only foreigner [in a Japanese company], I was behaving very Japanese. Today that I work with other foreigners, I also tend to behave more like a "gaijin". [BA]
Intergroup Anxiety	Perceiver	* I'm very much willing to exchange with foreigners. But I just feel it's impossible to communicate properly. The environment we grew up in are so different. [UT]	* It's so much easy to talk with Japanese who have "seen the wolrd". Regular Japanese are sometimes nervous, even awkward, when they have to talk with a "gaijin". [WE]
	Target	* In our company we give responsibilities to Koreans because we can communicate easily with them. It's less the case with Chinese. Furthermore less for Westerners. [UT] * Because of the years I've spent in France and Belgium when I was a child, there are many jokes that I understand. [IS]	* At my workplace, Japanese seem to feel it's very "natural" to speak in Japanese with other Asians. But when they talk to a Caucasian they seem compeled to speak English. And it doesn't help with communication. [BA]
	Context	* When I see the foreigners talking together at my office, I feel they belong to a different world. But when I talk with one of them in Japanese I feel much closer. [MI]	* At the office I speak Japanese with X [Japanese colleague]. But when we go to a bar [with many foreigners] after work, he switches to English. [NJB]
Productivity Loss	Perceiver	* I think American management is more straightforward than Japan management. [SS]	* Fortunately, some Japanese understand that hankos and all this bureaucratic things are a drag on Japanese management. Maybe those who have worked in a gaishikei or abroad. [BP]
	Target	* We have stopped working with Indians. The quality of their work was much too low. [DK] * Japanese like to work with other Japanese because we are a very high-context culture. We understand each others without talking. Communication is smooth. Expectaions are clear. Americans have a very low-context culture. [HH]	* I must confess that it took me quite some time (and blunders) to understand a few things here. Maybe it's easier for Chinese or Koreans. [FF] * I push my [Japanese] staff to be independent, to take initiative, not to rely on me. They work very diferently from what I have been used to in my previous jobs [in Europe, the US and Korea]. They don't seem to care for speed [BM]

BTDS Dimension	Perception Locus	Japanese Interviewee	Foreign Interviewee
	Context	* It took time to train our first foreign employee. Then, domino effect. [IB] * We try to spread our foreign employees in different sections. They learn faster and do not stay together but blend with the Japanese. [HS3]	* In the beginning, I was the only foreigner in this [Japanese] company. Nobody to give me a "western" explanation. I had to get by on my own. Without always understanding. Then came [a second foreigner]. We could discuss together the intricatcities of Japanese management. And later we were able to offer guidelines to [foreign] newcomers. They were quickly up to speed. [CS]

Note: interviewee codes are between brackets.

Figure 4.3.-1. Interview statements cross-coded along the three perceptional loci and the nine subdimensions of the BTDS scale

4.4. Conceptual Framework Development

Building on the exploratory fieldwork and coding described in the previous sections, we now proceed to organizing and cross-referencing our sets of code-based categories to develop our theoretical framework. On the one hand, resulting from our first cycle coding, where we adopted a perceptional perspective, we divided our interview datum into three perception loci: characteristics pertaining to the perceiver, characteristics pertaining to the target, and characteristics pertaining to the context. On the other hand, resulting from our second cycle coding, where we adopted Hofhuis et al. (2015)'s components of cultural diversity we divided our interview datum into 9 benefits and threats. Theorizing became possible as relations between the two conceptual sets emerged through their cross-referencing. The table above lists statements linking the two sets. We explain the articulation between the two sets presented in the table by describing in more details, as an illustration, the case of the first subdimension of the BTDS model, Understanding of Diverse Groups in Society.

The benefit associated with the Understanding of Diverse Groups in Society subdimension is "the ability to gain insight about, and access to different groups within society, thus being able to better understand stakeholders and markets" (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 195). Multiple statements made by our interviewees hinted at relationships between the three perceptional loci and this first subdimension of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. For instance, statements from Japanese interviewees such as "I enjoy working with and learning from foreign colleagues. I guess it may be because of the years I've spent in the US when I was a child. My mother and my sister enjoyed these years very much." [J-OY2]. This statement hints that early international experience by the perceiver is conductive to more openness to learning from foreigners. On the contrary, the statement "I've never been abroad and I don't feel the need to go. I think I can find here all the information I need to live and work in Japan." [J-IH] reveals that a perceiver who has never been abroad may feel that he does not have much to learn from foreigners, that even information about foreign things are available enough within Japanese sources. In both instances, the perceiver's international experience, especially early in life, seems to influence his or her perception of the benefits of cultural diversity in terms of understanding various cultural groups in society.

Statements from foreign informants echoed those made by the Japanese interviewees. For instance, "Japanese, who, like me, have a long experience living in a foreign country, do much better understand my feelings.” [F-FB]. In this statement, the foreigner explicitly links his assistant’s early international experience to the capacity to understand foreigners, even their emotions. The following statement provides a similar insight: “When I discovered that [a Japanese coworker] was a returnee, I suddenly understood why it was easier for me to understand her and vice versa.” [F-OE]. And the same goes for: “My assistant grew up abroad. She thinks differently from the rest of the staff. She is more open to learning new things.” [F-MJ]. Conversely, the statement “My ""very Japanese"" staff is not interested in a one-week business trip to Paris. They would prefer three days in Atami.” [F-BJ2] shows that less international propensity may lead to less interest in discovering and accessing foreign stakeholders. Other statements by our interviewees hinted at how language proficiency, international propensity (e.g., having foreign friends) and internationalization propensity (seeking foreign friends), or cross-cultural identity (e.g., biculturals and *hafu*) modified perceptions of the benefits of cultural diversity at work in understanding diverse groups in society.

Several statements made by our interviewees also hinted at a relationship between characteristics of the target and the perception of benefiting from cultural diversity by learning from foreigners and hence understanding better various groups constituting society. Examples of such statements pertaining to target’s characteristics are “I like to talk with my American colleague. I feel I learn a lot.” [J-TE] or, on the contrary, “I did not know that my coworker was Chinese. He speaks very well Japanese. I thought he was Japanese. I couldn't see the difference.” [J-GJ]. In the first case, our Japanese informant hints at benefiting from her American colleague to develop her understanding of diverse groups. In the second statement, on the contrary, our interview revealed that some foreigners do not add to one’s knowledge of culturally different groups because they “behave” Japanese. We find similar clues in foreigners’ statements. For instance, “My Japanese colleagues are curious about my country and ask me a lot of questions. They don't do the same with the Koreans and Chinese who are on our team. They seem to consider them more as "regular" employees. A bit similar to the Japanese. Less exotic.” [F-RJ] or “I had people come from South America come here to Japan to transfer innovative tricks developed in their countries. The Japanese staff had doubts, but they were curious.” [F-LY].

Lastly, relationships between contextual factors and the perception that cultural diversity is beneficial because it allows to better understand diverse groups in society emerged from declarations such as “There is a foreigner in my team, but he is even more than Japanese than us. He knows many kanjis, maybe even more than I do. He loves to talk about Japan. More than to talk about his country.” [J-MI], “Behavior by a single foreigner may be misinterpreted. Repeated instances of a similar behavior by multiple foreigners is needed for Japanese to correctly understand what these behaviors are about.” [DF], or “I am the only foreigner in my department. It is not enough. My Japanese colleagues would believe me much more if there were other 'gaijins' around who could confirm what I tell them.” [F-RY]. These comments suggest that it may be difficult to learn from a foreigner who is isolated among Japanese colleagues, and all the more so if this foreigner has adopted an assimilative cultural strategy. They also suggest that Japanese would learn better from foreigners if able to corroborate what they have learned from some foreigners by crosschecking with other foreigners.

4.5. Conceptual Framework

The figure below summarize our conceptual framework. In this framework, we propose that characteristics of each of the three perception loci will influence perceptions of the benefits and threats of

cultural diversity in the workplace. For each perception locus, our exploratory suggested some characteristics that may be antecedents predicting perceptions of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the workplace. We listed some of them in the figure describing our framework.

We started our research on cultural diversity with a simple 2 x 2 framework made of, on one hand, the opposition between local and foreign employees (in IHRM terminology, HCN versus PCNs and TCNs), and, on the other hand, a dualistic opposition on a single continuum between the merits and demerits of working with foreigners. Using an abductive approach, we were able to combine theory grounded in the literature and interviews grounded in fieldwork to develop a more nuanced framework cross-referencing the 3 perceptional loci and the 9 sub-dimensions of cultural diversity. Figure 4.5.-1. illustrates this framework.

In Chapters 6, 7 and 8, we build three operational models with measurable hypotheses to test some characteristics described in our conceptual framework. Specifically, we test the first characteristic listed for each locus in Figure 4.5.-1., namely “early international experience” (perceiver locus), “nationality” (target locus), and “number of foreigners” (context locus). In all tested models, the perceivers are Japanese nationals. To test our models and their related hypotheses, we rely on a quantitative method, a survey conducted in February 2019 with 572 Japanese respondents. Before moving to the tests themselves, we first describe in the following chapter (Chapter 5. Confirmatory Research), the survey, its sample, dependent and control variables’ measurements, validity and reliability, exploratory statistics, and basic data analysis methodology.

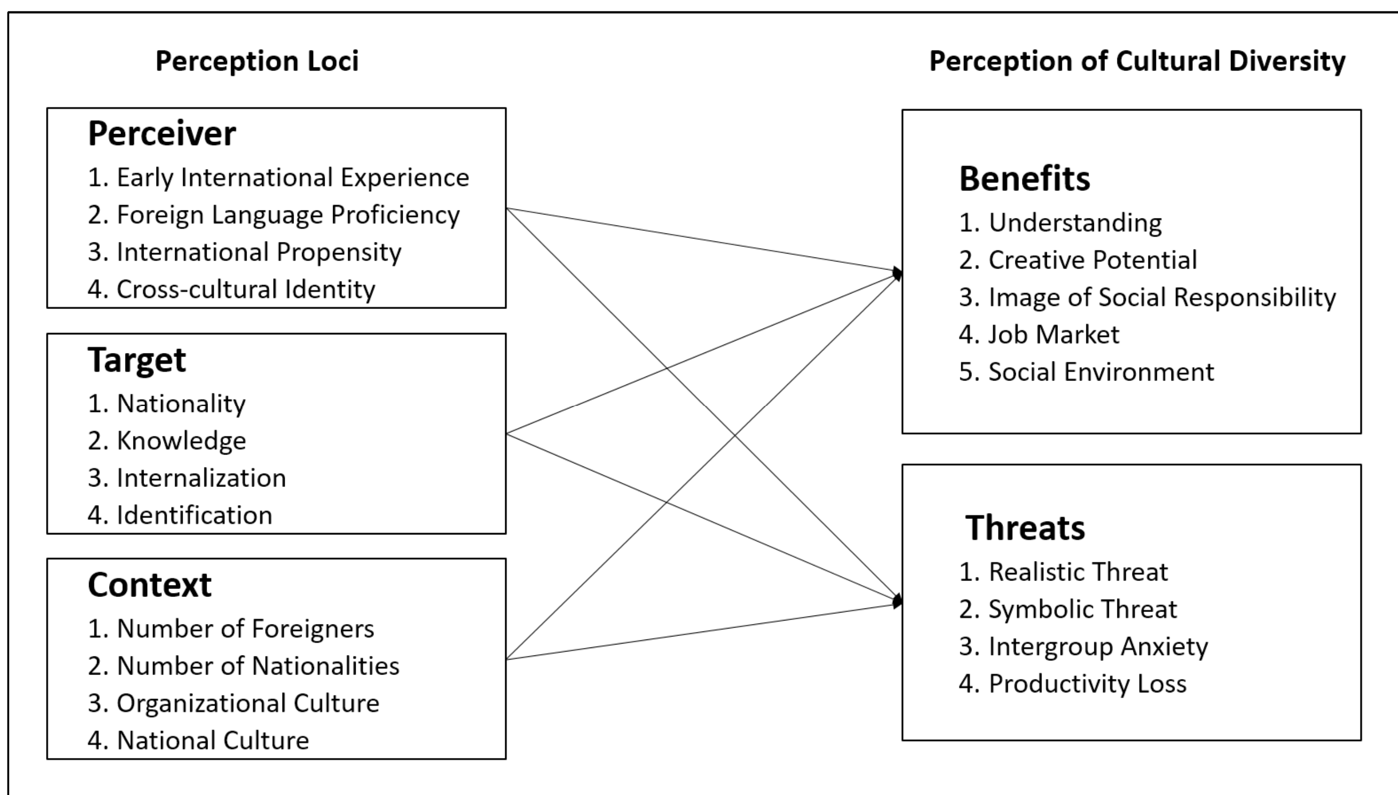


Figure 4.5.-1. Conceptual Framework

5. Confirmatory Research

With this chapter, we enter the second phase of the design of our study, confirmatory research. In the previous two chapters, we explicated how our preliminary exploratory research led to the development of our theoretical framework In the following three chapters we test the framework by building three operational models with measurable hypotheses. To be able to give sufficient clarification for each hypothesis, we strived to not develop too many of them (Sutton and Staw, 1995), despite the large potential offered by our conceptual model. To test these hypotheses, we use a quantitative method, a survey conducted with 572 Japanese employees. In this chapter, we describe this survey: its.

5.1. Survey Design

The sample used to test our hypotheses constituted of five hundred seventy two adults (258 males and 158 females) aged 18 and over, drawn from a random sample of Japanese employees working in Japan. We gathered the data in February 2019 using Macromill, a Japanese Internet Survey service.

Macromill fully recognizes the importance of information security and takes high-level measures against the risk of information leakage from customers and business partners. Macromill has established a basic policy on information security. Officers, employees, and other related parties have to comply with it and to maintain a high awareness of information security[2]. Macromill is involved in consumer awareness and behavior through market research, pollsters, social research and medical-related research. Regarding the protection of consumer personal information, which is the source of information, Macromill complies with the "Marketing Research Guidelines" and "Marketing Research Industry Personal Information Protection Guidelines" established by the Japan Marketing Research Association. Macromill takes appropriate measures for ensuring the safety, storage and management of personal information obtained from stakeholders such as business partners and other related parties, and establish and implement a "Personal Information Protection Policy"[3]. Macromil delivers the data completely anonymously, hence there no potential risks to individuals or individual privacy. Therefore, we did not seek approval by an institutional review board (ethics committee) for the study.

Macromill has a large database of more than 30,000 potential respondents throughout Japan and has been used in multiple and various academic research projects (e.g., Kosako et al., 2018; Hosaka et al., 2017; Mukai et al., 2017). Macromill respondents are working in a wide range of industries and having different functions.

Using conditional filtering offered by Macromill, we designed our sample to have roughly half of the respondents interacting with foreign coworkers and half not interacting with foreigners in their workplaces. Moreover, to ensure statistically relevant sizes, we asked the survey company to split the sample in roughly equal groups of men and women for each of the four 10-year age brackets of 20s, 30s, 40s, and 50s and above. Altogether, we ended with 16 groups of roughly the same size (between 32 and 40).

[2] https://www.macromill.com/security.html (accessed 2020.10.10)
[3] https://www.macromill.com/privacy.html (accessed 2020.10.10)

The internet survey company provided us with basic demographics for each respondent: location (prefecture), marital status (yes / no), children (yes / no), income (individual and household), and job.

5.2. Questionnaire

We designed a first group of questions to measure independent variables based on our conceptual framework (nationalities of the foreigners, international experience of the local employee, and number of foreigners in the workplace), itself the elicitation of the insights gained through our interviews. We designed another group of questions to measure variables commonly found in the literature as control variables (e.g., industry, size or age for the employer organization). We also list below a few questions designed to measure variables that we finally did not used in the thesis but were in the questionnaire (e.g., foreign language proficiency of the local employees). Questions 13 to 21 measure our recurring dependent variables (the perception of the benefits and threat of cultural diversity in the workplace). They are the questions validated by Hofhuis et al. (2015) to develop their BTDS scale. Each of the scale's nine subdimensions, five benefits and four threats, is assessed by four questions, for a total of 36 questions. Since the BTDS presented in Hofhuis et al. (2015) is in English, we first had to translate it into Japanese. The author made a first translation from English to Japanese; a native Japanese university professor then back translated this initial version. We then discussed and resolved discrepancies. To ensure a smooth understanding of the questions by the respondents, a Japanese professional specialized in survey administration proofed the ensuing Japanese version of the questionnaire. We worded the other questions directly in Japanese.

The questions were as follows:

Q1 Tell us about the origin of your foreign coworkers.
- Q1S1 Westerner
- Q1S2 Korean
- Q1S3 Chinese
- Q1S4 Southeast Asian
- Q1S5 Indian
- Q1S6 Others

Q2 For each of the above, what is the communication language(s) used?
- Q2S1 Japanese
- Q2S2 English
- Q2S3 Japanese and English
- Q2S4 Other language
- Q2S5 There are no foreigners of this origin in my workplace

Q3 Tell us about your communication proficiency in the foreign language you are most comfortable with (English or other language).
- Q3S1 Reading
- Q3S2 Listening
- Q3S3 Writing
- Q3S4 Speaking

Q4 Tell us about your international experience

Q4S1 When in junior high school or before
Q4S2 When in high school
Q4S3 When university student
Q4S4 In my 20s (after university)
Q4S5 In my 30s
Q4S6 In my 40s
Q4S7 In my 50s or later
For each of the answers above, provide a duration
1. 0
2. Less than 1 month
3. One month or more, but less than 3 months
4. 3 months or more but less than 1 year
5. 1 year or more but less than 3 years
6. 3 years or more

Q5 What is the nationality of your company?
1. Japanese
2. Foreign
3. International joint venture
4. Other:

Q6 What is your function in your company?
1. Sales
2. Marketing
3. Technology / Research and development
4. Manufacturing / Quality control
5. Human resources
6. General administration
7. Planning
8. Top management
9. Other:

Q7 What is your role in your company?
1. Non-regular employee (contract, temp)
2. Regular employee
3. Section chief
4. Department chief
5. Top executive
6. Other:

Q8 What is the industry of your employer?
1. Agriculture, forestry and fisheries
2. Mining
3. Construction industry
4. Manufacturing industry
5. Electricity, gas, heat supply, water supply
6. Information and communication industry
7. Transportation / postal industry
8. Wholesale / Retail
9. Finance / Insurance
10. Real estate / goods leasing business
11. Academic research / specialized & technical service industry

12. Hospitality / restaurant service
13. Everyday life-related service industry / entertainment industry
14. Education / learning support business
15. Medical / welfare industry
16. Complex service business
17. Service industry (other than the above)
18. Public affairs (other than the above)
19. Others (industries other than the above)

Q9 Company size
1. 0 to 9 employees
2. 10 to 49 employees
3. 50 to 249 employees
4. 250 to 499 employees
5. 500 to 999 employees
6. 1,000 or more employees

Q10 Year of establishment
1. Before 1945
2. Between 1945 and the 1980s
3. 1990s
4. 2000s
5. 2010s

Q11 Foreign sales ratio.
1. 0%
2. 1%~24%
3. 25%~49%
4. 50% or more

Q12 Do you think your company values tradition?
1. Completely disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Completely agree

We provided a similar choice of answers as above (a 5-point Likert scale) for all the following questions (questions 13 to 21), all pertaining to our dependent variable (perception of cultural diversity).

Benefits

Q13 Understanding Diverse Groups in Society
Q13S1 Cultural diversity enables us to adjust our policies to different groups in society
Q13S2 Cultural diversity gives us better insight in the needs of different groups in society
Q13S3 Cultural diversity allows us to reach a larger part of the community with our policy
Q13S4 Cultural diversity helps us better understand new developments in society

Q14 Creative Potential
Q14S1 Cultural diversity makes us better at solving complex problems
Q14S2 Cultural diversity enables us to come up with more original ideas
Q14S3 Cultural diversity makes us more innovative

Q13S4 Cultural diversity leads colleagues to learn more from each others' knowledge and experience

Q15 Image of Social Responsibility
Q15S1 Cultural diversity is good for our image towards the outside world
Q15S2 Cultural diversity makes the outside world look at our department in a more positive way
Q15S3 Cultural diversity makes all groups in society look at our organization in a more positive way
Q15S4 Cultural diversity is good for our department's image amongst minority groups in society

Q16 Job Market
Q16S1 Cultural diversity is needed to fill all vacancies in our department
Q16S2 Cultural diversity is necessary for recruiting enough new personnel
Q16S3 Cultural diversity leads us to have more choices when recruiting and selecting new personnel
Q16S4 Cultural diversity is necessary for anticipating changes in the job market

Q17 Social Environment
Q17S1 Cultural diversity has a positive effect on the work atmosphere
Q17S2 Cultural diversity leads to a pleasant work environment
Q17S3 Cultural diversity is fun
Q17S4 Cultural diversity makes this an interesting place to work

Threats

Q18 Realistic Threat
Q18S1 Cultural diversity leads to fewer career opportunities for majority members
Q18S1 Cultural diversity diminishes the status of majority employees
Q18S1 Cultural diversity reduces the attention given to the needs of majority members
Q18S1 Cultural diversity causes majority employees to feel less recognized

Q19 Symbolic Threat
Q19S1 Cultural diversity causes friction between colleagues with different norms and values
Q19S1 Cultural diversity causes the department's culture to change strongly
Q19S1 Cultural diversity leads to a situation in which majority members are forced to adjust
Q19S1 Cultural diversity forces employees to adjust to a different culture

Q20 Intergroup Anxiety
Q20S1 Cultural diversity makes it more difficult for colleagues to understand each other
Q20S2 Cultural diversity leads to uncomfortable situations
Q20S3 Cultural diversity makes it hard to judge what others are thinking
Q20S4 Cultural diversity causes insecurity in interactions with coworkers

Q21 Productivity Loss
Q21S1 Cultural diversity causes managers to spend more time on individual coaching
Q21S2 Cultural diversity makes our department difficult to manage
Q21S3 Cultural diversity makes our work processes run less smoothly
Q21S4 Cultural diversity reduces the overall quality of employees

5.3. Sample

In addition to basic demographic questions (gender, age, marital status, income), the questionnaire included the items listed in the previous section about the questionnaire, pertaining to the respondent individually, and to the characteristics of his or her company. The sample was made up of roughly equal numbers of men (50.3%) and women (49.7%) and consisted of more young groups than the currently aging Japanese population. This over-representation allows the identification of underlying trends among those younger respondents who are the upcoming workforce of the country. A relative majority of respondents was in their 20s (21.7%), living in Tokyo (22.5%), and working as salaried employees in office positions (45.1%). Nearly nine in ten of our respondents was working for a Japanese company (89.8%).

Indicator	N	%	Indicator	N	%
Gender			Job type		
Male	288	50.3	Office	258	45.1
Female	284	49.7	Technical	158	27.6
Age range			Other	156	27.3
20-24	19	3.3	Geographic area		
25-29	124	21.7	Hokkaido	12	2.1
30-34	70	12.2	Tohoku	21	3.7
35-39	73	12.8	Kanto	294	51.4
40-44	75	13.1	Chubu	78	13.6
45-49	68	11.9	Kinki	114	19.9
50-54	90	15.7	Chugoku	18	3.1
55-59	53	9.3	Shikoku	6	1.0
Marital status			Kyushu	29	5.1
Married	303	53.0	Working with foreigners		
Single	269	47.0	Yes	316	55.2
			No	256	44.8

Figure 5.3.-1. Sample demographics

5.4. Variables and Measurements

This section describes our dependent variable (perception of cultural diversity in the workplace) and its subdimensions, and control variables because they are common to all three chapters where we develop and test hypotheses derived from our framework. Independent variables specific to each of these three chapters are described within these chapters.

Dependent Variable: Perceived Benefits and Threats of Cultural Diversity at Work

The perception of cultural diversity in the workplace was assessed by considering both threats and benefits separately, following the recommendation of Hofhuis et al. (2015). Perceptions of benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the workplace were measured using the Benefits and Threats of Diversity Scale (BTDS) developed by Hofhuis et al. (2015). In this paper, we use BTDS for two reasons. First, compared to R-T-D and ADWS, the BTDS recognizes the multiple dimensions of cultural diversity. Cultural

diversity is not oversimplified into a sole dimension but disaggregated into multiple independent subdimensions (Hofhuis et al., 2015; Van Knippenberg and Shippers, 2007). Second, BTDS, by breaking down cultural diversity perception into smaller dimensions, facilitates finer assessments.

Positive perceptions are termed ‘benefits’. They are themselves divided into five subdimensions: understanding of various groups in society or “the ability to gain insight about, and access to different groups within society, thus being able to better understand stakeholders and markets”, creative potential or “the notion that cultural diversity leads to more effective idea generation, increasing learning opportunities and problem solving potential of teams”, image of social responsibility or “the notion that cultural diversity in the workplace leads to a positive image of the organization regarding its social responsibility and attention to equal opportunities”, job market or “the benefits of cultural diversity for an organization’s position regarding recruitment and retention of employees; enabling them to choose from a larger pool of potential talents; a necessity for filling all vacancies with qualified personnel”, and social environment or “the presence of different cultural groups in a department is ‘fun’ and leads to a more inspiring and comfortable work environment” (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 195-197). Negative perceptions are termed ‘threats’. They are themselves divided into four subdimensions: realistic threats or “an individual’s potential loss of career perspectives, power or status within the organization”, symbolic threats or “the notion that established beliefs, values and symbols within the organization are threatened as a result of incorporating different cultures in the workplace”, intergroup anxiety or “a sense of fear or insecurity resulting from (anticipated) interaction with members of different cultures, potentially leading to miscommunication, embarrassment or conflict”, and productivity loss or “a threat to the quality of the work of a team or department, e.g. due to language problems, possible tension between colleagues, or the sense that culturally diverse teams are more difficult to manage” (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 195-197).

As explained in our section describing our questionnaire, the BTDS scale consists of 36 questions. Each of its nine dimensions (five for the benefits and four for the threats) is assessed by four questions. Since the BTDS presented in Hofhuis et al. (2015) is in English, we first had to translate it into Japanese. The author made a first translation from English to Japanese; a native Japanese university professor then back translated this initial version. Discrepancies were then discussed and resolved. To ensure a smooth understanding of the questions by the respondents, a Japanese professional specialized in survey administration proofed the ensuing Japanese version of the questionnaire. We worded the other questions directly in Japanese, including those about the respondents’ international experience.

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Benefits		
Understanding group diversity	3.16	0.85
Creative potential	3.32	0.83
Social responsibility	3.14	0.86
Job market	3.28	0.81
Social environment	3.36	0.83
Threats		
Realistic threat	2.40	0.85
Symbolic threat	2.85	0.75
Intergroup anxiety	2.59	0.86
Productivity loss	2.73	0.81

Figure 5.4.-1. Means and standard deviations of perceived threats and benefits of cultural diversity in the workplace

The mean of respondents' answers on the perceived threats of cultural diversity in the workplace are consistently lower than three, while those to the benefits of cultural diversity at work are all above three, albeit all are centered around three on a five-point Likert scale. This suggests that, in general, most Japanese employees do not consider cultural diversity as a threat, but rather as a benefit. This is consistent with results from Hofhuis et al. (2015) on a sample of Dutch civil servants.

Looking at each of the four questions used to score each of the nine subdimensions of the BTDS in Figure 5.4.-3., we note that all benefits have means above three on a 5-point Likert scale. The two questions pertaining to benefits with the lowest means are Q13S1 (Cultural diversity enables us to adjust our policies to different groups in society) and Q13S3 (Cultural diversity allows us to reach a larger part of the community with our policy) with means of respectively 3.08 and 3.05. On the other hand, only two questions have means of 3.50 or above. These two questions are Q16S3 (Cultural diversity leads us to have more choices when recruiting and selecting new personnel) and Q17S3 (Cultural diversity is fun). The gap between the two pairs (minimum and maximum) is close to half a point, or is 10% on our 5-point Likert scale. It shows that rather than perceiving cultural diversity at work as beneficial in terms of learning, Japanese respondents view more benefits in terms of recruiting and having workplaces that are more "fun".

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Benefits			
Q13S1	572	3.08	.948
Q13S2	572	3.31	1.032
Q13S3	572	3.05	.989
Q13S4	572	3.20	.982
Q14S1	572	3.16	.946
Q14S2	572	3.39	.972
Q14S3	572	3.32	.993
Q14S4	572	3.40	.997
Q15S1	572	3.17	.994
Q15S2	572	3.16	.968
Q15S3	572	3.11	.982
Q15S4	572	3.13	.990
Q16S1	572	3.13	1.004
Q16S2	572	3.23	1.032
Q16S3	572	3.50	.998
Q16S4	572	3.25	.963
Q17S1	572	3.33	.950
Q17S2	572	3.18	.889
Q17S3	572	3.52	.998
Q17S4	572	3.42	.976
Threats			
Q18S1	572	2.37	.967
Q18S2	572	2.34	.952
Q18S3	572	2.49	.973
Q18S4	572	2.40	.917
Q19S1	572	2.87	.999
Q19S2	572	2.78	.888
Q19S3	572	2.87	.996
Q19S4	572	2.87	.980
Q20S1	572	2.66	1.013
Q20S2	572	2.44	.961
Q20S3	572	2.70	.991
Q20S4	572	2.56	1.024
Q21S1	572	3.05	1.045
Q21S2	572	2.81	1.036
Q21S3	572	2.69	.990
Q21S4	572	2.34	.986

Figure 5.4.-2. Means and standard deviations of question items for dependent variables

Questions regarding the threats associated to cultural diversity that obtained the lowest means and the highest means are both questions pertaining to productivity loss. While Q21S4 (Cultural diversity reduces the overall quality of employees) has a mean of 2.34 (equal to Q18S2), Q21S1 (Cultural diversity causes managers to spend more time on individual coaching) is the only question with a mean higher than three. This suggests that Japanese employees, while concerned about the time that is required to provide extra explanations to foreign coworkers, they are confident that the Japanese majority make up for this threat so that the overall quality of employees is not affected.

Control Variables

Consistent with prior research showing that demographics, employer characteristics and job characteristic may affect cultural perceptions, we controlled for typical variables. In line with previous studies, we run analyses to control for gender, age and prefecture of the respondents, for industry, age, and company size, and for job function. These control variables have been extensively used and proven relevant in expatriate adjustment literature and have been shown as potentially having significant relationships with variables related to culture and adjustment to culture differences (Kaur, 2015).

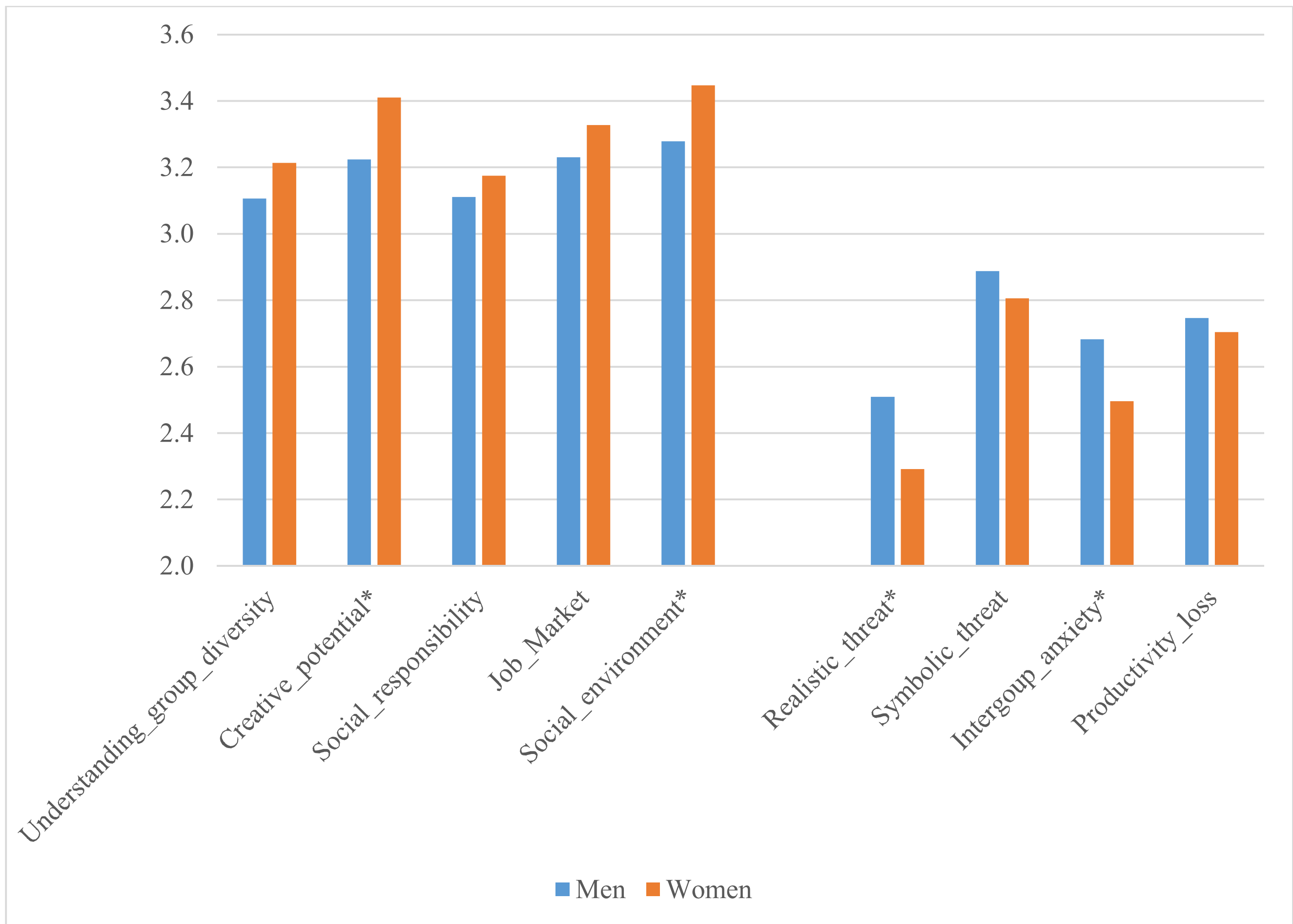


Figure 5.4.-3. Means of statistically significant differences of perceived threats and benefits of cultural diversity in the workplace for men and women (*p<0.05)

There only a few significant differences between how men and women perceived the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. Women, compared to men, report that cultural diversity at work is, on one hand, a higher source of both creative potential and social environment and, on the other hand, a lower source of threats both symbolic and pertaining to intergroup anxiety. Overall, female Japanese employees seem to view cultural diversity at work more positively than their male colleagues do. Next, we open the black box of the benefit and threat constructs to examine differences between disaggregated measures.

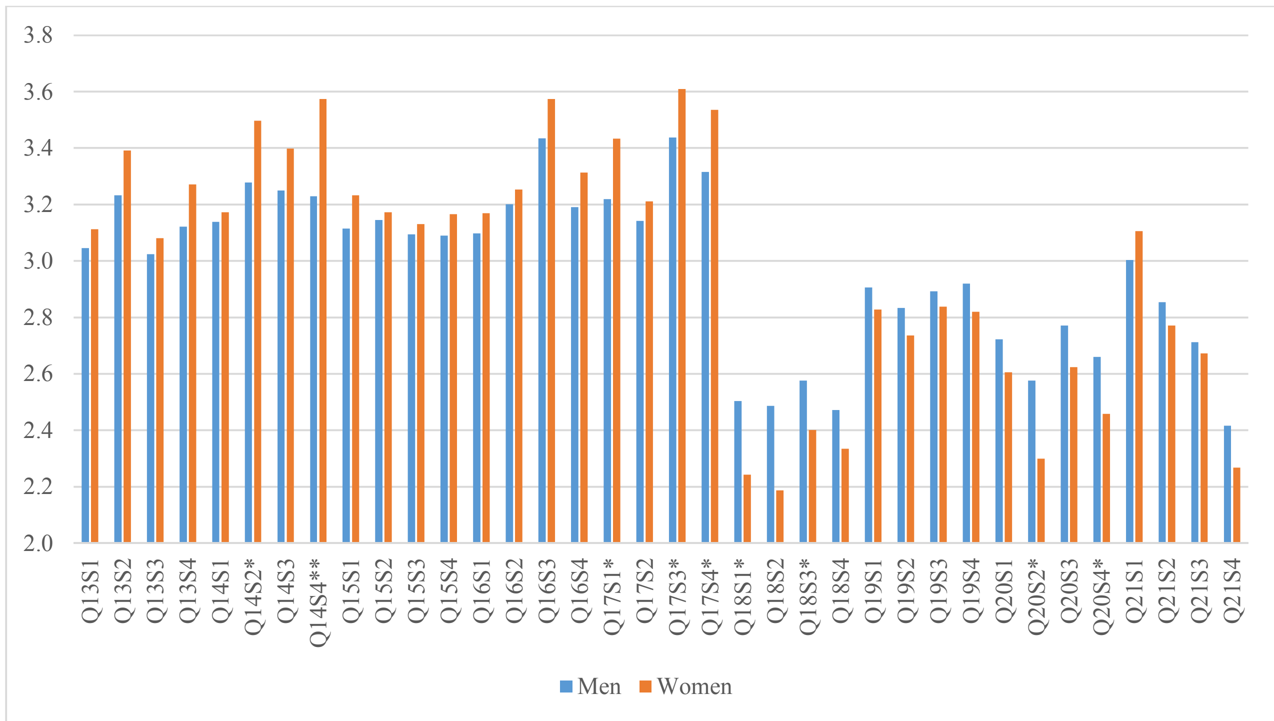


Figure 5.4.-4. Means of questions for constructs of benefits and threats from cultural diversity at work, showing differences by gender (*p<0.005; **p<0.001)

Looking at differences by age range, we found only one significant difference for the job market benefit [F(7)=2.520, p=0.015]. Respondents aged between 25 and 30 years old (n=124) reported higher job market benefit from cultural diversity (M=3.47), compared those aged 55 and over (M=3.06) (n=53).

There were no significant differences by industry, prefecture, company size, or job function.

5.5. Validity and Reliability

Convergent Validity and Reliability

Factor analyses were conducted with each subset of questions pertaining to each variable to ensure that the questions displayed highest loadings on the intended constructs and to assess discriminant validity. Following the recommendations of Costello and Osborne (2005), we looked for question items with excessive cross-loadings, freestanding as one-item factors, or considerably reducing factor reliability. The last question item for productivity loss ("cultural diversity reduces the overall quality of employees") displayed similar loadings with the factor on realistic threats. This cross-loading can be explained by the fact that all those questions concern employees or members of the organization. We decided to keep that item since the question can logically be related to either factor. All factors were found to be reliable with Cronbach alpha scores well above 0.7 and with most above 0.8.

All questions on cultural diversity loaded on the intended nine constructs of Hofhuis et al. (2015). Realistic threat explained 32% of the total variance (the most), creative potential 19%, followed far behind by social responsibility (5%), understanding group diversity (3.6%), intergroup anxiety (3.3%), job market (3%), productivity loss (2.9%), social environment (2.6%), and symbolic threat (2.3%), for a total of 73% (Table 2). This suggests that realistic threat and creative potential represent most of the variance in the scale related to cultural diversity. These results confirm Hofhuis et al. (2015)'s claim that their questionnaire

allows for the measurement of positive and negative attitudes on two separate scales. The factor analysis confirms Hofhuis et al. (2015)'s claim for separating threats and benefits of diversity in the workplace, since those dimensions appear to be independent.

	1 Realistic threat	2 Creative potential	3 Social responsibility	4 Understanding group diversity	5 Intergroup anxiety	6 Job market	7 Productivity loss	8 Social environment	9 Symbolic threat
Q13S1				.768					
Q13S2				.736					
Q13S3				.743					
Q13S4				.744					
Q14S1		.645							
Q14S2		.758							
Q14S3		.703							
Q14S4		.699							
Q15S1			.761						
Q15S2			.752						
Q15S3			.717						
Q15S4			.769						
Q16S1						.786			
Q16S2						.777			
Q16S3		.441				.595			
Q16S4						.704			
Q17S1								.652	
Q17S2								.715	
Q17S3								.663	
Q17S4								.638	
Q18S1	.835								
Q18S2	.849								
Q18S3	.795								
Q18S4	.820								
Q19S1					.409				.577
Q19S2									.755
Q19S3									.658
Q19S4									.761
Q20S1					.769				
Q20S2	.409				.704				
Q20S3					.727				
Q20S4					.764				
Q21S1							.808		
Q21S2							.721		
Q21S3							.727		
Q21S4	.437						.418		
% of Variance	31.868	18.895	4.908	3.588	3.344	3.051	2.877	2.634	2.308
Items	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Cronbach alpha	.883	.872	.897	.829	.893	.912	.783	.888	.815

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in eight iterations.

Figure 5.5.-1. Rotated component matrix of factor analysis of questions on perceived cultural diversity

Once again, the factor analysis confirms Hofhuis et al. (2015)'s claim for separating perceived benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. These two factors are subsequently used to conduct aggregate analyses.

Following Costello and Osborne (2005)'s advice, items with excessive cross-loadings, freestanding as one-item factors, or markedly decreasing reliability were scrutinized. The last item related to productivity loss ("cultural diversity reduces the overall quality of employees") displayed similar loadings with the factor on realistic threats. We kept that question since it can logically be related to either factor. Cronbach alpha scores well above 0.7 and with most above 0.8 indicated all factors to be reliable. All questions loaded on the intended constructs from Hofhuis et al. (2015), with realistic threat (32%) and creative potential (19%) explaining most of the variance for threats and benefits, respectively, out of a total variance of 73%. These loadings confirm Hofhuis et al. (2015)'s scale of benefits and threats in our sample.

A further factor analysis of the same questions was conducted, with the number of factors set to two, in order to verify that perceived benefit and threat items loaded onto distinct groups. They indeed loaded onto two factors, the first one with all 20 items related to perceived benefits and explaining 32% of the variance, and the second one with all 16 questions about perceived threats and explaining 19% of the variance, for a combined total of 51%. Cronbach alpha scores were well above 0.9 (Figure 3).

Question Items	Perceived benefits	Perceived threats
Q13S1	.722	
Q13S2	.740	
Q13S3	.688	
Q13S4	.745	
Q14S1	.697	
Q14S2	.725	
Q14S3	.738	
Q14S4	.719	
Q15S1	.747	
Q15S2	.757	
Q15S3	.746	
Q15S4	.736	
Q16S1	.554	
Q16S2	.617	
Q16S3	.668	
Q16S4	.684	
Q17S1	.754	
Q17S2	.706	
Q17S3	.773	
Q17S4	.741	
Q18S1		.737
Q18S2		.740
Q18S3		.768
Q18S4		.723
Q19S1		.678
Q19S2		.524
Q19S3		.663
Q19S4		.502
Q20S1		.730
Q20S2		.772
Q20S3		.745
Q20S4		.734
Q21S1		.549
Q21S2		.660
Q21S3		.659
Q21S4		.706
% of Variance	31.868	18.895
Items	20	16
Cronbach alpha	.950	.925

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Figure 5.5.-2. Rotated matrix of factor analysis of questions on perceived cultural diversity at work

Divergent Validity

Divergent validity is assessed by the level of collinearity between the constructs. Correlations of above 0.8 or 0.9 between variables indicate collinearity. The table below shows that there is no problem of correlinearity because all correlations are way below 0.8 as suggested by Franke (2010).

Correlations

		Understanding_group_diversity_M	Creative_potential_M	Social_responsibility_M	Job_market_M	Social_environment_M	Realistic_threat_M	Symbolic_threat_M	Intergoup_anxiety_M	Productivity_loss_M
Understanding_group_diversity_M	Pearson Correlation	1	.629**	.656**	.584**	.638**	-.054	.029	-.138**	-.161**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.194	.484	.001	.000
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572
Creative_potential_M	Pearson Correlation	.629**	1	.649**	.578**	.726**	-.207**	.010	-.269**	-.234**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.818	.000	.000
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572
Social_responsibility_M	Pearson Correlation	.656**	.649**	1	.568**	.684**	-.091*	.011	-.185**	-.157**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000	.030	.802	.000	.000
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572
Job_market_M	Pearson Correlation	.584**	.578**	.568**	1	.589**	-.059	.020	-.131**	-.174**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000	.156	.631	.002	.000
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572
Social_environment_M	Pearson Correlation	.638**	.726**	.684**	.589**	1	-.245**	-.059	-.325**	-.295**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.159	.000	.000
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572
Realistic_threat_M	Pearson Correlation	-.054	-.207**	-.091*	-.059	-.245**	1	.486**	.631**	.542**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.194	.000	.030	.156	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572
Symbolic_threat_M	Pearson Correlation	.029	.010	.011	.020	-.059	.486**	1	.550**	.548**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.484	.818	.802	.631	.159	.000		.000	.000
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572
Intergoup_anxiety_M	Pearson Correlation	-.138**	-.269**	-.185**	-.131**	-.325**	.631**	.550**	1	.653**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.000	.002	.000	.000	.000		.000
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572
Productivity_loss_M	Pearson Correlation	-.161**	-.234**	-.157**	-.174**	-.295**	.542**	.548**	.653**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 5.5.-3. Level of collinearity between the constructs

5.6. Exploratory Statistics

Since factor analyses confirmed the underlying constructs under study, we then calculated mean scores for each dimension in order to better evaluate the respondents' levels of perceived threats and benefits, as well as aggregate mean scores for benefits and threats as a whole (Figure 4). The mean of the respondents' answers on perceived benefits are all above 3, while those of perceived threats are consistently lower than 3, although all are centered around 3 on a 5-point Likert scale. This signifies that most Japanese employees perceive cultural diversity at work more as a benefit than a threat, albeit moderately. This is comparable to Hofhuis et al. (2015)'s results on a sample of Dutch civil servants.

		Mean	Standard deviation
Benefits	Understanding group diversity	3.160	0.850
	Creative potential	3.316	0.831
	Image of social responsibility	3.143	0.860
	Job market	3.279	0.813
	Social environment	3.362	0.830
All benefits		3.257	0.705
Threats	Realistic threat	2.401	0.847
	Symbolic threat	2.847	0.752
	Intergroup anxiety	2.590	0.863
	Productivity loss	2.726	0.814
All threats		2.641	0.675

Figure 5.6.1. Means and standard deviations of perceived cultural diversity at work

Correlations between the 5 benefit and 4 threat factors are not displayed; they are all equal to 0 since they are the product of an orthogonal factor analysis.

6. The Target Locus – The Foreigner

This chapter is the first of three chapters dedicated to developing models and operational hypotheses based on our conceptual framework, and to testing them. This chapter develops and tests hypotheses pertaining to the target locus of the perception of cultural diversity in the workplace, namely the foreign coworker. Specifically, we investigate the influence of his or her nationality on the perception of cultural diversity. The following chapter is concerned with the perceiver locus (and his or her early international experience), and the third empirical chapter is dedicated to the context focus (and the number of foreign coworkers).

We have seen in the interviews of the exploratory research (Chapter 3) that led to our conceptual framework (Chapter 4) that several of our interviewees, both Japanese and non-Japanese, made statements about the merits and demerits of cultural diversity that were based on the nationality of the people they were mentioning.

In this chapter, we examine the relationship between foreign coworker's nationality and the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the workplace by Japanese employees. We first develop a model and some hypotheses on how the nationality of foreign coworkers affects the perceived benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. We then test these hypotheses using our 2019 survey of 572 Japanese employees. We end the chapter by discuss the obtain results. We integrate the treatment of contributions, limitations, perspectives for future research, and implications in the final chapter of this thesis, its conclusion (Chapter 10).

Concisely, the findings of this chapter show that the Japanese employees' perceptions of the benefits of cultural diversity at work are significantly impacted by the nationalities of their foreign coworkers. But that this not the case for threats associated with cultural diversity. Specifically, coworker nationality's effect is most noticeable for the two benefits of Understanding Diverse Groups and Social Environment. For both of these two dimensions cultural distance is significantly and positively to the benefits. Coworkers from distant countries, namely Westerners are perceived as contributing more in terms of Social Environment. This may be interpreted by the score difference between Japan and Western countries along Hofstede's cultural dimension of Indulgence (in our cluster of Western countries, only France is dragging down the average score). Concerning the Understanding of Diverse Groups in Society dimension of the BTDS scale, Western coworkers are tied with Chine coworkers. This may be interpreted by both the fruitfulness of Chinese civilization and its proximity to Japanese culture, which makes it more easily accessible for the Japanese coworkers. These findings indicate that, in the Japanese context, hiring employees with distant cultures and nationalities could increase the positive perception of multiculturalism at work, therefore facilitating diversity management and fostering inclusion in the culture of the firm.

6.1. Introduction

Foreigners' Japanese coworkers have a deep feeling of group membership (Caudill 1973), a belonging they associate with what they see as the 'right' attitudes and values (Nakane 1972). This perception fosters a clear distinction between in-groups (the Japanese) and out-groups (the foreigners of different nationalities) (Gudykunst and Nishida 2001). Notwithstanding, with its very low unemployment, safe and clean society, and technological advances, Japan is a popular labor market for people from diverse horizons. Koreans,

whose country's unemployed are much more numerous, especially among the youth. Japan was the destination for one-third of the South Korean graduates who found jobs overseas in 2018. However, recurring political tensions between the two countries are regularly forcing both Korean job seekers and Japanese employers to rethink Japan as a workplace (Roh, 2019). These political tensions also affect Japanese employees' perception of actual or potential Korean coworkers. The success of Korean pop culture in Japan and of Japanese pop culture in Korea are also factors drawing the two countries closer, and Japanese companies eager to do business in Korea are willing to hire South Korean students (Chunichi Shimbun, 2019). In China, Chinese employees often point out Japanese companies as the foreign companies they would least want to work for. Chinese working for them describe Japanese management as ethnocentric and complain about multiple of its aspects, ranging from seating arrangements to incentives (Yu and Meyer-Ohle, 2008). Conversely, Japanese employees may resent the working style of Chinese workers or their number in the workplace. We have seen already that when Lawson announced that it would ramp up the number of its Chinese recruits "most Japanese bloggers were enraged, condemning Lawson's decision and vowing to boycott the chain" (Liu-Farrer, 2011: 785). However, Japan's safe and orderly social environment is attracting Chinese candidates (Liu-Farrer, 2020). Southeast Asian workers are often associated with the trainee system put in place by the Japanese government in 1982 (Shipper, 2002). Since then, the Japanese government has concluded agreements with Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines (in 2006) or Indonesia (in 2007) including provisions to attract caregiving workers for its ageing population. Ohno (2012) asserts that such an influx of foreign workers who need to communicate in Japanese (candidates need to pass an exam) and attend to Japanese elders' emotions and feelings will be challenging for Japanese society and that numerous problems have to be anticipated. Ohno adds that most Filipino nurses prefer to work in the United States because they can earn a higher income and because they have relatives living there. Conversely, Ogawa (2012) highlights that care facilities in Japan welcomed the Southeast Asian care workers primarily as a way to revitalize their workplaces. However, she also mentions that the worries of a care facility director, afraid that elder Japanese may held racial prejudice against Asians. Westerners working in Japan, especially those who are new to the country, tend to misinterpret the absence of clear-cut opinions from their Japanese coworkers (Peltokorpi, 2008). Moreover, they perceive strongly their Japanese coworkers as socializing within vertical hierarchies built on collectivism, age, and gender and as adopting strict, conformist, and rigid behaviors in the workplace (Nakane, 1972). Lastly, their more visible foreignness, combined with Japanese preference for in-group membership, encourage them to feel discriminated (Napier and Taylor, 1995).

The statements made by our interviewees complete and confirm these mutual perceptions and their background, as found in the general press and in the academic literature. In these interviews, we find accounts by Japanese interviewees whereby it is much easier to work and communicate with Koreans because the grammar of their language is close to Japanese grammar. Japanese interviewees gave the same reason to justify why, in work involving communication with Japanese people (customers), it was possible to rely on Korean coworkers, but much less on Chinese ones (despite shared kanji logographic written characters), and even less on more distant cultures such as Westerners or Southeast Asians. Conversely, another string of comments were made about expectations Japanese interviewees had regarding innovative, out-of-the-box, ideas coming from foreigners from distant cultures, such as Western ones ([SH2]: "We expect a lot of new and fresh ideas from [a western coworker]"). A third string of comments was about the degree of "fun" at work. Interviewee [SA], an American, suggested that his lively presence in his company was in part justified by the enthusiasm he was bringing to work environment ("I am the Chief Enthusiast Officer in my company. Enthusiasts at work are too scarce"). However, some Japanese authors with experience living in Western countries have suggested that a deterrent to working with Westerners was their

ways of communication, notably the absence of *nommunication* sessions in after-work gathering (Sasaki, 2011). Conversely, Koreans and Chinese were praised as easy to communicate with because having closer communication styles. Some of our Korean and Chinese interviewees echoed this view by praising cultural proximity with Japanese as facilitating communication in work ([HT] (Korean): "I love to conduct my business in Japanese *izakayas*. [KH, Korean]").

This combination of insights ranging from anecdotal evidence from the general press or our interviewees to more structured references from academia directed us in the development of hypotheses presented in the following section.

6.2. Model and Hypotheses Development

In this section, we develop an analytical model including hypotheses predicting the relationships between coworkers' nationalities and the perceptions of the benefits and threats in the workplace by Japanese employees. We start by reviewing the literature sorting nationalities (countries) along similarities and differences. We then cluster foreign coworkers by essentially building on the results provided by the main three reference works, by Huntington (1993, 1997), Ronen and Shenkar (1985, 2013), and the GLOBE Project (House et al., 2001; House et al., 2002). Our resulting clusters are two countries (China and Korea) and two groups of countries (Southeast Asian countries and Western countries). We then use Hofstede (1980, 1997, and 2001)'s six cultural dimensions to measure the cultural distances between Japan and the four clusters that divide up the foreign coworkers interacting with the Japanese respondents of our survey. We support our hypotheses development by discussing the interplay between cultural clusters' characteristics (i.e. their relative scores along each of Hofstede's six dimensions) and the perception of the nine benefits and threats of the BTDS scale (Hofhuis et al., 2015). Having laid out our model, we then move on to the empirical testing of the hypotheses.

Culture Clusters

In our literature review chapter (Chapter 2), we have already briefly described the countries of origin of Japan's foreign residents. The Japanese government statistics classify these countries in regions: Asia, Americas (North and South), Europe, Africa, and Oceania. This is a classic categorization of countries based on continents as defined since English scholar Samuel Butler described Australia in 1813 as "another continent". Cultural diversity being about national cultures (rather than geography), it is more meaningful for our research to categorize countries along cultural similarities and differences.

Claiming that cultural differences are the most powerful forces dividing people, Huntington (1993, 1997) has grouped countries and cultures along similarities in religion and history. This classification resulted into eight civilizations: Western (including West Europe and North America), Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and African. Huntington's classification deems Japan as a civilization in itself, a civilization of which it is the unique representative country. Huntington even asserts that this cultural uniqueness impedes Japan's economic relations with its Asian neighbors. On the other hand, Huntington considers the connection of Southeast Asian countries with China to be strong.

Ronen and Shenkar (1985, 2013) have grouped 96 countries into cultural clusters, rooting their choice in similarities and dissimilarities in work-related attitudes. They have grouped together China, Japan and Korea in a Confucian Asia cluster (which also includes Nepal). Japan only entered this cluster in Ronen and

Shenkar's 2013 paper, but was a cultural singleton at the time of their previous clustering, that is in their 1985 paper. In 2013, however, Japan remained somehow separate, at the very periphery of the Confucian Asia cluster, reflecting high distinctiveness. This cluster is separate but adjacent to two clusters baptized Far East (including Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia, Thailand or the Philippines) and Anglo (including the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada). The Anglo cluster itself is adjacent to Nordic-Germanic cluster, itself adjacent to the Latin Europe cluster.

In the field of cross-cultural leadership, the GLOBE Project (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Research Project) study mapped cultures along nine dimensions (House et al., 2001; House et al., 2002). Some of these nine dimensions are similar to those proposed by Hofstede, while others are original. Culture clusters resulting from this study are the Anglo cluster (e.g., United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia, United Kingdom), Latin Europe (e.g., France, Spain, Italy), Germanic Europe (e.g., Germany, Switzerland). Confucian Asia (China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Japan), and Southern Asia, but also Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Latin America.

Finally, Nisbett (2004) has argued that against the backdrop of very different histories, Asians and Westerners have developed very different ways of thinking. Moreover, in their perception of foreigners, Japanese often make a clear distinction between the two. They even sometimes associate the word *gaikokujin* to the sole Americans or Caucasians, while identifying foreigners from South and Eastern Asia as *ajiajin* (Russell, 2017; Mackie, 2005).

The breakdown by nationality shows two countries with a disproportionate number of nationals residing in Japan: China and (South) Korea. With respectively 730,890 and 450,663 residents in Japan, these two countries account for almost half of the foreigners residing in the country (respectively 30 percent and 18 percent). Even if many Koreans and Chinese are self-employed in Japan (Shipper, 2002), we assume that the workplace composition reflects their sheer number, and we keep these two countries as standalone clusters in our analysis. This is all the more relevant that proximity of the two countries to their own country allows Japanese to easily distinguish between the two cultures. The clustering of the remaining countries results from our above review of cultural clusterization. In the selection of countries to include in our analysis, we chose a cutoff number of 10,000 residents in Japan in order to discuss national cultures large enough for the Japanese employees to perceive them as a constituted minority groups, rather than individual exceptions. We rounded this threshold, hence including Malaysia with its 9,638 residents in Japan. The resulting clusters are as follows: Southeast Asian countries (Vietnam, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Myanmar and Malaysia), Indian subcontinent countries (Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh), Western countries (United States, United Kingdom, France, Australia, and Canada), and Latin American countries (Brazil and Peru). However, we dropped from our analysis Taiwan, Latin American countries, and countries of the Indian Subcontinent, for the following reasons. We dropped Taiwan from our analysis because it may be difficult for Japanese employees to discern between mainland Chinese and Taiwanese. We dropped the Latin American cluster from our analysis due to the heavily biased composition of Brazilian and Peruvians working in Japan. Their presence is due to the Japanese government's decision in the 1990s to deliver visas not to any Brazilian or Peruvian but only to those able to demonstrate Japanese ancestry. We had to drop countries from the Indian Subcontinent from our analysis because we lacked a large enough number of respondents working with people from these countries.

Not only do these clustered countries share cultural commonalities, but also, and more importantly, they represent meta-categories from the Japanese perspective (Prieler, 2006; Terashima and Honda, 2009). Nationality is here construed from the viewpoint of Japanese employees, as a country or more broadly as a regional provenance highlighting a cultural distance with Japan.

Cultural Dimensions and Cultural Distance

Research on national culture has included the development of dimensions to help to make comparisons across countries and measure cultural distance between countries. The importance of distance in cultural diversity is echoed by Ota (2016)'s CDE (Context, Distance, and Embeddedness), a framework he suggested structure the management of cultural diversity. In the international management academic research field, the most established research on national cultures, their similarities and differences is arguably the research pioneered by Geert Hofstede (1980, 1997, and 2001). The six dimensions of national culture developed by Hofstede and his colleagues are as follows (Hofstede, 2011:8): 1. Power Distance: "related to the different solutions to the basic problem of human inequality". 2. Individualism versus Collectivism: "related to the integration of individuals into primary groups". 3. Masculinity versus Femininity: "related to the division of emotional roles between women and men". 4. Uncertainty Avoidance: "related to the level of stress in a society in the face of an unknown future". 5. Long Term versus Short Term Orientation: "related to the choice of focus for people's efforts: the future or the present and past". 6. Indulgence versus Restraint: "related to the gratification versus control of basic human desires related to enjoying life". Through surveys, Hofstede and his colleagues have attributed scores to numerous national cultures. Myanmar having no scores available, we have dropped the country from our cluster of Southeast Asian countries. The table below shows scores for the six cultural dimensions of Japan and each of the countries constituting our four nationality clusters: (South) Korea, China, Southeast Asian countries, and Western countries. We calculated the average score for each dimension for the clusters containing more than a single country. We then represented the cultural distance with Japan for each dimension and for the average across dimensions by calculating the absolute difference between the Japanese scores and the cluster's scores. Since Hofstede's dimensions range from 0 to 100, we can compare cultural distances between countries in percentage. There is a 20 percent cultural distance average between Japan and Korea along Hofstede's six cultural dimensions. At 27 percent, the distance is greater with China. It is even superior with Southeast Asian countries (32 percent), and maximum with Western countries (33 percent).

	Power Distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Long Term Orientation	Indulgence	Difference with Japan
Japan	54	46	95	92	88	42	
(South) Korea	60	18	39	85	100	29	
Difference with Japan	*6*	*28*	*56*	*7*	*12*	*13*	*20*
China	80	20	66	30	87	24	
Difference with Japan	*26*	*26*	*29*	*62*	*1*	*18*	*27*
Philippines	94	32	64	44	27	42	
Vietnam	70	20	40	30	57	35	
Thailand	64	20	34	64	32	45	
Indonesia	78	14	46	48	62	38	
Malaysia	100	26	50	36	41	57	
Average	*81*	*22*	*47*	*44*	*44*	*43*	
Difference with Japan	*27*	*24*	*48*	*48*	*44*	*1*	*32*
USA	40	91	62	46	26	68	
United Kingdom	35	89	66	35	51	69	
France	68	71	43	86	63	48	
Australia	38	90	61	51	21	71	
Canada	39	80	52	48	36	68	
Average	*44*	*84*	*57*	*53*	*39*	*65*	
Difference with Japan	*10*	*38*	*38*	*39*	*49*	*23*	*33*

Source: scores obtained from https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/ (accessed 2020.10.12)

Figure 6.2.-1. Cultural distances between Japan and South Korea, China, Southeast Asian countries and Western countries along Hofstede cultural dimensions.

Accordingly, we predict that:

H1a: Compared to other nationalities, the perception of benefits in cultural diversity at work for Japanese employees working with Korean coworkers only is low.

H2a: Compared to other nationalities, the perception of threats in cultural diversity at work for Japanese employees working with Korean coworkers only is low.

H1b: Compared to Koreans, the perception of benefits in cultural diversity at work for Japanese employees working with Chinese coworkers only is higher, but it is lower than for Japanese employees working with other nationalities.

H2b: Compared to Koreans, the perception of threats in cultural diversity at work for Japanese employees working with Chinese coworkers only is higher, but it is lower than for Japanese employees working with other nationalities.

H1c: Compared to Koreans and Chinese, the perception of benefits in cultural diversity at work for Japanese employees working with Southeast Asian coworkers only is higher.

H2c: Compared to Koreans and Chinese, the perception of threats in cultural diversity at work for Japanese employees working with Southeast Asian coworkers only is higher.

H1a: Compared to other nationalities, the perception of benefits in cultural diversity at work for Japanese employees working with coworkers from Western countries only is high.

H2a: Compared to other nationalities, the perception of threats in cultural diversity at work for Japanese employees working with coworkers from Western countries only is high.

The figure below illustrates our model and its hypotheses.

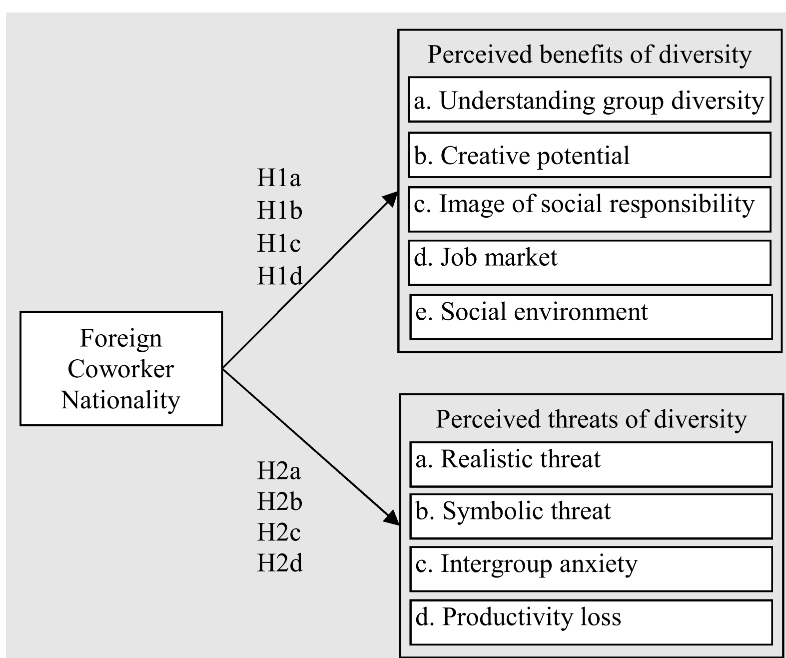


Figure 6.2.-2. Research model

6.3 Measurements

In order to answer our research question, whether the nationality of foreign coworkers affects the perceived benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work, we divided our sample into subgroups based on the nationality of their foreign coworkers. Following the arguments of our hypotheses development, we have divided our sample between Japanese employees depending on their answers to Question 1 of our questionnaire: “What are the nationalities of the foreigners you interact with at work?” We ascribed these coworkers to one of our four clusters: Korea, China, Southeast Asia, and Western countries. Furthermore, in order to prevent confusion in the relationship between coworkers’ nationality and perception of cultural diversity in the cases where a respondent was working with foreign coworkers of multiple nationalities, we only retained those Japanese employees who reported working with foreign coworkers of a single nationality. These respondents worked with either Western coworkers only (n=31), either Korean coworkers only (n=9), either Chinese coworkers only (n=36), or only with coworkers from South-East Asian countries (n=20). Altogether, we obtained a total of 96 respondents. They are described in the figure below.

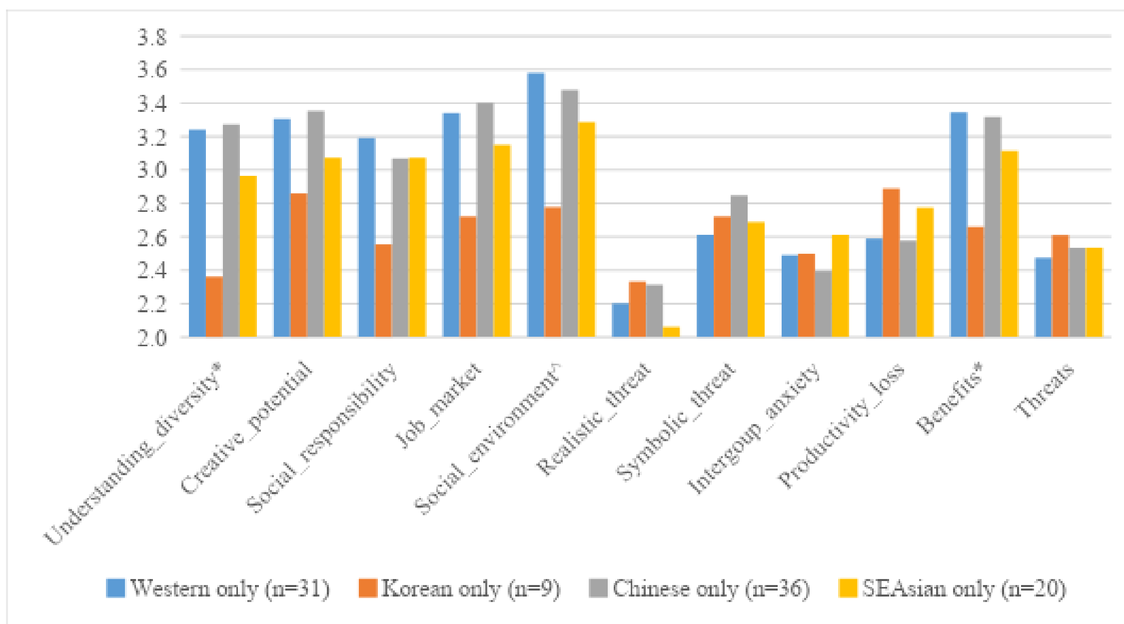
Coworkers’ Cultural Cluster	n
Korean only	9
Chinese only	36
South-East Asians only	20
Western only	31
Total	96

Figure 6.3.-1. Numbers of respondents working with foreign coworkers of a single nationality

A clear limitation of this selection is the reduced number of cases that we can process in our statistical analysis. However, it is by means of such a selection that we can measure perceptions of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity associated with the presence of specific nationalities because they are not biased by the presence at work of coworkers from other nationalities.

6.4. Results

Analyses of variances (ANOVA) tests revealed statistically significant differences for the aggregated perceived benefits of cultural diversity (p=0.045), and the perceived benefits of understanding of group diversity (p=0.016) and of social environment (p=0.065) (Table below).



*p<0.05; ^p<0.1

Figure 6.4.-1. Coworker nationality and perceptions of cultural diversity

Further tests using Tukey's HSD revealed the pairs of nationalities between which statistically significant differences existed for these constructs (Table 8). Japanese employees interacting with Westerners only or with Chinese only reported higher understanding of group diversity (M=3.24, M=3.27, respectively) compared to those working with Koreans only (M=2.36) (p=0.023, p=0.015, respectively). Likewise, Japanese working with Westerners only stated much higher benefits from the social environment (M=3.58) compared to those working with Koreans only (M=2.78) (p=0.052). Last, Japanese workers with Western colleagues only or with Chinese coworkers only reported higher benefits of cultural diversity in general (M=3.34, M=3.32, respectively) compared to those with Korean partners only (M=2.66) (p=0.046, p=0.053, respectively).

There are other visible differences, but these are not statistically significant, probably due to the limited size of our sub-groups. Nevertheless, it is important to report it as it is consistent with the statistically significant differences found thus far (see Figures 6.4.1. and 6.4.2.). All dimensions related to perceived benefits from cultural diversity at work, as well as their aggregate construct, appear lower when having Koreans colleagues only. Conversely, all dimensions about perceived threats from cultural diversity at work, as well as their aggregate construct, do not exhibit any notable differences based on the nationality of foreign coworkers.

Dimension	Significant differences by coworker nationality
Understanding group diversity	Western (M=3.24) > Korean (M=2.36) (p=0.023) Korean (M=2.36) < Chinese (M=3.27) (p=0.015)
Social environment	Western (M=3.58) > Korean (M=2.78) (p=0.052)
Benefits	Western (M=3.34) > Korean (M=2.66) (p=0.046) Korean (M=2.66) < Chinese (M=3.32) (p=0.053)

Figure 6.4.-2. Significant differences for perceptions of cultural diversity among foreign workers subgroups by nationality (Tukey's HSD)

6.5. Discussion

In accordance with our first group of hypotheses (H1), regarding benefits, the results of our analysis confirm that Japanese employees view differently the benefits of cultural diversity, depending the nationalities of the foreign coworkers. The results, however, do not support our second group of hypotheses (H2), those regarding perceived threats. The most convincing results apply two subcomponents of the perceived benefits, "understanding of diverse groups in society" and "social environment", and to comparisons between Western, Chinese and Korean coworkers.

Japanese do not like to deal with complete strangers (Alston, 1989). Introductions by shared relations and developing trust before doing business are important in interpersonal relationships (Igarashi et al, 2008). This premise led us to propose that cultural distance matters in the perception of cultural diversity by Japanese employees. A lesser distance informs the Japanese perceiver about the target of his perception, hereby influencing his or her perceptions of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace. This influence unfolds in two opposite fashions. In the one hand, lesser cultural distance works to reassure because of the familiarity if conveys. For instance, this familiarity may help to reduce perceived symbolic threat or intergroup anxiety. On the other hand, higher cultural distance is a gateway to the unknown, raising expectations; even, sometimes, unrealistic ones ([CLA]: "The Japanese expect many original ideas from me just because I am foreigner. It's very difficult to keep up with their expectations"). Because undefined, the contributions an exotic stranger can take along have no clear boundaries. This, for instance, could be particularly true regarding the understanding of diverse groups and the creative potential benefits.

Japanese employees interacting with Western coworkers only reported higher perception of understanding of group diversity (or diverse groups) than the Japanese employees interacting only with Chinese coworkers did. This finding is in line with the discussion of the where we develop our hypotheses. The more "foreign" a foreign coworker is, the higher is the perceived benefit in terms of gaining insight about distant and unfamiliar stakeholders and markets. In other words, respondents may have felt that they understood better the neighboring countries just due to the facts that they are closer geographically (with the cultural influence concomitant to this physical proximity), because Chinese and Koreans represent the largest part of the foreign population in Japan, and because these two countries receive more exposure in the news.

We have defined the Social Environment Benefit as the perception that "the presence of different cultural groups in a department is 'fun' and leads to a more inspiring and comfortable work environment." (Hofhuis et al., 2015:196). Our interviewees have suggested differences between nationalities. Examples are [YM] (Japanese): "We have a Chinese colleague who is always in a good mood. It is contagious" and [VJ] (LTE with experience working for both Japanese and Chinese companies in Japan): "Chinese are more fun to work with [than Japanese]". While these two examples point at Chinese coworkers, our results point in the direction of a significant difference between Western and Korean coworkers. Korea and the cluster of Western countries are the most culturally distant of our four clusters. Korea is closest to Japan and Western countries are furthest. Among Hofstede's six cultural dimensions, the sixth one, indulgence, is the dimension most closely related to the BTDS' social environment dimension. While Japan's score on this dimension is 42, slightly below the mid-score of 50, Korea's score is even lower, at 29. Conversely, Western countries have high score, all around 70 (except France, the only non-Anglo-Saxon country of our cluster of Western countries). However, this explanation only is not sufficient since China has a score on the indulgence dimension that is even lower than Korea (Japan and Southeast Asian countries score very similarly on this dimension). The difference between the two countries in the way they are perceived by Japanese regarding social environment could come from the dimension of individualism. We have seen previously that this dimension is related to emotions and roles. While competition is driving masculine societies, in feminine societies the focus in of quality of life and caring for others. With a score of 66, China is a masculine society, like Japan. On the other hand, with a score of 39, Korea is a feminine society. A similar masculine emulation in the workplace may conceal social environment related differences between Japanese and Chinese coworkers, while the feminine approach to work of the Koreans may have their presence perceived as less beneficial for the highly masculine Japanese employees.

Another two points of interest in our results are (1) the almost inexistent differences between perceived threats associated with coworkers' nationalities, and (2) the fact that these threats are lower than these found for the whole sample (see Chapter 5 for a description of the sample). We need to remember that in our present analysis we have compared the perceptions of Japanese working with coworkers of homogeneous nationality: they are either all Koreans, either all Chinese, either all Westerners, or either all South-East Asians. There is no diversity within cultural diversity at the workplace. In other words, the scores obtained suggest that when Japanese work with foreign coworkers of a single nationality they see less threat coming from them. Conversely, this could mean that when there is higher diversity (heterogeneity) within the foreign coworkers, Japanese employees could detect in the aggregation of their differences more concerns for them, for their workplace, for communication between colleagues, and for organizational performance. On the contrary, in the absence of such a combined and synergetic effect between multiple and various nationalities, our results show that perceived threats seem to decrease. We can also draw a similar conclusion in relation to perceived benefits. Our results show that diversity within diversity, that is the presence of different nationalities in a workplace, leads to higher perceived benefits in cultural diversity.

Japanese working with Koreans only systematically reported less benefits perceived while interacting with them in terms of cultural diversity. This was the case for overall benefits and regarding "understanding of diverse groups in society" and "social environment". These results suggest that Japanese perceive Koreans as much less different, compared to foreigners of other nationalities. As we have seen earlier in our literature review and in the course of our model development, Koreans are markedly the foreigners who are culturally closest to the Japanese. Our model predicted that Japanese employees would not perceive few cultural diversity-related benefits in working with Koreans. However, our results revealed that the difference with the perceived benefits in working with Chinese or Westerners is very high. Regarding the "understanding of diverse groups" subcomponent of the perceived benefits of cultural diversity, the mean of the scores provided by Japanese respondents working with Koreans only was 2.36 while it was 3.24 for those working with Westerners and 3.27 for those working with Chinese. These numbers show differences of respectively 0.88 and 0.91, or 18 percent (0.9 on a five-point Likert scale). As laid out in our hypotheses development, we expected benefits of cultural diversity to be relatively low in the case of Korean workers because of the high cultural proximity between Japan and Korea. This high difference highlights how Japanese employees perceived their Korean coworkers as being similar to them, to the point that they do not perceive much diversity-related benefits in working with them, despite existing difference (Lie, 2013).

To summarize, our findings show that Japanese employees differentiate the benefits brought to their workplaces by their foreign coworkers according to their origins. The most significant results showed that Chinese and Western coworkers are perceived as contributing the most, by helping their Japanese coworkers to better understand cultural diversity in the global society. On the other hand, due to the more limited global spread and standing of their culture but also to its familiarity in Japan, Korea and its coworkers are perceived as contributing less to the benefits of cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace.

7. The Perceiver Locus – The Host Country National

This chapter is the second of our three chapters dedicated to developing models and operational hypotheses based on our conceptual framework, and to testing them. This chapter develops and tests hypotheses pertaining to the perceiver locus of the perception of cultural diversity in the workplace, namely the host country national, or the local, or the majority group member. In our survey, the perceivers are our respondents, the Japanese employees. Specifically, we investigate the influence of the perceiver's international experience on his or her perception of cultural diversity. While the previous chapter focused on the foreign coworker's nationality, the third and last empirical chapter is dedicated to the context focus (and the number of foreign coworkers).

We have seen in the interviews of the exploratory research (Chapter 3) that led to our conceptual framework (Chapter 4) that several of our interviewees, both Japanese and non-Japanese, commented on how the merits and demerits of cultural diversity were seen differently by Japanese opened to the external world and the more domestic ones. Examples are, for Japanese interviewees "I enjoy working with and learning from foreign colleagues. I guess it may be because of the years I have spent in the US when I was a child. My mother and my sister enjoyed these years very much." [OY2] or "I've never been abroad and I don't feel the need to go. I think I can find here all the information I need to live and work in Japan." [IH], and for foreign interviewees "Japanese, who, like me, have a long experience living in a foreign country, do much better understand my feelings. [FB], "When I discovered that [a Japanese coworker] was a returnee, I suddenly understood why it was easier for me to understand her and vice versa." [OE], "My assistant grew up abroad. She thinks differently from the rest of the staff. She is more open to learning new things." [MJ], and "My "very Japanese" staff is not interested in a one-week business trip to Paris. They would prefer three days in Atami. [BJ2]".

Building on theses insights from our interviewees and nurtured by earlier research, we first develop a model and some hypotheses on why early international experience may affect the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. We then test these hypotheses using our 2019 survey of 572 Japanese employees. We end the chapter by discuss the obtain results. We integrate the treatment of contributions, limitations, perspectives for future research, and implications in the final chapter of this thesis, its conclusion (Chapter 10).

7.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to examine the relationship between early international experience—living abroad when young, notably while in high school or university—and the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the workplace. The concept of cultural diversity has been receiving more attention over the past decades, as research suggests that it may lead to improved performance. This research uses a questionnaire survey that was administrated to 572 Japanese, half of whom worked with foreigners. Our results show that there is a large and significant difference in the perception of benefits between Japanese who lived outside of Japan when young and those who have never been abroad. We also found that there is no significant difference between the two groups in regard to their perception of threats associated with cultural diversity in the workplace. These findings indicate that, in the Japanese context, hiring employees who have had substantial experience abroad will increase the positive perception of multiculturalism at work, therefore facilitating diversity management and fostering inclusion in the culture of the firm. Based on this

growing realization of the multiplicity of perceptions of cultural diversity at work, and on the lack of academic research on the topic, this paper provides a seminal foundation for future research on the antecedents of these manifold perceptions.

We start by building a model and hypotheses concerning the potential relationship between early international experience (living abroad) and perceptions of cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace.

7.2. Model and Hypotheses Development

In this section, we develop our hypotheses about the relationships between international experience and the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity in the workplace. We develop hypotheses contrasting the perceptions of the LAWYs and those of the NBAs for each of the nine sub-dimensions of the BTDS scale (five benefits and four threats). The NBAs are individuals who have "Never Been Abroad." On the other hand, we define LAWYs ("Lived Abroad While Young") as individuals who have spent more than one year abroad either in junior high, high school, university, or in their 20s. According to Bachner & Zeutschel (2009a), the longer the international experience, the greater the impact on the lives of those who spent time abroad. Such individuals acquire increased awareness of their subjective cultural worldview and develop a greater ability to interact sensitively and competently across cultural contexts (Bennett, 2009). A basic tenet of international educational exchange and study abroad is "the idea that exposure to cultural differences is 'broadening' and therefore a legitimate aspect of education in the modern world" (Bennett, 2009, S1). Second- or multi-culture exposure, then, shapes socio-cognitive skills (Tadmor and Tetlock, 2006). Ljubica & Dulcic (2014) have positioned international exposure as a predictor of international propensity. International experience has also been advocated as the primary vehicle for developing global leadership skills and cross-cultural competence (Davies & Easterby-Smith, 1984; McCall & Hollenback, 2002; McCauley, Ruderman, Osland, 2001). Global managers themselves report the benefits of early international exposure, indicating that the opportunity to live and work abroad was the most powerful experience that had helped them develop their global leadership capabilities (Gregersen, Morrison and Black, 1998). This strain of evidence is underpinned by the fact that firms led by CEOs with higher degree of prior international exposure perform better financially (Carpenter, Sanders, Gregersen, 2001; Daily, Certo & Dalton, 2000; Sambharya, 1996). Intercultural sensitivity proposes that an individual's proficiency in intercultural circumstances improves with his/her experience of cultural differences (Greenholtz, 2000). For instance, Olsen and Kroeger (2001) exposed the relation between language proficiency and intercultural communication skills, and Williams (2005) the link between studying abroad and ethno-relativism—the latter having been considered a barrier to intercultural communication competence (Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997). Hammer et al. (2003) have characterized ethnocentrism as a way of "avoiding cultural difference, either by denying its existence, by raising defenses against it, or by minimizing its importance" (p. 426). Nakagawa et al. (2018) went even further by claiming that, in emerging markets, the acceptance of local culture is even required since the transfer of Japanese management practices do not contribute to improving subsidiary performance. Past research has shown that national culture mediates ethnocentrism. Specifically, both foreign and Japanese researchers have described Japanese homogeneous culture as ethnocentric (e.g., Conrad & Meyer-Ohle, 2019; Sekiguchi et al., 2016; Oki et al., 2011) and parochial (Dong et al., 2008). Mentioning an adolescent, who, upon returning to Japan after five years abroad with his family, claimed that his life was "doomed because his family moved from a town that was familiar to him" (p. S40), Terashima (2003) echoed worries by Kawada (1993) that leaving their country can be traumatic for Japanese adolescents. According to Matsuyama & Tsuchiya (Matsuyama and Tsuchiya, 2015), it is not only young

Japanese but also adults who need resilience to overcome the numerous difficulties they face abroad. On the other hand, Magoshi (2003), echoed by Ozaki (2018) suggested that studying abroad when young, specifically in high school, widens the point of view of young Japanese and changes their values and way of thinking; through their experience abroad, they may develop both their intelligence and sensibility about foreign things. On the other hand, for Matsuyama and Tsuchiya (2015), the benefit of international exposure is, beyond gaining linguistic and business skills, to develop resilience, an ability to both recover from difficulties and to spring back into one's original shape—what the authors described as "maintaining their own Japanese mind" (p. 232).

7.2.1. The Perceived Benefits of Cultural Diversity in the Workplace

7.2.1.1. Understanding of Diverse Groups in Society

The *Understanding of Diverse Groups in Society Benefit* is defined as "the ability to gain insight about, and access to different groups within society, thus being able to better understand stakeholders and markets" (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 195). With the number of foreigners breaking records at more than 2.8 million in the beginning of 2019 (Kyodo News, 2019), companies' stakeholders, employees, and customers are becoming increasingly diverse. According to Ashby's principle of requisite variety, Japanese organizations, as self-regulating systems, need to match and understand this new environment to deal with it (Ashby, 1957). By definition, LAWYs have already been deeply exposed to at least a second culture. They have experienced first-hand, as members of a minority group, how valuable a diverse workforce is for gaining knowledge about, and access to, diverse groups within society. Magoshi (, 2003) stressed that, beyond the simple goal of developing language proficiency, programs sending Japanese high school students abroad also aim to develop their understanding of cultural differences by geographically relocating them to places where they are in close contact with foreigners on a daily basis. This way, young Japanese directly experience such cultural differences, thus becoming aware of how this immediate contact allows for a much deeper understanding (Niikura, 2008). Johnson et al. (2006: 529) have defined cultural competence as "an individual's ability to step outside his/her cultural boundary, to make the strange familiar and the familiar strange, and to act on that change of perspective." Accordingly, we predict that:

H1a: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace as a source of understanding diverse groups in society benefit is higher than that of NBAs.

7.2.1.2. Creative Potential

The *Creative Potential Benefit* is defined as "the notion that cultural diversity leads to more effective idea generation, increasing learning opportunities and problem-solving potential of teams." (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 195). Cultural literacy, improved by long stays abroad, allows for the development of personal traits such as curiosity (Johnson et al., 2006). Wan and Chiu (2002) suggested that juxtaposing apparently discordant thoughts from two cultures summonses engagement in creative conceptual growth. This line of thought is coherent with Cox and al. (1991) who estimated that cultural diversity, being a source of differences, augments creative problem-solving. Last, Magoshi (2003) emphasized the development and appreciation of new thinking abilities through living and studying abroad when young. This development stems from the encounter with many different values. Accordingly, we predict that:

H1b: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace as a source of creative potential benefit is higher than that of NBAs.

7.2.1.3. Image of Social Responsibility

The *Image of Social Responsibility Benefit* is defined as "the notion that cultural diversity in the workplace leads to a positive image of the organization regarding its social responsibility and attention to equal opportunities." (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 196). For Bailey and Harindranath (2006: 304), multiculturalism is a "paradox in dealing with the question of how to construct a society that accommodates universal rights with the rights of minority groups." Paige et al., (2009) report that participants in a large survey perceived study abroad as having a strong influence on commitment to local civic activities, the founding of socially oriented businesses or organizations, and philanthropy. This finding is in line with the results of an AFS (AFS Intercultural Programs, originally the American Field Service) survey reported by Magoshi (2003), showing that young Japanese living abroad develop a more socially responsible attitude. Accordingly, we predict that:

H1c: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace as a source of image of social responsibility benefit is higher than that of NBAs.

7.2.1.4. Job Market

The *Job Market Benefit* is defined as "the benefits of cultural diversity for an organization's position regarding recruitment and retention of employees, enabling them to choose from a larger pool of potential talents; a necessity for filling all vacancies with qualified personnel" (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 196). Shaftel et al. (2007) note that the increasing globalization of markets suggests that international studies should be a crucial part of educational programs and that foreign experience should be highly valued (Kwok and Arpan 2002). While living abroad, LAWYs have met and learned to value foreigners with different sets of capabilities, while at the same time relating to them through things they had in common (Magoshi, 2003). LAWYs perceive these foreigners as both a potential new source of talent for their organizations and a talent pool worth retaining for their unique contributions. Accordingly, we predict that:

H1d: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace as a source of image of job market benefit is higher than that of NBAs.

7.2.1.5. Social Environment

The *Social Environment Benefit* is defined as "the presence of different cultural groups in a department is 'fun' and leads to a more inspiring and comfortable work environment." (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 196). Shaftel et al. (2007) have assumed the impact of international experience on the enjoyment of learning about and interacting with people from other cultures. Flexibility and openness developed when living in foreign countries has been described by Kelley and Meyers (1992) as comfort in interacting with all kinds of people. According to Magoshi (2003), young Japanese studying abroad when in high school are able to fly the nest and feel comfortable outside their sole family and familiar environment, including with people of diverse cultural background, whom they can appreciate. Accordingly, we predict that:

H1e: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace in terms of social environment benefit is higher than that of NBAs.

7.2.2. The Perceived Threats of Cultural Diversity in the Workplace

7.2.2.1. Realistic threat

Realistic Threat is defined as "an individual's potential loss of career perspectives, power or status within the organization." (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 196). While majority group members may recognize the potential benefits of immigration and multiculturalism for the economic dynamism of their country, they may also see immigrants to be challenging their superior cultural and social status (Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver, 2002). Magoshi (2003) suggested that young Japanese who have studied abroad during high school developed assertiveness, self-confidence, and positive attitude, therefore becoming less prone to feeling threatened. She also proposed that Japanese LAWYs have developed language and cultural abilities that put them on par with foreigners. Accordingly, we predict that:

H2a: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace as a source of realistic threat is lower than that of NBAs.

7.2.2.2. Symbolic threat

Symbolic Threat is defined as "the notion that established beliefs, values and symbols within the organization are threatened as a result of incorporating different cultures in the workplace." (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 196). Cultural diversity and its corollary, immigration, tend to be a delicate issue in Japan because of the common association of the country's national identity and ethnicity (Strausz, 2019). Living abroad while their individual identity is still being formed, LAWYs are able to relativize and distance national identity and ethnicity. Furthermore, Johnson et al. (2006) have highlighted how cross-cultural competences developed abroad include attitudes and personal traits such as tolerance for ambiguity. Therefore, we propose that LAWYs have become less rigid in following the rules of a specific culture. Moreover, Magoshi (2003) explained that one of the consequences of spending time abroad during high school is the tendency to emphasize common points between one's culture and foreign cultures, therefore being less prone to think in terms of "us versus them"—thus, foreigners and their cultures become less antagonistic. Encountering different values enlarges one's own and allows to relativize one's way to look at life. Accordingly, we predict that:

H2b: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace as a source of symbolic threat is lower than that of NBAs.

7.2.2.3. Intergroup anxiety

Intergroup Anxiety is defined as "a sense of fear or insecurity resulting from (anticipated) interaction with members of different cultures, potentially leading to miscommunication, embarrassment or conflict." (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 197). Ethnocentrism has been described as leading to intercultural misunderstandings (Neuliep and McCroskey, 1997) and less willingness to communicate across cultures (Lin and Rancer, 2003). According to Magoshi (2003), young Japanese returning to their country from studying abroad have developed abilities enabling them to interact positively with people of different cultures; they have become willing and are able to overcome communication barriers associated with cultural differences. They have also developed skills to be easily understood in their interactions with people, including people of different cultural background. While NBAs or monocultural Japanese are expecting some "Listening to the Air"

(Meyer, 2014), Japanese living abroad experience first-hand that, in certain contexts, it is more efficient (or even necessary) to be explicit to avoid miscommunication. Accordingly, we predict that:

H2c: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace as a source of intergroup anxiety is lower than that of NBAs.

7.2.2.4. Productivity Loss

*Productivity Loss*_is defined as "a threat to the quality of the work of a team or department, e.g. due to language problems, possible tension between colleagues, or the sense that culturally diverse teams are more difficult to manage." (Hofhuis et al., 2015: 197). Yamazaki and Kayes (2004) connected expatriation experience and intercultural competence with a list of essential competencies such as stress management, flexibility, and coping with ambiguity. Magoshi (2003) stated that one of the main goals of the Japanese Ministry of Education when promoting studies abroad for high school students is to improve their fluency in foreign languages, starting with English. Among others, international exposure reveals diverse problem-solving strategies (Bennett, 2009) that have potential for being leveraged at home. Independently from the practical transferability of these techniques across cultures, international exposure makes individuals more conscious of these potential contributions to productivity. Last, Peng (2006) suggested that persons with higher intercultural communication sensitivity are inclined to thrive in intercultural communication settings. On the other hand, language problems, and the ensuing tension, may be caused by lesser cultural awareness on the part of NBAs. This low level of awareness has been associated with less intercultural communication sensitivity and intercultural communication competence (Chen and Starosta, 2000). Accordingly, we predict that:

H2d: LAWYs' perception of cultural diversity in the workplace as a source of productivity loss is lower than that of NBAs.

In conclusion, all our hypotheses predict that early international experience will positively impact the perception of the benefits of cultural diversity in the workplace; however, it will negatively impact the perception of the threats associated with cultural diversity in the workplace. This line of reasoning is consistent with the claims of Johnston and Hanamitsu (2015) that lower travel experience is conductive to feelings of threat and with the claims of Bachner and Zeutschel (2009b) that individuals who have had international exposure through an international exchange are more likely to be involved in cooperation efforts among countries. The hypotheses presented above make up the research model depicted in the figure below.

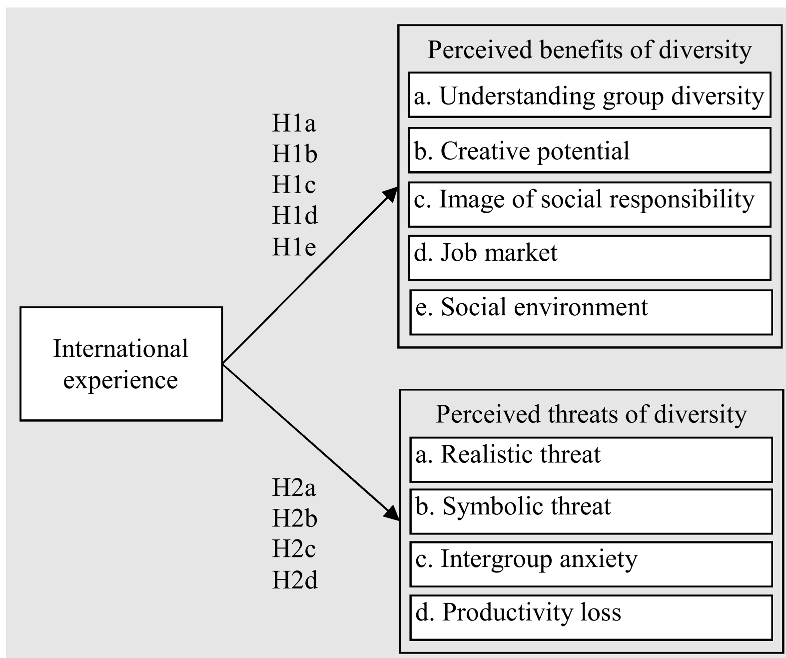


Figure 7.2.-1. Research model

7.3. Measurements

We use the sample from the survey described in the chapter on our confirmatory and quantitative research. We also use to measure the perception of cultural diversity in the workplace the measurements described in the same chapter. Consequently, we only describe below how we measure the independent variable, international experience.

To evaluate their experience abroad, we asked the respondents to state both the durations of their stays and the periods during which it may have occurred. Specifically, these periods consisted of the time from birth until junior high; high school; university; their 20s after university; their 30s; 40s; and their 50s and over. We then divided and grouped these durations into categories: (1) no experience, (2) less than one month, (3) more than a month but less than three months, (4) more than three months but less than one year, (5) more than a year but less than three years, and (6) three years or more. We finally created two groups. First, we grouped respondents who have spent more than one year abroad during junior high, during high school, during university, or while in their 20s. We named them the LAWYs ("Lived Abroad While Young"). We had 23 respondents corresponding to these criteria. Conversely, we created a group with the Japanese respondents who stated that they had never left the Japanese territory. We named them the NBAs ("Never Been Abroad"). We had 55 respondents corresponding to these criteria.

7.4. Results

In order to evaluate the respondents' levels of perception of threats and benefits, we calculated mean scores for each dimension based on the combined means of the items constituting said dimensions. Hypotheses 1 and 2 were tested using independent sample T-tests between relevant sub-groups in the sample.

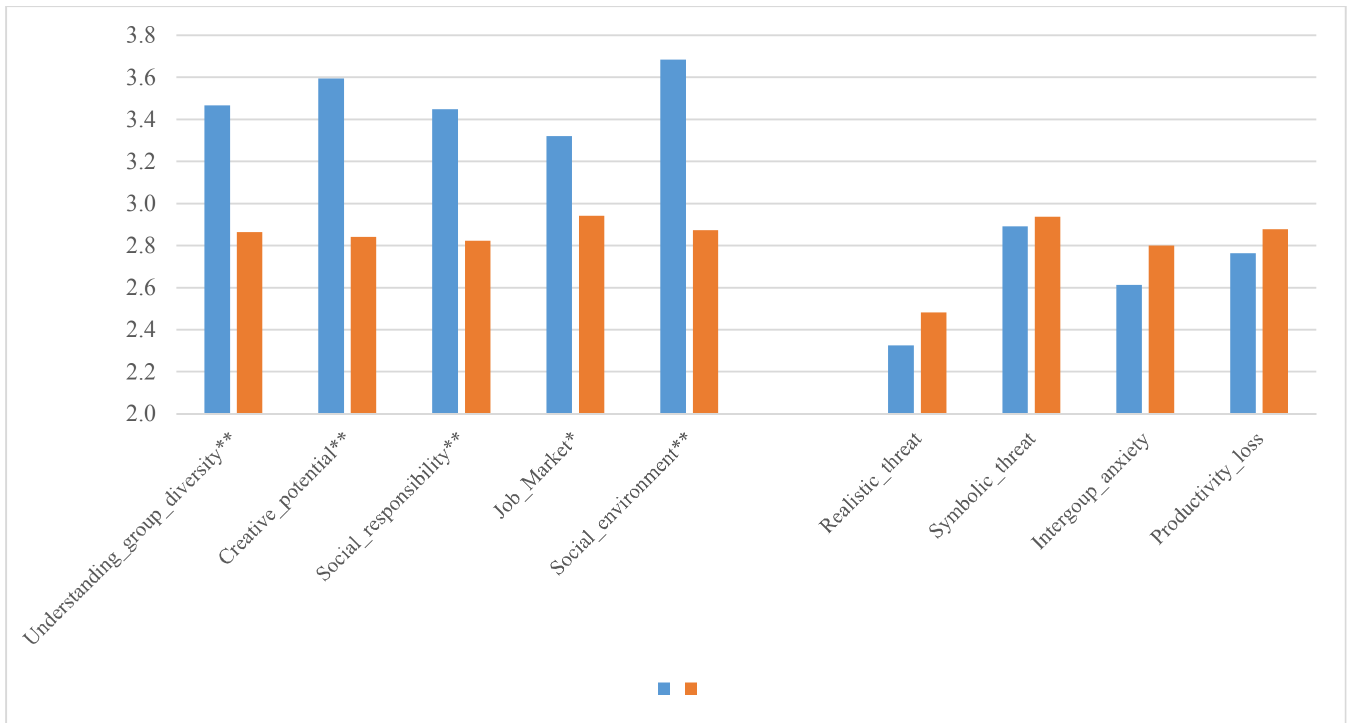


Figure 7.4.-1. Means of statistically significant differences of perceived threats and benefits of cultural diversity in the workplace for respondents having lived abroad while young (LAWY) and those who have never been abroad (NBA) (*p<0.05; **p<0.001)

Significant differences for benefits were only uncovered between those having lived abroad while young (LAWY) and those who had never been abroad (NBA). LAWYs consistently reported higher levels of perceived benefits in the workplace (M=3.47, SD=0.64 vs. M=2.86, SD=0.88; t(106)=4.073, p=0.000; M=3.59, SD=0.69 vs. M=2.84, SD=0.92; t(106)=4.810, p=0.000; M=3.45, SD=0.84 vs. M=2.82, SD=0.87; t(106)=3.793, p=0.000; M=3.32, SD=0.72 vs. M=2.94, SD=0.92; t(106)=2.398, p=0.018; M=3.68, SD=0.74 vs. M=2.87, SD=0.92; t(106)=5.063, p=0.000), compared to NBAs. This supports hypotheses H1 (a, b, c, d, e) but not hypotheses H2 (a, b, c, d).

7.5. Discussion

In this research, we hypothesized that having lived abroad early in life affects perceptions of multicultural diversity in the workplace. Specifically, we predicted that people who have spent more than one year abroad either during junior high, high school, university, or in their 20s (whom we called the LAWYs, for "lived abroad while young"), compared to those who have never set foot outside their country (whom we called the NBAs, for "never been abroad"), would have more positive perceptions of the five benefits and less negative perceptions of the four threats as defined by Hofhuis et al. (2015) in their BTDS scale. The results of our analysis confirmed all the sub-hypotheses of our first five hypotheses (H1), the ones concerned with benefits, but none of the four of our second group of hypotheses (H2), those pertaining to the threats associated with cultural diversity.

The reasons why early international exposure was not linked with any significant differences in the scores of the LAWYs and the NBAs when asked about their perceptions of the threats can be attributed to several factors. Even if they may have developed assertiveness and self-confidence while living abroad, Japanese may feel that these traits are of lesser worth in Japan, where national culture highly values humility (Cocroft and Ting-Toomey, 1994), especially for women (McVeigh, 1996). The same may be said about foreign language and cultural abilities acquired abroad, which indeed do not have much influence on status and career perspectives in Japanese companies, where work is done in Japanese. It can even be said that living abroad may cause lesser proficiency in the Japanese language. Language is a strong marker of social identity and tool for social interaction (Giles and Johnson, 1981) and this even more true in the Japanese context, where some Japanese believe that their language define them and therefore s not fully accessible to foreigners (Liddicoat, 2007). Therefore, the realistic threat for the LAWYs, rather than the foreigners, may, on the contrary, be their compatriots, especially those who have done all their schooling in Japan, such as the NBAs, and may have a better command of the corporate language (Peltokorpi and Yamao, 2017). These two aspects—humility and Japanese language proficiency—because of their intimate connection with beliefs, values, and symbols of the Japanese culture, do not only influence perceptions of realistic threats but also of symbolic threats. Even if not statistically significant, our analysis reveals that, among the four types of threats, intergroup anxiety could be perceived differently by the LAWYs and the NBAs. LAWYs, because of their experience abroad, may be more attuned to the difficulties in intercultural communication. Therefore, while not perceiving this as a threat at the individual level, they may perceive it even more than the less experienced NBAs at the organizational level. For the same reason, their perception of the amount of time needed by regular Japanese managers to deal with foreigners may surpass the out-of-touch perception of the NBAs. This parochial and globally disconnected worldview may in fact act as a perceptional protection for the NBAs, rendering them insensitive to external threats. In this view, not much can threaten the Japanese workplace because of its unique uniqueness (Gjerde and Onishi, 2000). This protective view of a clearly bounded identity dodges any potential threats concomitant to porosity between the Self and the Other (Bauman, 2001). According to Fujiwara (1995), institutional engagement with cultural pluralism in education in Japan met a milestone in the 1980s with the emergence of multicultural education (*tabunkakyooiku*). However, theory is not practice and the consequences of international experience reach beyond knowledge to feed internalization and potentially cross-cultural identity, allowing the individual to span boundaries. In their ethnographic study of Japan-US firms, Yagi and Kleinberg (2011) have shown that to leverage the benefits of cultural diversity and perform boundary-spanning roles, organizational members need to be able to negotiate their cultural identities and repertoires. In the absence of foreign coworkers, the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work remain abstract and putative. Coexistence and confrontation with foreign coworkers sharing a common workplace forces Japanese employees to leave the comfort of a culturally homogeneous setting (both at organizational and national levels).

The encounter with the Other question the Self and the sense of "who I am" as a cultural being (Yagi and Kleinberg, 2011). Employees prepared by a substantial past experience are in better positioned to recognize and leverage the benefits of cultural diversity because they, and their identity, have already been extensively challenged by hands-on diversity. They had to develop coping mechanisms at an early life stage of still malleable identity formation (Fail et al., 2004) and had to develop their own "third" culture (Pollock and Van Reken, 2001). An "adult third culture kid" (ATCK) is "an individual who has spent significant periods of childhood living outside his or her parents' culture(s)" (Tarique and Weisbord, 2013:139). This concept is one of the answers to the growing attention paid in research to the antecedents of successful expatriation. As

we repeatedly suggested in this thesis, we can apply many of the concepts, theories or frameworks of the expatriation literature to research on cultural diversity, which we consider as the other side of the same coin.

The other aspect stressed in the thesis is the importance deserved by *early* international experience. Most of expatriation research only focuses on past international experience once in adult life (Selmer, 2002; Takeuchi et al., 2005) without paying specific attention to early (and substantial) experiences. The research presented in this chapter complements research on the relationship between international experience and successful expatriation by looking at the relationship between (early) international experience and the perception of cultural diversity by the local majority's employees or host country nationals. Another stream of complementary promising research has to do with returned inpatriates, that is on later but extensive international experience. This stream seems however almost inexistent, or in infancy. Sekiguchi et al. (2019) are an exception. However, their focus is on the internalization of (and identification with) corporate culture, not national culture.

8. The Context Locus – The Number of Foreign Coworkers

This chapter is the third and last of our three chapters dedicated to developing models and operational hypotheses based on our conceptual framework, and to testing them. While the two previous chapters focused on the target and perceiver loci of perception, this last empirical chapter is dedicated to the context focus of the perception. This chapter develops and tests hypotheses pertaining to organizational characteristics, specifically the number of foreign coworkers. We investigate if and how the absolute number of foreign coworkers a Japanese employee is interacting with at work influences his or her perceptions of cultural diversity.

We have seen in the interviews of the exploratory research (Chapter 3) that led to our conceptual framework (Chapter 4) that several of our interviewees, both Japanese and non-Japanese, commented on how the merits and demerits of cultural diversity are differently depending on the number of foreigners in the workplace. Examples are, for Japanese interviewees "There is a foreigner in my team, but he is even more than Japanese than us. He knows many kanjis, maybe even more than I do. He loves to talk about Japan. More than to talk about his country." [J-MI], "When I work with a group of foreigners, some of them escalate in their imaginative solutions." [J-SS], "I've never been much impressed by the originality of the ideas proposed by the foreigner I'm working with." [J-ST], "After the new boss started to hire more foreigners from his country the atmosphere has changed a lot in my department." [J-OY], or "When I see the foreigners talking together at my office, I feel they belong to a different world. But when I talk with one of them in Japanese I feel much closer." [J-MI]. For foreigners, examples of statements are "I don't like when there are too many foreigners around. I feel less unique. But at the same time it's nice to have someone you can talk with. About subjects you cannot talk about with Japanese." [F-LJ] or "It's good to balance the number of Japanese and foreigners in a team." [F-BP].

Building on theses insights from our interviewees and nurtured by existing research, we develop a model and some hypotheses the possible relationship between the number of foreigners in a Japanese workplace and the perception by the Japanese employees of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work. We then test these hypotheses using our 2019 survey of 572 Japanese employees. We end the chapter by discuss the obtain results. We integrate the treatment of contributions, limitations, perspectives for future research, and implications in the final chapter of this thesis, its conclusion (Chapter 10).

8.1. Introduction

Globalization and complexity are two features of today's society, characterized by increased internationalization and complex cross-border supply chains (UNCTAD, 2020). How organizational members perceive cultural diversity in the workplace, both a symbol and materiality of globalization and complexity, is essential for their individual betterment and for organizational performance. To survive, organizations must keep on adapting and transforming, but change is stressful for their members. Consequently, companies need to be aware of how changes in their policies and culture affects employees, whose aggregated individual accomplishments ultimately carry much weight in overall corporate performance. To better care for employees' need for security and well-being (Magnier-Watanabe et al., 2017), companies need to be aware of the perceptions of these employees in a world where increasing cultural diversity in markets and in workplaces brings both benefits and threats: organizations need to properly handle cultural differences to remain competitive (Cox and Finley-Nickelson, 1991). To date,

Japanese companies' engagement with alterity has proved somewhat uneasy. Due notably to its geography as an island, and to its history of long period of isolationism, Japan has an idiosyncratic culture, significantly different from those of other countries (Huntington, 1993). Insular Japan has been struggling with diversity management, both for the inclusion of women (Kobayashi, 2020; Larmer, 2018) and for the inclusion of foreigners. While in plural societies, immigrants and minorities are supported in maintaining and even developing their bi- or multicultural identities and associated competences (Downie et al., 2007), Japanese organizations have been categorized as ethnocentric (Ōki et al., 2011) and Japanese society has not fostered a climate supporting integration (Castles, 1995; Stoermer, 2016). However, post-pandemic Japan, with its relatively safer, more orderly social environment, and lower unemployment, is expected to attract more workers and migrants (Liu-Farrer, 2020). With increasing globalization both at home and abroad, Japanese companies need employees and managers with intercultural sensitivity (Olson and Kroeger, 2001) who are comfortable in multicultural interactions (Dong et al., 2008). This has been an issue for a long time (Bartlett and Yoshihara, 1988) and remains a pressing one. It is therefore crucial for the country and its firms to better understand how its citizens, who form an overwhelming majority group, perceive cultural diversity, both in terms of benefits and threats.

While Japanese organizations must fully grasp intercultural perceptions abroad in their foreign subsidiaries, the country's population is aging and shrinking at home and this is leading to more open immigration policies (Ebuchi and Yokota, 2019. These policies translate into more foreigners working at the headquarters and in the domestic subsidiaries, and, therefore, to increasing cultural diversity in the Japanese workplace (Douglass and Roberts, 2003). As early as the late 1980s, Bartlett and Yoshihara (1988) were claiming that Japanese multinational companies had to rethink the way they were managing their human resources in their foreign subsidiaries. With the acceleration of globalization, an ever-increasing share of Japanese firms' outputs and inputs originate from foreign environments and therefore the companies themselves must adapt by matching internally this diversity and complexity (Ashby, 1957) if they want to remain relevant to their stakeholders. For Japanese organizations as for other organizations, knowledgeable diversity management has the potential to turn into a competitive weapon (Magoshi and Chang, 2009; Huang et al., 2020). An inceptive step in diversity management is to take stock of how majority group members perceive the benefits and threats of a multicultural workforce. In doing so, firms are eager to find out whether there is an optimum number of foreign coworkers at the team or departmental level, for their Japanese employees to consider cultural diversity at work as a benefit rather than a threat. This paper aims to address whether such an optimal number exists and if so identify it.

In the following section, we first review the existing literature on cultural diversity and its perception, and past research pertaining specifically to the perception and management of foreign employees in Japan. We then develop and present hypotheses on how specific numbers of foreign coworkers affect perceptions of cultural diversity among their Japanese colleagues.

8.2. Model and Hypotheses Development

Number of Foreign Coworkers and Perceived Benefits of Cultural Diversity

No Foreign Coworker

The contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) predicates that interplay between members of different groups brings about positive attitudes between these groups, or at least an improved perception of the minority by

the majority (Wagner et al., 1989). In the absence of any foreigner in the workplace, majority members – the Japanese – are fully deprived of any opportunity to engage in contact (Turner et al., 2007) and to learn from direct experience, through day-to-day and direct interactions with members of cultural minorities – the foreigners. It is by living and feeling these close and daily encounters with foreign coworkers that Japanese employees confront and deal with cultural differences, therefore potentially understanding intimately how the physical presence of cultural minorities in the workplace results in a much richer comprehension (Niikura, 2008) and familiarity (Johnson et al., 2006) with these minorities. Moreover, many Japanese expect foreigners not to be able to speak Japanese (B3urgess, 2012), so that even if some were present in the workplace, not much could be expected from them. As long as there is none in the workplace with whom to confirm or infirm this expectation, this expectation remains unchallenged.

One Foreign Coworker

An isolated foreigner in a group of Japanese stands out and may be the object of tokenism and even reverse discrimination. Host country nationals with vestigial prejudice towards foreigners may ostensibly support those same foreigners despite holding a negative but subconscious perception (Vaughan and Hogg, 2014). Japanese dualistic conceptions of tatemae and honne (public moral standards versus true inner feelings) (Naito and Gielen, 1992), of trust and duplicity in the business culture (Johnston and Selsky, 2006), or politeness rules conducive to establishing distance with outgroup members (Ogawa and Gudykunst, 2000), all seem to facilitate such behavior. According to attribution theory (Weiner, 1986), especially its culture and defensive attribution bias extensions (Shaver, 1970; Burger, 1981), when a minority (or outgroup) member is isolated among members of a majority, he will try to blend in, to fuse with majority members by mirroring them, in order to avoid being singled out. If singled out, the alien member risks being blamed, scapegoated, excluded, and ostracized (Kearney, 2005). Shame and embarrassment resulting from a cultural faux-pas affect the likelihood of its happening (Grasmick and Bursik, 1990). The concept of acculturation, as it is used in the fields of cross-cultural and intercultural psychology (Berry, 1992, 2006), enables the understanding of how a foreigner immersed alone in a Japanese workplace will tend to conform to national and organizational cultures' rules and norms, with the aim of being included in a group highly relevant to his or her well-being (Correa-Velez et al., 2010) and mental health (Jones, 2008). The tendency to conform when isolated in a homogeneous group prevents behaviors or speeches that are not aligned with the dominant culture and its norms (Efferson et al., 2008). Consequently, a foreigner who is the only outgroup member in a Japanese organization will tend to hold back the divergent ideas that could have been a source of learning, creativity or even fun. Since conformity is frequency-dependent and produces behaviorally homogeneous social groups (Efferson et al., 2008), its relevance stems from the (high) amount of his or her time spent at work and with colleagues. Not standing out is important, especially in Confucian values of East Asian cultures, which encourage harmony and not making waves (Zhang et al., 2005).

According to social dominance theory (Pratto et al., 2006) the benefit expected from this acculturation is acceptance by the majority group members: those in a position of power, higher in the organizational hierarchy, and enjoying greater status within the organization. In the absence of other foreigners, who would act as reminders and references for the outgroups or as soundboards when confronted with the unfamiliar in the local culture, this adaptation strategy may go beyond mimicking the local usages and behaving "in Rome like the Romans do". Introjection is a partial internalization of the beliefs, values and norms associated with the local host culture, while identification depicts their adoption as intimate values (Ryan et al., 1993). Isolated individuals do not merely follow the majority but rather manifest an inordinate propensity to follow the majority. This over-reacting to the frequency of interactions with majority members homogenizes behavior within the whole group (Efferson et al., 2008). In this configuration, the foreigner may become

"more Catholic than the Pope" after internalizing the values and norms associated with the local host culture, and, more or less voluntarily and consciously repress and suppress behaviors and attitudes anchored in one's heritage culture(s) (Downie et al., 2007). While in some peculiar cases when the foreigner is expected and even strongly incentivized to perform as a foreigner, such as in the media (Fukuda, 2017), most working environments are much more gratifying in terms of well-being if navigated through an acculturation strategy (Deci and Ryan, 1985, 1991). In other words, in a strongly prescriptive environment, the foreigner opts for an individual and normative response to tokenism, in order to protect one's personal status (Wright and Taylor, 1998). The foreigner isolated in an organization whose members are all Japanese will tend to "lose" the distinctive features associated with his or her foreignness, depriving his or her Japanese colleagues the opportunities to witness and experience these characteristics. The foreigner becomes "invisible" (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008) in the eyes of majority members. Henceforth, while Japanese see no reason to fear such an alien element who is conforming to their national and organizational cultures, they also see no difference or benefit derived from and justifying his or her presence.

Few Foreign Coworkers

When multiple foreigners are present in a workplace, the change in intercultural interactions dynamics is twofold. First, because it makes possible interactions between foreigners, and second, because majority members can now witness exchanges between foreigners. Minority members, such as foreigners, when devalued by majority members, develop strategies to protect themselves against stigmatization (Crocker and Major, 1989). Interactions between foreigners operate as a safety valve, allowing them, for instance, to vent their social frustration (Liu-Farrer, 2010). By doing so, they are partially released from the pressure to conform to the normative behavior of the prepotent group (Asch, 1951). By exchanging outside of this controlling group, minority members regain a sense of self, which had been blurred in groupthink and depersonalization. Being able to withdraw temporarily from the prepotent environment, the foreigner is able to repersonalize and rehabilitate the foreign dimensions of his or her identity (Price, 1966). Unfettered minority-minority interactions become visible and more salient to majority members. "Out of the box" ideas, which may have seemed "out of the common sense" in a purely local environment, may receive peer support from the other "others" (the foreigners) (Dennis et al., 2005), hence becoming more widely acceptable and accepted. Peer support makes it easier to challenge the norms in Japanese companies and organizations in general, which are vastly rule-based (Kopp, 2020). Through this process, the Japanese members see their organization moving from a culturally homogeneous one, following a harmony-seeking unanimity rule, to an organization guided by majority rule, freed from entrapment into a single course of action (Kameda and Sugimori, 1993).

When multiple foreigners are present in a workplace, it may also become more difficult for them to internalize and display the beliefs, values and norms associated with the local culture; indeed, as their derived behaviors are watched and possibly criticized and shun by their peer foreigners for "acting Japanese" (Johnston and Viadero, 2000; Fryer, 2006). Lastly, Kanter (1977a, 1977b) has shown that once the ratio between minority and majority members has reached a given level, minority members – saleswomen in Kanter's study – are treated less as symbols or tokens and more as individuals, that is members with characteristics and competences that can concretely contribute to the organization, not only as symbols of diversity.

Many Foreign Coworkers

The more foreigners there are in a workplace, the higher is the probability of finding a wide array of cultural backgrounds and cross-ethnic interactions in the workplace. This high diversity provides majority

members multifaceted chances of learning about various minority groups, of discovering innovative ideas, and of finding friendships on the job. The higher the number of foreigners is, the higher is the number of displayed skills. And in turn, this showcase of skills unveils the potential of the external pool of foreign talents. Lastly, a high number of foreigners in the workplace reflects an image of diversity acceptance. Copious interactions with foreign coworkers provide local employees opportunities to gain a more accurate knowledge about them and their cultures (Selmer, 2001) and to shed pre-existing stereotypes (Peltokorpi and Pudelko, 2020) through hands-on involvement in high diversity.

Accordingly, we predict that:

H1a: Interacting with a single foreign coworker, compared to interacting with none, is not related to higher perceived benefits from cultural diversity in the workplace.

H1b: Interacting with a few foreign coworkers, compared to interacting with one, is related to higher perceived benefits from cultural diversity in the workplace.

H1c: When interacting with multiple foreign coworkers, a higher number of foreign coworkers is related to higher perceived benefits from cultural diversity in the workplace.

Number of Foreign Coworkers and Perceived Threats of Cultural Diversity

No Foreign Coworker

The absence of foreigners and of interactions with foreigners in the workplace is a gateway open onto the unknown and its associated fears. In the absence of tangible and daily reference, otherness is interpreted and imagined. Carleton (2016a, 2016b) argues that not knowing, absence of information, and unfamiliarity, lead to fear and anxiety, and similar conclusions were drawn by research on intolerance of uncertainty (Fergus and Carleton, 2016). This is all the more relevant in Japanese culture because of its high level of uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 2001). Japanese organizations rely on rules (Kopp, 2020), written guidelines and established patterns (De Mente, 2011) to steer clear of unstructured and unsettled situations (Smith, 1992; Stoermer et al., 2016). Furthermore, foreigners and their cultures are perceived by numerous Japanese as being incompatible with their Japanese culture, seen as exclusive (Ishiwata, 2011).

One Foreign Coworker

A single foreigner in the workplace may be perceived as a non-threatening token foreigner whose presence is easily dismissed as mere lip service to political pressure and affirmative action (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Moreover, groupthink (Janis, 1971) makes it difficult for the isolated member of an outgroup to be the only one to question a decision. This is all the more true in the Japanese organizational context, a collectivist culture (Hofstede, 2001; Ogihara, 2017) in which belonging to a group or team is more highly valued than performing on one's own (Haghirian, 2010) and where dominant group members – the Japanese – tend to avoid “sticking out like a sore thumb” (Negandhi et al., 1985) and are comfortable complying with decisions whose underpinnings they do not fully understand (Kopp, 2020). Previous research has shown that even in the Japanese subsidiaries of foreign companies, being regarded as outgroup by Japanese employees is a source of stress for expatriates (Kang and Shen, 2018) and is conducive to not being too outspoken (Peltokorpi and Pudelko, 2020). As for token women included in the army who are not associated with markers of combat (Brown, 2012), foreigners are easily dismissed for their inability to properly communicate in Japanese (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008), a language perceived as inextricably

intertwined with Japanese race, culture, and identity (Burgess, 2012). An isolated token foreigner is a non-threatening ornament and, as such, affects neither the core values nor the functioning of the organization.

Few Foreign Coworkers

However, when foreigners become multiple in the workplace, their presence becomes disruptive, as they interact with each other and challenge the local norms. Foreigners speaking a non-Japanese language in a Japanese workplace are threatening the established corporate language of the workplace. Internal resistance after attempts by various Japanese companies to make English their corporate language (Nae and Kim, 2018) illustrates the perceived threats. At the individual level, the real threat originates from the new need to be proficient in English to climb the corporate ladder (Kubota, 2011). At the organizational level, the symbolic threat comes from the substitution by a foreign language (Tanaka, 2006) of an identity-defining national language (Burgess, 2012) with a potential to challenge the domination of English (Phillipson, 1992).

When foreigners exchange on their status in a country where even permanent residents perceive themselves as seen by the Japanese as second-class citizens (Kasahara, 2020), the motivation to follow the rules that pervade the Japanese workplace (Kopp, 2020) is weaker, and makes them freer, as outsiders, to challenge them (Clark and Kay, 2005). While this perception is lower for Japanese with early international experience (Orsini, 2020), seeing foreigners interact at ease with other foreigners despite various cultural backgrounds, host country nationals may become more aware of their 'liability of localness' (Perez-Batres and Eden, 2008). They realize how much their organization lacks multinationality advantages (Jiang and Stening, 2013), a self-nurturing multicultural environment (Orsini and Uchida, 2019). They are made more conscious of the role of cultural diversity on creativity and innovation (Un, 2016). They see how the presence of foreigners in the Japanese workplace has the potential to help sustain the flourishing of their national economy in global exchanges (Oyama, 2020). The threat from more cosmopolitan foreigners is reinforced by the immature mid-career recruitment labor market in Japan (Bebenroth, 2015).

Many Foreign Coworkers

Conversely, when the number of foreigners in a workplace increases, the higher are the chances that some of them are proficient in the Japanese language. Previous research has suggested that Japanese perceive negatively foreigners with high proficiency in their language (Peltokorpi and Pudelko, 2020) because they challenge the notion that Japanese language is not only a means of communication but is also an identity component (Burgess, 2012; Miller,). Miller (1977: 78) termed this phenomenon the Laws of Inverse Returns: the more proficient in Japanese a foreigner becomes, the less he or she will be celebrated; but those struggling will be praised and encouraged by their Japanese friends. Consequently, a high degree of Japaneseness in a foreigner – the normalization of foreigners – can be felt as threatening in a culture that is both collectivist and exclusionist (Nakane, 1986) because increased similarity with minority members challenges the uniqueness and peculiarity of the ingroup members (Branscombe et al., 1999). High host country language proficiency, especially active speaking, is perceived as intrusive and a menace to intergroup boundaries (Peltokorpi and Pudelko, 2020). When Lawson, the second-largest chain of convenience stores in Japan, announced that up to half of their 2009 university recruits would be foreigners, mainly Chinese who had studied in the country, "most Japanese bloggers were enraged, condemning Lawson's decision and vowing to boycott the chain" (Liu-Farrer, 2011: 785).

With higher numbers also comes more visibility for foreigners. Japanese may perceive this growing number as a threat to their homogeneity (Castles, 1995). Finally, higher numbers of members in the outgroup constituted by foreigners may lead to self-debilitation. Self-debilitation occurs when members of a minority group engage in "self-destructive and ingroup-damaging behaviors", generating a "stereotype

threat" (Pratto et al., 2006: 279). These behaviors are all the more disruptive in the Japanese workplace as Japanese work style is lacking clearly defined job descriptions and requires continual supervision and coordination (Liu-Farrer, 2020). Lastly, when newcomers among foreign coworkers suffer intragroup discrimination from the more "established" ones, this discrimination produces an increasing feeling of threat among the native majority (Schaerer, 2010).

Accordingly, we predict that:

H2a: Interacting with a single foreign coworker, compared to interacting with none, is related to lower perceived threats from cultural diversity in the workplace.

H2b: Interacting with a few foreign coworkers, compared to interacting with one, is related to higher perceived threats from cultural diversity in the workplace.

H2c: When interacting with multiple foreign coworkers, a higher number of foreign coworkers is related to higher perceived threats from cultural diversity in the workplace.

In summary, we hypothesize that interacting with a token foreign coworker will not result in higher perceived benefits of cultural diversity, compared to those who do not routinely interact with any foreign coworkers. However, with two or more foreign coworkers, interacting with a higher number of foreign coworkers will produce higher perceived benefits of cultural diversity.

At the same time, we predict that interacting with a token foreign coworker will result in lower perceived threats of cultural diversity, compared to those who do not routinely interact with any foreign coworkers. However, with two or more foreign coworkers, interacting with a higher number of foreign coworkers will produce higher perceived threats of cultural diversity.

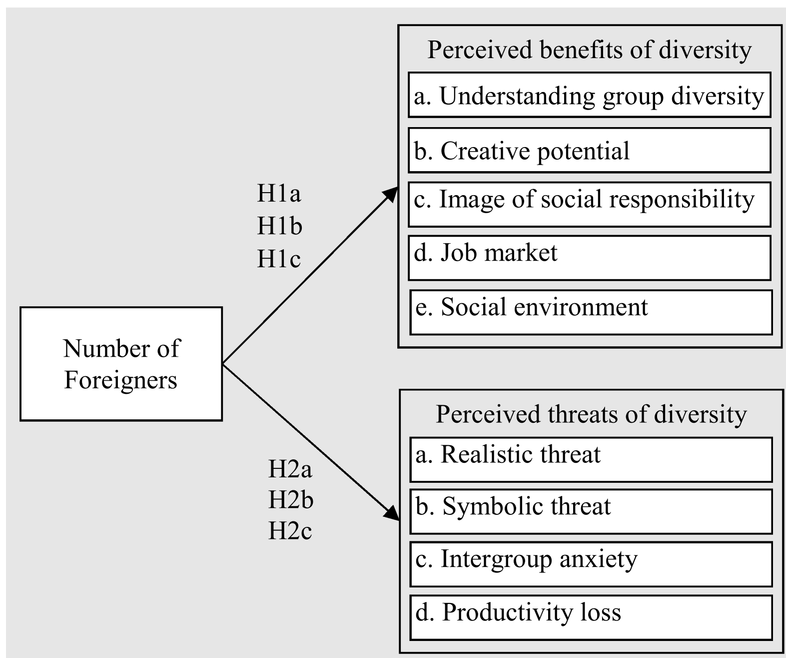


Figure 8.2.-1. Research model

8.3. Measurements

We use the sample from the survey described in the chapter on our confirmatory and quantitative research. We also use to measure the perception of cultural diversity in the workplace the measurements described in the same chapter. Respondents were asked the actual number of foreign coworkers they regularly interacted with, and these ranged from 0 to 400, with about half the sample (n=260) having no foreign coworkers. We then created categories ensuring a minimum number of respondents in each group to test our hypotheses.

8.4. Results

Correlations between the number of foreign coworkers and the 2 aggregate factors of perceived benefits and threats show that the number of foreign coworkers is positively and significantly related to perceived benefits of cultural diversity in the workplace ($R=0.223$, $p<0.001$) but not to perceived threats (Figure below).

Statistically significant differences, using one-way ANOVA, were found by comparing the perceived benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work based on the number of foreign coworkers that respondents reported to habitually interact with. In both instances, there were statistically significant differences between groups (numbers of foreign coworkers) for perceived benefits [$F(6,565)=6.049$, $p=0.000$] and for perceived threats [$F(6,565)=3.476$, $p=0.002$]. This suggests that perceived benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work are related to the number of foreign coworkers.

		1	2	3
1.	Number of foreign coworkers [range]	1		
2.	Benefits [factor]	0.223**	1	
3.	Threats [factor]	-0.049	0.000	1
4.	Understanding group diversity	0.169**	0.474**	0.053
5.	Creative potential	0.059	0.477**	-0.052
6.	Image of social responsibility	0.078	0.483**	0.023
7.	Job market	0.097*	0.400**	0.050
8.	Social environment	0.108*	0.379**	-0.070
9.	Realistic threat	-0.028	-0.017	0.603**
10.	Symbolic threat	-0.046	0.093*	0.404**
11.	Intergoup anxiety	-0.002	-0.045	0.529**
12.	Productivity loss	-0.042	-0.017	0.425**

*p<0.05, **p<0.001

Figure 8.4.-1. Correlations between study constructs

All perceived benefits and perceived threats displayed similar patterns specific to benefits and threats, when plotted against the number of foreign coworkers (Figure 6); this supports the aggregation of the 5 benefits and 4 threats into combined benefits and threats for further analysis (Figures 7 and 8).

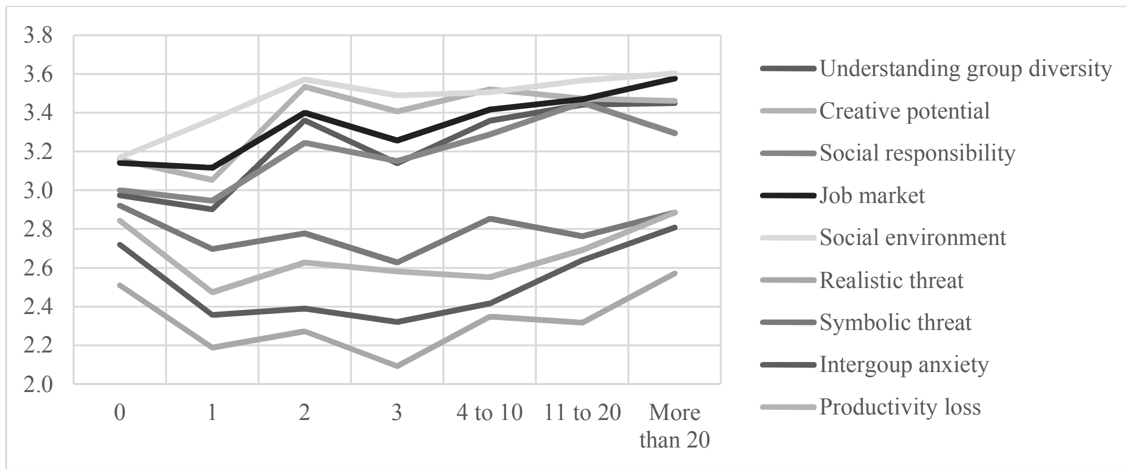


Figure 8.4.-2. Perceived benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work and number of foreign coworkers

Number of foreign coworkers			Perceived benefits (factor)		Perceived threats (factor)		Perceived benefits (mean)		Perceived threats (mean)	
	N	Percent	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
0	260	45.5	-0.220	0.942	0.136	0.950	3.091	0.662	2.749	0.637
1	28	4.9	-0.279	1.157	-0.354	1.125	3.090	0.807	2.429	0.741
2	45	7.9	0.230	0.982	-0.168	1.035	3.419	0.724	2.517	0.739
3	43	7.5	0.019	0.992	-0.355	0.941	3.297	0.680	2.406	0.607
4 to 10	101	17.7	0.231	0.991	-0.121	0.959	3.420	0.700	2.543	0.659
11 to 20	56	9.8	0.316	0.974	-0.013	1.007	3.492	0.687	2.603	0.685
> 20	39	6.8	0.327	1.006	0.269	1.165	3.494	0.691	2.787	0.761
Total	572	100.0	0.000	1.000	0.000	1.000	3.257	0.705	2.641	0.675

Figure 8.4.-3. Descriptive statistics for perceived benefits and threats and number of foreign coworkers

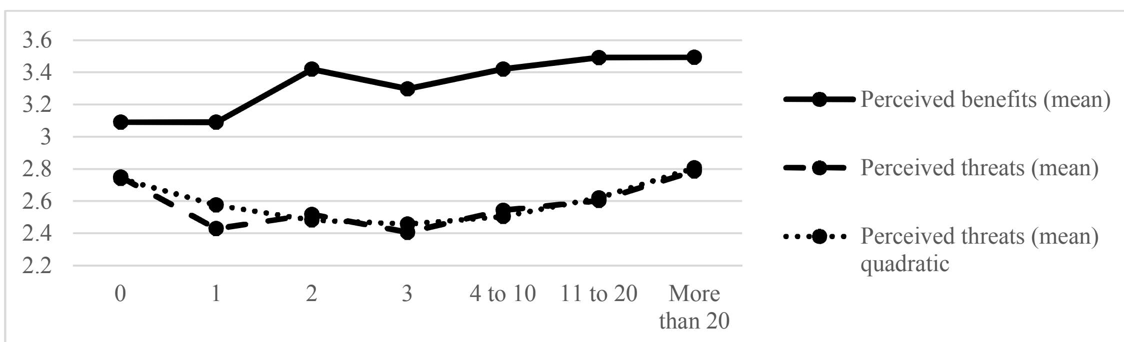


Figure 8.4.-4. Aggregate perceived benefits and threats of cultural diversity at work and number of foreign coworkers

Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that those working with no foreign coworker perceived lower benefits from cultural diversity at work (M=3.091, SD=0.662) than those working with 2 (M=3.419, SD=0.724, p=0.051), 4 to 10 (M=3.420, SD=0.699, p=0.001), 11 to 20 (M=3.491, SD=0.687, p=0.002), or more than 20 foreign coworkers (M=3.493, SD=0.691, p=0.012). There were no significant differences between those having no foreign coworkers and those having only one (M=3.090, SD=0.807, p=1.000), and their means were almost identical. Tukey HSD post-hoc tests also indicated lower perceived threats for respondents working with 3 foreign coworkers (M=2.405, SD=0.607), compared to none (M=2.749, SD=0.637, p=0.030). Although the difference in perceived threats between those having no foreign coworkers and those having just 1 (M=2.429, SD=0.741) is not significant (p=0.193), the magnitude of the difference is about the same as that with those having 3 foreign coworkers described above. The lack of significance is most likely due to the small sample size of the group with only one foreign coworker (n=28). Furthermore, the data suggests that there is a U-shaped relationship between the number of foreign coworkers and perceived threats of cultural diversity at work, following the regression equation: $y = 0.053x^2 - 0.286x + 0.122$; $F(2,569)=8.520$; $R^2 = 0.029$, $p<0.001$. The relationship indicates that the number of foreign coworkers explains about 3% of the change in perceived threats. Although R^2 is moderate, it is significant.

These results provide support for H1a and H1b, but not for H1c. Interacting with a token foreign coworker doesn't make any difference, compared to interacting with none; however, having interactions with at least 2 foreign coworkers is related to higher perceived benefits of cultural diversity, but this level plateaus thereafter. Our data also confirms H2a, H2b, and H2c, uncovering a U-shaped relationship between the number of foreign coworkers and perceived threats of cultural diversity at work, whereby no or many foreign coworkers result in higher levels of perceived threats, and a few foreign coworkers mean lower levels of perceived threats of cultural diversity at work. We also identified the threshold number of foreign coworkers to be about 3, above which perceived threats of cultural diversity increase.

8.5. Discussion

In this chapter, we hypothesized a positive relationship between the number of foreign coworkers and the perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work, with the same constant association for zero or a token foreign coworker, and U-curve relationship between the number of foreign coworkers and perceived threats of cultural diversity at work. While most of our hypotheses were supported, we uncovered a plateau whereby more foreign coworkers do not translate to higher perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work, which instead flatten out with more than 10 foreign coworkers.

When there are no foreigners on their team or in their department, that is when there is no opportunity for contact at work, Japanese workers can neither imagine or experience the merits of cultural diversity, nor debunk or question unwarranted negative feelings about cultural diversity (Allport, 1954; Wagner et al., 1989). A token foreigner is most likely proficient enough in Japanese and conforms to established Japanese norms and values owing to his or her minority status, thus bringing little in the way of perceived benefits but also alleviating perceived threats since the token foreign coworker discredits any risk linked to its alien status (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Token foreigners only add cosmetic diversity which does not affect genuine cultural diversity and thus brings no tangible benefit. However, two foreigners on the team do bring change (Smith et al., 1996). They will likely socialize together and form bonds born from their common experience as outsiders in a Japanese firm in Japan; they will communicate in their own language if they share a common national origin, or in Japanese or English, or a mix of both, if they don't. They form a

collective and can therefore provide support to each other and a mutual foundation for speaking up. A few foreign coworkers have the same effect as two, provided they account for a minority of the people on the team.

These foreigners will be recognized by most Japanese employees as a sub-group and their relative safety in numbers will empower them to provide fresh opinions and judgements especially in matters related to foreign markets or business. These results in more innovative and diverse ideas, eventually leading to better decisions, and higher perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work. However, why do benefits level off? A limited number of foreign coworkers acts as a token group, mindful of their minority status (Zagefka et al., 2011) and therefore they do not represent much of a perceived threat. Increasing the number of foreigners on the team or department will alter the ratio of foreigners to native Japanese. This higher share will not proportionately result in higher benefits related to understanding, creative potential, image of social responsibility, job market, or social environment, which will have been realized with a smaller number of foreign coworkers. While still "making waves" to justify the benefits gained from cultural diversity, that is to justify their employment, additional foreigners self-restrain to avoid "rocking the boat", which could otherwise lead to backlash and potential discrimination (Garcia, 2013). Hence, the perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work eventually level off. Conversely, as the number of foreign coworkers increases and reshapes the established minority and majority, Japanese employees experience higher perceived threats related to realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and productivity loss.

To summarize, in this chapter, we examined whether there is an optimum number of foreign coworkers in order to maximize the perceived benefits and minimize the perceived threats of cultural diversity at work. Using a questionnaire survey of 572 Japanese, we found that for perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work, there is no difference between having zero or a token foreign coworker, while more foreign coworkers are associated with moderately higher perceived benefits. For perceived threats, there is a U-shaped relationship whereby interacting with zero or more than three foreign coworkers is linked to higher perceived threats compared to that of only a few foreign coworkers. Our findings reveal that in the Japanese context, interacting with about three foreign coworkers can maximize the perceived benefits while minimizing the perceived threats of cultural diversity in the workplace. Considering diversity in absolute rather than relative terms is an important contribution and implication for business and policy, as Japan and Japanese firms are increasingly dependent on globalization.

9. General Discussion

We started this thesis with research questions and an initial overview of the existent literature to review the concepts and theories pertaining to these research questions. Our second step was a qualitative and exploratory research grounded in fieldwork interviews (Chapter 3) and multiple back and forths with the literature, to develop our conceptual framework (Chapter 4). We then tested three models (and their sets of hypotheses) based on the three loci of a perceptional perspective (Chapters 6, 7, and 8). To conduct the tests of this quantitative phase we used a survey conducted in 2019 with 572 Japanese respondents and described in Chapter 8. In this chapter, we discuss all the results we gathered so far: in the literature review, in the interviews, an in our tests on the three perceptional loci.

In the general framework we developed, we adopted a perceptional perspective. We postulated that the here perceptional loci, the perceiver, the target, and the context, each contain a set of antecedents to perceptions of cultural diversity in the workplace. For each locus, we then developed a set of hypotheses and a model. In our first model, pertaining to the target, we showed a relationship between the target's nationalities (split between Korean, Chinese, Southeast Asian, and Western nationalities) and the perception of cultural diversity in the workplace by Japanese employees. In our second model, pertaining to the perceiver (the Japanese employee), we showed a relationship between the perceiver's early international experience and his or her perception of cultural diversity in the workplace. In our third and last model, pertaining to the context of the perception, we discovered a plateauing relationship between the absolute number of foreign coworkers and the perceived benefits of cultural diversity, and a U-curved relationship between this number of foreign coworkers and the perceived threats of cultural diversity in the workplace. In each of the three chapters, we provided a discussion of our results, but focused solely on the perceptional locus under scrutiny. In this general discussion, we piece our results to put together a synergetic interpretation and extend our discussion to related constructs.

In the first section of this general discussion, we first elaborate on our discussion of Chapter 6 on the perceptions of foreign workers by nationalities. In the second section, we focus on a sub-group of foreigners, those who perceived as contributing the most to Japan's society and to Japanese companies. In the third and last section, we extend our discussion from cultural diversity to multiculturalism. We conceive multiculturalism at three levels: individual, national, and in-between, at the organizational (and group) level. At the individual level, multiculturalism is a combination of knowledge, identification, and internalization of cultures. We propose that the knowledge and internalization dimensions of individual multiculturalism, mediated by boundary spanning, positively affect organizational performance, but that the third dimension of individual multiculturalism, identification, moderates this relationship.

9.1. Foreign Coworkers and Culture

In Chapter 6, we developed and tested hypotheses on the relationship between coworker's foreign nationality and Japanese employees' perception of cultural diversity in their workplaces. We then discussed the results obtained by applying our hypotheses to our sample of 572 Japanese employees surveyed in 2019. In this general discussion, we return to the issue of nationality, but extending our consideration from our results to a larger reflection.

9.1.1. Korean Coworkers

While Japan's population is ethnically very homogeneous, Koreans account for the largest share of its ethnic minorities with 0.5 percent of Japan's citizens of Korean descent (CIA, 2020). Moreover, the 450,663 foreign Koreans (Republic of Korea) residing in Japan are the second largest group of foreign national residents in the country (after the 730,890 Chinese) (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Statistics Bureau, 2019). The Korean Peninsula is also Japan's closest geographical and political entity. Japan and the peninsula share a long history. Notably, Korea has been a Japanese colony for 35 years in recent history, between 1910 and 1945. During this period, Koreans have been working for Japanese undertakings, their education conducted in Japanese, and numerous Japanese settlers moved in to live and work in Korea. Japanese colonialism in Korea was justified by the enhancement of Koreans' cultural standard (*mindo*) (Kim, 2013) and aimed at assimilation (Babicz, 2013). For these reasons, even if involuntarily, these colonial ties have further developed the proximity and familiarity between the two countries (Babicz, 2013; Ghemawat, 2007).

The two countries share multiple other characteristics. Both countries have mountainous land, narrow and overpopulated coastal plains, lack natural resources, and share a Confucian tradition and other cultural commonalities (Furukawa and al., 2012). These similarities also extend in management styles and principles (Alston, 1989). For instance, in both countries, length of relationship and face-to-face communication are important to create trust (Dyer and Chu, 2000). Another likeness is the importance given to harmony (*wa* in Japanese and *inhwa* in Korean). However, in Japan, harmony connotes group harmony and social cohesion, while in Korea it is more about the respect of hierarchical relationships and deference to authority (Alston, 1989). Another difference between Korean and Japanese management cultures resides in their promotion systems. While there are few top managers in their forties in Japan, where seniority is a major condition for promotion, senior managers in their forties are common in Korea (Lie, 1990).

Looking at Hofstede's six cultural dimensions, only two of them show relatively large differences between Japan and South Korea: Individualism and Masculinity (and Indulgence, but in a much lesser extent). Japan's score on the masculinity dimension is much higher, at 95, than the Korean score of 39 (which is closer to the Chinese score of 66). Japan's score on the individualism dimension, at 46, shows roughly a similar distance between Korea (score of 18) and China (score of 20). Moreover, all three scores are below the mid-score of 50. In contrast, all Western countries presented below have scores well above 50. The Power Distance index, with scores of 50 for Japan, 60 for South Korea, and 80 for China, shows more similarity between Japan and Korea than between Japan and China. We can derive an analogous conclusion when looking at the Uncertainty Avoidance dimension: while Japan and South Korea have very similar high scores (respectively 92 and 85), China has a low score of 30. Otherwise, the three countries score relatively close to each other on the two dimensions of Long Term Orientation (high scores) and Indulgence (low scores). Since Japan and Korea have relatively similar cultures, we can expect that Japanese employees will find few benefits but also few threats in the cultural diversity brought to their workplaces by Korean coworkers.

9.1.2. Chinese Coworkers

Chinese account for both 0.4 percent of the Japanese citizens (Japanese of Chinese descent) (CIA, 2020) and for, by far, the largest share of foreign national residents. There were 730,890 Chinese residing in Japan

(excluding 56,724 Taiwanese) at the end of 2017 according to government's statistics (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Statistics Bureau, 2019). Three out of ten of the 2.5 million foreigners residing in Japan in 2017 were Chinese.

We pointed up in the previous section on Korean coworkers to the numerous similarities shared by Japan and Korea. Chinese culture shares much with both Japanese and Korean cultures because it is often the source of numerous of the two countries' oldest sub-cultures such as language, Confucianism, religion, food, etc. The impact of Chinese culture and institutions on Japan and Korea partially explains why Ronen and Shenkar (2013) lumped the three countries in the same cultural cluster. However, China, with a surface area similar to the United States and the world's largest population is further away from Japan than Korea is.

When we reviewed Hofstede's six cultural dimensions, we noted several index comparisons showing how Chinese culture is more distant from the Japanese culture than the Korean culture is. The interviewees in the exploratory stage of our research (Chapter 3) also pointed to where and how Japanese employees could perceive benefits and threats in cultural diversity at work in the specific case of foreign coworkers being Chinese nationals. Such statements included "There is a strong network of Chinese from this school. [HS3]" (Job Market Benefit) or "We have a Chinese colleague who is always in a good mood. It is contagious. [YM]" (Social Environment Benefit), "I wouldn't like my boss to be from China or Korea. [IT]" or "Soon in the future, Japanese workplaces will be invaded by Chinese and South-East Asians. It is a pity. [LJ]" (Symbolic Threat), "In our company we give responsibilities to Koreans because we can communicate easily with them. It is less the case with Chinese. Furthermore less for Westerners. [UT] (Intergroup Anxiety Threat).

The importance of the personal network of relationships (*guanxi*) that we noted in our previous section and in the statements of our interviewees (e.g., "There is a strong network of Chinese from this school" [HS3]) suggest that Japanese coworkers could perceive benefits regarding recruitment of Chinese nationals. Sasaki (2011) also suggests that Japanese companies could benefit from hiring more Chinese coworkers, and that smooth communication between Japanese and Chinese is easily achievable and does not threaten intercultural relationships between Japanese and Chinese coworkers.

9.1.3. Southeast Asian Coworkers

The five Southeast Asian countries with the highest number of foreigners in Japan (apart and far from China and Korea) are the Philippines (262,405), Vietnam (260,553), Nepal (80,038), Thailand (50,179), and Indonesia (49,982) (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Statistics Bureau, 2019). The figures below illustrate the cultural distances between Japan and these countries when compared using the six dimensions of culture proposed by Hofstede. Regarding the Power Distance dimension, Japan's score (54) is lower than the scores of all the five southeast Asian countries under review. According to Khare (1999), Japan's low score on the Power Distance explains why newcomers in a company do not try to outperform their colleagues. This also explain the display of respect towards elders and superiors are in the Japanese workplace (Lockett, 1993). Therefore, we can surmise that Japanese employees would perceive both fewer benefits and more threats associated with cultural diversity at work if a newly hired foreigner entered into competition with his Japanese colleagues. Japanese employees would perceive such a foreigner as both a realistic and a symbolic threat and would see less benefits related to social environment and job market in working with such a foreigner. While Chinese and Korean scores on this dimension are not very different from the scores of the Southeast Asian countries, we have seen previously the importance given by Korean

and Chinese cultures to harmony and face. We can then expect these cultural traits, when accounted for, to lead to a show of respect towards seniors in the workplace.

Looking at Individualism, we also note that Japan's score (46) is higher than the scores for all of the five countries, but that the latest are quite similar to those of Korea and China. Concerning the Masculinity dimension, we find an even more pronounced gap between Japan, which has a very high score of 95, and the five countries (all but the Philippines having scores under 50). However, for this dimension also, the Southeast Asian countries' scores are close to those of Korea and China. We can make a similar initial observation concerning the Uncertainty Avoidance dimension. In this case, however, Thailand is the only southeast Asian country with a score above. However, more interestingly, we note that this dimension, while being alike for China and the five countries, set this group apart from the Korean culture, which is very close to Japan's score on this dimension. The Long Term Orientation scores while being not very different for Japan, Korea, China and the five Southeast Asian countries, do however set the five countries apart from China and Korea with scores all above 35 while the scores for China and Korea are in the 20s.

9.1.4. Westerner Coworkers

Japanese government's statistics on foreign national residents reveal that five Western countries had each more than 10,000 nationals residing in Japan. The Western country with the largest number was the United States of America (55,713), the only Western country with more than 50,000 nationals in Japan. Then followed the United Kingdom (17,200), France (12,503), Australia (10,671) and Canada (10,282) (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Statistics Bureau, 2019). As for our previous analysis of the five Southeast Asian countries, we used the six dimensions of culture proposed by Hofstede to gauge the cultural distance between Japan and Western countries. With an average of 84 (reduced by the presence of France in our group of otherwise Anglo-Saxon countries), individualism is by far the dimension for which Western countries score very differently from Korea (18), China (20), and Southeast Asian countries (22). The homogeneity of score among non-Japanese Asian countries is another conspicuous feature. With 46, Japan has an intermediate score but is closer to the other Asian countries than to the Western countries. The other cultural dimension that sets apart the Western countries, but to a lesser degree, is Indulgence. On the one hand, all Anglo-Saxon countries have scores around 70. On the other hand, Japan's two neighbors have scores below 30. Southeast Asian countries (and France) have scores in-between and closer to Japan's 42. Among other factors such as distant phenotype, rarity, and history, these two dimensions may help explain why Japanese respondents mainly credited Western coworkers with benefits associated with understanding diverse groups and social environment. This may be especially true for this last benefit, of social environment, since indulgence is about enjoying life. More generally, Japanese curiosity towards Western cultures has been amply documented (Nishiyama, 2000). White and European migrants to Japan are also an emerging topic of research (Hof, 2020, Debnár, 2018). Kim and Lee (2017) have pointed as how discrimination related to white privilege can be non-obvious, indirect, and unintentional. On the other hand, Duignan and Yoshida (2007) have shown that Japanese companies' employees have a much better understanding of company goals than their counterparts did in foreign companies. They also showed that Japanese employees highly value key elements of the Japanese model despite a "westernization" of the Japanese workplace and possibly of country in general (Creighton, 1997). Japanese workers are ambivalent about the spreading of neoliberalism in their country and about the western roots of such an ideology, which influences and Americanizes their workplaces, raising neoconservative feelings. For instance, some Japanese blame performance-pay metrics for jeopardizing harmony in the Japanese workplace (Macpherson,

2017). Finally, Kowner (2002) raised the point that Japanese may perceive the communication style of Westerners as haughty, similar to the communication style of high-status Japanese, hence creating distance.

Distance in the perception of Western coworkers by Japanese employees is matched by a feeling of being kept at arm length by their Japanese coworkers on the part of Western employees, especially those who have been long-term residents of the country, as highlighted by statements from some of our interviewees. Linguistic and other culture-specific skills (such as communication and behavioral skills) enable social adaptation, including cross-cultural social adaptation. This is because they facilitate interpersonal relations (Masgoret and Ward, 2006; Ward and Masgoret, 2006). Hence, numerous acculturation studies have shown a positive relationship between language proficiency and cultural adjustment to the host culture (Yang et al., 2006). Japan is however an exception. As soon as in the 1980s, Japanese researchers have shown that, on the contrary, proficiency in Japanese language was negatively associated with acculturation satisfaction and socio-cultural adaptation in Japan (Simic-Yamashita and Tanaka, 2010). Looking further, Tanaka et al. (1994) found that proficiency in Japanese language enhances externally dependent adjustment but diminishes affiliation adjustment, which is the sense of belonging. Western academic literature (Burgess, 2012, Peltokorpi and Pudelko, 2020), Western social networks (Tanaka, 2014), and our interviews of Western long-term residents[4] suggest that longer duration of stay in the country and higher Japanese language proficiency have negative effects on cross-cultural communication with host country nationals. However, Japanese literature (Tanaka and Okunishi, 2020) and Japanese social media (Aoki, 2016) suggests the opposite. This discrepancy may however due to the fact that Western literature focuses on the Westerners' experience in Japan, while the Japanese literature focuses on foreigners from Asia, by far the more numerous in the country. This divergence however confirms the very different perceptions of phenotypically distant Westerners (Caucasians, Blacks, Arabs...) and the more familiar neighbors of East Asia. Komisarof (2012) has documented the ambivalence of the first group concerning their relationships with Japanese and the degree of content with these relationships.

9.2. Tokenism and Golden Marginalization

Searching the Dow Jones Factiva database, Pandey and Rhee (2015) found 13 Japanese that had hired foreign presidents or CEOs between 1990 and 2012: three automobile manufacturers: Mazda (president Henry Wallace), Nissan (Carlos Ghosn), Mitsubishi Motor (Rolf Eckrodt), three banks: Tokyo Star Bank (Todd Budge), Aozora Bank (Edward Harshfield), Shinsei Bank (Thiery Porte), two other financial firms: Fuji Fire & Marine Insurance (Bijan Khosrowshahi) and Nikko Asset Management (Tim McCarthy), but also Sony (Howard Stringer), Trend Micro (Eva Chen), Nippon Sheet Glass (Craig Naylor), Olympus (Michael Woodford), and Laox (Luo Yiwen). We can add to this list more recent cases such as Dutchman Harold Meij at Takara Tomy (2014-2018) or Frenchman Christophe Weber at Takeda Pharmaceutical (since 2014). Notwithstanding that some of these companies had major foreign shareholders, this list shows that most of the hired foreign top managers where from Western countries. Even with some exceptions such as Harold Meij (who had been working in Japan since 1987) or Michael Woodford (who had been working for Olympus, but outside of Japan, since 1981), most of these foreign CEOs were twice outsiders: outsider to the firm and outsider to the country. They all lead large companies that hire their employees after graduation and offer them lifetime employment and membership t a prestigious organization. Accordingly, the degree

[4] Interviewees F-BF and F-BJ2 on how their Japanese coworkers celebrate temporary visitors who do not speak Japanese, somehow treating them much better than the long-term residents, such as themselves, whose shoulders they rub on a daily basis. Visitors are treated as honored guests and provide both exoticization and the comfort of ("real") strangers.

of liability of foreignness (Mezias, 2002) of these foreign CEOs is very high in a country whose nationals have a deep feeling of group membership (Caudill 1973) and of distance between-groups and out-groups (Gudykunst and Nishida 2001). Such a high liability leads us to infer high expectations in terms of positive outcomes from these outsiders (Thorndike, 2012). These anticipated expectations to bring about audacious change are however tempered by the realization that often a strategy has already been put in place by the time the foreign CEO is appointed, and that these foreign CEOs might only be hired to symbolize and implement the strategy (Pandey and Rhee, 2015). The abrupt departure of Michael Woodford from Olympus in 2011 illustrates his marginalization at the hierarchical top, and how his individual authority, even as the CEO, was limited and constraint by the collective power of his Japanese colleagues at the helm of the company. The rise and fall of Carlos Ghosn at Nissan is another illustration of the golden marginalization of the foreign CEO. After being adulated (but also much criticized) for almost 20 years, Carlos Ghosn pushed too far the "golden" aspect of his position[5], while, at the same time, being marginalized enough not to realize the backlash created by his exceptional status (Ikegami and Maznevski, 2019). While numerous foreign workers, especially from Latin America or Southeast Asia complain about their working conditions in Japan (Tsuda, 1998; Shipper, 2002), in a fashion similar to migrants in Western countries, their situation is very far away from a handful of foreign top managers whose treatment in the Japanese media is alike to celebrities (Froese and Goeritz, 2007). The special treatment they receive is highlighted by their non-inclusion in the working foreigners of Japan by some researchers. For instance, Kajita (1998) divides foreigners in Japan into three categories: those "who have lived in Japan over three or four generations", the *Nikkeijin*, and the Asians "who are officially prohibited from working in Japan" (pp. 120-121). Rather than being treated altogether with other foreigners, they are treated as guests in the tradition of the *oyatoi gaikokujin*. Ascribed "specialist" roles, they are located in the periphery of core members from the Japanese majority group, on the side, as *wakiyaku* (Umetani, 2007). Liu-Farrer (2011) argues that these limited niche roles reflect the barriers faced by foreigners living in Japan. While these foreigners receiving a visitor treatment and a large portion of the Japanese population may perceive this "special" or guest treatment as positive, some of the incumbent minorities view it as a form of "tokenism" and feel stigmatized as "second class citizens in need of special remedies" (Chacko, 1982: 121). Rather than temporary visitors, long-term residents employed in Japan yearn to be treated as such (Assmann, 206).

We therefore assume that in Japan (but also in other countries with a similar stance toward foreigners and immigration) foreigners, as well as other minorities, can be considered included but in the periphery, including in some golden "ghettos", some having even spatial boundaries (Fukumoto, 2010). While those foreigners, especially those with lesser local culture competences, may feel perfectly content with such a guest status, other foreigners, longing for a deeper integration in Japanese organizations and in Japanese society, may perceive themselves as segregated and therefore unquenched in their quest for integration (Komisarof, 2012; Komisarof and Hua, 2015). Japanese scholars have defined *Omotenashi*, Japanese-style hospitality, as having deep roots in Japanese culture and being an ideal and even global standard (Ikeda, 2013; Chen and Kato, 2014; Morishita, 2016). Belal et al. (2013) have described *Omotenashi* as "presenting super services from the core of the heart without expectation of any return" (Belal et al., 2013). The last part of this description, "without expectation of any return", maybe what bothers these foreigners. This is a feeling they may share with another minority group, women. While Japan's female employment rate is high, Japanese women are not included into the heart of corporate Japan (O'Connor, 2020). Japanese mid-aged males account for the main force of Japanese large companies. They are braced by a cultural ideology that supports male dominance (Lebra, 1981) and by the institutional sexism pervading the society (Larmer, 2018).

[5] I.e. the complex remuneration schemes elaborated to dodge the 2010 Financial Services Agency amendments mandating the divulgation of individual remunerations of the top executives.

This is why they tend to view women (and foreigners) as both having aesthetic value as window dressing accessories but also as having liabilities, or even disabilities, and hence to be dependent on and to require protection from the (male) majority group (Ford et al., 1998). Our parallel can hence extend to handicapped minorities. Japanese women make up 13 percent of managerial positions in Japan (against 44 percent in the United States) and three-quarters of Japanese companies have no female senior executives (Kajimoto, 2018). Foreigners and women alike have been kept on the margins of business (Larmer, 2018). All these minorities are The difficulty for Japanese organizations and their Japanese (male) employees is to respond to these foreigners' (and women's and handicapped people's) dual and somehow contradictory longings for both uniqueness and belonging (Huang et al., 2020). Japanese companies willing to attractive foreigners, both in their overseas subsidiaries and at home in Japan, have to discern between foreigners' types, with their distinctive sets of competences and aspirations, each group requiring a different human resource management (Froese et al., 2010; Peltokorpi et al., 2019).

9.3. Multiculturalism and Boundary Spanning

Building on boundary spanning, multiculturalism and Japan-related literatures, this paper proposes that multiculturalism can be considered as an outcome and as an input of cultural boundary spanning, and also as a moderator of the relationship between individual-level boundary spanning and organizational effectiveness. It is at societal, organizational and group levels that multiculturalism is an outcome. It is at the individual level that it is an input (or tool), for cultural boundary spanners, through the knowledge dimension of individual-level multiculturalism. Lastly, it is also at the individual level that multiculturalism moderates the effect of cultural boundary spanning on organizational effectiveness, through the identification and internalization dimensions of individual-level multiculturalism.

Why is it relevant to study cultural boundary spanning in the Japanese context? While The Economist titled one of its recent edition "slowbalization" (The Economist, 2019), putting the accent on the decreasing pace of globalization after three decades of high tempo, Japanese Prime Minister Abe and his government have been concocting new legislation to open the country to more immigration. Hence, not only have many Japanese companies and other Japanese organizations in general, become multinational in the last three decades, but also the boundaries of the country itself are becoming more porous to the cultures of the outside world. It is in such a changing context that language differences and, more broadly, cultural barriers may impede the effectiveness of companies, at individual, team, or the whole organization levels. Conversely, cultural diversity fosters knowledge transfer and stimulates creativity and innovation. Being able to recognize and deal with cultural differences is hence crucial for Japanese organizations and individuals. If not everyone is endowed with the skills required to do so, it is however possible for Japanese organizations to identify, select, develop, and motivate those with the potential to increase the organizational effectiveness through the leveraging of their cultural skills. This paper's goal is to demonstrate the interplay of two streams of the literature, the stream on cultural boundary spanners and the stream on multiculturalism. We focus our discussion on the context of Japan.

9.3.1. Multiculturalism as an Output

The heavy focus on linguistics and culture of the above discussion leads us to think of bicultural and multicultural individuals as those with the highest potential for cultural boundary spanning. By definition, cultural boundary spanning requires the existence of and a contact between multiple cultures. At the most

basic level, multiculturalism refers to people holding different values. Those values can manifest themselves in different ethnicities, races, national origins. Researchers have theorized multiculturalism at the societal, organizational, team, and individual levels. Societal and organizational levels relate to openness toward multiple cultures, while the third relates to group dynamics in the context of diverse groups (Vora, 2015). Japanese national culture – including national policies such as immigration policy – (societal level), Japanese corporate culture (organizational level), and the importance given to teamwork in Japan (group level) may all have a strong influence on cultural boundary spanning in Japanese organizations.

Multiculturalism at the societal level

At the societal level, the most commonly discussed framework is the dichotomy of assimilation and multiculturalism: "assimilation is when minority groups are expected to adapt to the dominant, majority group culture, while multiculturalism, or multicultural pluralism, refers to a society's recognition and celebration of diversity" (Vora, 2015). National policies and norms affect relationships between individuals and groups of different cultures. In South Korea multiculturalism has been showcased since 2007 as a means of development at both national and individual levels (Kim, 2015). While the number of registered foreigners residing in Japan has nearly doubled in last 20 years (Yoo and Lee, 2016), Japan is one of the rich world's most homogenous countries: just 2% of residents are foreigners, compared with 4% in South Korea and 16% in France (The Economist Explains, 2018). Japan is a culturally homogeneous country with a small portion of racial, ethnic, or cultural minorities (Okubo, 2017). Using Japanese data from an international public-opinion survey, Nagayoshi (2011) showed that ethno-national identity had positive effects on the endorsement of multiculturalism, but had negative effects on the endorsement of equal rights for ethnic minorities. Since such a difference in rights may cause friction and require the intervention of cultural boundary spanners.

Multiculturalism at the organizational level

According to Cox's typology of monolithic, plural, and multicultural organizations (Cox, 1991), most Japanese companies would fall in the monolithic organization category. Still according to Cox (1991), organizational identification, the extent to which an employee define himself as a member of his employing organization, is strong in Japan (while, for instance, weak in the United States). Oki (Shimanuki et al., 2015) has researched the relationship between the difficulties faced by Japanese multinational companies in diversity management, their ethnocentrism and the centralization of decision making at their headquarters. The advantages of multiculturalism in organizations include "creativity, innovation, adaptability, cultural sensitivity toward customers, and improved decision making and problem solving, while the challenges include conflict, difficulties with coordination and integration, and poor performance" (Vora, 2015). Komisarof and Hua (2015), who have argued that organizational membership in Japan is negotiated and can be gained, have downplayed the rice-paper ceiling advanced by Kopp (1994).

Multiculturalism at the group level

At the group level, multiculturalism deals with diversity. Adler (2008) proposes that group diversity ranges from homogeneous to multicultural, with token groups and bicultural groups being two particular cases. In culturally homogeneous Japan, team members tend to share similar backgrounds and to view the world in the same way. In groups where all but on member are Japanese, the foreign member (the token foreigner) may be tempted or pressured to "perform" along expected stereotypes (Fukuda, 2017). To alleviate linguistic barriers in their global teams some Japanese companies, such as Rakuten, have declared English their corporate language. There is little consensus on the advantages and disadvantages of respectively homogeneous and diverse groups. Disadvantages of multicultural teams include cross-cultural

communication issues, conflict, low cohesion, slow decision-making, and performance issues (Vora, 2015), and these are precisely the problems expected to be solved by cultural boundary spanners. On the positive side, the same cultural boundary spanners are also expected to leverage the benefits of culturally diverse groups, such as improved decision-making, creativity, or innovation.

9.3.2. Multiculturalism as an Input

At the individual level, multiculturalism refers to individuals having more than one culture, with the most common case being biculturalism. Multiculturalism may start at birth, as for the *hafu* (Kamada, 2009), or come from a much later life-stage acculturation process, as for foreign students or some corporate expatriates. It may be associated with geographical relocation (e.g., Japanese *kikokushijo* or returnees) or not (e.g., African–Americans in the United States, and *zainichi* Koreans in the Japanese context (Bell, 2018)). These multicultural individuals have (more or less) internalized different cultural schemas and hence have been argued to have the ability to behave appropriately in different cultures, to engage in boundary spanning, and to increase team or organizational effectiveness (Vora, 2015). In their review across academic disciplines, Vora et al. (2019) present individual-level multiculturalism as being defined either by context, by the acculturation process, by cognition, or by identification, and conclude by proposing to conceptualize multiculturalism as a tridimensional spectrum including a knowledge dimension, an identification dimension, and an internalization dimension.

The knowledge dimension of individual-level multiculturalism in the Japanese context

Vora et al. (2019) define this facet of individual multiculturalism as the “individuals’ level of understanding about cultural values, norms, beliefs, and appropriate behaviors, including linguistic knowledge” (p. 8). Insularity combined with homogeneousness make immediate and direct experience of foreign cultures difficult, its knowledge dimension may be the most straightforwardly useful facet of individual-level multiculturalism for cultural boundary spanning. Its measurement is nevertheless not straightforward. Even explicit language abilities, such as reading proficiency, may prove misleading when the individual is confronted to “live” situations, such as emotionally loaded negotiations. Knowledge of tacit cultural practices are even more difficult to evaluate. Even more problematic are the next stages: the ability to switch between cultural repertoires (cultural frame switching), and the ability to reconcile distant and conflicting cultures in a single place and moment. The uniqueness of Japanese culture (Suzuki, 1959; Huntington, 1997), even if only perceived, add to this difficulty. These abilities are, however, crucial for cultural boundary spanning.

9.3.3. Multiculturalism as a Moderator

Vora et al. (2019) define the identification and internalization dimensions of individual multiculturalism as, respectively: “the degree to which individuals see themselves as cultural group members, and attach value and emotional significance to group membership” and “the degree to which societal cultural values, assumptions, beliefs, and practices are reflected in an individual’s own values, assumptions, beliefs, and practices” (p.10). In other words, identification and internalization are about ethos and pathos (while the first dimension of knowledge was about logos). These feelings and values are dynamic: they may change within an individual lifespan (after a personal experience, notably an extended stay abroad) but also along much longer timeframe and across whole populations. For instance, Bell (2018) describes how, while many zainichi Koreans of Japan continue to identify with North Korea, the nature of this relationship has changed

with fluctuating generational attitudes towards both countries. Hafu are another example of the dynamic nature of these two facets of multiculturalism, especially in Japan where the issue is more controversial than in other industrialized countries (Kiesel and Haghirian, 2012). We call attention to the fact that identification and internalization, because of their emotional content, have the potential to be detrimental to the professional effectiveness of the cultural boundary spanner or to the effectiveness of his organization.

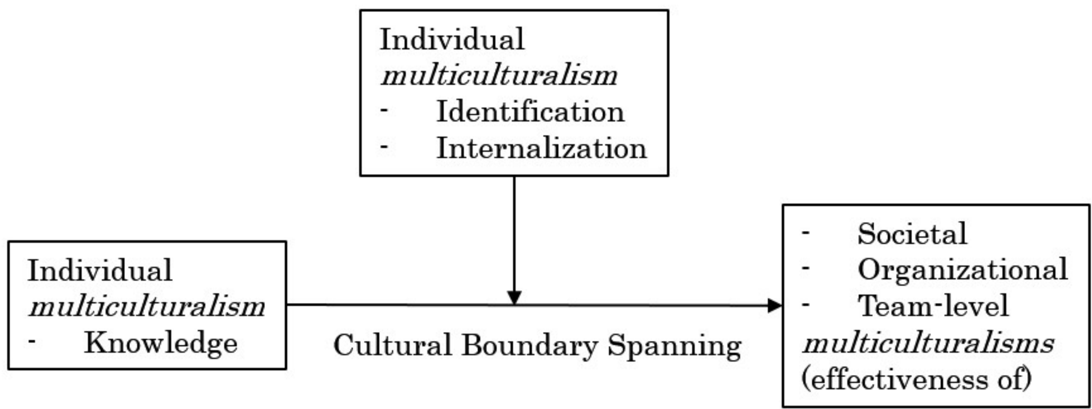


Figure 9.3.-1. Relationships between multiculturalism's levels

In this part of the general discussion, we discussed how, in the context of Japan, the study of multiculturalism at multiple levels (societal, organizational, group-level, and individual-level) is relevant to analyze and understand cultural boundary spanning (Figure 9.4.-1.). The first three levels of multiculturalism inform us both on the needs and on the contingencies of cultural boundary spanning in Japan. The fourth level, multiculturalism within individuals, can be interpreted as a tool for effective cultural boundary spanning in teams, in organizations, and in society. Furthermore, the tridimensional conceptualization of individual multiculturalism proposed by Vora et al. (2019) can guide our research in two ways. Firstly, to sort out the bridging tools of the cultural boundary spanner (essentially, the knowledge-related facets of his multiculturalism). Secondly, to understand the moderating effects of the identification- and internalization-related facets of his multiculturalism on the effectiveness (from an organizational point of view) of his bridging activities.

10. Conclusion

In this conclusion, we review the contributions made by this thesis, its limitations, the perspectives for future research it opens, and its implications for individuals, for organizations, and for policymaking.

10.1. Contributions

The most straightforward contribution of this thesis is its contribution to the literature on cultural diversity and diversity management. By theorizing and testing relationships between antecedents considered in a perceptional approach and the benefits and threats subcomponents of cultural diversity, we showed that characteristics of the perceiver, of the target, and of the context predict how the benefits and the threats are perceived. However, contributions made by this thesis are multifold. For the sake of clarity, we can divide these contributions between the contributions of our theoretical framework, the overarching backbone of the whole thesis, and the specific contributions made by the three models developed from this framework.

General Contributions

The main contribution of this research and of its conceptual framework is to have brought together and combine in a single model concepts scattered in loosely related fields. On one hand, expatriate-centered research (Toh and Srinivas, 2012) (cultural adjustment to their host countries and to the host country nationals, including at work, pre-departure cultural training, influence of past international experience, etc...) have been the preserve of international business and more specifically international human resource management. On another hand, research on migrants and cultural diversity is associated with sociology. While the first focuses on external internalization, the second focuses on internal internalization. Moreover, how individuals cope with cultural multiplicity (including within themselves) is a topic mainly treated in psychology, especially cross-cultural psychology, or organizational behavior. The framework proposed in this thesis attempts to combine and reconcile these perspectives in a holistic framework. Building on Leonardelli and Toh (2011)'s suggestion to consider expatriates as foreigners (to nurture aid from host country nationals), we suggest internal and external internalizations are the two sides of the same phenomenon and should be considered together both by academia and by organizations. We have argued in our general discussion that conceptual building block such multiculturalism and boundary spanning are already available in academia to piece together across disciplines. While cultural diversity and its related themes can be explored independently in multiple fields and strands of research with their own constructs, we argue that they would benefit to be considered under a larger academic umbrella. This thesis takes a step in that direction with a framework connecting and combining constructs from these fields.

Contributions of the First Model

Our first model, focused on the target locus. We showed that the nationalities of foreign coworkers predict how their Japanese colleagues perceive the benefits of working with them. This model complements the following one (focused on the Japanese perceiver). In doing so, we demonstrate that cross-cultural perception and related cross-cultural adjustment, are not a one-sided experience that is either statically negative (Oberg, 1960), nor statically positive (Adler, 1975; Shaules, 2007, 2019), but a permanent reconfiguration of the relation between the perceiver and the target (Kim, 2008). As the saying goes, "It

takes two to tango". Our model shows that, in the relation between perceiver and target, it is their relative positions that determine their mutual perceptions. Rather than the nationality itself, it is the relative cultural distance (Ghemawat, 2007) between the two dyadic nodes that predicts the output in terms of positive and negative perceptions. This finding contributes both to the literature on workplace diversity management and to the literature on expatriate adjustment. It shows that raining, or other forms of advocacy, directed at both the perceivers and the targets can help bridge the cultural gap, improve fit and mutual perceptions, and, lastly, develop individual and organizational performances. We contribute to the literature on coworker trust, especially trust building between expatriates and host country nationals, and to the literature on expatriate socialization. We also answer Onishi (2002)'s call for more integrated research around the psychological effect of cross-cultural contact and the adjustment and adaptation it entails.

Contributions of the Second Model

The major contribution of our model focused on the perceiver focus is to have shown that early international exposure affects perceptions of cultural diversity. By focusing on the early international exposure of majority members in an organization, we help explain the so far mixed results on the relationship between cultural diversity and the outcomes of work groups (Ely and Thomas, 2001). By focusing on a specific country (i.e., Japan), our research can also be considered an answer to Stoermer et al. (2016)'s call for multiple country comparison in the relation between national culture and inclusion climate. Our findings show that early international experience at the aggregated national level could be an antecedent of inclusion climate and the ability of a country to leverage the benefits of diversity. Our paper also makes two key contributions to the literature of diversity and inclusion. First, building on Stoermer at al. (2016) and concentrating on the case of Japan, we endorse their suggestion that national culture does matter and affect inclusion climate. Second, we show that not all members of an organization may share inclusion climate unevenly, with the consequence that companies may need to handle the way they disseminate organizational culture on an ad hoc basis within the pool of their employees. Another contribution of this paper relates to the research on Japan' international human resources. Our findings create a link between "external internationalization" and "internal internalization" as described by Sekiguchi et al. (2016). Early international exposure of (potential) employees, as a pre-hiring type of "external internationalization" at the individual level, can be considered an originator of organizational "internal internalization." Our research also confirms the validity of Hofhuis et al. (2015)'s BTDS scale of perceived threats and benefits of cultural diversity in the workplace in the Japanese context. It contributes to showing that the respective dimensions of perceived benefits and threats are essentially independent. We went even further by discovering two groups in our sample—the LAWYs and the NBAs—which have dissimilar perceptions of the benefits, but statistically undifferentiated perceptions of the threats associated with multiculturalism at work. While the LAWYs perceive more positive effects of diversity than the NBAs do, their perception of the threats may not be different from that of the NBAs.

Contributions of the Third Model

Findings of our third model, focusing on the context locus, have strong implications for both diversity management and international human resource management. The first contribution of this model is to consider optimal cultural diversity, not as a ratio, but in absolute terms, looking at the actual number of foreign coworkers. Our data suggests interacting with about 3 foreign coworkers can maximize the perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work among Japanese employees while minimizing its perceived

threats. While both Semyonov et al. (2004) and Kanter (1977a, 1977b) have posited that a change in the ratio between minority and majority members would change the perception of the minority members by the majority members, we show in this paper that the absolute number of minority members in an organization also affects the perception of the benefits and threats of cultural diversity by the majority members, reviving insights first offered by Simmel in 1902. Our second contribution is to highlight the effect (or lack thereof) of a single token foreign coworker on perceived cultural diversity at work. In terms of perceived benefits, we proved empirically that token foreigners are just that, a symbolic token just for show, perceived as not making any tangible difference in the workplace. In terms of perceived threats, we showed that, for diversity supporting organizations, token single foreigners have a positive effect in that they decrease the perceived threats of cultural diversity. Our third contribution has been to uncover a plateau effect in the relationship between the number of foreign coworkers and the perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work. Our empirical results demonstrate that it is not "the more the better!", as we had initially hypothesized, but that gains in terms of positive perception of cultural diversity do not improve beyond around ten interacting foreigners. Our fourth contribution is to have uncovered curvilinearity in the relationship between the number of foreign coworkers and the perceived threats of cultural diversity at work: while perception of threat from cultural diversity is relatively higher when there is no foreigner to interact with on the workplace or when there are many of them, the presence of a single foreigner minimizes this perception. Paraphrasing the old adage of two is company and three is a crowd, in the context of perceived diversity at work for the Japanese, we found that three is company and more is a crowd, as perceived benefits plateau out and perceived threats increased beyond three foreign coworkers.

10.2. Limitations and Perspectives

A Contextual Research

The particular context of this research, Japan, is both a limit to the generalization to our findings and a first step towards comparative research. Contextual characteristics of Japan, a nation with a culture unique in many of its facets, are expected to be dissimilar to those of other countries. The high number of French interviewees can also be considered as a limitation, but it also allows controlling for the nationality of the foreign interviewees who helped us build our framework. Here again, this limitations can be considered as a gateway toward comparative research as focusing on, for instance, Anglo-Saxons or Chinese, could provide very different insights on cross-cultural interactions between Japanese employees and their foreign coworkers. In particular, different results can be expected in national contexts of high multiculturalism such as the USA, Canada, most West European countries, but also Saudi Arabia and the UAE, all of which have populations comprising more than 10 percent of foreigners, against less than 2 percent in Japan (CIA, 2020). Researchers may also have to differentiate between countries where the overall foreign population is rather homogeneous in origin and culture and close to the host country, and countries where foreigners are very diverse. In Japan, half of the foreign population originates from the country's two immediate neighbors, China and Korea. Lastly, when researching the perception of foreigners by host country nationals, public opinion formation and evolution, or general ideology, and central and local governments' policies towards foreigners and immigration are also among the factors that we need to be take into consideration.

Minority Members and their Relations with Majority Members

Our research places its focus on the perception by dominant majority members of cultural diversity in general, without disaggregating the perceived minorities along characteristics such as phenotypes, age, or other visible differences (Ting-Toomey et al., 2000). Outgroup members' probability of being selected as targets for prejudice vary with their visibility and salient attributes (Peeters and Oerlemans, 2009) as well as with their position in the social hierarchy (Pratto et al., 2006). Future research could also investigate the influence of the mutual positions of the ingroup and outgroup members, such as their mutual hierarchical positions or relative status and power of within the organization (Fairhurst and Snavely, 1983a, 1983b). Other possible influences are the frequency (daily, monthly, etc...) and the medium of the interactions (face-to-face, telephone, mail, etc.), and the language(s) used in the communication process. The distinction between physical and virtual interactions, combined with the distinction along nationality has potential to explain mutual perceptions and their evolution in time (Matsui and Hanamitsu, 2013). We can expect linguistic and cultural competences of the foreigners to shape their perception by the Japanese. For instance, Burgess (2012) and Peltokorpi and Pudelko (2020) have proposed that high linguistic proficiency is linked with negative perception by the Japanese. Another extension of this research would be to investigate mutual perceptions of cultural minorities (Bikmen, 2011) in a Japanese organizational context. Follow up research including these parameters is called for.

Targets as Perceivers: Foreigner Coworkers' Self-perception

This thesis also contribute in passing to self-initiated expatriation. Our interviews of self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) and long-term expatriates (LTEs) of Japan suggest for a dynamic approach in the research of the motivations of these SIEs and LTEs. In-between their reasons to relocate (initial stage, or 'entry' stage) and their reasons or leave (final stage, or 'exit' stage) (Tharenou and Caufield, 2010), their reasons to stay or to prepare for departure are morphing. This process should receive more attention since conditions faced by the expatriates are changing (notably age and family situation) (Crowley-Henry, 2012). For instance, we expect initial adventure-based motivations to give way to more financial motivations linked with family-based motivations and hence to a reorientation of one's competency mix, targeting at a more stable job, or at a job in a MNC with a potential for repatriation. Along with these life stages, foreign coworkers' self-perception in expected to change, as is their perception by their Japanese colleagues.

Follow-up research could also take into consideration other variables such as the mindset underlying relocation for early international experience. For instance, "challenge spirit" (Magoshi, 2011: 214) could positively moderate the relationships we described in this paper. On the contrary, a young Japanese forced to go abroad by his or her parents (Magoshi, 2011) may resent the experience. It is therefore necessary to inquire about the circumstances and motivations behind early international exposure. Likewise, if our survey undoubtedly shows a correlation between early international exposure and higher scores in the perceived benefits of cultural diversity in the workplace for Japanese respondents, we cannot claim a causal relationship, as a common root may explain both. It is also plausible that the relationship between international exposure and positive perception of the benefits of cultural diversity is mediated by different constructs, such as cross-cultural competency, cultural sensitivity, and cultural empathy, but also tolerance of uncertainty or flexibility.

Lastly, while multiple studies of ethnically diverse neighborhoods use self-reported measures (Knies et al, 2016), as we did in our survey, we acknowledge that direct measure, when possible, could bring different findings.

10.3. Implications

In this section, we review the implications of our thesis at three levels. We start with the implications for individuals, both for the locals and for the foreigners. We then move on to the implications for organizations, mainly for multinational companies, then to the implications for public policies, focusing on education and immigration policies. We end the thesis with a brief summary.

Implications for Individuals

Our research has implications for both majority members (the Japanese in our case) and the minority members (the foreign coworkers in our case). The first implication is the need to be aware of the triple influence of the three perceptional loci. Individuals, both perceivers and targets could be tempted to focus solely on one focus when attributing perceptional outputs, both positive and negative. When joining a local organization, foreigners (but also Japanese returnees) should be also be aware of, understand, and discern between the three levels of individual cultural identity (knowledge, internalization, and identification), and how they integrate within multicultural individuals. These implications are also valid for the short-term foreigners, such as businesspeople on a business trip or even traditional expatriates (assigned expatriates with no previous relation with Japan). Implications for long-term resident foreigners working in Japanese organizations (but also localized foreign organizations) are that they have to maintain a balance between being perceived as a foreigner ('playing the gaijin card' (Komisarof, 2012), value in foreignness (Leonardelli and Toh, 2010)) while at the same time being linguistically and culturally competent enough to understand and navigate their organizations. To be managed properly, these competences have to be both slow (knowledge) and fast (behavioral) (Kahneman, 2011). In other words, through the three loci of perception, both local employees and their foreign coworkers have tools to influence the perception of cultural diversity and how they are associated with it.

Implications for Organizations

Our findings have concrete implications for the international human resource management and workforce diversity management (Davis et al., 2016) of firms.

Early International Experience

Besides government and schools, the findings of this research show that Japanese companies themselves have a role to play in encouraging early international exposure of their potential future employees if they want their workplaces to be more receptive to cultural diversity. In the first place, companies can be influential through their human resources policies, for instance by defining a hiring quota of candidates who have honed their skills, increased their knowledge, and developed their sensibility through early and long stays abroad. These employees are less prone to any form of 'culture shock' (Fitzpatrick, 2017) than those with no prior points of contact with foreign matters. Companies can expect such employees to promote a "value-in-diversity" perspective within their organization. A demonstrated benefit of such a perspective is that diversity management practices stimulate organizational commitment among employees (Magoshi and Chang, 2009).

Team Composition

Our findings provide points of reference in team composition for companies willing to encourage a 'value-in-diversity' viewpoint, to energize commitment among employees (Magoshi and Chang, 2009), to have individual multiculturalism permeate organizational culture (Orsini and Uchida, 2019), and to improve well-being and job satisfaction among both host nationals and their foreign coworkers (Bergbom and Kinnunen, 2014). Our results suggest that there are optimal numbers of foreigners in a workplace to gain a positive perception of cultural diversity. Japanese companies willing to promote such a climate may gerrymander their organization by "cracking" minority members along their sites in numbers maximizing the perceived benefits of cultural diversity at work among Japanese employees while minimizing its perceived threats. Our findings also suggest that team composition in terms of nationalities can help boost this perception.

Implications for Public Policy Makers

Our findings inform decision-makers willing to promote cultural diversity. We suggested an optimum number of foreign employees to maximize the perceived benefits and minimize the perceived threats of cultural diversity among domestic employees. It is plausible that these findings will remain valid when extended to non-work settings such as schools, non-profit organizations, or governmental bodies. Competent authorities – government and education institutions – may consider our results when allocating foreigners to classes, teams, or workshops, as it may help break down racial barriers and facilitate the integration of newcomers. However, the political context of some environments can hamper success for newcomers, victims of tokenism (Fairhurst and Snavely, 1983b). National and local authorities have to remain mindful of the consequences of official distinctions drawn between national and foreign workers. These official distinctions have the potential to spillover and influence public perception of foreign workers. An illustration was provided recently when the Japanese government banned the re-entry of foreign nationals with permanent resident status during the first months of the coronavirus pandemic, while most other countries treated citizens and foreign permanent residents the same (Kasahara, 2020). Central and local governments both heavily influence the living and working conditions of foreign workers (Nagy, 2012). Through their policies, they also profoundly affect how host country nationals perceive these foreign workers.

Implications for Policies Towards Migrants and Foreigners

Japan is an archipelago physically separated from other countries. It also has a long history of voluntary isolation from the rest of the world. The two geographical and political aspects combined have led Japan to develop a unique culture. The uniqueness of this culture has led to some soul-searching (Soeya et al., 2011) and sometimes to inflated self-perception and a feeling of being different from the rest of the world, as exemplified in the *nihonjinron* literature. This phenomenon is not unique to the country, as a comparable case could be made for neighboring Korea, and Corsica, Sardinia or Sicilia could be European examples (Blackwood and Tufi, 2015). Japan is however the third economy of the world (despite having both a landmass and a population that are much smaller that China and the USA), has a worldwide appreciated culture (Iwabuchi, 2002), and is regularly ranked as a top country in the world for matters ranging from cleanness or safety to technology or overall quality of life. These are many significant reasons for people from all over the world, including highly skilled ones, to be attracted to the island nation. However, despite often being worldwide leaders, Japanese companies have been struggling to attract and retain foreign employees (Froese et al., 2020). At home, part of this difficulty may be attributed to the central

government's immigration policies. To attract highly skilled overseas professionals, Japanese central government needs to keep on reforming. One area for reform lies within the tax and legislation system, for instance tax legislation (e.g., inheritance tax (Tsuji, 2020)). However, beyond aspects of the "hard" environment for foreigners' daily lives, what may be more imperative is changes in the "soft" aspects of their social lives. Researchers suggest that foreign workers, including highly skilled professionals may want to feel more socially integrated (Nagy, 2012) or perceive themselves as segregated in their quest for integration (Komisarof, 2012). Central and local governments, working together, could take stock of our findings to structure their policies on our framework. Specifically, they could develop differentiated policies aimed respectively at the perceivers (the Japanese nationals) and at the targets (the foreign coworkers) but also differentiate within the locations where they work together along to the number of foreigners. It is also possible to combine the differentiation between these three loci with a differentiation along the nine dimensions of the BTDS scale. For instance, policies targeting social environment (e.g., 'having fun with foreign coworkers') could be differentiated from (or purposefully combined with) policies targeting intergroup anxiety (e.g., 'avoiding embarrassment in interactions with foreigners').

Implications for Education Policy

The combination of a perceptional view with the nine components of cultural diversity that is at the heart of our thesis can also be applied to an educational setting. Firstly, schools (and the education ministry) could encourage early international experience by alleviating some barriers in the present system. Examples are modularity in the acquisition of credits, cross-border credit transferability for some subjects, or opening up summer break for more extracurricular activities (beyond demanding and time monopolizing club activities or *bukatsu*). Facilitating and multiplying exchange agreements between Japanese and foreign schools would also lead to more young Japanese studying abroad and able to fly the nest and feel comfortable outside their sole family and familiar environment (Magoshi, 2003). In 2006, a research group sponsored by the Japanese government recommended to revise the education system and promote individual exchanges with other countries (Nagy, 2008). As for other organizations, schools willing to promote diversity could divide up their non-Japanese students in numbers and along nationalities in order to maximize the perception of the benefits of cultural diversity and to minimize the perceived threats associated with cultural diversity.

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