SETTING ASSUMPTIONS ASIDE: EXPLORING
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN
INTERRACIAL/INTERCULTURAL INDIVIDUALS
GROWING UP IN JAPAN

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
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0-612-58675-8
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Abstract

This research attempts to understand the experience of interracial/intercultural individuals growing up in Japan. Their experiences do not fit current minority identity development models. Much of the tension in their experience appears to be between the individual's own experience and the stereotypical experience he or she is supposed to undergo as a mixed individual. Identity was not a question of either/or, but took shape from dialogues that reflected a complex relationship between community, individual, language, and culture. One factor determining the tenor of the dialogue is its grounding in commonalities or in differences. The experience was profoundly different for individuals who attended international schools or Japanese schools. The difficulty that the international school attendees articulated, in contrast to those attending Japanese schools, appears as a clash of boundaries, not values. This is reflected particularly where "Japaneseness" fits in the hierarchy and the degree of rigidity or permeability of those boundaries.
Acknowledgments

No piece of research is ever done alone, without the support and cooperation of many people. Not only does this work require considerable understanding and emotional support from friends and family, but it also requires intellectual challenge and freedom to cross boundaries. I have had both. However, this work could have never come to fruition had it not been for the trust and generosity of people who cannot be named, the participants. Each of them entrusted me with thoughts, emotions and experiences in what I hope was for them as enriching an experience as it was for me. I felt that each of you honored me with your stories and your thoughts from your various journeys. I hope that our conversations contributed in some small way to a richer journey for you, they certainly did for me.
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This research is an attempt to understand the experience of individuals growing up as a child of one Japanese and one mon-Japanese parent in Japan. My findings led me to question the appropriateness of interpreting their words using research done in very different contexts. Much of the tension in their experience appears not to be between the two cultures but between the individual's own experience and the stereotypical experience he or she is supposed to undergo as a mixed individual. Identity was not a question of either/or for any of these participants, but took shape from dialogues that reflected a complex relationship between community, individual, language, and culture. One factor determining the tenor of the dialogue is its grounding in commonalities or in differences. The experience was profoundly different for individuals who attended international schools or Japanese public or private schools. The difficulty that the international school attendees articulated, in contrast to those attending Japanese schools, appears as a clash of boundaries, not values. This is reflected particularly where "Japanese-ness" fits in the hierarchy and the degree of rigidity or permeability of those boundaries.

My research and attempt to understand my findings led me through several fields of study, all of which have a bearing on the experiences of the participants and my understanding of those experiences. However, it is not a well-ordered path. The organization of this thesis reflects this complexity. After a brief introduction of the project and its findings, I will introduce what I see as the limits of using primarily U. S. based research to interpret the experiences of individuals in another context. Next, I explain the major differences in the contexts of the two groups of participants. These differences are social, linguistic and educational. Before going any further, I ask the reader to consider the role that metaphor has played in limiting our conceptualization and understanding of the interracial/intercultural experience. At this point I also ask the reader to consider how language may affect the experiences of interracial/intercultural individuals.
Following an explanation of the study, including the questions, the methodology, data collection, and a list of the initial categories that emerged from the data, is a series of sketches. These are sketches of each participant constructed from their own words. I wish to respect what each of these young people entrusted me with, their ideas and feelings about who they are and how they have achieved that identity thus far and so have let them speak. I ask that the reader listen carefully.

The last part of the thesis is arranged around discussions of the questions that participant narratives raised. The first is the possibility of asserting a hyphenated or bilingual, bicultural identity within Japanese society as it exists now. The discussion considers how minorities are conceptualized, the construction of Japanese and "Other" categories, the hierarchical character of the social structure and how that is interpreted in "equality" of education.

The distinctly different nature of the experiences of participants who attended Japanese schools and those who attended international schools is discussed through a consideration of their communities, the language and school and the interaction of all of these elements.

The nature of Japanese identity was an issue in every participant's narrative, therefore, I have included a review of literature and history of the construction of Japanese identity and how it has been and is presently reflected in the society.

Just how identity has been conceptualized and defined for and by the individuals who participated in this study was central to their experiences. Thus, I have included a discussion of both Western and a more relational concept of identity as well as a number of identity development models that are most frequently referred to in the literature on minority group and/or biracial identity.

I close with reflections and questions for further study. I have asked the reader to follow me through a broad range of topics and information, but I feel that in order to best understand the experiences of the individuals of this study it is imperative to develop an intellectual and emotional appreciation of the context, the setting in which they have each conducted their own identity dialogues.
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The original purpose of this study was to learn from the individuals themselves what it was/is like to grow up as an interracial/intercultural individual in Japan rather than someplace else. In the process of constructing an understanding of just how it is that these individuals go about putting themselves together, I wanted to allow their voices to be heard. I have a deep personal and professional interest in these children as both the mother of three interracial, international, bilingual, bicultural, biliterate children and the teacher of a generation of such individuals. I lived and worked in Japan for twenty-eight years, teaching in an international school as well as working with kikokushijo or returnee children (children who have lived outside of Japan for at least six months, often attending local schools, and then returning to Japan and the Japanese school system). During that time I developed an extensive experiential and knowledge base of the phenomenon from the perspective of mother and teacher. It is a goal of this study to explore the experience from the perspective of the individuals themselves. As a teacher and as a parent, I had been aware that no one had really asked or listened carefully to what the individuals themselves had to say. What discussion or reporting had been done seemed to rely on observers' opinions and reflected their own point of view or at least the dominant theoretical interpretations of what being interracial meant. While I did not pretend to know exactly what that experience might be, I did have some idea, having observed it closely as a mother of three interracial/intercultural children and as a teacher of many, many more of these individuals. My own observations led me to believe that while there were times when these children and young adults experienced conflict within themselves and/or with the way in which they were perceived by those around them, their overall feelings about who they were, were positive. What captured my attention and what seemed to be a black box was how they put themselves together, how they decided, within that particular environment, Japan, who they wanted to be and who they were.
Having experienced life as an outsider in Japan for twenty-eight years I was well aware of the difficulties in finding acceptance within Japanese society. Having seen my own children pointed at and talked about, even in the neighborhood where they were born and raised led me to think that children who chose to attend Japanese schools, public or private would encounter that level of attention and exclusion on a daily basis. I had also seen children move into an international school setting from Japanese schools and watched the tension drop from their faces and bodies as they realized that there were others like them, that there were others who spoke more than one language or looked like them and it wasn't really anything special.

I elected to listen to the stories and experiences of individuals who had attended Japanese school for at least all of their compulsory schooling, up to age 15 or through junior high, and individuals who had attended international schools in Japan for at least all of their compulsory schooling, up to age 15 or through junior. In all, I heard, in oral and/or written form from ten individuals. Just how that experience of putting yourself together in a Japanese school setting and an international school setting might be different, I wasn't sure. My own biases suggested that the experience in a Japanese school might be more harsh, there might be more instances of flagrant discrimination, prejudice, and physical and/or verbal abuse. I also expected less developed levels of bilingualism. I thought there might be a greater sense of aloneness or alienation deriving from a feeling of a lack of community with individuals with similar backgrounds, interests or experiences. However, I certainly had no pretense of knowing what that experience really was. It was very much going to be my responsibility to listen intelligently, sensitively and very, very carefully to what those individuals were telling me and not what I thought I might be hearing.

There is a moral imperative as well, for understanding who these mixed race/bicultural children are and the context in which they develop their identities. Japan has expressed a need to redefine its national identity. It has also flirted with the idea of kokusaika or "internationalism" for a little over two decades. However, there has been little done within the borders of the country to recognize or work with the children and families who are examples of these two challenges, a "new" identity and "internationalism". In spite of the need for
workers and one of the lowest birthrates in the world Japan has never seriously considered an immigration policy that would encourage people to come and raise their families in Japan. The idea of "new Japanese" as an equivalent of the "new Canadians" is not a part of any political or social discourse. The closest the country has come to considering an immigration policy that would put people in the country rather than keeping them out evolved in the 1980's at the height of the "bubble" economy. However, it appears that the real goal was to meet labor shortages rather than to encourage individuals and their families to make Japan their home. Therefore, there has not yet been a public and/or political discussion of the needs of families and children who make Japan their home but who are not "pure Japanese". Without finding out who these children and their families are, what their personal, social and educational needs are, it is not practical to propose policies or programs that would address their current position on the periphery of Japanese society and redefine them as complete individuals and potential contributing members of Japanese society. Without a more complete understanding of the context in which these children are living, it is difficult to effectively address the discrimination, prejudice, both negative and positive, and physical and psychological violence that can be directed against them. Currently there is very little known about these children and their families, their living conditions, their perceptions of the society in which they are making their homes or of the society's perception of them that has not been mediated through both government and mass communication filters. While there are population figures for the number of marriages between Japanese and foreign nationals there is little else.

**Answers and Questions**

Stereotypes at first appeared as just one category that emerged from participant experience. Defined by Webster as a "conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion or image" which is also highly resistant to any change even in the face of conflicting experience, stereotypes emerged as a category of response experienced by participants in both Japanese and (though to a lesser extent) non-Japanese contexts. Subcategories include participants' awareness of what stereotypes exist and their qualities, when they are being
treated as a stereotype, and the range of responses that participants employed in
dealing with stereotypical responses. Reflecting on all of the data and even my
own journey through this research, it was stereotypes, stereotyping, awareness of
and responses to stereotypes that emerged as an overall theme in the identity
formation process. It appears in every category of their experience. And of
course, related to this is the community that either supports or questions or a
little of both, the general concept of stereotypes as well as individual stereotypes.

Contrary to the stereotypical expectation that the experiences of
individuals who are interracial/intercultural will share many commonalities,
united as they are by the common bond of being mixed in a monolingual,
homogenous context, I found that the experiences of the two groups were almost
entirely different, as if they took place in two different worlds. This in spite of the
fact that they were all in relatively close geographic proximity, that all of the
participants had been born in Japan and had never lived outside of Japan until
their late teens, if at all.

There also appeared to be two very different ways of experiencing
identity. For one group it appeared to be something they were very aware of, felt
that they had choices to make regarding it, and was characterized by a high
degree of fluidity. The other group did not appear to have given the issue of
identity much thought, rather to have to have accepted, in Taylor's terminology,
a scripted definition of their identity (Taylor, 1994). To say that identity was an
important issue for one group and that identity was not an issue and had not
been given much consideration presents an image where one group appears
more sophisticated or advanced than the other. That would be an unfair and
untrue statement. It is not a matter of more or less, it is a matter of difference.
The real issue is the differences in the experiences of the two groups.

Taken together, these three findings led me to question the
appropriateness of the attempting to interpret the words of the participants
through the filter of the literature that had been written based on research done
in very different individual, social and political contexts. It was not a question of
cultural differences. Rather, it appears to be a question about the assumptions of
the relative importance of social and political contexts in describing identity
formation models and theories.
Statement of the Problem

Part of the impetus for engaging in this study was a lack of material that dealt with interracial/intercultural individuals in a Japanese context. However, as I began analyzing the responses of participants the more disturbing issue was a lack of fit between existing models and theories of identity development and what the participants were describing. It seemed that the research that had been done with biracial/bicultural children was very deeply embedded in the social and political context of a particular time and place. The descriptions and images of children and their identities from this research have become part of the discourse of ethnicity, minority groups, and even bilingual education. However, those same descriptions and images have also become stereotypical. Hence, the sense that something was wrong. I was certainly not ready to discount what the participants were telling me, even given the challenges of trying to understand another person's experience from a combination of interviews and personal writing. I had deliberately set out to find out from them what they had thought, experienced and felt. I was interested in comparing it with the research that had been done with different populations in different contexts; there is value in looking for similarities and differences. However, when my participants' narratives were compared with those descriptions and images, my participants' experiences were scattered across a wide range both inside and outside of what was considered normal. It occurred to me that the question was not one of comparing experiences but more importantly the validity of addressing one set of experiences, perceptions and reflections through the lens of another. Stated more directly, models and theories developed in the cultural, social and political context of Western society did not seem appropriate to apply to experiences that took place in a very different cultural, social and political context. From this perspective the research became far more complex and even more intriguing.

Limits of U.S. Based research

Most of the research that has been done on biracial children has been contextualized in the U.S. There are exceptions, Ilan Katz's work on mixed race

While this research is important, it must be remembered and pointed out that because it has been done in a U.S. based context, one that might best be characterized by highly politicized majority/minority group relationships in which issues of power, power sharing, group identity, recognition and representation are paramount, it does have limits when being applied to other contexts. The U.S context is also a one which is primarily monolingual and assimilationist in nature, the great melting pot; although there are certainly strong minority movements that value and work for both a multicultural and multilingual society, a tossed salad. It is interesting to note that in the chapter summarizing theory and research in biracial identity development in the 1995 edition of the Handbook of Multicultural Counseling (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995) none of the definitions include or refer to bilingual, bilingualism or bilingual education. There is an oblique reference to language competency in the LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) model of bicultural competence in which one of the six dimensions of competence is "the ability to appropriately and effectively communicate verbally and nonverbally in each culture" (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). This is not the same context in which the participants in this study have gone about the business of constructing identities and therefore the Japanese context must be kept in mind when seeking to understand and interpret the experiences of the participants.
**Differences in Context**

**Social**

The most salient differences revolve around definitions of who can and cannot be considered "Japanese", in other words definitions of ethnicity, race and nationality which are to a great extent conflated in the Japanese context. Until 1985 Japan's nationality laws were strictly based on the principle of *jus sanguinis*. Anyone with a Japanese father could claim Japanese citizenship. However, those individuals with a Japanese mother or a non-Japanese father could not, unless the father was unknown or stateless (Murphy-Shigematsu, 1999, p. 484). There were also exceptions to this that left many children stateless, especially in Okinawa. Since 1985 it is possible for a child born to a Japanese mother and a foreign father to receive Japanese citizenship from his or her mother. Marriages between Japanese nationals (interracial or intercultural, naturalized Korean or Chinese and Japanese, Okinawan or Ainu and Japanese) are not officially recognized as intermarriages. The only marriages officially recognized as "mixed" are those between a Japanese national and an individual of another nationality (Murphy-Shigematsu, 1999, p. 484). Some of these are interracial marriages, some are intercultural or interethnic, however all of these "mixed" marriages, whether they are between Japanese nationals or Japanese nationals and other nationalities are viewed, at least socially, as "mixed" unions. The children of these marriages are subsequently viewed not as Japanese-Korean or Japanese-American, Japanese-French, etc. but as non-Japanese. They are often labeled *haafu*, from the English "half". This is because of the deeply embedded social definitions of what it means to be Japanese. "Although Japanese nationality is not legally defined on the basis of race, in social practice, an individual must "look Japanese" racially and possess pure "Japanese blood" to be considered "Japanese". The non-scientific concept of Japanese blood is assumed to give exclusive ownership to cultural knowledge (Yoshino, 1992, as cited in Murphy-Shigematsu, 1997, p. 28). These are closely related to cultural assumptions, values and subsequent behaviors that then affect the ways in which participants may perceive themselves in relation to the society and culture. This is a very different context from one in which anyone born on U.S. soil can legally and socially claim
to be American, in societies where belonging is not defined exclusively in terms of bloodlines. It is a very different context from one where ethnic and racial groups are acknowledged and exercise a degree of influence and power over policy and practice at a variety of levels of society and government. The relationship of minority groups to the society and the government in Japan will be examined in more detail later.

**Linguistic**

Another major difference is the role of language and language competency in the process of identity formation. While there has been research in the U.S. and Canada on the relationship between identity and language (Darder, 1993, Giroux, 1988, Heller, 1987, Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974), language does not play precisely the same role in identity formation among members of U.S. minority groups as it does in defining who is or is not Japanese. Even in Canada, while there is a strong identification with French and a French-Canadian identity, most individuals still consider themselves Canadian, Canadians who speak French. In Japan there is an underlying assumption about the uniqueness of the Japanese language and an accompanying assumption that only those who are Japanese (born and bred, pure) can ever truly master the intricacies of the language. One result is that language competency determines to a great extent what degree of acceptance an individual can achieve within Japanese society. If an individual's physical appearance does not distinguish him or her as "mixed", with sufficient language competency, it is possible to "pass" as Japanese. However, if an individual is known to be mixed, even though he or she may not appear to be, and makes a linguistic error, that error is usually attributed to only being *haafu*. This will also be examined in more detail later.

**Educational Opportunities**

Another difference is in the schooling, the education available to mixed race individuals in Japan. Educational opportunities are really on two very separate planes. One is the national, public educational system that has a highly prescribed national curriculum with the very explicit goal of training good Japanese citizens. A notable lack of language study opportunities throughout the system is important to keep in mind. English is a required subject in middle
school, the last three years of compulsory schooling. It is also part of the entrance requirements for both high school and university. However, the practical content and goals of the language study are arguably not conducive to actually ever using the language for either communication or academic purposes. Opportunities to pursue other languages are extremely limited and usually only available in private high schools and select universities.

The alternative available to mixed children, provided their families are financially able to afford it and they are in reasonable proximity to such schools, are the international schools. These schools are located primarily in and around Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto, Sapporo and Fukuoka. Tuition is roughly equivalent to that of a private college in the U.S. with little or no financial aid available. These schools are not recognized or accredited by the Japanese government, which means that an individual who graduates from one of these schools must first sit a qualifying exam in order to be eligible to take high school or university entrance exams. The majority of these schools use a U.S. based curriculum, although some employ either an entirely or heavily British-based system and/or offer International Baccalaureate credits. There are also a French and a German school located in Tokyo where the national curriculum of those respective countries is used. Primarily children of French or German nationals attend these schools although there are a few either mixed or Japanese children, often returnees, in attendance. They face the same problem when attempting to have their credentials recognized within the Japanese system. Most of these schools offer some form of Japanese language instruction. It ranges from almost token instruction once or twice a week to compulsory, daily instruction that includes both oracy and literacy goals.

**Paradox**

The paradox in regard to the children of interracial/intercultural marriages is that their treatment within the society and the education system that proclaims an international perspective belies those declarations and that rhetoric. Until recently a child with a Japanese mother and a foreign father could not receive Japanese citizenship from her mother; she was a foreigner and had to carry an alien registration card, have a visa just like any other foreign visitor.
Such a child was not usually welcome in Japanese schools or eligible for any of the social services provided for Japanese children. This law was changed in 1985, but Japan still does not recognize dual citizenship. Children with a foreign parent are often pointed out, teased, bullied, and saddled with a variety of racial and ethnic stereotypes from the time they first visit the park as babies and toddlers with their mothers. “Most of the interracial respondents who spent their childhoods in Japan had been called gaijin (foreigner) and felt outcast by the Japanese. Some recalled painful experiences of being taunted, chased, and beaten up by Japanese classmates in elementary school. Being stared at on trains and at public gatherings was also a common experience” (Root, 1992, p. 270). Much of this remains true for children today, even in large cities. “They told me I was dirty. They said I never took a bath. My heart hurt” (personal story from a 12 year old Japanese-Filipino child about a visit to the park at the age of four). It is particularly vexing for many of these children to be the object of conversations that the participants assume the children do not understand. To be fair, there are individuals who do not regard these children as “less than a whole person” but rather as individuals who carry within them the experience and language abilities to provide bridges between Japan and other countries. There has also been a popularizing since the late 1960’s by Japanese mass media, of mixed (Caucasian-Japanese) physical images. English language ability and international experience have been added to the stereotype of “haafu”, giving them a much higher and positive profile within the society. (Williams, 1992 as cited in Murphy-Shigematsu, 1997, p. 27). This positive valuing of individuals who exhibit Caucasian features is an issue for investigation in and of itself. Japanese society seems to have a complex relationship with things Western. On the one hand, there are strong feelings about the superiority of many aspects of Japanese culture and society in comparison with other Asian and Western cultures. On the other hand, even a casual glance at advertising images reveals what appears to be equally strong feelings about the desirability of looking American or Caucasian, two images which are usually conflated. However, the prevailing ideology of a monoethnic society still determines general attitudes towards these haafu individuals, making acceptance into Japanese society as either Japanese or interracial/intercultural a questionable outcome. It is these children, specifically
how they have constructed identities in and around the social, national, and linguistic parameters they have experienced whose stories I wish to explore.

**Setting a Context**

What seems to be missing from much of the research and work on identity development is any kind of integrated vision of the dynamic relationship among the political, the social, the cultural and the personal contexts when considering the process by which individuals construct a sense of who they are. I am specifically referring to a recognition of each of these as contexts in which identities are formed and their active part in the formation process. Banks and Phinney acknowledged the political and power aspects in the context of ethnic minority group identity development. Individual identity is seen primarily as a function of group membership. The possibility of conflict between individual characteristics and group characteristics is not specifically addressed. Vaughn began to include these contexts in his research with Maori children in New Zealand. Citing Festinger (1954) and Cross (1987), he attempts to distinguish between personal identity and group defined identity and the comparison that takes place as an individual continually compares his or her self with a reference group. Charles Taylor eloquently addresses this dialogic character of identity formation and the role of recognition and the dilemma that extending that recognition presents to the social and political realms in modern nations that have identified themselves as democratic. I do not believe that it is possible to attain an adequate understanding of the experience of the participants in this study without an understanding and an appreciation of the political, social and theoretical context in which that experience is constructed. Vaughn's work is important in that it illustrates just how ephemeral the dialogue is, how susceptible it is to time and place. "Young Maoris reacted quite differently to ethnic awareness and attitude tests in terms of whether they were drawn from rural or urban communities and whether they had been tested in the early or late 60's" (Vaughan, 1987, p. 86).

What Taylor manages to do is to take the concept of identity out of all its finite categories and place it where its relational nature can be fully appreciated.
He is perhaps able to do this because he appreciates the relationship between identity and recognition. In his words,

This crucial feature of human life is its fundamentally *dialogical* character. We become full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining our identity, through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression. For my purposes here, I want to take *language* in a broad sense, covering not only the words we speak, but also other modes of expression whereby we define ourselves, including the "languages" of art, of gesture, of love, and the like. But we learn these modes of expression through exchanges with others. People do not acquire the languages needed for self-definition on their own. Rather, we are introduced to them through interaction with others who matter to us...The genesis of the human mind is in this sense not monological, not something each person accomplishes on his or her own, but dialogical...We don't just learn the languages in dialogue and then go on to use them for our own purposes...We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us. Even after we outgrow some of these others--our parents, for instance--and they disappear from our lives, the conversation with them continues within us as long as we live" (Taylor, 1994, p. 32-3).

Taylor acknowledges both the internal dialogues and the external dialogues in the negotiation of individual identities. He goes one step further and states the importance of public recognition in the process. He is also careful to acknowledge that this present need for recognition is a function of our present, our modern age.

If I accept both Taylor's concept of identity development as internal and external dialogue and Vaughn's observations of the ephemeral nature of the context of that dialogue, which coincides nicely with conceptualizations of cultures as dynamic, then it should be that the experiences my participants describe do not reflect the patterns identified in the ethnic and minority identity research done in the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. It becomes imperative to
examine the social, political and cultural context in which the dialogue Vaughn alludes to and Taylor describes takes place. In Vaughn's work, as in the work of all Western-based ethnic and minority identity development, an assumption is made that the ethnic or minority group has some kind of public recognition. I must ask the question if this is necessarily the case in the Japanese context. This is an issue that will be addressed in more detail later.

In a very broad sense, part of the conflict or part of the problem of achieving recognition within a Japanese context could be seen as a function of the two different ways of construing identity. On the one hand, being Japanese, a socially derived identity is based on what Taylor would see as an earlier, perhaps premodern concept of socially derived identity where "General recognition was built into the socially derived identity by virtue of the very fact that it was based on social categories that everyone took for granted" (Taylor, 1994, p. 34). "Japanese" is a constructed concept, generally accepted without question by the society at large, as will be explained later. But what most of the participants in this study have experienced is the construction of an identity more in the sense of the "inwardly derived, personal, original identity [which] doesn't enjoy this recognition a priori" (Taylor, 1994, p. 34). These identities can fail to win recognition, especially within the Japanese context, and that can be seen as problematic. The dialogic nature of identity along with the need for public recognition are often at odds with Japanese definitions and processes of building and recognizing identity, or as Taylor says, the predefined social script.

Taylor speaks of the importance of recognition, both on an intimate plane and a social one, both of which "have been shaped by the growing ideal of authenticity, and recognition plays an essential role in the culture that has arisen around this ideal" (Taylor, 1994, p. 36). Participants in this study had the recognition of their constructed identities on an intimate level, from family, friends and significant others. What those who had constructed an identity outside of, on the margins of or in relation to being Japanese, have not been able to achieve is the public recognition. This would be those participants in my study who attended international schools. Taylor refers to the identity of women, members of minority races or ethnic groups within a democratic society in North America. He describes the dialogue on the social plane as "unshaped by a
predefined social script" (Taylor, 1994, p. 36). This is an area of tension for the participants in my study, because the social dialogue does not take place in "open dialogue unshaped by a predefined script", but in a highly prescribed and hierarchical script more monologic than dialogic in nature.

Edward T. Hall has proposed two categories of cultures, high context and low context. According to Hall, Japan is a high context culture. The predefined script of behavior and identity that Taylor refers to is an example of how things work in a high context society. That script is a part of the unexplained context, it has a long history within the culture and society and is generally a stabilizing factor, a way of preserving a high degree of status quo. However, access to this information is dependent upon both internal and external contexting. This refers to two interrelated processes that are functions of past experiences, programmed, internalized contexting, and situational and/or environmental contexting (Hall, 1976, p. 95). A major part of any culture is the communication system. According to Hall, Japanese communication is high context, that is "most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message" (Hall, 1976, p. 91).

Therefore, the assumption exists that individuals have most of the information necessary to understand a situation, their own status in the situation and the behavior appropriate to the situation, without having to be told or discuss it. This assumption alleviates the need for the kind of individual identity dialogue that Taylor describes.

The ideal democracy that Taylor argues for that would support this process of identity formation does not exist anywhere, yet. There is a paradox that has yet to be successfully resolved, a paradox in the role of the society and body politic between an understanding of universal respect in which differences are not recognized and one in which differences are recognized. This is a simplification of a very complex dilemma that has wide ranging affects on policy and practice throughout a society in regard to those individuals who would claim an identity that is somehow different from the social ideal. At stake are both individual goals and collective goals for the society at large, a balance of some kind between the goal of survival of different groups within the society and the preservation of the autonomous choices of individuals as to how they
participate in these different groups. Ramirez, looking back to Kallen (1915, 1924) saw an answer in the development of what he called a "cultural democracy" beginning in school classrooms. Taylor places his hopes in a model of a liberal society that "distinguishes these fundamental rights from the broad range of immunities and presumptions of uniform treatment that have sprung up in modern cultures of judicial review. They are willing to weigh the importance of certain forms of uniform treatment against the importance of cultural survival, and opt sometimes in favor of the latter" (Taylor, 1994, p. 61).

A New Metaphor?

Before beginning to consider the specifics of this study it is important to be cognizant of the power of metaphor when defining and considering experiences. Donald Schön has written about metaphor as:

...central to the task of accounting for our perspectives on the world: how we think about things, make sense of reality, and set the problems we later try to solve....In this second sense, "metaphor" refers both to a certain kind of product—a perspective or frame, a way of looking at things and to a certain kind of process—a process by which new perspectives on the world come into existence (Schön, 1993, p. 137).

Metaphors which have been most often used to describe both the individuals and the process through which they achieve an identity have determined the terms by which the identity formation process and the product have been defined, valued and explored. People who are bilingual, bicultural, biracial or "biethnic" because they have parents from two different racial, ethnic, linguistic backgrounds have most often been labeled as "half", "mixed", "marginal", "of two worlds", "confused", "torn between two worlds", "inconsistent", "social misfits" (Motoyoshi, 1990, p. 77). These are metaphors which carry with them powerful assumptions which lead to certain conclusions and actions in an individual, a social, political and an educational context. All of these descriptions carry an incomplete or somehow faulty image. When these are considered in conjunction with the theory and practice of identity formation which uses metaphors of wholeness, a stable core, a consistent and coherent
center, at least in Western thinking, the picture that emerges of bicultural individuals is one of constant conflict, maladjustment, struggle, and inconsistency. There doesn't seem to be a way of "seeing" the condition of having a double background in a more positive slant, the dominant metaphors preclude it.

It was R. E. Park (1928) who first argued that individuals who can lay claim to two cultures should be considered marginal people because the condition of marginality "leads to psychological conflict, a divided self and disjointed person" (as cited in LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 396). To Park's credit he did not see such people exclusively in negative terms describing such individuals as "the cosmopile," the independent and wiser person. In other words, even though marginality is psychologically uncomfortable for the individual, it has long-term benefits for society" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 395). However, his student E. V. Stonequist (1935) was less appreciative of the benefits and emphasized the negative psychological image attached to such individuals by stating that the psychological properties involved in marginal people include "a dual pattern of identification and a divided loyalty...[leading to] an ambivalent attitude (Stonequist, 1935, p. 36)" (as quoted in LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 395). According to Motoyoshi, there was support for such views within the "hard" science of genetics in the early 20th century, with Charles B. Davenport concluding "...on the basis of studies performed with chickens that any mixing of races would combine traits ill-suited for one another, resulting in, for example, "an ambition and push combined with an intellectual inadequacy" which would cause perpetual frustration and dissatisfaction" (as quoted in Motoyoshi, 1990, p. 77).

Geneticists eventually changed their minds about race mixing, especially after World War II and the horrors of Nazi beliefs and practices, but social scientists, by and larger persisted in their views. (Motoyoshi, 1990, p. 78) There were dissenting opinions as both M. M. Goldberg (1941) and A. W. Green (1947) suggested that marginal people "...do not inevitably suffer...that being a "marginal person" is disconcerting only if the individual internalizes the conflict between the two cultures in which he or she is living" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 395). Goldberg went so far as to suggest advantages for such an individual. An
important point that Goldberg made referred to community. He argued that "a person who is part of a subculture that provides norms and a definition of the individual's situation will not suffer from the negative psychological effects of being a marginal person" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 395). But it was the views of Stonequist that dominated or guided, at least U.S., views of mixed-race individuals. According to Phinney, "In popular literature (Berzon, 1978; Nakashima, 1992) and in clinical reports (Gibbs, 1987: Sommers, 1964: Teicher, 1968), multiethnic people have been portrayed as troubled and anxious outsiders who lack a clear identity" (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996, p. 141).

What is both interesting and puzzling is why only the negative aspects, the negative statements of Park and Stonequist were picked up and formed the basis of the dominant image of individuals of mixed racial heritage or mixed cultural heritage. Regardless of the reasons, the result was the creation of a powerful but negative metaphor for mixed race/culture individuals that determined many of the research questions and conclusions concerning these individuals both influencing and being influenced by psychological conceptualizations, definitions and processes of what a "normal" identity is and how it is attained.

It is this negative image and metaphor that has dominated both popular thought and much of the academic content of my professional teacher training and thus was instrumental in the formation of my own assumptions. However, my observations over a twenty year teaching career during which I worked regularly with such individuals, as well as observations of my own three children prompted me to question the validity of these images and stereotypes. In the process of reading and exploring what has and has not been written, I find that the rather simplistic and to some extent deterministic characterizations and definitions of identity that are characteristic of the ideas held by the general public and most of the teachers I encountered are ancient predecessors of the ideas currently being researched and discussed.

This gap is intriguing at two levels, the first being why it occurs which is well beyond the scope of this thesis and the second, which is in many ways central to this research, because it is within the context of negative stereotypes and assumptions around biracial, bicultural, and bilingual individuals that the
participants in my study have been constructing, and continue to construct, identities. The importance of this phenomenon is highlighted by Yasuko Minoura when she includes "the society surrounding both the family and the school, such as mass media or the local atmosphere" as one of the three major socialization settings where cultural meanings are available to children (Minoura, 1995, p. 191). Cultural meanings are one source from which adolescents "construct their psychological interior[s]" (Minoura, 1995, p. 191). Hall and Kich also found that "the surroundings respondents lived in made a significant impact not only on how they identified, but how well they adjust to their chosen racial identification" (Motoyoshi, 1990, p. 80). An acknowledgment of the social and cultural context of children reinforces Taylor's idea of dialogic process.

There are two aspects of this metaphor that are significant to this study. The first is the negative character of it and the second its fixed and bounded nature. As long as such a metaphor guides conceptualization and hence research and interpretation and then representation within general society, there is little choice but to "see" mixed-race individuals as other than marginal. Perhaps, the issue could be restated that biracial or multiracial individuals do not lack a clear identity but rather that they possess a complex identity. This identity is not developed only within each individual with only the raw materials of that person's genetic heritage and early experiences but in a much more complex process. That process certainly involves each individual's genes and experiences but also the environment's response to those genes and the individual's interpretation of those experiences as well as the response of other individuals to him or her as interactive elements in an ongoing process of constructing a sense of self, an identity.

A generative metaphor, in Schön's terms, could provide society with another way of conceptualizing mixed-race individuals. The metaphor is created through a process similar to that of "frame restructuring" that allows us to "...integrate conflicting frames by including features and relations ...without sacrificing internal coherence or the degree of simplicity required for action" (Schön, 1993, p. 152). There are metaphors that describe interracial individuals as bridges and there are others that describe these individuals as torn, fractured, in
perpetual conflict. There are others, though not nearly as prevalent that describe interracial identities as fluid and inclusive. Creating a generative metaphor from these conflicting ones presents an opportunity to create another way of seeing and talking about bilingual/bicultural individuals. Schön talks about the cognitive work of restructuring and makes the very important point that this is not just a remapping of matching corresponding elements.

The new description is also not a "compromise," an average or balance of values implicit in the earlier descriptions...rather, in the new descriptions there is a shift in the meanings...Finally, we cannot say that the two descriptions are "fused," for the restructuring they undergo is not characterized by the joining of elements and the blurring of boundaries connoted by "fusion. (Schön, 1993, p. 160)

Is it possible to use a different definition of individual identity by which to view the development of interracial/intercultural, bilingual individuals, where having two languages and two cultures is not automatically assumed to produce identity dilemmas? Reviewing recent literature and research in the fields of psychology, social psychology, feminist studies, anthropology and sociology it would seem that such definitions and processes are not unknown or unconsidered. Chris Weedon's work on subjectivity, although deeply contextualized in the politics of power struggles, addresses the idea of multiplicity and fluidity in personal identity. (Weedon, 1987) It would seem that at least the groundwork for such a generative metaphor is underway. As stated before, the tension appears to be in that the thinking in these fields as yet has had little impact at the practitioner level in education, second language education or bilingual education, educational psychology, counseling and testing in the West or in Asian thinking. Finding the generative metaphor Schön talks about is a difficult task, especially when those involved in the search are still searching for a language that will not constrain the ideas and concepts it is attempting to explicate and allow them to communicate that metaphor to other realms..

Kondo has written eloquently of this dilemma in the first chapter of her book Crafting Selves,
One could never completely jettison the semantic load of the word "self," where agency, boundedness, and fixity are indelibly inscribed in the sedimanted linguistic history of the term. Any attempt to argue for openness, multiplicity, and the play of power as intrinsic to the crafting of selves easily leads to fears that agency and indeed, normalcy, will be abandoned, as selves are tossed around on the currents of history and politics and we are left with selves laid "out on the table with self-induced multiple personality disorder (Haraway 1988, 578). (Kondo, 1990, p. 42) She makes the point that even in poststructuralism, postmodernism, feminist theory, and practice theory the writing always relies "on a characterization of "the concept of self," "la notion de personne," with no reference to variation and multiplicity with "a" self, to the practices creating selves in concrete situations..." (Kondo, 1990, p. 42). However, as long as language, culture and national identity remain linked; as long as Western conceptualizations of the self define the terms, it would seem difficult to move in a more inclusive direction, though this is not to say impossible. Root concisely states the dilemma; "The theories, like our racial classification system, are characterized by dichotomous or bipolar schemes and as such can only marginalize the status of racially or ethnically mixed persons" (Root, 1992, p. 6). This is another aspect of the metaphor of bicultural, biracial individuals, they are bi-, there are two sides. The conceptualization is constrained by the language.

Is it possible to put into practice a more inclusive definition of self? While it is an area of investigation and development, most of the work remains outside the fields of education and bilingual education. It is also a relatively recent endeavor and certainly one that is searching for a language that will not constrain the ideas and concepts it is attempting to explicate. And we should not neglect the contextual constraints of work done in one social and political arena being applied to situations in different social and political arenas. However, it does seem to be something that a number of the participants in this study are working at from the basis of their own experiences and aspirations.
The Role of Language

The role of language proficiency in claiming an ethnic identity is generally acknowledged, although it is not uncontested. Just how much Italian must one be able to speak in order to claim an Italian identity, or how much Gaelic in order to claim Irish identity? That question is not the same as the question of language proficiency and identity in Japanese. One difference, and one that may also apply in the case of those attempting to claim ethnic identity within a multicultural or immigrant society, is that the ethnic communities in Toronto or Los Angeles or Portland are not simultaneously claiming a national identity, although there may be national sympathies. In Japan, ethnic and national identity are not separated. Language proficiency is seen as a natural characteristic of being Japanese, therefore, language proficiency is closely interwoven with the identity formation process. However, Japanese society has a very narrow definition of who can or cannot master the intricacies of Japanese language. While blood is definitely an asset, it is not a guarantee of language proficiency. Perhaps partly because there has been so little study or even consideration of the existence of interracial and intercultural children in Japan, there has been no conceptualization of the possibility of bilingual and bicultural development and even less consideration of the possible role the educational system might play in that development.

Yamamoto states that, “Bilingualism/multilingualism is a relatively new field of investigation in Japan, and studies on the language situations of simultaneous bilingual children in S-BiNaL [simultaneous bilingual-binational] families are very scarce.” (Yamamoto, 1999) This is, in spite of ongoing calls for better English and foreign language teaching from the government, all in the name of kokusaika or "internationalism".

The Ministry of Education had not acknowledged the need for any kind of language support for children without Japanese language skills or limited Japanese language skills attending Japanese public schools until 1994. Provisions for language instruction in Japanese language for children coming from bilingual homes does not exist. Acknowledgement of English or other foreign language proficiency within the education system is also non-existent except in schools which have been given a mandate to cater to kikushijo or returnee students and
interracial/intercultural children do not qualify as *kokushijo*. So, a child who has managed to develop fluency and literacy in English within a bilingual family, must still complete the mandatory English courses in junior and senior high.

There are two issues that might be considered here. The first is the appropriateness of a course of study designed as a study of a foreign language with the explicit goal of providing students with sufficient knowledge about the language to pass mandatory entrance exams for students who have a well developed communicative knowledge of the language. It could be argued that the course does allow the bilingual student a chance to develop his or her knowledge about English to pass the exams. This argument is important to the second issue, the importance of the experience in the enculturation process of the individual. Given the high context nature of Japanese society, this issue is significant. Part of the explicit schooling process is the formation of a bank of shared experiences with one's peers that are seen as the foundation of an individual's future social network.

There is a potential conflict in this situation. It is a conflict between the goals of language competency and status among one's peers. This conflict manifests itself in deliberate language errors, in grammar and/or pronunciation. This has been noted in the behavior of *kokushijo* and English immersion students when they reach junior high, a time when peer influence runs highest. (Bostwick, 1996) If students are clear themselves about what choices in behavior they are making, they will differentiate and use appropriate language and pronunciation outside of the school peer group.

There are no language study opportunities available except in a very few senior high schools for languages other than English, so children who have developed fluency and literacy in languages other than English have even fewer opportunities for academic support and development. The burden of providing bilingual development is clearly on the family.

However, it is not strictly a question of language development. Language development and support within the school system is but one aspect of the larger issue, which is the overall perception and treatment of these children by the society at large. It could be seen as the challenge of applying the principles of *kokusairikai* (international understanding) to the citizens who reside within the
country as well as to those people who choose to take up long term residence in Japan. As the number of interracial and intercultural children grows, Japan is faced with questions from both inside and out regarding the depth and legitimacy of its commitment to an international perspective both within the international community and within Japanese society.
CHAPTER 2

The Study

The Questions

The initial question, "Who are you?" was prompted by my own experience and interest both as mother and teacher of these individuals. How are these interracial and international individuals perceived and treated within Japanese society? How do they respond to the treatment they receive? How do they construct an identity in this context? What kind of identity do they choose to construct? What factors seem to influence their decisions?

I made a fundamental decision at the beginning of this inquiry about the basic question I would ask. I chose not to ask them to label themselves with an ethnic or national identity. I would not use any of the ethnic identity instruments or approaches to measure or determine what group individuals identified with. Instead, I chose to ask them to define themselves in their own terms. This was done deliberately to avoid setting up a dichotomy or the primary/secondary identification structure that the minority group identity research revolves around. Influenced by the idea of constructive marginality as described by Janet Bennett (Bennett, 1993), I wondered if these individuals defined themselves in other ways than as having two ethnic or cultural identities or even a bicultural identity. The point was not to see how they labeled themselves or to determine with which group they identified, but rather to achieve some understanding of the terms in which they defined themselves and the process they have and are using to do arrive at those definitions. Through an analysis of their own descriptions of themselves and the process(es) they described, I hoped to see what factors influenced their thinking and their decisions. I also hoped to gain a glimpse of how they conceptualized identity, what went into it, what did it look like, what were its characteristics.

The objective was to find out how they put themselves together, how they take two (or three) very disparate languages and culturally specific behaviors
and experiences and put them together into a functional and creative identity. What are the influences that determine these individuals’ sense of self, sense of worth, sense of efficacy in their worlds? Do they experience their lives as conflicted, tortured individuals as Stonequist imagined?

poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant" over the other; within which membership is implicitly based on birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations.

(p. 8) (Hall, 1992, p. 250)

Is there an either/or dimension to their dilemma, either Japanese or Other but not both? Or, is there a different goal or conceptualization? What are the roles of language and literacy, social and school experiences, family in their development? What of the nature of the two cultures and more specifically, what is the impact of being raised in Japan rather than outside of Japan on their sense of self and the choices they have made?

It was imperative to ask the individuals themselves and for me to work to understand the process and the influences from their perspective and in their words, because, in the words of one individual “I have to live it everyday”.

A word about the organization of this thesis is in order. Following a presentation of the research question, the methodology and data collection process, I have provided a list of the categories and their descriptions of experience that emerged from the participants contributions. Next is a short description of the process of finding the participants followed sketches of each participant in their own words. It is important that the reader get to know each of these individuals from their own words first. The sketches are constructed from transcripts of the interviews and/or the narrative journal writings which were exchanged. These sketches are the words of the individuals themselves, their thoughts about the issues and experiences they introduced to me in response to the questions, "Who do you think you are? How do you think you got to be this person?"
Following these sketches is a discussion of my initial findings interspersed with relevant background information and literature to provide a context for the reader. These findings include:

- the question of the possibility of constructing and being a "hyphen" (an individual with two cultural, linguistic identities) in Japan;
- the substantive differences between the experiences of individuals in Japanese schools and international schools that challenge the usefulness of constructing comparative categories;
- the nature of what it means to be Japanese and the role that stereotypes and stereotyping play in experiences;
- how identity is conceptualized;
- and how current models of identity development are inappropriate as theoretical bases for analyzing the experiences of individuals outside of the models' research contexts.

I have chosen to intersperse reviews of the relevant literature with reports and analysis of the data. Investigating how identity is perceived and constructed requires much more than just the responses of participants. It requires a knowledge and understanding of the context in which that occurs. This demands a consideration of national identity constructs, educational content and practices, conceptualizations of identity and its development and the relationships of all of these to the individual. It is complex and messy. It is important that readers be able to see and make links from the data with these different contextual elements. Therefore, as different topics are introduced from the data, relevant literature and background information will also be included. I realize that this is not a neatly organized linear presentation, however, the purpose is to facilitate the reader's ability to understand the context and the interaction of the various elements of the process.

**Methodology**

The choice of a qualitative methodology, specifically the narrative-response journal and face-to-face interviews, was dictated by the purpose of the study and the questions being asked. As stated above, I wished to avoid setting up any kind of identity dichotomy, any kind of either Japanese or Other situation
in the questions or the conversations with the participants. It appeared to me that most of the research done on the topic of identity of individuals who lived with two cultures and two languages was predicated on the assumption that there was a primary cultural, linguistic, and ethnic identity and a secondary one. The research seemed to address the relationship between those two identities, as if they were separate (Banks, 1981; Cross, 1987) (Phinney, 1989; Phinney, 1993; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987) (Vaughan, 1987). Certainly part of this is a function of the simple fact that the focus of this research has been on individuals of one ethnicity living as a minority in a majority culture; researchers, by and large, have not considered the perspective of individuals who embody two ethnicities, two races and two cultural heritages. I look at previous research in more depth in the section on Definitions of Self. If I was to learn from the participants how they defined themselves, how they conceived of themselves and who they were, I needed to let them control the content of the journals and/or the interviews.

The purpose was to learn how interracial/intercultural individuals themselves perceive and experience the formation of identity. "Narrative comes naturally to us in relating our everyday experiences, but it is especially a crucial medium for expressing our identities. "Donald Polkinghorne (1988) points out that the question of identity—‘Who am I?’ and ‘Who are you?’—are not answered by simply attaching a predicate to the subject I,’ "(Kanno, 1996, p. 58). By collecting multiple accounts of the experiences and reflections it will be possible to begin to use those “different viewpoints on the same reality to complete a panorama” (Bellaby, 1991). I hoped that by asking several individuals to describe themselves and to tell the story of how they think they got to this point in their lives, that I would be able to construct a broad description of what happens to interracial/intercultural individuals growing up in Japan. I expected analysis of the data to reveal commonalities, but not necessarily duplication of experiences.

Always keeping the fundamental purpose of this study at the forefront, I tried to choose methods of getting the stories of the participants that would respect their needs first. A first consideration was a format that would allow them control over the topics that were raised. Allowing participants a choice in the manner in which we communicated, communicated a respect for what they
could tell me. This was a message I was determined would be first, therefore a second consideration was to allow participants to nominate the medium in which they felt most comfortable. None of my participants were geographically close by, which limited their choices somewhat. It would be possible for me to travel, but there were schedule restraints imposed by both participants' and my own schedule. For example, I could not get to Japan before the end of June, 2000 because of parental responsibilities. I proposed either email or regular mail narrative response journals as one possibility. I had had considerable success with this sort of exchange in my classes when I was teaching. Everything a student wrote was kept in strictest confidence, the writing in the journals was never "corrected" or evaluated as part of the student's grade and I responded to what the students wrote; a practice that produced several ongoing "conversations" on a variety of topics that were of importance to each of the individual students. Both students and I had time to think about what we wanted to say and eventually wrote. There was one other possibility, that of a piece of narrative writing on an incident either from their school experiences or a outside of school. This could be the individual's sole contribution or part of a combination of narrative-response and/or conversation.

However, not everyone likes to write, a fact I knew well from the groans of protest that would surface whenever "writing assignment" would be mentioned in my classroom. Some people express themselves best in conversations, in a more immediate give and take exchange. Either a telephone or a face-to-face conversation would be the appropriate medium for some individuals. Such a medium would also utilize my abilities as a listener. Over the years I had established a reputation as someone who could listen well. I was able to make people feel at ease, comfortable. Therefore, I elected to give participants a choice of medium; written via email or regular mail, a conversation either over the telephone or face-to-face or a combination of these mediums. Actual data collection began in April, 2000 and ended in August, 2000.

Another important point to consider was the language in which this would be conducted. I knew that the participants could possibly be monolingual English speakers, monolingual Japanese speakers or bilingual with Japanese and English being the most likely combination. Because of my own linguistic
limitations, I felt that I would have to limit the languages of conversation to Japanese and English. I wanted to extend control of the language in which the conversations and/or written exchanges took place to the individuals who elected to participate. There were two major reasons for this. The first had to do with maintaining a degree of comfort for individuals. When you are trying to express your own story, to try and do so in a language you are not entirely comfortable with places limits on what you can share. Those limits are not just linguistic one but psychological as well. Eva Hoffman expressed the dilemma vividly in her autobiography, *Lost in Translation,*" (Hoffman, 1989, p. 199) with the anecdote describing her decision on whether or not to accept a proposal of marriage.

"Should I marry him?" I asked myself in English. "Yes."

"Should I marry him?" I asked myself in Polish. "No."

I was also well aware of the difficulty, and in some cases the impossibility of translating certain words and phrases of one language into another. If I wanted to get as much of the story as possible it would require handing control over the language of expression to the participants, including the choice to switch languages mid-sentence, if need be.

The point in using conversations and narrative writings, either responded to or unresponded to in the language the individuals chose to use, was the stories they would produce, stories that the individuals chose to tell and share. It was from those stories that I hoped to be able to see/hear how they defined themselves, even how they defined identity. I wanted to avoid casting what individuals told me into the abstract confines of the various theories and models of development of minority individuals. Using tests of ethnic identification or even interview protocols that confined the topics to ones I predetermined based on the literature and/or my own assumptions would also limit what I might be able to learn to those same abstract confines. Robert Coles writes in his book, *The Call of Stories,* the advice one of his first supervisors in his first year of residency as a psychiatrist:

The people who come to see us bring us their stories. They hope they tell them well enough so that we understand the truth of their lives. They hope we know how to interpret their stories
correctly. We have to remember that what we hear is *their story.*
(Coles, 1989, p. 7)

I am not a psychiatrist and I asked the individuals in this study for their stories, but at the same time they also brought me their stories because they wanted them told and understood. I had and felt strongly the responsibility to understand the "truth of their lives" as they shared it with me. Again, relying on the words of Robert Coles and his wise supervisor, Dr. Ludwig; "The patients are often quite sensitive to what we want of them, and when they use our favorite phrases, they are trying to show us how hard they are listening, how eager they are to please" (Coles, 1989, p. 21). I could easily replace the word "patients" in that sentence with "participants" and it would still be an accurate statement. I was well aware of the dynamics between teacher and student, how students are acutely aware of not just the likes and dislikes of individual teachers but are very conscious of the favored ideas and forms of expression of those teachers and will use them in pursuit of a favorable evaluation or sympathetic ear. This is similar to a issue that Ann Oakley pointed out in a consideration of the methodological problems in using traditional interview formats in research with women. She added the dimension of power in a research interview, the power being held by the authority figure of the scholar/researcher, "we could say that: interviewers define the role of interviewees as subordinates; extracting information is more to be valued than yielding it; the convention of interviewer-interview hierarchy is a rationalisation of inequality; what is good for interviewers is not necessarily good for interviewees" (Oakley, 1981, p. 40). I would not be respecting their stories if I were to confine our conversations to the predetermined list of questions and probes around the topic of identity. And that was a responsibility I felt very heavily, reinforced as it was by the words of one of the participants in the opening lines of her acceptance to be a part of the work. "I know there is a lack of literature on the subject, and knowing your background, I have complete faith that you will create a profound piece of work that would inform and inspire many people. It's an honor to be given a chance to tell my story (although I don't know how helpful I'd be). Thank you!" (Victoria)

There is yet one more aspect of this process I wished to make a conscious part of the decision. It is related to Oakley's comment about extracting
information and my own sense of responsibility to the individuals who would agree to share with me. I was and am very aware of asking and receiving something very personal from the individuals with whom I have worked, either as a teacher or in this research setting. Oakley argues for a feminist approach to interviewing, an approach that includes personal involvement with the "subjects" of the interviews. It also includes the possibility, indeed the right, to ask questions back. I was a person who shared in at least part of these individuals' experiences as both teacher and mother of interracial children growing up in Japan. While I am not interracial, I did share aspects of their experiences. I did not define the possibility of asking questions back as merely a strategy for establish rapport, although it could certainly contribute to the process. Rather, I saw it as a possible way of gaining insight into both of our experiences. Being able to examine an experience from a different perspective is often useful and/or helpful in trying to make sense of it. Participants' perspectives on their experience would help me to understand the process I had observed and been a part of, my perspective might help them to understand experiences with their own parents or teachers. It was my sincere hope that each participant would walk away from the experience of having participated in this research with a feeling of having gained something as well as having given.

Because this study was conducted to learn how interracial individuals form an identity within a specific context (monocultural and monolingual) it was important to consider the idea of overlaps "between individuals' lives and social and institutional structures and related individuals" (Dex, 1991, p. 2). This idea of overlaps is intimately related to Taylor's description of the formation of identity as a dialogue between the individual and his or her community. It is also an important consideration when trying to understand participant descriptions of themselves in terms of the literature that has been produced around biracial and ethnic identity. One of the reasons for doing this research was the fact that the process of growing up interracial in Japan had not been explored and as a result the context or the circumstances that might affect that process had not been considered. The narratives of the participants could not be considered without reference to the social and institutional structures that are part of this self-defining dialogue. It was therefore important to examine the data from the
perspective of the context of Japan’s constructed national identity and its influence on social perceptions and institutions, the Japanese school environment and the international school environment. The results of that examination were three different categorizations of the data: sets of factors that either undermined or supported an “international” or transcendent identity, a set of critical questions around the conceptual possibility of bicultural identity within the specific Japanese context, and a set of data that described two very different worlds of experience.

**Data Collection**

Participants were given a choice as to how they wished to participate. They had the option of a narrative-response journal, a face-to-face or telephone interview or a combination of those methods. Interestingly, four of the participants contacted via email opted to participate through an email version of the narrative-response journal. Three of them also chose to participate in a face-to-face interview. One of the participants suggested an on-line chat format in addition to the email exchanges and a written narrative. The remaining participants were interviewed in a face-to-face setting. Those interviews were conducted in the language of choice of the participant, were recorded and lasted anywhere from one to two and a half hours.

The email data was saved as it was received from participants, along with the researcher’s comments and questions. All interviews were transcribed verbatim with extensive notes. For the purpose of coding and categorization, each participant’s responses were saved and catalogued in separate computer files. Notes were made on what appeared to be emerging or important themes or possible categories as data was received and during transcription. These notes were intended for both further reference and to guide in the composition of the next set of possible topics either in response to the written exchanges or for the next interviews. The original list of possible probes (See Appendix 4) and questions was soon abandoned as the participants guided the conversations. Because the data collection proceeded over a period of five months, it was possible to examine the data as they were collected for emerging themes and/or topics. While I was curious to see if the same themes or topics would emerge
with different participants, I did not try and pursue each topic with each participant. An exception was the topic of things participants considered important as a value in their lives. References to such values emerged in all of the conversations and written exchanges; sometimes in reference to what they looked for in friends, sometimes in incidents where a person had felt uncomfortable or the reverse, had felt very comfortable. If a topic did not emerge and then was not picked up after a question that could open the door to comments on that topic, I did not pursue it further. I wished to preserve the agendas and topics chosen by the participants. A result of this was approach was that each participant emerged from the data with a unique story, as having a personal perspective on the experience. I wished to preserve this individuality of response, but I was also curious if there were shared themes or experiences among this group of participants, especially between the two different educational experiences.

In search of those possible shared themes, once data collection was complete, each participant's responses were further analyzed by coding separate units. Units were generally one sentence in length, although there were exceptions for codemixing and in the self-definition category where self-descriptions were kept as one unit. Once coding was complete, the data were re-examined in each of the initial sixty-one coding categories. The purposes of this reexamination were to determine if there was any redundancy in the categories, if the initial category descriptions and the coded data indeed matched, and to check for consistency in coding. The next step was to review the sixty-one categories and determine relationships among them. The result was a combination and abstraction of categories resulting in twenty-two categories and descriptions. At this point I reread all notes and transcripts in order to assure myself that I had not neglected anything and also to immerse myself once more in the totality of the data rather than the specifics.

It is important to reiterate at this point that the purpose of the analysis was first and foremost to obtain from participants their own descriptions and perceptions of what it was like for them to be Japanese/Other in Japan. Comparison of their descriptions with existing models of development was not intended to prove or disprove the validity of a model or to judge the
development of participants. As it appeared that the experiences and the models were not always "fitting", my first instinct was to question the appropriateness of the models and their contexts, not the descriptions of the participants. Further differences that appeared between the descriptions of the Japanese school attendees' and the international school attendees' experiences brought into sharp focus the appropriateness of trying to compare their experiences. If the contexts were as different as the data were seeming to indicate, then certain comparisons of the two groups, e.g. bilingual development, could be as inappropriate as comparisons with the theoretical models of development. There was, and is, a danger of appearing to judge when the intention is to give voice to the participants own descriptions.

An examination of the data, together with notes taken during both the data gathering process and initial coding clarified the emergent themes. These themes were checked against the categories and individual units of data before accepting them as the dominant themes.

There is an important comment to make at this point. While my network of former students quickly produced a list of participants, eager to tell their stories, my contacts with colleagues and students had not produced a similar response among interracial individuals attending Japanese schools. In fact, although some of the foreign parents of these children were quite willing to speak with me, their children did not express a similar level of interest. I began to think that this lack of interest was perhaps a finding in and of itself. Why was it they were so reluctant to speak, or at least appeared to be so reluctant? I was beginning to consider the possibility of not including them in this study, that perhaps their experience was so different that a comparison, an attempt to find shared experiences and ideas would be of little use to trying to understand the overall experience. There were two effects of that mindset. One was to engage in the interviews/conversations with Japanese school attendees without listening for similar topics and themes that had appeared in the conversations with international school attendees. That allowed the second effect, of listening to their stories, talking with them without analyzing their offerings through the filter of either identity development theories or the experiences of the international school attendees.
I thought, at this stage that I would be able to make a decision as to whether or not to limit the study primarily to the international school group of participants. It was only at this stage that I felt confident that the data supported such a decision. The experiences of the two groups had almost no commonalities, other than mixed parentage and physical presence in Japan, Japanese school attendees comments had not figured in most of the coding categories of experiences, of linguistic concerns, of reflectiveness about their position and their identity, of feelings of exclusion. The data gathered from the Japanese school attendee participants clearly indicated the need for further investigation, but of some very different questions. Certainly, one major area would have to be the classroom context. However, as I began writing the analysis, I found that their words and experiences kept intruding; they were not to be ignored. What became the persistent question was, why the qualitative differences in the two experiences. The experience, regardless of how personal it was, could not be divorced from the context and the context of the experience for these two groups was very different, even though both were in Japan. I would be ignoring my own dictates to consider the stories of these individuals within their contexts and not the contexts defined by the theory and model makers or the international school group; the Japanese school attendees also had voices that demanded an audience. As a result, I decided not to exclude the data from the Japanese school attendees. However, the question now centered around how and why the experiences of the two groups were so different.

The data from all participants was sorted by the twenty-two coding categories which had emerged from initial sorting and classifying and a chart made that reflected commonalities. Three major themes were evident from this perspective. Given the very individual nature of each participant’s way of defining his or herself, those categories which did not appear to be commonly shared are the seeds for further probes in subsequent research to determine the reasons they didn’t seem to be shared. I found it interesting how each participant’s descriptions reflected some combination of the point at which they were in their life and their own particular theme.

The data were also examined in relation to the stages of ethnic identity development, Japanese national identity and bilingual/bicultural educational
theory and practice. Given my extensive experience it was imperative to continually play "the doubting game" (Elbow, 1973), by questioning my own preconceived ideas and listening carefully to the participants' stories in relation to the ethnic identity models and the Japanese context. Here, I found confirmation of one of the original ideas that had been part of the impetus for this research, the question of the limits of applicability of the predominantly U.S. based research. There was not a very good fit between the described experiences of the participants, in either group, and the many theories and models of development. It appeared that the context was far more important than the model makers were willing to consider, at least as I had understood them.

**Initial Categories and Descriptions**

The following is the list of categories and their descriptions that emerged from careful consideration of the data, the narratives and conversations of the participants of this study. This list can be grouped into four major sets of categories or themes: Language, Stereotypes, Identity, and Community. It must be remembered that while these themes have been separated out of the data, they are not totally independent of one another, nor can they be neatly grouped into larger sets with discrete elements. I am assuming that identity is constructed through experiences in a number of contexts. The categories of experience that I have identified from the data overlap and interact with one another in these different contexts. I have tried to look at them in a way that respects this overlap and interaction. After all, these are topics in a dialogue of identity, a conversation that takes place between the participants in this study with their friends and families, the community in which they live and/or work, the institutions that provide education and legal status. It is only right that the experiences gathered under the heading As Perceived by Others would be present in several different contexts. Therefore, while I have chosen to group the smaller categories into four larger sets it must be recognized that some of the categories will be present in all of the major sets and others may be present in only one or two.
Feelings About Identity

International school participants expressed a range of emotions toward their own identity that reflected a tension between acknowledging a certain degree of "specialness" (in Japan!) and a desire to make that one component, their mixed status, just one but not the defining element of their identity. While positive feelings dominated, all international school participants acknowledged situations or periods during which they were not happy with their identity. Negative feelings were most often prompted by the individual's evaluation of their own knowledge base of one or both cultures and/or language skills or by the response of other Japanese people to their names or physical appearance which would single them out, put them apart from the group.

Japanese school participants expressed generally positive feelings about their identity as Japanese with a second culture. There did not appear to be significant questions about their identity.

Awareness

Awareness is defined in this study as the first step in being able to make conscious decisions regarding the participants' behaviors and commitment to chosen values.

Awareness is the cognizance with which participants view how they are perceived by others, their responses to those perceptions, of their perceptions of their own context, of the breadth and limits of their own experience and understanding, of their own physical appearance, personality characteristics, of language and usage, of culturally specific behaviors and values.

Physical Appearance

The participants' physical appearance was a distinguishing characteristic in both U.S. and Japanese contexts. Elements of this category include participants':

-own evaluations of their appearance often as ambiguous, especially in the Japanese context,
—others' evaluations of their appearance in Japan as NOT Japanese, as an object of envy, as a barrier to communication based on widely held stereotypes,
—an awareness of the hierarchy of racial mixes—lighter is better,
—as an area requiring the development of coping mechanisms,
—and an awareness of the stereotypes e.g. the physical characteristics associated with biracial individuals in Japan

As Perceived by Others

All participants experienced a range of responses to their physical appearance and then subsequent "mismatches" with names and/or language proficiencies. These responses occurred overwhelmingly in Japan (although they were not unknown in U.S. settings) where participants' physical characteristics do set them off to varying degrees from a largely physically homogenous society. These responses are closely linked to stereotypical images and assumptions which dictate certain attitudes and behavioral responses, some of which are more positive, others negative, all of which form barriers to mainstream inclusion, treatment and acceptance in Japan as perceived by the international school attendees.

Japanese school participants also experienced similar responses to their physical appearance, however, they did not seem to perceive or experience these as barriers or grounds for exclusion.

Parental Influence

This category includes all the work that parents did to provide a secure, protective, and supportive environment, to support language development, to maintain contact with both cultural backgrounds and as examples of certain cultural values, e.g. independence, sensitivity to others, individuality, gambaru, and caring.
**Conceptualizing Identity**

Identity is made up of an individual’s knowledge, experiences, reflections on the past, present ways of thinking, perceptions of things and surroundings, perceptions of self, and reactions of others to the individual all of which interact and affect one another so that this identity is constantly evolving and changing.

**Self-realization moments, reflectiveness and opportunity to reflect on identity**

While moments of self-realization and reflectiveness are not the same, they are linked in that either can act as a catalyst for the other. These activities, as reported by participants, clustered around three major nodes: the process of constructing an identity, finding connections outside of one’s own experiences and knowledge (a kind of "rung up" on the ladder of abstraction) and limits.

While both groups gave examples of these moments, they were much more numerous and formed a much larger part of the overall narratives in the international school student data.

**Developing**

This refers to steps participants are aware that they have taken that have increased their understanding of themselves and their places in their various societies, improvements or additions which they have made to their knowledge base and/or repertoire of behaviors and emotions. "I was...but now..."

**Knowledge**

This refers to linguistic, cultural, social, historical and popular culture knowledge which participants identify as necessary in order to lay a valid claim to a bicultural and bilingual identity, to exercise perspective and/or to be included in any cultural group.

**Stereotypes**

Stereotype is defined by Webster as a "conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion or image" which is also highly resistant to
any change even in the face of conflicting experience, emerged as a category of response experienced by participants in both Japanese and (though to a lesser extent) non-Japanese contexts. Subcategories include participants' awareness of what stereotypes exist and their qualities, when they are being treated as a stereotype, and the range of responses participants employed in dealing with stereotypical responses.

**Defining Self**

This category reflects the way in which participants defined who they perceive themselves to be. These definitions were consistent with the way in which they conceptualized identity. Definitions of self included aspects of language, personality, "halfness", behaviors and values. The definitions of the international school participants might best be characterized by their multifaceted or multidimensional nature and by the element of growth or development that all participants acknowledged. Patriotic or nationalistic references were noticeably absent and even rejected by the participants.

Japanese school attendee definitions centered more around being Japanese and having grown up in Japan with one or more groups of Japanese friends and classmates.

**Consciousness**

Consciousness appears to be closely related to participants' ability to define themselves. It refers to a conscious acknowledgement based on acquired knowledge, experience, reflection and discussion of both personal and societal practices, behaviors and values.

**Making Choices**

Making choices is a category closely related to both defining self and consciousness as most of the choices that participants indicated or described arose out of a consciousness of their own position as a particular point in time in terms of their self-development or as an appropriate response to a particular situation.
Learning to Cope

This refers to a spectrum of learning that enables the individual to get on with daily tasks without being stalled or stymied by others' responses, participants' own concerns over identity or making appropriate behavioral and value choices. This was present in both groups' experiences but it was more pronounced in the international school participants than in the Japanese school attendees experiences.

Language

Language includes participants' self-reported language histories, use in academic and social contexts and self-reported competencies. In a closely related category are attitudes toward and beliefs about bilingualism held by the participants based on their personal experiences as well as those held by people in their environments. Many of these beliefs and opinions held by those in the environment seem to indicate deeply embedded stereotypes or myths around language acquisition, bilingualism, competency and the "uniqueness" of the Japanese language. Many of the stereotypical responses also seem to be closely tied to the individual’s physical appearance.

A last category that is conceivably part of language usage is that of codeswitching and mixing, both self-reported and observed during interviews and from correspondence. Part of this observed codeswitching and mixing was undoubtedly due to the fact that participants knew the researcher as someone with a high degree of shared experience and language.

There appear to be three motivations for switching. One is that there is no English equivalent that carries the connotative meanings of the Japanese. A second was the use of Japanese in reporting comments or responses by Japanese and the last was instances where the individual's English vocabulary did not contain English equivalents or the Japanese appeared first.
**Belonging**

Belonging emerged as the opportunity to be able to feel unconditionally welcomed and accepted by a group with no need to pick and choose which areas (portfolios) to present to the group. Participants expressed instances of belonging, of not belonging, of not being permitted to belong, of yearning for a place to which they might belong. This is closely related to the idea of Community. Again, this was present in the data from both groups, but figured much more loudly in the international school attendee narratives.

**Community**

Community is the group of people with whom participants feel welcomed and comfortable. The Japanese school participants identified the Japanese society as their community, particularly the groups of school and neighborhood friends. The community that the international school participants identified does not have geographic or temporal boundaries and is best characterized by the three ethnorelative stages of development described in Milton Bennett’s Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennett, 1986). The participants’ description of the community to which they aspired or felt they had found represents aspects of Bennett’s Acceptance, Adaptation and Integration stages. "Difference is perceived as fundamental, necessary, and preferable in human affairs. Particular cultural differences are not evaluated at this stage—they simply exist" (Bennett, 1986, p. 184-5).

Bennet makes an essential point, one that seems pertinent to the way in which participants construe and construct their identity. "The concomitant construal of cultural reality as consensual and mutable is essential to ethnorelativism and necessary for further development of intercultural sensitivity" (Bennett, 1986, p. 185). And I might add, to the building of a community.

From the Adaptation stage participants’ descriptions pointed to empathy as a salient characteristic of participants in this community. It was not always important that they shared the same heritages or experiences but that they were interested and that they understood. Participant descriptions imply but are not
explicit that members of this community can, in Bennett's words, "...one who can construe differences as processes, who can adapt to those differences, and who can additionally construe him or herself in various cultural ways" (Bennett, 1986, p. 186).

**Perspective**

Perspective refers to the ability both groups of participants reported of being able to see, feel and appreciate more than one point of view. The Japanese school attendees attributed this ability to "having two cultures". The international school attendees spent more time talking about perspective in their interviews and writing. They attributed the development of this ability to their knowledge and experiential base, their bilingualism, and their consciousness of being "in-between". They saw this as an opportunity that they could use, especially in the context of being able to act as a mediator or someone who can explain one side to the other.

**Values**

This category refers to principles which guide their behavior and thinking. This category was present in the data from both groups but developed very differently. In the Japanese school attendee's it was less explicit, illustrated with selected stories or memories, and fewer expressions of commitment. The international school participants were more explicit in their explanations and would refer to choices they made to certain principles to which they have indicated a commitment. They have identified these as part of their definitions of who they have chosen to be and indicated a determination to adhere to these principles while acknowledging that such adherence requires effort and practice.

All participants nominated an appreciation and respect for difference as a value, international school participants chose this as their most closely held value. Closely related to that was their repugnance of judgments and behavior based on physical traits, socioeconomic status or nationality. Both of these values reflect their commitment to inclusive rather than exclusive behaviors.
In addition, there were strong commitments to personal responsibility; individuality balanced with a concern and respect for group needs; hard work; high personal standards both in maintaining a consistency of behavior with professed values and for academic or work-related goals; caring for others; bi or multilingualism and learning.

**Culture Specific**

The most salient concept to emerge from cultural specific references made by participants was the consistent use of and reference to the idea of "pure" Japanese as a category that did not allow the inclusion of mixed race/nationality individuals. The term appeared in both Japanese and English throughout the data.

**School Experiences**

School experiences are the greatest source of experience for participants in this study, given that they are all with one exception, still attending either high school or university. All participants experienced some form of Japanese education. These included preschool or daycare, swimming/ski school, elementary, junior high or high school, undergraduate or graduate tertiary education. However, it must be noted that the seven of the ten of the participants attended international schools where the bulk of the education was conducted in English with varying degrees of Japanese language instruction.

The choice of international school or Japanese school was seen as the most important factor in setting a future course. Both schools were identified, with one exception, as a generally sheltering, supportive and nurturing environment. Changes in schools, from small to large, from small international to larger international (at the entrance to either junior high or high school) or from Japanese to a school in the U.S. precipitated a number of significant adjustments and self-realizations.
**National Identity and Legal Status**

All participants carry two passports, although there was general confusion over the legality and possibility of maintaining dual citizenship in Japan. Most participants recalled getting their Japanese passports after the 1985 change in Japanese law that allowed Japanese women married to foreign men to pass on Japanese nationality to the children of that marriage. Having both nationalities was defined more as a matter of convenience when traveling than a source of national pride or patriotic loyalty.

**Gathering Participants**

**The Participants**

For the purpose of reporting, all names and references have been changed as agreed to in the consent letter each participant was given, signed and returned once they expressed an interest in participating in the study. (See Appendixes 1-3) Five females and five males between the ages of 16 and 27 agreed to participate in the study. The age range was set for the following reasons. First, recognizing the nature of early adolescence, I felt it would be easier to talk about themselves if participants had more or less cleared the first stages of puberty and self-consciousness. Second, by setting the lower limit at 16, all potential participants would have completed their compulsory education in Japan. A number of decisions would have been made by the participants and their families regarding further education and possible career paths, all of which require a degree of self-reflection and discussion with, at the very least, immediate family. Third, by extending the upper limit past the standard age of college graduation, I hoped to get a perspective from someone dealing with societies as a responsible and contributing adult as well as the perspective of more dependent students. I was curious to see what, if any changes in perceptions of themselves might appear once individuals entered society as adults. The ages of the selected participants provided high school students in 10th, 11th, and 12th grades, university students in their second, third and fourth years and one individual who has begun his career.

Seven of the participants (three males and four females) are confidently bilingual and biliterate either as a result of having attended kindergarten
through grade nine at an international school in Tokyo where they completed the Japanese kokugo (national language) curriculum through grade 9, extracurricular Japanese language study and/or successful completion of graduate school and thesis at a Japanese university. One female participant describes herself as monolingual Japanese. Two other male participants describe themselves as ESL students. All of the participants were born and raised in Japan, either in Tokyo, Yokohama or Kyoto. Six of the participants are currently attending either high school or university (third or fourth year) in the U. S.. Two of the high school age students are attending public high schools while living with relatives. One is currently a grade 11 student and one will graduate in January. The third high school student attends a private boarding school and is currently in grade 11. One participant plans to transfer to a U. S. university during the current academic year. One participant is currently working and living in Japan. One participant is currently attending an international high school (11th grade) in Japan. Five of the participants were the researcher’s students at some point during their K-9 careers. Making use of the informal snowball technique, two participants were referred by another participant, one was introduced by a former student’s mother and two others by former colleagues. One of the participants is trilingual, reflecting the influence of a European parent. All but one of the participants have immediate family currently living in Japan. All participants expressed a willingness to participate. In the case of the international school participants their willingness was also an eagerness to have the opportunity to tell an interested individual their stories. They also expressed an awareness of the paucity of literature on the subject, all of international school attendees expressed pleasure at the possibility being able to share their thoughts about who they are and are becoming. One student, studying to be a teacher complained of how little was available geared toward biracial children in English. “Please send me the questions. I’ve always wanted to talk to people about having two nationalities. (Anna)”, “Thank you for giving me this opportunity to share my experience. I think it’s also important that I give myself time to think about such things, since I’ve never done so in depth and it has so much to do with the way I interact with people. (Victoria)”, and “I am so happy that you are doing this! (Alice)”
CHAPTER 3

 Sketches

As I read the words in these sketches, I am struck by the pain, but I do not only read the words but also hear them and see each of these individuals in front of me. It is from all of these senses that I reconstruct these texts and from that emerges a much richer emotional tapestry. There are indeed words of pain from these individuals, but the stories were told with a great deal of laughter, acceptance, understanding, irony, optimism and excitement about what the next experience will bring. At no point did I understand that these individuals were dominated by pain or unhappiness as a result of their status as haafu or interracial individuals in Japan. That is not to say that they had not had negative experiences, but rather that those had only been a part of their lives. Their stories refute the dire predictions of R. E. Park’s (1935) of being condemned to an existence as "...a divided self and disjointed person" (as quoted in LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 396). This is not to say that other individuals have not had far more painful and negative experiences. There appears to be a number of such cases, judging from media stories and the reports of practicing psychologists and counselors. (Daulton, 2000), Murphy-Shigematsu, 1999). What this does point up is the complexity of the experience. There is no single course of development. Each individual’s experience has been shaped by a continuing reflexive interaction between their own specific psychology, family, language, neighborhood, school, friends and acquaintances, and the social and political institutions. It also reinforces the need to learn more stories, to hear from more individuals. Their stories were also each extraordinarily individual. Each person in the course of writing or speaking guided the exchange to the aspect of the experience that was most important to her or him. I ask the reader to listen carefully as you read.
Victoria
International school student
Japanese mother-Swiss father
University third year student

She is a middle child with an older sister and a younger brother. She was my student in kindergarten and again in grade six. Her response to my request to participate was enthusiastic and immediate. She stated how she felt she needed to talk and think about this topic more and felt that she would learn from the exchange. She chose to participate via email exchanges, because in her words, "I'm not good at interviews." She freely mixed Japanese and English in her messages, trusting that I would understand, much as she had done when I was her teacher. However, I don't believe the relationship was the old one of teacher and student as I felt that she was writing more as a fellow student disclosing things one wouldn't usually disclose to a teacher. Interestingly, she, as all of my other former students, could not bring herself to address me by my first name, which is understandable, since I am the same age as their parents or older.
NIS taught me so much about being international and I can't stop learning about the world now! Japanese people may say I'm "half", others may call me "double", but I want to be "international". It seems like many people have problems with their identity. They feel a need to belong somewhere and try to force themselves into a group. Or they form cliques based on their ethnic background. There are positive aspects to these ethnic groups (cultural and historical awareness, etc.), but it can be exclusive. I don't really want to classify myself...I'm proud of my unique background, and "double" does not describe it sufficiently. Moreover, the more I travel, the more people I meet and the more I learn about the world from those people, the more international I'll become. So I don't think my identity is static. I like to think that it's constantly evolving...Anyway, thank you for giving me this opportunity to share my experience. I think it's also important that I give myself time to think about such things, since I've never done so in depth and it has so much to do with the way I interact with people.

...However, if I make big generalizations, I've concluded that there are very Japanese aspects about myself and also very non Japanese, or Western characteristics to my personality. It's all a matter of context.— When I am in Japan, I don't feel very Japanese.— In fact, I've never really felt Japanese growing up because, after all, I was only "half" in their eyes. I only realized how Japanese I am when I came to the US. The Japanese characteristics of my personality really stand out here. What is so Japanese about me? Well, I tend to gaman suru (endure, put up with) in order to avoid confrontation and seek harmony. I like to conform to the group and go along with what others want to do, and I have a tendency of not giving my opinion on important issues until others have expressed theirs first. I think the "respect your elders and senpai-kohai (junior-senior)" kind of attitude is more prominent in my personality than that of those around me here at school. I'm really afraid of being meiwaku, (demanding, annoying, or a bother) and I hate it when people around me are meiwaku. I'm also an amaekko, (dependent person) but only with people I know very well. I think I subconsciously make a distinction between soto (outside) and uchi (inside). I am very friendly to many people, but I only open up to a very limited number of people. I am perfectly comfortable with the idea of full time mothers. I love the
role of Japanese mothers, actually. I would love to be a full time mother to take care of my kids the way my mom took care of me and my siblings (ideally, I want a career too). These are all typically Japanese characteristics. Interestingly, I was never really aware of them until I started going to school in the US....It's not like I never made any real Japanese friends. I have some really good friends who are Japanese, but that doesn't really mean I feel Japanese around them. The Japanese friends I made appreciated my uniqueness. I was their only contact to a foreign culture. They thought it was cool that I was half, and their parents must have thought it was great for their children to have friends from a different background. I actually don't feel Japanese at all when I'm with them because I feel there is a language barrier. I speak Japanese fluently, but I'm most comfortable speaking in both Japanese and English. I like being able to switch between the two without hesitation. For example, I have a hard time describing things in English sometimes because in Japanese you can describe stuff with the sound you create. Adjectives and adverbs are in many cases onomatopoeia.

Rain=zaa zaa or shito shito depending on its strength.

Language is of course not the only difference. Compared to most Japanese people, I am outspoken. My perspectives are definitely more tolerant, liberal, and progressive than most Japanese people. I'm not xenophobic or afraid of other cultures. Though I value group harmony, I also value individualism to a greater extent than the Japanese. And while senpai-kohai is a social rule in Japan, I don't mind putting myself in a more equal status if I believe I deserve to be treated with equal respect.

What first made me realize how Japanese I am was my Japan Seminar class which I took my senior year in high school. The class covered Japanese history, culture, religion, current events and trends, society, and typical characteristics of the Japanese as a whole. This was the first time things like honne and tatemae (deep, personal feelings and publicly expressed feelings), soto and uchi (outside and inside), and the dynamics of the group-oriented society were conceptualized in my mind. It was only when I read about it that I realized I fit the same social mentality in many ways, and hence, a self-realization that I was in fact very Japanese ensued.
I can never say no when people ask me for help unless there was absolutely no way I can help out. When my friends in the residential activities committee ask me to put up fliers, sell tickets, set up and clean up for the various events they put together, I can't say no because, 1) they're my friends and they'd help me if I needed help, 2) they're doing what they're doing for the entire dorm, which includes me, so I have some responsibility in looking after the whole group, and 3) the more people that help out, the less work there is for everyone. So even if I didn't want to help out and had better things to do, I would somehow try to fit it into my schedule.

Speak of the devil, my friend who runs the activities committee is running for College Council President and needs help putting up campaign posters at 8 am tomorrow. Of course, I am going to say yes because he needs help and it will be so much work for him to put posters up all over campus alone. 8 am on a Saturday is ridiculous especially because I never get up before 8 am for class... oh well, it's more important for me to make everyone happy.

There are other times when other people are perceiving me as half while I'm not. When I meet Japanese people they usually tell me "You speak Japanese! Incredible!". In response, I say, "My mother is Japanese and I was raised here so...". Then they'd say, "Even so, it's incredible. Can you read and write Japanese as well?" This kind of conversation actually annoys me because it implies that if I'm only half Japanese, I shouldn't be able to speak and be literate in Japanese fully. I'm sure they're genuinely impressed by my bilingual language skills, but they don't expect it to be normal standard. Of course, it would be hard for them to understand biculturalism, but at the same time, if I grew up in Japan, it would make more sense for them to assume that my English isn't as good as my Japanese.

I can't really come up with a specific conversation that made my friends laugh, but they enjoy listening to me speak because it's distinct.

Actually, here is one: Last week, I went to play volleyball. My friend isn't a volleyball player but came out to play for the exercise. I couldn't help laughing throughout the game because he played as if he was a ballet dancer. His arms were flying all over the place and one leg would lift up behind him as he jumped to spike. I was describing his motion to a friend later on that night, and as I did, I
couldn't help but add sound effects. I said, "Taraaa" as I jumped in the air with my leg trailing behind, or "To~!" as I pretended to spike. It's kind of embarrassing now that I think about it because no one understands where it comes from. People must think I'm really weird!!

I wonder what my first language is. My education has mostly been in English so I prefer reading and writing in English for academic purposes. However, I think I have a natural tendency to speak Japanese more than English.

My parents started sending me to swimming school when I was about two years old. I don't remember what I thought about swimming back then. I'm sure I enjoyed splashing around in the pool, learning how to swim 5, then 15, and finally 25 meters, the full length of the pool, and back. Then they taught me the strokes, one by one. It was probably around this time that I became self-conscious about my identity.

What made me realize the difference between the rest of the kids and myself was my name. After ten minutes of meticulous stretching, a teacher took attendance. Among 30 Japanese names was mine, written on the attendance sheet in katakana. They pronounced my name awkwardly, and though I knew they couldn't help it, I still blamed them for making it sound so ugly: "ji-i-ba-a bi-to-di-da". The oddity of the name made heads turn towards me, the only gaijin on the pool deck. I pretended not to notice, but inside, I felt the need to hide. I reproached my parents for not having given me a Japanese first name. Once, I came up with a brilliant idea and decided to be called by my middle name, Mayumi. On second thought, however, I realized that people would stare at me anyway for having a Japanese name when I clearly did not look physically Japanese. Hence, the name complex continued to exist, and has never truly disappeared.

At six, I went on a ski trip sponsored by the swimming school with a friend of mine. During the three-day trip, I experienced the strict seniority and unyielding bureaucracy so typical of Japanese society.

When we got to our lodging, we were split into different hans (groups) according to our age. My group consisted of 6-8 year olds. As soon as we settled in, we had to decide whom the han-cho, fuku-han-cho, kakari-cho, and toubans (positions of descending responsibility) were going to be. How was it decided?
By age, of course. The oldest became the *han-cho*, the second oldest was *fuku-han-cho*, and so on. I, being the youngest, became *oyatsu touban*, a person responsible for notifying the group when snacks were passed out. The leaders of my *han* were very bossy and I could not accept their role as leaders just because they were a little older. What kind of merit did they have? I was certainly a better skier than they were, having grown up skiing every winter in Europe. What made them think they could boss me around?

Although somewhere in my heart I knew it was suicidal to go against the group, my western education prevented me from going along. I ignored my *oyatsu-touban* duties, skipped the *han* meeting called by the *han-cho*, and basically paid little or no attention to what the *han-cho* and *fuku-han-cho* had to say. I must qualify that I didn’t intentionally skip the meeting. I had forgotten the time. Nevertheless, it proves that I had no interest in playing my part in the hierarchy. It didn’t take the other girls in the *han* very long to get mad at me. They called me *namaiki* (cheeky, conceited), snickered just loud enough for me to hear, and tried to ostracize me from the group. I retaliated by speaking to my friend in English, showing off my superior language skills and making sure they realized who was really being left out. That’s when they said, “*Eigo shabereru karatte, namaiki nanoyo ne. Gaijin no kuse ni.*” (Just because she can speak English she thinks she so good. She’s a foreigner!). I was very lucky that my friend was with me, since otherwise, I really would have been *murahachibu* (an outcast). I stubbornly refused to yield during that trip, but I learned my lesson: it’s necessary to sacrifice self for the group and respect seniority to be a part of Japanese society.

My dissatisfaction with the trip went beyond the interactions with my *han*. They divided the ski groups according to age, not skill. Thus, I ended up being with kids who could only snowplow. It was a great bore for me, who could already parallel ski, to slowly meander down the slopes in big turns. I asked the teacher to move me to a higher-level class but they told me it wasn’t possible for a reason I don’t remember. On the last day, we were tested on our skiing ability. Since I was in 4-kyu, (a ranking, this would be one of the lowest) I had to take the 4-kyu test, meaning I had to snowplow downhill between the red and blue poles. When I asked them if I could just parallel ski down, they told me specifically to
only snowplow, since that was what I was being tested on. I was very disappointed by their unwillingness to accommodate and their emphasis on trying to keep everyone at the same level. Instead of letting me do my best, they made me conform to the level of the kids around me. Later on in life, I learned the saying, “the nail that sticks out gets hammered down.”

Though I recall the memories from the ski trip somewhat bitterly, I cannot deny it is one of many experiences that has made me into a more balanced human being. I know it is important to assert myself at times, but I also understand that yielding to the wishes of a larger group is also necessary and equally important depending on the circumstances. I should always try my best, but I should also be humble and help others along the way. The best thing about being a double is the ability to comprehend the balance between being an individual and being a part of a greater entity, and knowing where to put myself within that spectrum depending on the people around me.
Alice
International school student
Japanese mother-American father
University fourth year

She had been a student of mine in kindergarten. Her younger brother was also my student. Her parents separated when she was nine, and she and her brother stayed with her father in Japan, but had, and maintain regular contact with their mother. She graduated from one of the largest international high schools in Tokyo, where she had not been a particularly good student, preferring karaoke to study. She currently attends a university on the east coast of the United States where she is majoring in elementary education.

Her response to my request was immediate, stating how much she wanted to talk about these issues noting how little was written on the topic. She also contacted six of her friends, four of whom responded positively to the request to participate. We met for an interview, but it could not be described even as a semi-structured interview. This was a topic that she wanted to explore, had explored and enjoyed poking around in. We were not strangers, she knew me as a teacher and as the mother of children like herself. In fact, we began by "catching up", she asking about my children and letting me know about her brother and her parents.

She is an animated storyteller, who needs little prompting. She illustrates her thoughts with voice and gesture, taking her interlocutor with her into each vignette. She is also thoughtful, willing to question and curious. At the end of our conversation, she thanked me yet again for wanting to know what she had to say, what her thoughts were.
When I was two, three. I lived in Kobe and everywhere I went, everyone, everyone will say, "Kawaii, ooooooo, kawaii, you look like a furansuningyou." (So cute, so cute! You look like a French doll!). And so I was so high on myself. I was "Okay, I was pretty." So that's why I always got attention. No matter what I did, anything I did was like really cute, so I was cute 'cause I looked different and stood out. Then the first time that I remember that I didn't like, like when I, when I felt like I didn't like being half was umm I went to preschool in Kichjoji, in a public preschool and, uhh, the first day I went there, I was...the first day I went there, I went with my mother and then all these little kids wearing yellow hats and yellow shorts and yellow outfits and everyone said "Gaijin! Gaijin!" (Foreigner! Foreigner!) Everyone said gaijin to me and then I just started crying, I was like I'm not gaijin and they were like "Yeah, you are, you look like you're gaijin" and I was like "NO! Look at my mother, I'm not gaijin, she's Japanese. And they were like "Gaijin, gaijin, gaijin!" and I like cried. Then after that, like I became friends with them and it was all okay but, that first contact, it was, everyone said I was gaijin, when, you know, I had, I had never lived anywhere else. ......And I didn't, couldn't really speak English either....

And then after I went tobullet bulletbulletbulletbulletbulletbullet, it was fun, because it was, you know, everyone, you know, like it didn't really matter. Everyone was from another country, people were mixed, people were of different races, it didn't really matter and nobody pointed out, although, I noticed that uhh, like Mary said, that kids with like darker complexions got teased, even atbullet bulletbulletbulletbulletbulletbullet. So, ...well, I got, ....I don't know I always got attention for being mixed and then uh, and then as I got older I think my Asian features kind of like faded away and you know, I started to look more Caucasian. And then people will be surprised when I spoke in Japanese which upset me, (laugh), you know they were like "Oh, wow, where did you learn Japanese, you're so great." (laugh) and then .....where ever I go, even like in Shibuya, even in high school. People will come up to me and you know start talking to me in English, saying they want to practice their English. And I got it, I got it every week. Every week, someone will come up to me and ask to practice English with me. And I got so fed up and I was like, "Look, look to your left, upper hand corner, there's a NOVA. If you want to practice your, .....If you want to practice your English, you go to
institutes like that there. You don't come to me. I don't want to do this. Goodbye." And I would get, I would get very hyper. I got sooo upset. I was irritated 'cause everywhere I went that's what people would ask me.

When I was younger, I wanted to be "pure" Japanese. Pure. And then, no one would see me as pure, because of my looks. At that time I would pretend that I couldn't understand Japanese. I always spoke in English. I pretended. Like, around my family it's okay. My cousins, my grandmother, it's okay. But, uh, neighborhood kids oh, they'll, they'll start talking and then they'll talk to me in Japanese. And I'm like, "I don't understand what you're talking about." Then they'll go "Ahhhhhh, eigo shabetu!" (Ahhh, she's talking English!)...all this stuff, it's so ugly....

I was like nine, I didn't want to have to like listen to like "Oh, wow ,you can speak Japanese." 'Cause I remember, I was in a park once. That's when I was about nine, eight or nine. And a five year old Japanese girl in the neighborhood, you know, we were playing together and she noticed that, she suddenly noticed that I didn't look pure Japanese. And she said, "Wow, you know, your Japanese is so good." And I was like "Dude, I'm three years older than you, I've been speaking Japanese three years longer than you have." So, I got mad at her. .....That's how I felt. And so, it depended on the person, at times I would pretend I didn't understand...

I want to improve my Japanese. I'm like losing it. I have trouble like, like only speaking in Japanese. Like, I have to think about it. I have to think it through my head, sort of and make sure it makes sense but I lack vocabulary. I feel really frustrated and upset. I grew up in Japan yet, you know, I'm turning into that gaijin that everyone calls me.

.....Maybe [because I have been at a U. S. university] and also because my mother left when I was like nine, so I spoke English at home. The only way I spoke Japanese was with my friends and my Japanese teacher. You know like everyday like at the convenience store or something like that. I never really, I didn't really have anyone to speak to at home except my brother who spoke like Japlish. ....I can read, I can read pretty well now too, but writing, writing really stinks. Writing and reading is different. I can recognize, "Oh, this is how you read it." but I can't like, oh think of it and write it. It upsets me because, umm, I
meet, I have dinner with my Japanese relatives like every winter break when I go home. Like New Year's dinner, Christmas dinner, we like go out together. And it was last winter I couldn't carry a conversation with my cousin. Like, I couldn't articulate myself the way I wanted to because I had NOONE to speak Japanese with here. Until I met Phillip's girlfriend, the only person that I became friends with, you know. So, I was really upset. And I was trying, I wanted to talk to them. They also...they don't really talk to you, like I was like the only one like having a one-way conversation. Maybe that's, that's part of the reason that I thought I couldn't communicate or get through...But they're just like "Umm" "Ah so desu." That's it, that's the only response they gave me, so I don't know.

Yeah, I need to improve my Japanese. I can understand it, I can get around, y'know, I know, No one says I have an accent or anything, but I don't feel confident. I want it to be perfect. Like. I feel my English has gotten better, but it, it's both languages aren't that great in my mind. I'm not confident in either one.

I remember Kondo-sensei was saying before, she was saying, "Bilingual education, languages tend to be 50-50 or 70-30 or like 60-40." and she was like, "I don't want that to happen to you.", she said. "I want you to be like 100-100." And I see myself being like 40-60, y'know and I want to make it 100-100, like she said. Like, it stuck with me, I don't know, it stuck with me what she said, I know. I think it happens to a lot of people who go through bilingual education. I'm interested in bilingual education too, so I went through and I, obviously different outcomes for different people but I know what worked for me and what didn't work for me because. I don't know. It gives you a good base to start off with but it's, it's really up to you to polish it. Y'know.

...Well, being bilingual is like native, like culture comes with language and, uhh, growing up with two around you, it gives you both cultures, to a certain extent. You know, like the gender differences in Japanese, you know the way you put yourself down at certain times or you know, you're the authority figure. You learn like, the culture, goes within you when you learn the language, especially from such an early age. Uh...I think, that's what..to me that's what makes, that's one of the bigger...ummm.....it plays a big role in me being bicultural I think. Not just, not just be living in Japan. Ummm, y'know. You can
get a sense of the culture, but in Japan, that the language is what gives you, I
don’t know it’s like...it’s like participating, y’know. I think, it’s just the biggest
part of culture, to me ’cause it just shows so much about the country and like just
the customs and the way you’re supposed to act, everything, I think, ......that’s
why it frustrates me that I don’t feel confident with the language when I’m like
biracial and I consider myself bicultural but it, it’s because I don’t feel confident
with Japanese it...has...I...I want to, I want to you know, I want to perfect it, so
I feel comfortable with myself, like saying, “Okay, I know this and I know this
and that’s what I am. Like I don’t really know this part...I know most of this
part, but I don’t know the other part.” So, I, I want to, I think I just want to stay
in Japan for a while. After I graduate, I don’t know, something.

After I came here I ....after I came here, ’cause everyone saw me as a
Japanese. I was talking to my father, I was like “Papa, you know when I’m in
Japan I’m gaijin, I’m...every gaijin’s Amerikajin in Japan anyway. It doesn’t
matter, it’s like, it doesn’t matter if you’re Canadian or French or whatever,
you’re American! Right. ....... It’s like I’m Amerikajin in like Japan, but in the
States, I’m like Japanese.” He was like “Ohh.” But I was just like, I had, I went
through this period of like, identity like crisis. I didn’t know...First, okay, first of
all in Japan I’m not accepted as Japanese. In the States, I don’t feel comfortable
being considered American and I’m, y’know, I tell them I’m from Japan, they
say, "Okay, well, okay, you’re Japanese." And, you know, I, and I’ve only lived
here for three years, you know and plus I, I was never around, around any sort
of religion, and, uh, you know, I was part of the international people’s, like,
bubble thing in Japan. I was, that’s where I felt like I belonged, I didn’t belong to
like the Japanese people. I didn’t belong, I don’t belong to the American, I don’t
belong to any religion. So I thought, “Papa, where do I ... I have no place here,
y’know. I don’t, I don’t feel comfortable.”

And then, and then I became friends with people who were more
international minded or had international experience, like, like this girl I became
roommates with, umm, I roomed with sophomore year afterwards she had like
this love for foreigners for some reason, she was like fascinated. And she came to
Japan with me over winter break. And uh, this other girl who, who’s father was
in the United Nations... and these people had, like been... They know the world,
they like have a sense of the world. They don’t think the world is this little section of the United States, that’s all that matters, y’know

I just found myself, like you know, forming, sort of friends with international minded people, regardless of race, it didn’t matter. Like, they’re you know, I just, I just like to be with people who have respect for culture, other cultures, you know. It doesn’t matter if you have experience. You know, if you just respect it or you know have some sort of appreciation for like other cultures. That’s, that’s more of the criteria to become friends with me. (Laughter)

Yeah, at first like, you know...I became friends with all the black people. I was like "Wow, you know, cool." I had never, like, come in contact and then uh, and then that gave me identity crises. That gave me, because I only had black friends, I didn’t have any other friends and then uh, I felt like I was an outsider again. I thought maybe, like I made it so I felt like an outsider, ‘cause I’m used to it, like people around me, you know. I think, that’s what I think I was doing ‘cause that’s what I’m used to, like the different one.

But then I was being called, "White girl." And I was like, "Wait, like I’m not ONLY white." And then I was called Japanese girl and I was like, "No, no, I’m not JUST Japanese." And then I also felt like I didn’t fit in at all, like, you know, I got to know the culture and, uhm, went over to my friend’s place and had like soul food and everything and it was fun but then at the same time I was like ..........I feel more alone now, You know and so I went through identity crises. I didn’t know who I was, I didn’t know, I just didn’t have a sense of belonging anywhere. And then I started like finding these people, like I had, I knew them from before, but like, you know I didn’t really hang out with them or really associate with them then.

And[with them] you’re not, you’re not expected to know the cartoon shows, you’re not expected to know, like, you know the TV shows that were on like 12 years ago, you know. I can’t relate to it. I watched Doraemon, you know, and Sazae-san. I know about Doraemon, Sazae-san and PaMan and stuff, you know that’s what I know. I don’t know, like GI Joe and Rainbow Bright or whatever it was, CareBears or you know. I don’t know. And you know the people...they, just like they mention it but they don’t really dwell into it like everybody else, like they have to talk about TV right now.
I tend to label myself, too. Because I'm used to it, like I've always been
told I was different, always different, sometimes, like most of the time it was
positive, like or not only in Japan. In Japan you're put on a pedestal at the same
time you're looked down upon. So, you know, know. You're like "Oh, wow" but
then it's like, "Oh, she's gaijin, she's separate.", you're separate.

I'm not pure, it's kind of complicated but either way, I'm different. And
so, I'm, I'm an outside person. Like I'm sort of, sort of leaning toward the
Japanese blood, but not really, because I'm not pure, like konketsu. I hate that
word! It's so derogatory. It's like you're a mutt, it's like saying you're a mutt. It's
konketsu, that how it seems. But hafu, it's a nicer term, you know what I mean. It's
like the nicer term, it's like "Oh,, kakoii" (Oh cool!) Like people, I remember
Japanese high school girls would be like "You hafu, can I be your friend?" "I've
never had hafu no friend before."

I'm like, "What if I'm a big bitch, still want to be my friend?" Yeah, and so
like 'cause I'm used to being like kind of outside, so I think that that the way I
said, I made like only like black friends, only. I chose to only make [black
friends]. Now, that I look back on it, I think I was trying to make the same kind
of ...atmosphere type thing that I was different you know. Like...

So, so......you know they're cool, but it's like it wasn't, it was I was trying
to recreate my environment that I'm used to but it, you know, it's like, it's NOT
Japan. It's not the same, it's a different culture and it not going to be the same
and I don't even really like it, but that's the only thing I know in Japan so it's
kind of weird.

Japan, I used to consider home, I don't really consider it home anymore.
It's a, you know , a place I grew up. It's like furusato (my hometown, but the
word carries a heavy connotative meaning as your home) but it's, it doesn't have
the same kind of like welcoming feel type thing. It's just like, yeah I know. I like
to look at the ....people I'm used to like the train guys, or like, you know, the
convenience stores. I like that, like omatsuri (festivals) and everything and my
friends and relatives, family and visiting my school, but it's, there's no like
"Welcome back!"

Like double was, it seems like it's a nice gesture but oh, it's to me like you
know, like politically correct type you know what I mean, it's like, it's like, I
know like the parents, all the parents don’t mean any harm or anything but it’s like it’s being overprotective and like sympathy. It’s like, “You don’t have to feel bad, you’re special. You’re special.” type thing, “You’re not half, you’re ? .” You know, it’s like that. My dad you know, ‘cause my dad he goes through that phase, he says “I don’t like that term half, you’re a double.” And, I’m like “Whatever.” You know, it’s like, it’s like...."Whatever." and he’s like “Oh, okay.” So he doesn’t really say it anymore. I thought like, yeah like I don’t know, I think parents go through that phase or something.

I understand the parents, you know, I think it’s natural. You want to protect them [your children] ‘cause you know, you want to make sure they feel secure,

I think part of the reason I didn’t like double was because...pause, because like I was...kinda like looking at the positive side of the half term, of like being like *kakoihi* and stuff. You know, like it’s just like “Oh, my gosh, you’re half,” All that stuff, so I looked at that and doubles don’t ...You know, that’s not the term Japanese people use and you want to be accepted by the Japanese you know and *haafu*, you know, it’s not, it’s not great but it’s not that bad, like.

I don’t know. I guess I still feel more comfortable being different, even though it upsets me at the same time.

If I’m around like American people I’m Japanese, but I then I have a problem with being American and I’m Japanese. I don’t like being called that, I don’t like being called a *gaijin*.

Maybe, maybe like I want to ...I don’t know, ‘cause I don’t feel accepted, and that’s the place I want to consider home but I just can’t...and the States, well, “Sure, come on in.”, you know. And there [Japan], it’s “Sorry, no *gaijin.*” You know, and its...and I have a problem when Japanese people call me *gaijin* or *Amerikajin*. It doesn’t really bother me that much here when people like, say things....I don’t really care about people what they think.

My reflections from the past, ...and ... how I perceive things...I don’t know if it’s, your, your perception is your world. You know, the only reality you know is your own, your own perceptions.

I’m really secure right now, like but not quite. I don’t want to be frustrated, I just want acceptance, like, you know, I want to accept who I am and
how other people, how others may think of me. Although I think, maybe the world’s slowly evolving, the way people think, you know, people become forward thinking and more accepting too? You know so I don’t know what, who my identity is based on, how I think at the time. It just depends. Like I don’t want to base it on people. I don’t want to base it on places, or things or anything. My identity, is the way I think, the way I think at the present time, the way I perceive things, the way I perceive myself, is my identity. Like right now, I’m frustrated, like but eventually, like I don’t want to be frustrated. I’m only 21, you know. I’m gonna like, I’ll be more comfortable, I think, I’m sure, like when I’m older, you know.

I’m constantly searching. I rest for a bit, then I go up the stairs again and I’m like this, yeah, like this is pretty comfortable, go up again, and looking for a top, this top I won’t really reach, but ... I think it’s just you know reaching different stages of my life and you know maturing. You’re forever learning. There’s no limits. [I’ll] rest and look back “Ahh, I did a good job.” It’s like, “Oh, I could have gone a bit quicker there,” or like, “I shouldn’t have tripped there but I’ll be careful next time.”

...Like tolerance, like I can’t, I can’t agree with some things here, I just can’t. But like, you meet people completely different sets of like beliefs from you, like I never thought I would become friends with a Republican girl who owns a gun and whose father, whose father doesn’t want to buy any cars made by countries who fought against the US during WWII. I never thought I would become friends with the girl. She grew up on a farm in Tennessee, right. And she was like, “My Daddy got me a gun for Easter.” And I was like, “Ohhh, okay”, you know. Like, you know, I used to see people in that category as like different, like being.....I still don’t agree with her, that’s what she’s used to. And I can see, that’s how they grew up. That’s how I grew up in my way, that’s why I have this set of beliefs. She grew up that way, so you know, she grew up around that, the farm and you know, the Republican set of beliefs, like community and getting guns for your birthday and everything, you know. Like, it’s just foreign. And see, I’m just as foreign to her, you know. I don’t know, like, I don’t agree with it but like tolerance, like show respect. You know, we have debates, you know, but then we never go off and like you know and like insult each other. I don’t know,
like...I'm working on it. 'Cause I get, I like. I like talk to my father and I'm like, "What's up with these American people?" You know, my father's like, "Yep, I know what you're talking about." And like, you know, I don't really want to be like that, you know, 'cause like I'm contradicting myself when I like generalize people and when I, um, say, "What's wrong with them, with... Why do they think this way? It's stupid" you know.

There's pride and I think, I don't know, for me, at least, I have, like, a lot of pride. Not only was I, like, put on a pedestal, but I was excluded, and I have this pride and I want to prove myself...I want to not, mostly for myself, prove myself for myself, to myself. It's just like pride, you know. "I'm pretty good," you know,..."I'm special" type thing that you constantly, like. I've been told, that I'm special and I, like, I should be happy, all this stuff. So it's like pride was what, what, you know I was told to think and wanting to like to just prove that.

Even though I seem to have issues with my race and identity, I can say one thing for certain. I am proud of who I am and my wonderful upbringing. I am somewhat marginal, an outcast of the mainstream in both societies. That is my place in the world, the only place I've ever been a part of.
Violet

International school student
Japanese mother-American father
University third year

She was born and raised in Kyoto where she attended International School until junior high and then went on to ···. She has an older sister. Alice let her know about this project, because she thought she might be interested in participating. She was, emailing me within hours of getting the information from Alice. Her preference was to meet for a talk when I suggested that I might be able to go to the city where she and the others were attending university. I held the interviews in the sitting room of the bed and breakfast where I was staying. We had only spoken on the telephone before she made her way to the B & B. She had just moved apartments, after several postponements and was getting ready to start summer session classes at the university. She walked in and introduced herself with a smile and a lovely laugh, that appeared regularly throughout our conversation. She was at ease throughout, sipping the coffee we had. Taking cues from what she would tell me, I would ask a question and she would start by saying, "That's an interesting question!" before exploring that train of thought. She was interested in my experience, both as a mother of interracial children and a wife in an interracial marriage in Japan and was not shy about returning questions. I saw her as a reflective searcher.
I think ... more than the people around me, I think I kind of made myself different. I think I was always hoping to find some kind "half" island that there would be "half" people who would all understand what we're going through and then everything would be happy. So, it was easy for me to find differences, umm, and because, I think I was trying to... trying to make myself feel that way sometimes.

...there hasn't really been times in my life where being half has caused a big problem, it's just kind of a lingering....thing that has always been there and, umm, it's just kind of trying to get comfortable with who you are. Trying to find the answer... probably because there were no other people older people [like you].

I'm Violet Jameson, Violet Mia Jameson. Umm, I am half Japanese, half American growing up while attending international schools for education... I can't actually start to talk about myself without bringing in my nationality.... When I was little, I was lucky enough to have an older sister who is only a year and ahead of me and so I there was at least one... other person for me. And, umm, we lived in a house in Kyoto and I attended International School, but before that I was a little tiny girl... umm, my dad had jobs here and there when we were younger teaching English uh so I don't really have a very ... I don't think I have that much memory of him up until I was about five and a half or so. I think he was around, I just don't remember him much. My mom's image is a lot stronger and I spoke mainly in Japanese at that time because I was with my mother all the time. And I had absolutely no idea that I was strange. I was very sheltered from that until the time I was five. And I went to Japanese hoikuen, (daycare) and the first day I went there the teachers loved me, they introduced me and they thought I was the most adorable little girl in the world and things were okay until recess and everybody went outside and I thought I was going to play too and one boy just pointed at me and went "BANANA!" and he ran off!... And it just, I guess he didn't know how to say my name, but he knew it started with a "b" or a "v" or something around there and he just picked "banana". And so he said "Banana!" and then all the other kids started doing that and nobody thought it was cool to hang out with me, (laughter), so I had no
friends when I was in hoikuen, umm, except for one girl who would actually play with me AFTER school but not during school, laughter

Yeaah, I think she found it not cool to be friends with me in school but as a person she didn’t really mind about after school and we played sometimes. Most of the time then I was alone. Yeaah, I don’t think it was something that made me cry all the time, it was just more of ...I didn’t really think why...I thought I was just the same as everybody else and and then that was the first realization that I wasn’t the same as everybody else. And, umm, at that time, that was just about the time from when my sister started attending ••• International School and she was learning English., and my Dad would come home and he would speak English to my sister and I didn’t understand that and I was feeling left out from both, you know, and I thought, I thought okay I don’t understand what they’re saying but I want to know and so I ..., I really didn’t speak much English until...I mean words that were used in the house, Daddy and Mommy, I didn’t know they were English, they were just words, and so um, I didn’t know English, like, and then when I turned six, my parents put me into the ••• International School. And then I was supposed to know English and I didn’t know English. And I remember, my Dad, helping me read The Little Fish that Got Away, a little picture book. It took me two weeks to read it and it was soooo horrible because I didn’t understand what I was saying, but I started learning English more and more, and it became more of an exciting thing, to learn English and my parents were both putting a lot more on my English, in school and at home and I started to forget my Japanese. And, ummm, I’m not really sure when it was but at one point I think my parents realized “Uh-oh”, and put me in the Japanese classes they had at ••• and that probably was a good decision except for one guy who was in my class ...

He was half Indian and half Japanese. And he was really good at Japanese and in Japanese class, umm, when I had to read and now I had an accent, an American accent when I was reading Japanese and so he made fun of me and I got so embarrassed because everyday I had Japanese class he would make fun of the way I sounded and I just shut out Japanese. I didn’t want to learn, I didn’t want to speak it unless I had to and I spent years like that, literally.
And if you, living in an international school, it's really easy to get into that bubble, where you can avoid speaking Japanese almost all together and only when you ask directions or something like that when it was really necessary did I do this. Other times I just didn’t want to because I thought I sounded horrible but I continued taking Japanese classes all throughout, all through middle school and in middle school I changed schools. I started attending ••• and um and I had Japanese there too. I don't really remember I never had many Japanese friends at ••• ummmm, and I didn’t speak Japanese to them. I'd go home, speak English at home...Even with my Mom, umm, she, I mean over the years she's learned a lot of English, so now she’s basically fluent and, umm, she would talk to me in Japanese and I answer in English and it works, we understand what we’re saying.

It wasn’t until my senior year in high school when I made a Japanese boyfriend outside of school for the first time. And here was a guy who, didn’t speak a word of English, so now...

I met him at a store. Actually, there was this little store, it sold all sorts of little things and I went basically every weekend to just check out what they had ... was there quite often and one day he just decided to talk to me, because he knew I didn’t look Japanese but he was kinda curious as to who I was and, umm, we got to talking and we, uh, started going out but now, umm, communication, you know. I didn’t like speaking Japanese but I had to if I wanted to talk to this guy! And so, so that was kinda just like, you know, forget the accent, forget anything, just speak it and so I just started speaking it and speaking it, of course I knew all the words so all it was a matter of trying for the accent. And I gained more and more confidence and more and more words, asking questions all the time, you know. I’m much more confident, I mean with Japanese friends I had no problems, I'm basically Japanese speaking

My reading, umm, reading, oh, definitely English. I read English. I'm, even if my speaking has gotten a lot better, my kanji ability is really a bare minimum. So, and I don’t like read in Japanese because it's tiring, having to look up words or if it’s all hiragana (Japanese phonetic symbol system) and no kanji then you think it’s easier but then when, where are the words cutting off, so I just, so all the books I read for fun are all English, yeah.
(About school)

is a very, very small school... basically they stuck grades together, grade three and grade four; put together in one classroom. And the smallness of the school really, I think, it sheltered us for a while.

Because, uh, since there were so few of us, we were all friends. There was no way a group could be formed, there wasn't a Japanese group or an American group or anything, everybody has to get along with everybody or else you know you can't come to school the next day... And the teachers were also very understanding and, um, I liked that small school atmosphere for the elementary years. I think it was really good that I went to •• for seventh grade I realized that there was a world beyond my class. And, of course, that was a big shock too. There, moving to a big school was a big change for me and there were big cliques. And, um, trying to figure out which clique I belonged to was another thing I had to figure out. In the beginning, I stayed mainly with American people and, um, hung out with them. I always felt a little different.

Because those people would usually be from American and talking about TV programs or some candy or something that's popular in the States that I would know nothing about and so I couldn't keep up with those things and that always made me feel a little left out in that group. Ummmm, I then went to the Japanese group and I think I fit a little more there. Of course, TV programs and everything, there's a lot more we can talk about because we're all watching the same programs.

There's another half girl, a close friend, I used to hang out with. Yeah, the interesting thing about her. Well, her parents were divorced when she was just a young girl and I think at one point she, and I can't speak for her, but I think she tried to get rid of everything British about her. Her father, who left her, so she used to be Wilson and then she became name Sugiwara and she made everything about her Japanese. She liked Japanese music, read only Japanese books and really kind of pushed that away, umm, so I thought her more Japanese, she didn't really talk much about her halfness. There still weren't that many half people in the school. It's hard to come across people.

The Japanese girls that I hung around with basically they'd been in a, been in •• or in another international school since they were young so since all the
education that they'd gotten was in English, they're very comfortable using English, it was the language that was spoken and maybe sometimes Japanese was mixed in by them, only Japanese would never happen, not out of my mouth!

I'm a lot more comfortable with myself now and, ummm, I mean, ummm being able to speak both languages without having to worry about an accent. Which makes me feel more comfortable saying that I'm half Japanese, half American But to say, half Japanese, half American but my Japanese sucks, and now I can say more confidently, and really kind of feel that I've gotten both cultures.

Because it's my parents trying to do the best they could and...Education, first of all. Uhhhh, I think my Dad had to first of all to decide to send me to Japanese school or international school and that is the big difference. My parents chose to put me in international school, which, you know basically put me on the path to university...that's the past, the environment, I mean everybody that was guiding me that way. Hmmm, I didn't go to college right after I graduated, though. I, uhh, I spent ... sometime in Kyoto. I had rented an apartment with a boyfriend at the time and, uh, I was just, I was spending time doing 'bito (part time work) and enjoying my life. Actually, that, ummm, that was a time I think when I was trying to, ummm, I think, umm I think I was a little angry at how everything was set for me. And I, I I didn't see the point in going to college, and I said, "No, I'm not going." My parents ...I think they knew they couldn't say anything at that point to change my mind, so I was just not listening, you know. So they gave me space and ...I was enjoying my time but then I kind of ... I guess I did start to think, "What AM I supposed to do? Where AM I supposed to go? What am I supposed to become?" And the one thing I knew best was college and that was the thing that I knew and I went back to my parents and applied to ••, got in and started attending that fall. BUT, of course a year and a half later I dropped out of •• ...I'm sure some people are thinking, "What?" I was determined to go back to school and to find out what I was supposed to be doing, then after just a year and a half later. I had no passion, my work was all half-hearted. I was kind of spending my days, in school. That kind of really frustrated me. It was pointless all these things I have to do and I don't know why I'm doing it. I think, and, um, so I dropped out and then...
I did a lot of thinking and I just dropped out a year and a half ago and in a year and a half I think I’ve grown a lot more comfortable with myself. And I look back on a lot of those things, who I am and how I got here and... Animals are very big in my life.

And, uh, this actually has a lot to do with me being half. I, in Kyoto in the little neighborhood where we were growing up, everybody around us, basically, were Kyoto people who lived there for generations. And so, umm, and I don’t want to say it’s stereotypical or anything but they’re nice on the outside and kind of say a lot of mean things in the back.

I didn’t have any kids to play with, because whether, their parents told them not to play with us or the kids didn’t want to play with us, I don’t know but we just never got along very well. And so, it was always just my sister and I and we were only a year and a half apart in age and we always hung out. And the thing is she was a year and a half older than me so she was always graduating things a step ahead of me and leaving me still wanting to do omamagoto (play house) and my sister thinking, “It’s boring the most boring thing in the world!” And those times, the friends that I had were the pets that we had and they loved me unconditionally. They didn’t care if I was purple or green or whatever, you know, they loved me for who I was and they showed it. And I think that that was so reassuring. Even though my father is allergic to animals, I always brought back stray cats to the house. My Mom took in as many as she could but we turned away a lot of them. We just always had animals. I always just felt comfortable talking to animals about things that I thought I couldn’t talk to people. And when I dropped out of ••, first I thought about going to vet school. Then I thought about how many times I had lost the pets that I had and how hard it was and how painful it was. And I didn’t want to have to deal with that all the time and then ending up...people say that you get used to it, getting used to also isn’t something I want to do. I don’t want to be so distant as to go "Well, I’m sorry your dog died, next." I’m sure they’re not that cold but, I didn’t want to be like that and so I, I started looking into dog training and I found this wonderful woman who trains assistance dogs and so I started working for her. It was volunteer work at first, I was just doing it to, not for pay, just experience. It was great you know, I got to be with these black Labradors and these golden
retrievers that are just so full of energy. And, of course, it's tough but it's fun and it was really great but the more I did the dog training the more I realized that I needed a degree...So the idea of college all of sudden started becoming a lot more useful you know. A university degree could help me out a lot more working in Japan even when a person trains dogs, like they need a college degree. I still don't understand how that's necessary but it seems to be so, the necessity of a degree became a lot more clear and I reapplied, got readmitted and I'm going to be starting classes next week.

It's interesting I've even had some old sorts of people think I'm Japanese and it surprises me because I guess I'm more used to people having some kind of reaction towards my appearance, you know. And to have people say or don't say anything about my nationality, it's kind of like “Aren't you gonna ask?”, you know, 'cause I'm so used to answering that question for everything. ....Coming here, a lot less people ask. All people look different. People here react to my name and what happens is, you know, they'd say, if I introduce myself as Violet, “Oh, where are you from?” and I'll say “Japan” and they'll go “What?”. Because you know, Violet's not a Japanese name and I'm Japanese, half American,

A lot of people laugh at my Japanese name because, umm, my name is Tetsuko and it's a name I chose myself. And people find it so funny that I would choose Tetsuko for my name...It's the same as Kuroyanagi Tetsuko uses, it's, it's an old, old, fashioned name. That's why nobody understands why I chose it but, I got my Japanese passport later after my American passport and then, um, I think the Japanese government [changed the law]. When I was going to get my Japanese passport, I had just finished reading Madogawa no Tottochan, Tetsuko san... and I was so in love with the book that I had to become Tetsuko and my Mom said, "No, please let's find a more girlish name you know, oh change, your name, please, please." but I was “NO, NO, no, nothing but Tetsuko.” And so my Mom finally said "Ok, I don't know, it's your name." And so I became Tetsuko and years later, of course, my Mom was right, you know, I should have picked a nicer name but my Japanese passport says, Nakagawa Tetsuko, Nakagawa is my mother's maiden name. And then my American passport says Violet Mia Jameson...Two different people. I could get married twice. (Laughter)
I think, except for the fact that, when I was young, there was a point in my life where I, I had trouble with my name starting with a “V” because that was a letter that many people always pronounced “B” and my name would never be “Violet” it would always be “Bioreto” and, there was a time when I went those are two different names, you know, Violet and Bioreto...and I thought that, “Why didn't they pick me an easier name that Japanese people could say?...I've had so many nicknames and everything over the years that anything that anyone calls me goes. Like my grandfather, my Japanese grandfather, he doesn't call even me Bioreto, he calls Bioreto.

[but] my middle name, Mia, what my mother gave me. I've always loved my middle name. The kanji is utsukushi (beautiful) and asia no a (symbol for Asia), and so I think that's a beautiful name that my Mom picked out for me.

I think, everyday, I, I, see something or my morals are different...because of possibly the way I was raised. For example, if I'm around a whole group of Japanese people and they're talking about, umm, gay people, ummm, it–if you were in Japan 'cause there's so few information about gay people to the Japanese people–their views are so different from mine, but I'm not about to stand up and say “I believe this, this, this this.” because that's just making myself stand out even more and I don't want myself to be even more of a different person. And I remember one boyfriend that I had, several of the fights that we had, he was Japanese, ended by him saying my, my, my feelings are all like that because “haafu dakaradayo”(because you're a half) and that really hurt.

I've been spoiled, [in Japan]. Here, if your phone bill charges you an extra ten bucks you have to call them, you have to fuss and fuss and fuss and fuss and fuss and then finally something will get done whereas in Japan you call and "gomenasai" (so sorry) you know and they'll apologize, and "moyshiwakigozaimasen" (very polite apology form) and you know and then you know you'll be, “Oh, that's okay.” and it's all cleared up and that was the way I was used to it and now here I have to be much more aggressive and I'm not, I'm still not comfortable with it. I'm not much of a pushy, pushy person, so I, I sometimes let things go that I probably should have fought for.
About a few weeks ago I just realized that [I'm getting pushier] because I got in a cab and the cab driver obviously did not know where he was going and I was asking him, "If you don't know where you're going, I'll tell you where to go because I know the quickest way from here to there." And the cab driver said, "That's okay, okay I got it." He ended up taking me way down almost to the border of Southwest and I thought, "Oops, nope, okay, you're going the wrong way and I'm getting off this cab." That time I really fought and, and he was trying to charge me for the whole cab fare and I thought it was ridiculous since he was taking me all the way out into the southwest and I didn't want to pay that and I fussed and fussed and my heart was pumping and I was like, I was really scared. But, afterwards, afterwards, I really felt proud of myself. "Gosh, Violet you've grown." So, little by little I'm getting fussier. I don't know if that's a good thing or a bad thing.

"But you don't maintain that when you go back?"

No, oh no, not at this stage. I don't know if you watch any of the recent Japanese TV programs? There's a new program called Kore wa hendiayou, nihonjin., I think, which I find, I find so funny, with all those foreigners talking about how Japan is different and it's interesting because watching that I find myself feeling both, sometimes a foreigner will say "Japan has to change this, has to become like that because this is wrong, wrong, wrong." And I'll say "Yeah." And then you know a Japanese person will say, "That's because of this, this, this.", you know. And I'll say "Yeah." I agree with both. You know, I don't know if that has anything to do with me being half or not, I think, it's just kind of funny. I like both countries but I can see flaws and good points of both. And, in culture and in some of the interactions

I try just to kind of not have prejudices for people and I try to be as understanding as possible and to see both sides of every story that I hear. I don't know if what I'm doing but I try to...to be peaceful?

It's funny, sometimes I'm a lot more understanding of other people than I am of myself. There was a time in my life when I was very critical of myself...and I don't even know where that comes from, both my parents have been really supportive with anything that they do, yet I tend to be so negative...,
and then, it's all waves as well...it comes when I'm so happy with myself and then there are times when I am miserable with myself.

It's interesting, ....My Dad is someone who always tries to look individual, and being an independent person who's different. But my Mom, of course, didn't want me to stand out too much. So I think part of my identity is created for me by where I live and my nationality. If I had been a Japanese girl living in the same neighborhood I would have probably had a completely different life. But just the fact that I was half American, half Japanese living in Japan....When I was little, I didn't notice the prejudices that adults had. Adults were usually very nice to me. They always smiled. I thought they were nice so I smiled back. And I talked to my Mom about two years ago, for the first time, she spoke about what it was like living in our old neighborhood.

It was hard for her, it was really hard for her because, umm, she was the one that they picked on and the neighborhood mothers all picked on her because my Dad was foreign so they didn't want us, and, you know, they just kind of stayed away from him in all that, but my Mom was Japanese and, you know, to her they weren't nice. They were actually trying to chase us out of the neighborhood. I didn't know any of it. I had no clue. I never saw that and it's really sad that my Mom had to go through that. And the reasons they picked on her for, were really stupid. Like our car happened to be a little crooked, you know, or our garbage bag was a little bit torn open or anything like that and they would start chewing at her and I never knew that.

I think, umh, I think now that I'm more comfortable with myself, I think it allowed her to be more comfortable [and talk with me]. There was long time when I was just growing up; now I'm American, now, Japanese, Japanese/American, Japanese, you know. And, umm, I think now, my Mom just kept quiet. She knows that I'm much more comfortable and I was settled, it seems now clear for her.

They [my parents] dealt with it, just the whole time and it's amazing, I've never met or spoken to parents of other halfs children but I was just sooo, the whole time I was just so having such a hard time dealing with myself that I couldn't be bothered to think about what my sister is going through or my parents, you know ...And all that time they were consciously making decisions
of what kinds of schools we should have, what friends to find for me. And they did find friends, they found foreign people in Kyoto, friends. And we had a cabin in Nagano, Nojiriko, and that too was a conscious decision by my parents to put me in an environment of where there are half people and foreign people during the summer. And I didn’t think that my parents were doing that, I had no idea.

I have a big, big choice that I have left is where do I want to live. Some people are born with just one passport that they carry. You know, they stay in that country forever. We were born with a choice, you know, and we get two. You know, you have to put country of origin and I can claim both, I don’t need visas and that’s neat. But which, that changes every week, you know, last week I may have said "I think I want to stay in the States for 10 years after graduating and work here and then go back to Japan." and then maybe next week I’ll be saying, "I want to go back to Japan right after I graduate." or, I don’t know... but I know there’s so much more to come. I know my child is going to be also mixed, it has one-fourth Japanese and one-fourth American and who knows what else, so, umm, anything I’m learning now I want to remember and when I raise my child I’m going to make it more comfortable for my children

It is so hard to find people like yourself, especially when you see best friends together and they’re both Japanese or they’re both Indian, whatever, and you see pairs like that and "Where’s my half?" you know, "Where’s my pair?" and there are.....points in your life when there’s just going to be those kind of times.

"How do you get through that?"
"I don’t know."
"You’ve gotten through it."
"Right, I think you just, you have to."
"But it’s there..."
"It’s always there and there’s no cure, you can get more used to it, I think, but,....I mean all we can do is really understand as much of it as we can and
accept as much as we can beyond that there really isn't much you can do as an individual because, well, how other people react to you becomes you."
Anna

International school student
Japanese mother-American father
U. S. boarding school, high school junior

She is the third of four children with an older sister and brother and younger brother. Her sister went through the international school system, as she did until going to boarding school in the U.S. for tenth grade. Her brothers have had a more mixed educational experience between Japanese and international schools. She was my student in fourth and again in sixth grade. I also worked with her in drama activities during her junior high years. She responded to my request for participation eagerly, writing that she has always wanted to talk to someone about who she is, although it has been a topic of conversations with friends for years. We communicated both through email and met for a long conversation in Tokyo during her summer vacation. At that time, she was working at a part-time job in a convenience store. She has always been quite open and trusting with me, in her journals as a student and again in this project. She usually responded to emails within 24 hours, the only exceptions were when she was heavily involved in rehearsals for the school musical. I was struck by how strongly her "voice" came through in her written exchanges. I could "hear" her speaking, hear the inflections and see the gestures. When we met in the summer, at a coffee shop near a station on her way home from her job, we began by talking about her lead role in her school's musical and her aspirations to an acting career. Knowing of my own theatre background, she asked my opinion of different universities and their drama programs before settling into a conversation about being haafu or double in Japan. When we were interrupted by a phone call after two hours; we were both amazed. She was quite ready to go on. She offered to pay for her ice coffee before we left.
I've always wanted to talk to people about having two nationalities. There are advantages and disadvantages in being "half". Thank YOU for letting me share my feelings with you. I've always wanted to talk to someone about this, and ever since I came to a boarding school where the majority of the student body are white-American people, my feelings on this whole concept became stronger, so I really appreciate your responses.

I am like any teenager. I like to shop, talk on the phone, hang out with friends, scream over hot movie stars, and gossip gossip gossip. I lead a very happy life: I have a wonderful family, have awesome friends, I'm healthy, and I was able to come to this exceptional boarding school. But I'm half. I have two nationalities. I am considered as an American/Japanese. It's not like being half is bad. I love it. There are great advantages for having two nationalities. There are many kinds of "halfs" in this world, some you cannot even tell because they can be American/European, Japanese/Chinese, and so on. I happen to have two drastically different nationalities, and that made my appearance somewhat different from pure Japanese people or pure American people. It is easy to tell if someone is half like me because they have very unusual, mixed features. I guess this has been a little problem in my life. In Japan I am seen as an American girl, who many consider as cool people. When I'm on the subway, on the bus, or in a store, I often catch people glancing at me like I belong to a different human species. It's not very comfortable. Perhaps that is why I always had problems of going outside. Even to go to the nearest convenience store. I was so scared of everyone's eyes. "Why do you look at me? Please leave me alone!" In school and at home I was known to be the loud, funny girl, but one step out and I became a shy, paranoid girl.

I don't quite remember when it exactly was when I started to feel uncomfortable in public. When I was small, I thought it was an honor to be called, "gaijin" by people around but as I got older, that word began to annoy me. I wanted everyone to see me like everyone else. On subways, I always looked down when I sat, or I would always take along something to read so I will not have to look up. When I have to stand, I stay close to the door. It's all like that. I wish I knew when it all started. People whom I catch staring at me are mostly women or girls. I don't know why. And young children are pretty common too.
The worst times are when you're walking on a street, and from the other end is a group of high-school girl walking towards you (joshikosei) I feel their eyes stinging my back when I walk past them. I hear giggling. Are they laughing about me?

Actually, I've never had an opportunity to talk about myself, like, having dual citizenship. I really wanted to talk about that because I was always uncomfortable in being who I am. I guess, 'cause like I'm not considered a certain nationality. Even if I'm American, and Japanese people don't look at me as Japanese or American and it's kind of hard. So, I really wanted to talk about, to tell someone about it. I'm sure that like a lot of my friends feel the same way because it's not that easy. Like a week ago at work, a customer, he comes up to me and he's like, "Hey, what's your name and blah, blah, blah." and then he's like, "You look different, are you Indian?" And I was like "No!" So those kind of things like happen a lot. And, yeah, it kind of makes one think. But it, I guess I'm used to it now. And when I was young, I used to think it was cool to be called different and everything but once you get older, you kind of think about it, it's not that good...In a way that, you're not, like, they speak to you as a totally different person, they don't accept you as ....I don't know, they don't treat you the same way that they treat other people, I guess.

I guess, I became to be this way because of, I don't know I've had few experiences, how people mistreated me. There's a lot of like movies, like, going on about races and things like that and I became sensitive about it and I realized "Oh, my gosh, I've had experiences like that too."

Yeah, like when I moved. We moved in December, but before that we lived in S and I always had this, I couldn't, I didn't like to go outside like in weekends. My Japanese friends would go shopping and everything but I just couldn't do that because I always had trouble, like, just taking my things to the register and just, like, I don't know it was hard for me 'cause I felt like everyone was looking at me and it just didn't feel comfortable...

Um, like some of the half people, they don't even care, like, they don't care ...because people are really open, they're like, they don't really care about what people think about them so they just go ahead and make Japanese friends or American friends and hang out in Shibuya. They don't really care about what
people think about them. But people like me, who really worry about what other people think about them. Like, I think it's kind of hard for, uhh, to actually like kind of be...I don't know.

Well, it's not like, it's more like what happened to me actually or then like Jill or someone would like, on a train. We're on a train and, Jill and I are talking and someone would be, like, looking at us and talking about us and then I won't realize it, I'll be like, that's normal...and then after they leave Jill would say like “Oh, my god. People like that piss me off cause, dududu.” And then I'm like, “Oh, yeah, that is rude, isn't it..” So, a lot of people around me just made me realize ...

Yeah, and, umm, people would say like “Why don't you ever go out by yourself blahblahblah” and I was like, “I have no clue, I just don't like to go out.” and then when I think about it, it's so obvious, it's because I don't like people looking at me and just kind of then I would realize that and all my friends they don't really care, it's like what happens blah blah blah. I don't know, I think it's a big thing.

We don't really take it [being stared at or commented on by people in public] a serious matter in our family. Whenever I was talked about on the train by some stranger, I tell my Mom or my family during dinner as a laugh matter, meaning that it's another one of our funny stories. And we laugh and talk about it. My whole family is used to it. Like my Dad went to Japan when he was a student, and he was looked at by everyone when he went out, so he's very used to it too. We are all cool with it, and we all consider it as humorous stories. That's the same with my friends at •••. we just make it a laughing matter, and sometimes when we are on the train and we catch people staring at us, we play with them, and start purposely talking aloud in Japanese to tell them that we can speak their language. It's actually a lot of fun. But I also think it's a serious matter for some people, so here I am discussing it with you:) and it took me a while till I can make it a laughing situation.

In the States, some people think I look American, but some think I look Mexican, Spanish, French, and so on. I don't know if this makes me a stereotypical person, but I have come to realize that there is one major difference between the United States and Japan. In Japan, when I tell people that I am half
American, people think I'm so cool that I end up making so many friends. Here, I tell them I'm half Japanese and the majority of the people are not interested so they go back to their original friends. I must act like one of them in order to "fit-in". That has been so very hard for me in camps and in this school. Although I was able to make a lot of friends here, it is obvious that the Asian people and the American people are split up. I'm not saying that the Americans here have a problem with Asian people, but I think that they think of us as totally different people, and that really disturbs me. I always think that this is because American schools usually do not teach Asian history, and stick to European and U. S. history. It's not a very diverse country. Well, this is what I think... this is something that I always wanted to tell someone.

My real, true friends in the world are from my first school. They know me, some are half like me, while others don't feel a difference between double nationality people and single nationality people. Because I've known them for a long time, there is no need for me to say something on purpose that I don't mean to fit-in with them, or to be liked by them. That is what true friends are. You can be yourself and no acting is needed. Here, I kinda have to go with the flow because I'm scared for them to hate me, I must build a new character inside me, a character that the person likes. I have about two friends here that I can almost completely be myself with, but to my other friends, I guess you can say that I'm acting. And I don't want to do that, but I'm just really scared. Maybe I don't even have to do what I am doing now. Maybe I'm just being stupid and paranoid. But what if what I am doing now is the right choice?

I don't exactly remember when it was when I started to feel comfortable about being different. I guess when I went to camp in California in fourth grade and saw all the blonde girls and boys wearing the same clothes, talking about the same subject all the time, it made me feel so happy that I wasn't one of them.

Same with the groupies of Japanese high school girls just laughing their asses off on public transportation...it just made me glad that I wasn't one of them. Also, in the class of 1998's graduation, a lot of people wrote their speeches on being "different" and about how it's a great advantage to be weird, look different, have odd tastes and so on. I couldn't agree more on what they had said. There are always advantages and disadvantages in being something, and I just have to
accept the fact that I am half, and live with it. I get hurt at times, but I also get compliments at times, and I have learned to cope with that. I also think that people who hurt people that are different from them are the uncoolest people of the world. They represent the "jerk" group. However, I must say that almost every human being in the world gets "distracted" (not this strong of a word) when there are "different" people living around them, and that is a born-sin in all of us. But some people just over-do it, and end up physically or mentally damaging people, and that really disturbs me. We must all accept the fact that there are diverse people in this world, and don't mind about the majority.

I kept on thinking that I was just a different girl. People around me were hurting me with their remarks, but I was also hurting myself by not fighting about it. I'm [the] kind of person who tries to stay away from arguments, so I won't get in trouble. But, you know how I told you about when I realized that being different was actually something really cool? Well after that, I just took everything positively, and brushed off any negative remarks. But sometimes it's still hard for me when I catch people staring at me, but most of the time I try to stick my nose in the air and just walk forcefully past those people.

There's a song that sort of says it...

"And I don't want the world to see me, 'cause I don't think that they'd understand. When everything's meant to be broken, I just want you to know who I am." (from "Iris" by the Goo Goo Dolls) I was once listening to this song when I was really depressed about something...I think I had a fight with my mom because I got a C+ for science and she thought it was the worst grade anyone in the world could get. As I listened to the lyrics of this song, I started to think, it's okay if you're not perfect. Like I don't have to get perfect grades, I don't have to look beautiful, I don't have to live up for somebody. That I am who I am, and that someday I will find someone who will accept me and who will know the real me. This song is still one of my favorite songs.

Here's a story out of the blue. Well, just to let you know, my best friend at my school now is black, and we don't consider ourselves different at all. We have so much in common, and I feel so close to her. She lives in a neighborhood where the majority of the population are black people, and I went to visit her place one weekend. We went to church, where I was the only non-black American, but
every single person at the church welcomed me and talked to me with such kindness. I have to admit that I felt a little uncomfortable at first, because I have never been acquainted with black American people before, for there were none at all. But I soon felt comfortable and happy. The only problem was my friend's cousin. The only thing she said to me that whole time was, "Are you black?" "No." "You're Mexican right?" and I answered, "No, I'm American-Japanese" and she walked away without saying a word. She also looked at me with the scariest eyes. That was the only moment when I felt left out. It was actually my first time that someone said such racist remarks to me right at my face. I felt like she had just stomped over me. But at the same time I felt sorry for her that she lived in such a closed world, and that she wasn't taught to accept any people. And I felt like I was the winner.

Society has taught me so much about human beings. I guess it's mostly about human nature. You know, it's so normal for people to react in some way of other people who are different from them. And that's perfectly fine because that is in my nature too. But I guess people who were not taught about diversity, or people who grew up in a culture or school where the majority are their own race, just over-react and put other people down. This is something that has nothing to do with my issue, but society does cause problems. For example, TV shows. In the States, there are sitcoms where the people in it are all Black-American people or all white people. In a way that bothers me, because as a child I used to wonder why, and this tells people that there are different races in this world. But I think races should blend together instead of being separate. And it may look awkward at first, but people will soon get used to it and in a few years people will accept it as something totally normal. Take me, for example. I stand out if I am in a crowd of all Japanese kids. But if more people blend in with different races/cultures, no one will have to stand out in a crowd.

People who grew up in their own little society see those people as different people. I just have to say that I feel sorry for them. Another reason that I was able to become like this is because of my mother. Ever since I was little, she would tell me that we are all the same, and there is no reason for one to mistreat other people who just look different. That we are all same in the inside. And she would scold me when she caught me staring at someone who was "different"
from me. What I’m trying to say is that if you don’t live in a diverse environment, then you just need someone to teach you.

From 8th grade a lot of Japanese girls started coming in our grade, like, uh, Yumeko and Mia, Lisa and those people and we started hanging out with them and it was so much easier to just like go somewhere with them...cause you felt like you were one of them and like international schools, like, I think it’s so good how they treat everyone like, as a person, just a friend they don’t care like where you from, what language you speak, blah, blah, so you’re all like friends, but I had a lot of trouble at boarding school because people didn’t look at me like American...

But the weird thing like in Japan, I have, I used to, sometimes I still do in the subways, I’m a little paranoid to, like, walk around, because I look different...but in the States, I don’t have any trouble. Like, people don’t look at me when I walk around so, that’s kind of different.

In Boston like when I hang out with Amy in Boston there are so many Japanese people, it’s not weird, people are famous for like mixing languages...it doesn’t feel odd, but ummm, yeah, I used to be...well, nowadays I think actually feel like it’s cool to like walk around Japan, Tokyo speaking English because a lot of people want to learn English, these days. It’s like, hey I can speak that language....You have to take it on the good side. I used to be like "Oh my god, why can’t people be like, more, accepting. Why can’t people accept more, like I don’t know, other nationality people?" but and if you just try and take it on the good side, it’s actually kind of cool. You can’t think bad about it.

Now that I think about it there are a lot, like, pause, like we’re more special in a way, that we can, we know two languages, and we don’t look like everyone else...well, we’re different, you just kind of have to know that you are not alone....I just know that all my friends are like me and I know that dual nationality is a lot more common these days....When I think about it I go, "Oh my gosh, there are a lot more people like me." Yeah, there’s no way that I can be the only one...so,

Well, especially at my school because it’s like 85% Massachusetts people and there’s about 8 Koreans, 2 ....and one German person. They treat you a little nicer. Like, they say, "Hi, what’s your name?" and I’m like, "Anna, nice to meet
you." and they kind a walk away, they don't really don't do anything to you again, so I have to go up to them... I don't know if they weren't friendly or not but I wasn't comfortable at all. ...

Like, at first, there was like the blonde group, the really American American and then there were like the black people and then the Koreans. It was really cliquey...it still is, but, ... I first went into the blonde group. It was fun but the way they think about everything, and to me, I don't know, they like make fun of their friends, like I do with my friends here but they don't include me in that. I didn't like that so I started hanging out with the black people. I don't know why, but because they're a minority, I felt a lot more comfortable and they don't even look at you differently, they're all like you're one of us....I'm good friends with a lot of black people and Korean people and some white people, but I don't really like them. I guess only at my school, but I don't like the way they think about things and the way they treat people

Like people don't really talk about it. They talk about, about like black people, white people, Hispanic people, their conflicts but they don't, no one's ever really ever talked about American-Japanese people and what problems they have. Well, in, well like nowadays, it's a lot the problems are a ...a lot better because I see like a total American looking girl going to a public Japanese school and there's no problem about that but, a long time ago in Japan, a lot of people like myself were *ijimareta* (bullied or teased). So, in a way I think I'm really lucky and yeah, well, I also went to an international school, so that was a good thing, I guess.

I guess, but for me I've never ever been like my true self at boarding school, it's not possible, I can't...I guess I have to act in a different way to certain people. Like to this person I have to be a funny girl, to this person I have to be like a serious girl...yeah, so that's kind of depressing I guess.

...like I have a like very few people who I can talk to, not as many people as I can talk to back at *•••*, but I...I haven't really found...I don't think I can ever really find a person like that at M because so like USA....yeah, it's kind of sad, but they're fun but there are a lot of things I can't talk about. I have to be like an American girl...Well, first, I think I'm more Japanese than American....Well, first of all, Japanese is a lot easier for me to speak and I have
more vocabulary and but so far... I went to a lot of camps in the States and I visited a lot of schools and so far all the American girls and people, my age I know are not the type of American people I thought would be cool, like, everyone has a bad point, but well like I'm not saying that like Japanese people don't, but they're more like... They way they think is so different. Like I think, like the girls I met so far, like the preppy girls, they like, do the only thing they usually talk about is like clothes, guys, blah, blah, blah. But Japanese girls they talk about like, pause, everything. I don't know. It's so different, I can talk about like most the most boring thing but we'd laugh and talk, we'd talk about it and laugh about it but in the States, I talk about that and feel like they're like oh and then they change the subject... Yeah, so, I guess it's because I only know like the preppy people so, it would be nice to go to like a public school, yeah, there's more, a wide range of subjects with Japanese girls, I guess. I guess it's because I've lived here [in Japan] like all my life.

But in Japan like I think that Japanese think it's cool to be both American-Japanese but in American, no, it's not cool, it's weird for them I guess... well my friends, not my friends, but from my school's perspective, so, I don't know... the weird thing is that if you say like you're American and French or American and German, that's fine but if you're American and Chinese or American and Japanese then that's not good. I think that's really weird. I guess... Because European people look like American people, I really have no idea and they have this like, like all the characters in like American, they would have like cartoons of Asian girls wearing some, cool clothes but everyone has like eyes pointy stretched eyes. That's so like stereotypical... and they should know that's not true 'cause there are so many like Japanese and Asian people living in the States. But, they just don't get it... but, there's the people who think it's cool and they start like, they ask you for Japanese and they say how do you say this and then there's people who just like walk away and they don't really to talk to you and they wanted you to be like one of them, "Soo, oh you're American." well, they treat you like an American girl, whatever, but I prefer the people who are interested in the Japanese culture, 'cause I think that's cool.

I think, like, explaining that I can, know so much more... know much more about me. I can tell them so much more about me, myself and how I am, where
I'm from and how it's like where I live and some people just doesn't care but...well, I don't talk, well, it's not like I'm not saying that people who don't care about Japan like are not cool, but people who like try to ignore the fact that I'm half Japanese are like, that's the part that kind of irritates me... 'cause a lot of me is like, Asian, I guess.... That is, My humor is like Japanese humor. well, uhh, so that's. I think my only American part in me is like, pause, uh, clothes, like, the way I think about academically like... Japanese people are very shy, they're like "You're very skinny." [as a compliment] and like "I'm not.", and American people are like, "Yeah, I know."... and like in that way I'm Japanese, like, I'm hikaeme, (self-effacing) I guess and I don't accept compliments, I don't like compliments and the way I think about other people.

... because you know like the people I know like at school, they know that they're gorgeous, they know that they're cool and everything. I hate that, like "How can you think that about yourself?" I mean it's good to have pride in yourself and I think the way they're thinking is good but there's no way I can think about myself like that. And, umm, the things I talk about are very Japanese, like, uhhh, ... well, in the States I try to be like an American, I try to talk about what my friends talk about, uhhh. like the senior guys.... but here, I just, like myself, I talk about what I think is funny, what I think is important, yeah. I kind of, it's really hard... I think a lot of it has to do with the fact that I can talk a lot like easier, non-formally in Japanese... I can joke around in Japanese but...[not the same way in English]... but I guess the fact that most of what they talk about is not funny to me and so that makes me realize that I'm just, I must be different from the way I speak and yeah, so, they like my reactions to things.
Michael

International school student K-9, Japanese high school and university, international track

Japanese mother-Japanese-American father

Simply stating his parentage does not give an accurate picture of his background. His mother spent several years in New York City as a child, where she first learned English. On her family's return to Japan, she began an international school education, very unusual for returnees of her generation. She has been a Japanese as a Second Language teacher for over twenty years at a same small international school. Theirs is not a "typical" Japanese household. Michael is an only child. He does not appear "mixed" because his father is Japanese-American and is not mixed himself. The linguistic mix in the family is complex as Michael's grandparents and great-grandmother are comfortable in either English or Japanese and his aunt, uncle and cousin speak German as a result of over ten years spent in Germany. Michael was slow to speak and evidenced some speech problems as a young boy. He has suffered from ear infections and asthma since he was a child. He moved to the international school in kindergarten from Japanese day care. He was not an eager student at school and struggled to achieve in English. Michael is somewhat "dark", but he is also a generous, giving, thoughtful young man. He was extraordinarily open with me during the interview, speaking freely of his own doubts, perceived weaknesses of character, sorrows, and hopes, which I did not altogether expect given my friendship with his mother. We held the interview in his room, which is his private space in the house. He was very busy, going to university classes, working his part-time job, getting all his applications ready for U.S. universities and still maintaining contact with his web of friends, but was happy to take as much time as he needed to talk with me. I was struck both during our conversation and again as I transcribed and reviewed, just how observant, thoughtful and self-critical he is.
Maybe just to start off, maybe I have to talk about nationality because that's kind of a... a starting point. It's very hard for us, for me and people who I talk with, it's hard for us to say which nationality we have. It's because we kind of have trends of both American and Japan, it's hard to say which one we have because it's kind of both, mixed up. And so we just came up with the point to saying that we are a half. We are not the American or we are not the Japanese, we are the half. So, it kind of got to the point or, I don't know how to say it, but, we thought it's hard to put us in a place that was coming from the old part, say which one we have to find a new place for us, a new understanding and, so we just have to make something in between the countries.

First, I, [am] thinking of myself, consider myself as a Japanese, mainly because I lived in Japan and I like the kind of thoughts, you know there was *manga* (comics, which are more like illustrated novels in Japanese, where the illustrations and the text are interdependent) and all those imagination, those were the kind that give you kind of the dreams, the *yume* besides the American, I mean different from American movies. They kind of show the power or kind of the power of oneself, they kind of show the evilness. I don't know how to say it, but in Japan they [*manga*] kind of show the good part, try to show the good part that people are trying to care for others and that we should.

Well like the one, *City Hunter*, I like very much. That was about protecting others with or without awards. And the one I like the most is called *Actress*.... The title kind of has two meanings. The *jooyu* (actress) and one that people are not trying hard, that people aren't able to act much, so they are "acting less", so they Actless. [He is explaining how the title takes advantage of the confusion between "I" an "r" in Japanese and allows a meaningful pun with the title to convey more than one meaning.] Those are kind of the main things that I liked about Japan, that, oh, we are able to dream and that is the kind of trend that we.... So anyway, that's why I try to consider myself Japanese.

And when I went to Japanese school, the *kokusai* high school (an international high school that is a Japanese public school, started in 1989 to attract long-term foreign residents and Japanese returnees along with Japanese students), I was different from them.... The biggest part is that Japanese try to be in a group and they don't want to be hated by people and I didn't care about
that. So they always, they kind of have a thought that they have to be in a group and they cannot be hated by others and they have to show good part and hide the bad part. And that was kind of different from me.

But there were people, umm, I guess those people are just kind of people who, maybe the common people, that people try to imagine, kind of people who stay at Shibuya or stay at Harajuku, (two areas known as teen hangouts) who are not doing any club activities who are just trying to walk around. I was in club activities the drama club, the "kakutogi" club, for martial arts and English newspaper and computer. It was interesting that people participating in these kind of club activities were able to dream, having those dreams and especially "kokusai", we are, we didn’t have, we didn’t have to study.

But actually our school is called "shingakko", it’s a school that tries to make students go to universities but we aren’t, we weren’t told to do anything. And another interesting thing in third grade (senior year) usually people quit club activities to study hard, right. But about 80% quit and the 20% tries to continue until like what autumn, about autumn, like October. I participated until October...so it is said that most of us start to study in like in September, August, but most of us are able to go to university. They went to university. and we don’t know why, maybe it’s just because a lot of the smart ones came or it’s because we didn’t have to pressure ourselves to study. So, but, it’s interesting that, not interesting but those who tried to do the club activities had these dreams and the kind of thoughts that we are able to do things that we try to do. Those people who didn’t do the club activities and didn’t study at all, they were just kind of, umm, walking around, I don’t know how to say it, but they weren’t shining too much. Kind of dark.

I guess I wanted to have a part from others, especially they try to stay together ...So I always tried to have a distance. And especially talk on the phone and I had friends outside school, so, every, not every, lunchtime, I had a phone call so I had to talk with them.

I guess I wanted to have several spaces because I get tired out, usually by staying up late, so that was a kind of problem I had when I came to university. I just don’t have other places. I only have places to be with other students, nothing else.
Well, mainly I like to take care of others. So, in drama club I was doing music sound effects...I was helping others to try and get their actions and looking at their actions, saying maybe this is better, that is better, trying to advise him....And then in kakutoki do kotai...martial arts. I took care of the ones under me, so I was showing how to kick, how to punch and holding the mitt for them and in judo too, I guess the same. And, in the, in the English newspaper. I was writing some, looking for things to write. Internet too, but we didn’t act too much with the Internet. But we had the problem of the teacher.

Well, it’s interesting that the English, the American teachers try hard to bring up the status of the students, even though they won’t get any reward. But the Japanese teachers aren’t trying hard for it.

Yeah, they first of all, they don’t want to have problems, second they wanted to leave early. So, they just wanted to do their own stuff and just go home, they don’t want to do any thing else and they don’t want to take care. They don’t want to have the responsibility that they gave acceptance if students do something. So, if students come and ask "Could I do this?", they say, "No.", most of them. Some people ask why and try to be a help, but, especially the elderly ones, because if they have to leave they don’t have a place to go, right, so they aren’t going to get any responsibility so they kind of try to get away from responsibility...Maybe the biggest difference, maybe not now because many younger Japanese teachers are appearing, but I guess the difference between Japanese teachers and American teachers, that, well, I don’t know real American teachers in America but...they try to bring up the status of the students, so they try to make their education better or their actions or maybe their heart be moral...but the Japanese teachers, they just teach the manual, so they just want to do less job, they think if they do this it’s okay. They don’t try farther.

Well but, anyway, I think of myself as a 10 or below person, a low person so, even if I try to get A I always get B or C, so I guess so that I kind of understand that I’m always in progress and I have to study to get more. I have to try hard. It’s not that, "Okay if I do it, I can get it.", so I guess it’s better for me and maybe for others to think that we have to try hard and that nothing’s, nothing’s okay when we say okay this is the good point, so we have to go farther on. I mean that’s the main problem with the Meiji gyouyu, the one with the
shokuchudoku (a food poisoning incident at a milk production plant at the time of the interview)....that’s because the Japanese people are thinking that if they do to this point, they don’t have to take responsibility. Those, I don’t know how to say it, those bucho (section chiefs), they say they were trying to get in contact with the shacho, with the president, but they couldn’t , but they thought...they thought if I say that, I won’t have the responsibility. So they didn’t try harder for it, they didn’t think about the customers, the consumers they just thought if I take to this point I don’t have to take the responsibility. That’s why it got too late, that’s why it happened.

But, I think I couldn’t see that if I went to an international or other schools that’s, those were the points I was able to see because I was in Japanese school. Maybe if I was working in Japan, I could see that too.

Maybe people say that those (the Japanese comics) are not good, because I don’t have time to talk with my friends, because it took me one hour and thirty to go to school and all those [times], I kind of found myself putting me, putting my soul into the manga as the hero, maybe I should say. So I was kind of having experience through there. So in a way I was kind of looking at their actions, but in a way, I was in that person. So I was kind of able to see that, "Oh, he has something bad, he’s angry." but also I was angry. So those ideas came in for me ....so that’s why I guess I don’t like to see bad things too much. I usually get mad when there’s some bad things going on. So, like when I was in high school there was a friend, So he went to get a girl and when he got the girl, he just broke up with the other girl. So, I just got mad, but because he was, he was a friend I just couldn’t punch him or like that, right, I just cut him off as a friend and he still tried hard to get back.

Yeah, I guess that comes from looking at my mother, trying to do something for others...So, I always try to work, so I like, now, I work and earn money but I spend most of them for my friends and use for my ex-girlfriend so what I always try to do is sacrificing myself for others. So like in Drama club, I didn’t sleep like what a day or two, I didn’t eat a meal like in two or three days

Well, but I think I have to sacrifice myself, I just don’t feel like I’m doing something when I don’t sacrifice something. I guess, because if I sacrifice
something, it's like I'm trying hard for that. I don't want to do something for others without sacrifice. Maybe, because that shows that I'm trying hard. I guess it's from high school. [wanting to try so hard]...I didn't like the international school...Too small, it was...times go by, nothing changes. I mean, the friendship, friend lines, I don't know how to say it, I'll say, doesn't change. There's no one new coming in, just ones leaving. So you have to stick up with all those people. Especially I didn't have friends in my jimoto, (neighborhood) because one hour thirty is kind of long. So there is nothing else. Especially because you have a lot of homework, I couldn't do any activities here, so that too, made me kind of distance from people around here so...I wasn't able to make friends there. Maybe I had friends but because they were all closer to each other and doing those otomari (overnights) and going on trips with each other makes me feel like "Am I their friend or is this just like we just knew each other?" So, I kind of, I guess I was looking for a friend maybe, at that time.... Those kinds of, those kind of things that depressed me were kind of released when I got to high school. The kind of things that I wanted were there at the high school....I guess there were kind of, different ones, [friends] but uhh, maybe about 60-70%, especially ones outside of school were kind of a little sister to me.....Because at night time you kind of get depressed and get lonely and they like to call me at midnight, like from one o'clock and, kind of like, we talk to three o'clock, four o'clock. That's why I couldn't sleep too much. But I guess I wanted to talk to, because, first of all I wanted to show to, to give them a kind of healing, feeling, a hope that there is someone who is caring about them. And I guess, I too get lonely, too, especially I find myself I'm very kind of sabishigariya. (melancholy) There's a music called Aoiusagi by Sazae Noriko and that I find myself like the blue rabbit

Especially I'm kind of tired out right now....That's why I want to go to America right now, because I thought, maybe I'll be able to dream more there.

That's because, umm, especially I got this, especially from the university and also from nenkin (social security deductions), but it came to me that up to a certain level we are able to dream, [in Japan] but from that point beyond, we can't. [because] Like, umm, the status of freeta, those working as a part worker
and not as a full time worker I guess they're able to succeed in it if they're in America but in Japan, it's very hard. There are many of those part time workers but, when see the reality, that we have to pay those money, have to pay taxes, then we cannot earn too much...so up to a point I could earn but beyond that it was very hard to earn, right. But I have to go beyond that if I want to live. I have to sacrifice my dreams and all those in order to get those money, but when I try hard, when I try hard to earn it, I have to lose those right. When I lose those, it's very hard to heal myself, to work...And so it's those kind of things, I just kind of thought that up to a point I am able to dream, to kind of have a hope and after that point, I can't. ...I just become stuck in reality, in a cold reality...Yeah, so, like in America, you don't have to pay tax for those food and all those, right, I mean. Yeah, but for those kind of necessities, you don't have to pay (tax) I mean you have to pay for when it comes to maybe, entertainment, so it's kind of plus alpha of your basic needs, but you're able to earn the basic needs without extra payment and that kind of, it is kind of different. Maybe because I haven't lived there, but it kind of struck me that maybe, if I am able to sacrifice those plus alpha parts I can dream and use that money for other parts. And especially I can have more time to do other things, right, especially I don't have the zangyo (work overtime) too much, so I just thought maybe up to a certain point, American is kind of a hard dream, because there is always reality there, in Japan you're able to dream. But maybe at the age of twenty, ...the situation differs. Like a reversal

Hmmmmmm. I used to think of myself as a tajunjinkakusha (multiple personality or split personality) and that was because I knew myself as a kind of quick tempered person and also as I don't know how to say, but a cool person who was able to think more, who wants to cry, who wants to...so I thought like maybe a tajunkinkakusha...I think maybe from chugakko, (junior high)...I find myself trying to dream, as a dreamer who wanted to make things real rather than hoping...trying hard to earn what I wanted and in martial arts I was being a shidosha, kind of a teacher and helping out others and. That was kind of same for judo. And in the American, the English newspaper club, I was kind of the member, uhh, helping out the people on top of me and trying to gather around people to help....And those were kind of, I was also taking care of them like a big brother. And I also had a person, uhh, she was kind of an elderly sister for me,
she was the only one I guess, well there are others but she’s the best for me because she’s the one who taught, kind of showed me, taught me that I was able to be a kid.

Because, the time to be a kid, I wasn’t a kid, that’s because the two parents were not at home too much and if they were doing like their own stuff, entertaining theirselves, I would get mad. But one of them was trying hard for others, one of them......well, anyway. So, I didn’t want to be a drag ... so I wanted to stay as a good kid. So I guess I was sort of like, like, those times, I wasn’t being a kid. It was for me, like a stuff, a doll maybe, but I didn’t have time as a kid but she showed, told me that I was able to be a kid. So she kind of cuddled me and cared about me and I was especially happy that she was the one who got angry at me and kind of punched me when I didn’t eat or I didn’t sleep....I mean, up until then, people just said to eat or to sleep, but she was the one who really got mad, who really pushed. She actually punched me too. I was happy. So, she was the one who helped the most

Most of my friends, when I get to university I lost most of them because I couldn’t have contact with them too much, because of the time and also they had to work too, some of them. So, I guess I lost about, maybe 80 (%) of my friends and so I lost a place to stay then too. So all of those gathering up made me kind of hate Japan a little bit and I don’t want to hate Japan, but if I stay here longer, I guess I’m going to hate Japan more, so I need to get away, cool myself down.

Especially I was kind of afraid of mistakes....Well, if I couldn’t get into university or I was.....maybe like I don’t know how to say but, umm, I have to be good. I always have that kind of thought. Because, I’m a man right, so I have, I’m the one who has to pass on the name of Sato and I’m the only man in our family and there is that, too, and some of those elderly people, like my grandfather, and all those who are kind of a great people and they like me so that too made me feel like I had to be good. So I couldn’t have those kind of mistakes.

So that’s why I was kind of keeping myself, uhh, trying to not run away, uhh, but I just got, I just got fed up with it, and I have to get away. I just thought alright, mo shikataganai (there’s nothing else to be done). When I got to think about it, I kind of got better...because of, the stress, of, tightening up very much, when I got to the point that I was able to leave, I just got better.
There's nothing that I want to, there's not a kind vision or thoughts I want to be a person, kind of a person, but I just have the feeling that I want to be more stronger, you know, mentally. Especially, I just don't have anything I want to do right now. I guess I just want to go over there to find what I want to do. I need that step again. I was in that step when I was in ••• and when I got to kokusai I found it and when I got to university I lost it. I have to find it again. I guess it's kind of a reset of life for me....So, I have to find things again. I don't want to lose it.

You have to get, you have to get the things [values, ideas, opportunities] at first and then choose and throw away the others. That was kind of mean idea for me, because I mean, you're supposed to share and care for others and that's the kind of image I had of America, [Everyone grabbing] Everyone wants everything, that they try to get their own stuff. I don't mean to be saying that they are greedy, but kind of greedy [in a way they] aren't in Japan. But I didn't want to be that kind, in that status I was kind of more near to Japan, but in American you are supposed to express yourself, not supposed to, but are able to. People try to and in Japan you don't want to because you don't want to have those problems, taking responsibility and all those, but I don't want people to misunderstand me, so I want to express myself, so that's kind of more American way. So, it's kind of a mixture of okay in this part I'm in Japan and in this part I'm in America and all those I can't determine when I'm in Japan or in American even though maybe 80% of me is in Japan and 20% of me is American, but that doesn't mean I'm a Japanese so we are inbetween....It's not whether it's okay or not, it's just we have to be there. There's no other place. And it's especially, it's a place where we can't make in our self. So, we don't know if it's good or not. Maybe it's good to have a new status....we are changing, maybe evolution or something like that but in another way we are running away from others...Hmmm, running away from being the same with others...running away so that we can be ourselves, maybe. That's kind of Japanese way of thinking, right, I guess because you have to be the same, but, so we have to run away in order to stay our self.
Because I didn’t want to see myself as a bolt or hand or, being just one of the whole. That was kind of image that I have from a story called Green Eye. Because in the ending the boy who wanted to become the droid to have the eternal life, he turned into a bolt. And I didn’t want be that. But I guess that kind of showed that you are only one part of the self, that’s part of the idea of cosmos, isn’t it ... That doesn’t say that you have to be one, you just have to be a member of it. I didn’t want to be a part that doesn’t think for yourself.

I was talking with other people, especially those, like the girl who went, she was a Japanese girl who attended an American junior high. She, too, and others in ••• University were talking we aren’t able to cooperate with the Y students... because most of the [main campus] students are of the Junjapa, we call it, the, umm, pure Japanese who stay in Japan all the time and we were saying that they cannot understand us. Our thinkings are different. I mean, I don’t know whether they don’t want to, they don't try or they just cannot. Maybe they’re not just trying but it’s just that we can’t be with them. We are not the... See most, maybe the biggest one is that they have only one vision.... Because most of us are able to look at one thing from different parts, from different visions. Like the bird’s eye view, like maybe the worm’s view, or the tree’s view. But they just, they know about those views but they cannot see at that view. Or they kind of think they are able to see it but they don’t. We cannot say that we are able to see from different perspectives but it’s just that the Japanese, pure Japanese we call them, aren’t able to look at those kinds of perspectives and because of that they cannot understand our feeling, they cannot understand our situation. Even though we tell them we have a lots of homework to do, we have lots of things we have to read, we have to write, they don’t understand. They just say, “Don’t do it.” You see, because they have the perspective that you don’t have to do it, even though if you don’t do it you can get the grade.

Well, when we are in a group, like primarily with other people, we don’t talk about it that much, sometimes we do, like when we are depressed but usually by one by one, like on the phone, at night, we kind of say oh yeah, we are, we are isolated, aren’t we. But when we’re in a group we try to entertain, entertain, right, but when it’s one to one we kind of talk more seriously. so like
maybe we start from, we, it's like how should I do this homework or do you have any ideas and we kind of ... talk, talk, talk.

"When is a time when you haven't liked who you are? When you didn't like who you are or were?"

I'd say junior high, I guess. Because I wasn't able to do anything. When I was in sixth grade I wanted to quit that school. I wasn't trying to be there. I didn't want to be there because I guess the people, the characters in those comic books were too polite [good] for me, that I knew I wasn't them and that I knew that the status I'm in is not good. So I didn't like myself too much. I wanted to be more polite, I wanted to be able to do something more and I wanted especially, because it's Japanese comic book, but they have those situations in a Japanese school, right. That's why I wanted to be in a Japanese school. Because I thought if I were there, maybe things would have been more different. Because there would be more people there to talk with, I mean I could find friends if there were more people. I guess the darkest time was in • • •. I guess another time I don't like is in university too, but it's better off because I still have more friends to be with, but I guess it's more worse because I now know, those warmth and all those I didn't have at that time.

I guess that's the kind of things that the things that has in the Flowers for Algernon. To not know it and to lose it is a different thing. Maybe, I'm in the status of losing and being fearing of losing right now, getting retarded again. But different from him, I'm not, it's not that I've got the injection and I'm getting that smart and I don't have to lose it if I try and I guess in that sense I'm near to him right now.

Well, there is, one point is that, ummm, the way to express myself is more wide, like, there are words in Japanese and English that cannot be translated directly. Like, for instance, the word love. There is...you can translate it as aishiteru or as suki. And the word suki in Japanese can only be said as love, right and like can also be said as suki but like can also be said as kiniiru, kiniiteru, so there are different kinds of stages and all those, so when I want to say aishiteru to my girlfriend, it's kind of hard for me to say, I could say, "I love you". The
words, that kind of correspond but not directly....there are words I don't know in English and I don't know in Japanese and I can say that in any different language so I have more ways to express myself. And I guess, maybe that's the first one the second one is that different from the pure Japanese I am able to see from different perspectives....So maybe an English speaking ability is that we are able to see things from different perspectives.

Well, like when I have to, when people ask me, "Are you Japanese?" I have to explain all these little things for them to understand so I will just have to say, "I'm Japanese.", see, [People accept that] I guess, it's because my looks and because I've been living in Japan they understand like that. But it's hard for me to explain everything and to make them understand it. At those times, I have to make a decision whether I'm Japanese or American so but as we talk or as we know each other more they will understand me better, but I guess, I don't know if it is pure Japanese but in the *[campus]* and in the *kokusai* they don't consider whether we are American or not or if we are Japanese or not. They just consider who we are, what kind of people we are. I guess we don't care about nationalities.

I guess that most pure Japanese and some Americans consider the nationality basically in more dramatic ways, heavily, I guess. But people who have been to other countries and know, just consider what kind of people you are, person you are. So, I guess we don't have to care about it too much, just whether we are closer to that nationality or not, or what kind of person we are.

It [identity] changes, it changes, I guess. I don't remember why, the reason. But I feel like we change, I mean that's a change I have right now, liking Japan and hating Japan....I guess that's because of the knowledge we take in, knowledge and experience. So, I mean, my friend likes the *Namboku Senso* (the Civil War) and he likes the South and he told me and I just didn't understand too much but he said he liked it and just so I didn't care about it. But he told me he liked the South because about only 10% of the South had the blacks as their slaves, the other 90% just fought for their rights. So hearing that okay, now I can see his vision, I can say South is not that bad, so that lack of knowledge made me think that the South is bad, having that knowledge made me see that it's not that
bad so, the knowledge makes a difference, experience too makes a
difference...but the core part of me won’t change, I guess, but the different parts,
maybe I might hate Japan and American and become like Mexican. I don’t
know....Yeah, yeah, but I don’t know, but I guess until a certain age, we have to
take in more and we are finding who we are and understanding. By
understanding others we can understand ourselves and change.

Well, talking with my professor of the philosophy as we get older we get
more stubborn because you want to stick with your stuff, right, you don’t want
to throw it away. When you’re young you’re able to throw out whatever you
want to, as you get older it becomes hard to throw away. So that’s why you don’t
want to accept things so I don’t know when that starts but...
Phillip

International school
Japanese mother-American father
American university graduate, Japanese university graduate degree

Phillip was the oldest of the participants. He has completed university and his master's degree and is now working in business and management consulting in Japan. Phillip loves to talk. He was introduced to me by Alice who first met him through his girlfriend at ••• University. One of their first topics of conversation was being mixed. He is held in high regard by the group of friends, all of whom are interracial or intercultural, because of his languages proficiency and also his confidence and his sense of humor. He is a great storyteller. We corresponded briefly by email and then arranged to meet in the States when he attended his fiancée’s graduation. We spoke for nearly three hours, and he was quite willing to continue. As he said, "Kuchi kara umareta" (I was born by talking).
Dear Penny,

Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak out! As I had mentioned when we were chatting, there really hasn’t been a time that people like myself were able to voice our opinions to people in academia. At least until now, I guess! It’s a great opportunity, and I hope that our voices will be heard by other interested individuals, as well as other “haafu”s that need some emotional or psychological support. Ganbatte kudasai!

I believe more and more, as the world becomes more "international" (apologies — it’s so cliche, yet undeniably true), there are going to be more and more children of mixed blood. And they are all going to be different, generation by generation, as my children will be different from me. And they are all going to face, at one point, some sort of identity issue. How they take it, will definitely vary, but this will, in my mind, be influenced by the environment they live in. Of course, parents and the school they attend — education, in other words — will play a huge role. That is why it is so important that the child learns, at an early stage, that although they may be different, inferior, biased, pampered, etc. depending on their mixed blood, they have to face it and move on. I feel it is important that someone tells educators and parents this — for the sake of the child and the future of all countries. I believe that Japan will not remain "homogenous" forever — it will change, and the so-called system must change with it....

“I should tell you one other thing, you can switch languages, that’s not a problem.”

That’s also a very tough one, because when I was going to international schools, everything was mixed. It was, umm, there were three groups, there was one that spoke only English, one that spoke only Japanese or poor English and one that spoke champon (a mix of languages), we called it... that was always the people that spoke the mixed one were always being leaders because they were able to speak to everyone. It never really struck me as strange until my roommate was, at freshman year university, he had no international background but he was very open-minded, great guy, wonderful guy and uh, and it, that was
the first time I was talking, I couldn’t think of a word because you always use what’s most convenient for you so, you just blurt out words and he would look at me like, you know “You just spoke Japanese.” And I’m, "Oh, of course." So I really, really work to keep it in one language. I’ve gotten used to it, but it was very hard, very hard.

Sometimes, sometimes, I think, sometimes, when I’m talking, for other people as well, sometimes you didn’t know the word, that would go, I think you look at a lot of, I can’t speak for all half people, but a lot of people that I knew at least when I was growing up had very low SAT scores ’cause unless you really read books, you know, you didn’t have that and it wasn’t really necessary. I mean, to write papers while you have a dictionary on one side and we’ll have our Japanese-English dictionary or some sort of, something you can bring another word in, that, that’s easy.

How I grew up...My Mom’s Japanese, my Dad’s American and uh, umm, ...my first language was Japanese. And that was when I was about maybe three, when you start watching TV, watching Pin Pon Pan, right, and, uh, that’s the only thing you see. My father used to work outside, he didn’t work at home at that time he was working for a firm so he would leave the house in the morning and come back in the evening. So then one day he would try to talk to me in English and I didn’t understand him so, uhm, he said, "This is a problem.", because at that time I only had an American passport, I was only a U. S. citizen, now I have both.

I remember, 1985, that was when I was in 5th grade or 6th grade I went to the, passport, Japanese Passport office, Christmas Eve, Christmas Day to get my, to get my passport.. Yeah, I remember, so I actually now I have both, I carry both and, uh, but at that time my father was like, "This is a problem, you know, my son’s American yet speaks no English.", so he enrolled me in an international school. And uh then I’m going to school and by the time I’m in first or second grade my mother’s freaking out because she’s like, "My son’s Japanese yet speaks no Japanese!", so she kinda’ felt that she had to educate me, you know, in Japanese and I was at the time, I wanted to play baseball.

Of course, of course, growing up at that time it was only baseball, no soccer, nothing, but baseball, so I wanted to play baseball and, uh, but she would
sit me down. I think I started Kumon when I was in third grade....I did that for a while until, until middle school and that really helped, so I would have to do that when I came back from school

I think it [the Japanese language program at the international school] was, uh, once a week for an hour. So that would be fine, I can remember my Mom having a fight with a history teacher because, you know the Japanese program was not anything to be proud of, the teachers were not really either and they, you know, took it as a big joke and so did the students. The Japanese class was always a big joke. It was, it was a class to relax, it was like okay, extended recess, so uh, and uh my Mom was like, "You’re not teaching, I’ll teach him". She was very much a kyoiku mama (education mama). Very strict, very strict with us.

But uh, I think the first time that I ever really knew of, of, you know of my background actually was very young. My birthday is Dec. 7th, Pearl Harbor Day, so uhh, I remember ... in Tokyo every year they showed Tora, Tora, Tora. Every year, every year and that would be my birthday... So you’re sitting there with birthday cake and everything of course you’re watching the movie. My father would start "It was a sneak attack." And my Mom was like "No, Roosevelt knew about it." And you know, honestly, and at the time it was the late 70’s, early 80’s a big controversy, it was a big deal, so every year I’d hear about it and I would look and I was, "Oh, I’m stuck in the middle of this and, uhmm it’s not going to go away." and, I think that was when I started realizing that there has to be some, there has to be a middle ground where people are going to understand each other somehow and uh, you reach in and you extend out. But that’s when I started realizing. That’s why I don’t think I ever, umm, been hurt, you know, I’ve never received any negative comments, I don’t think. At least, if it was meant to be, it didn’t affect me and I would be able to brush it off from very early, I remember.

I was born and raised in H and when I was in 7th grade I moved to I and, um, I was there until I graduated so I would take the trains every morning. Never had a problem, so growing up mixed was really, you know, actually it was a more positive vibe than negative, because [supposedly] you’re mixed so they do stuff to you. They never, I was never accused of doing something I didn’t do. And, um, I hear a lot of things like that, but never....
I didn’t really have a problem with the Japanese language ever, umm, I consider myself to be bilingual. And umm, I meet a lot of people, people who can speak Japanese but can’t read and write. Again, it’s my Mom, reading and writing. I use that for work right now. Actually, I think, in a sense, if your language, if your accent, if you’re spoken language is perfect. I won’t say my language is perfect, but native speaker level, native level, people are very shocked, and they accept you as one of them, even though you look different... In Kyoto, when I was in Kyoto... You know, because you’re fluent in the language you pick up the dialect, so you know, you throw a little bit of the dialect in, in your conversation and then they absolutely believe that you’re local, yet you look different, yet you’re local, so cab rides would be cheaper, because they take shortcuts, they know you’re not a tourist. Kyoto is very much like that. Osaka area is very much like that, if you’re a tourist, they try to you know, uhh, cheat you in lots of ways.

...Especially when you when you enter the professional world that, you know that it’s okay when you’re a student to just speak colloquially. Every, not every, most halves in Japan can do that, speak Japanese at a colloquial level, but then to speak it at a professional level like, writing a letter. Fine you can just write a letter that’s not so hard, but then can you write a business letter, can you do research in Japanese? These are issues that, that’s the next level and many people can’t... because, you know, they’ve fallen back into in their “I’m half and I’m bilingual.” and you know, “I’m on top of world.” but then when you face it, you really can’t do it and that’s why for me, I felt I had to go grad school in Japan to show two things. One is that I have the capacity to actually get a degree from the Monbusho, that was one thing, and another thing was at the graduate level you have to have a thesis that you have the research skills, that you have the ability in Japanese to where you look and find things and that was important and I really wanted that. And it was a clear indication that you got the ability. Whereas many people say that they do, but they don’t. Even when you get that degree, you have to prove it and that, that’s the big step.

This is my upbringing probably, my upbringing probably, my Mom. I did well at school, I did very well in school from a young age but my Mom was always telling me that I’m not special, that if you don’t work hard you’re not
going to accomplish anything, so in that, especially from there, I was always, you know, I always had the notion that there’s nothing special about me. It’s special in a way that’s different, but you don’t want to base your life on it. I think that was it. Because, that is, if that’s, if that’s your whole identity then, you’re the same as a million people out there. I don’t know if there are a million other people. So you want, want your place in your life or in history as someone else “Oh, by the way he was half.” So I think that’s why, you know, I was, maybe that’s why I was able to brush off, you know being half, you know. Yeah, ‘cause, uhh, at a very young age I was told that, you know, the only reason why you’re getting good grades is that you’re gambaru and not because there’s all these people that tell you, you’re special, try to tell you that you’re half and that’s why you’re smart or... I brush it off, I try to brush it off. I would rather be in the States and have them say you’re absolutely American and I would rather be in Japan and they say I’m absolutely Japanese than, than saying, "Oh you’re special because you’re half." Because of that, I don’t see it as a difference. It’s not a difference, it’s a... fact. It’s a pure fact. And that’s why you have to keep going, you know, you have to, you can’t just stop and some people stop, and some people stop at the fact that they’re half, stop and hope that, they’re going to get accepted, they’re going to get a good job

Very positive and that’s why that I use the term half and the reason why I use that term is because, half is not negative to me. It’s always been positive. So, uhm, you know being half has never been, I hear some people say that half has negative connotations, but I can’t associate that word, that term, with negative sense.

We were all chatting about this issue, of what do you call yourself and to me, I think, when you’re a half and you’re living you realize, you realize that you are different and there’s nothing you can do about it. But then again in a good way that you know more, you can see things in a different light. You know more about one thing than, for example, I know more about the U.S. than the ordinary Japanese and I know more about Japan than the ordinary American, yet I don’t know everything that a Japanese person knows and I don’t know everything that
an American knows....Like getting back to my freshman year in college, everyone would come into the room and talk, "Oh, remember that episode on Saturday Night Live?" and then you're like, "No." There's nothing you can do. Just, you weren’t there. You’ve never seen it. And it’s, it’s just, there’s some things that you know. Like I follow baseball, you listen to FEN, you listen to the World Series so you kind of know that but other things, you really don’t know and the same thing on the Japanese side.

You know, you lived in Japan, I’ve lived in Japan now for over 20 years, yet, you know I’ve never been in a class of more than thirty people and if you go to Japanese public school, there’s like three hundred people and or like you know with sports like activities, I think in an international school you have fall sports, winter sports and spring sports but then [in Japanese school] you do the same sport the whole year so you have this hierarchy building because that’s your life, you know. You play baseball for the whole year so senpai and kohai, that whole interaction. So do you really know that? Yet you know, you claim that you’re Japanese but you don’t really know, I mean...there’s so much that you don’t know about both sides yet there’s so much that you can understand. I think once you, at least I think, once you realize that, then you’re like I’m, I’m not double a person, at least this is the way I look at it. I’m not double a person, and I’m not half a person, but then I’m, you know, there’s something in the middle and you can call me whatever you want. And you know you’re, I won’t use the words "I know you’re special.", that’s weird, but you know you’re different and it’s, it’s a, and if you think of the positive things, I think it’s a very positive thing.

It was for me, it was a natural flow, I think. It was, growing up like that and then you know with lots of people, half, around you and, well, some, not as many as people think, but.

Our school’s really small. I think that was one lucky aspect of it because you know, small school, small class and everyone is friendly. Everyone’s, you know, they’re good friends. And it was only in language divisions happened. If you speak both or English only or Japanese primarily and that would be the only dividing line so it didn’t really matter if your half or not. But whatever ...I’ve talked to some people and clearly they’re at this, they’re facing ...They’re clearly
facing it, they don’t know what to do. They are, I mean not that they don’t know what to do, but they’re clearly, ummm, ummm, they’re clearly confused with the situation. They’re like, they don’t know if it’s a good thing or a bad thing or if they should get angry if someone calls them a certain way or if they should feel depressed or they should go on with life. And for me, it was like I said, at a young age I was able to brush it off, always, always.

My dad was never really around, you know, he was always at work so, umm I never really saw my Dad outside of home, pause, but my Mom, pause, I don’t think she really had much to deal with it. At a very young I looked more Caucasian. Yeah,.....It’s strange, but when I was younger I was much more Caucasian, so was my sister. I have an older sister. But so was my sister so no one knew, unless they really knew us. Walking down the street, they wouldn’t think that my Mom was my mother. I remember we were at “T” one time and there was a drunk guy that came along and was saying “Kawaii, cute kids, cute kids” and my mother was saying “Thank you, thank you, thank you.” And again the drunk guy was like “What are you saying thank you for?” You know like, “Who are you?” and he turns and goes off and said “Thank god you didn’t look like your mother.” (laughter)

I think I’ve blended well with both, with both. I would come to the States.... No, I take that back. I blended well, quickly, with Japanese kids or with international kids. I was more shy when I came to the States. I think it’s a mixture of being, you don’t know your surroundings and it’s strange. Especially when you know, you’re young and stuff you do in the States when you’re younger was something that I could not even imagine when I was in Japan and like with your parents. The U.S. was a completely a surreal world to me, so I think that was why I really much, more[at home in Japan].

When I was young it would be every three years, every two or three years I would go to my Grandpa’s for the summer, three months. My Dad’s from Michigan so, ummm, actually, they lived in L. My Dad grew up in Detroit, but they moved out to L later on. We used to go up to Canada a lot. Yeah, we used to go to Detroit once in a while and go to the big Zoo, ...

I never really, you know, received negative vibes here either because you know, my cousins, my, I have two cousins. The older one is Jimmy the other one
is Rick. Rick was one year older that me. He was always, he wasn’t a bully, but he was always a big guy around and so everyone one, not listen to him, but no one pushed him around so I’d stick around with him...."Yeah, this is my cousin from Japan." and everyone is like, "Cool.". So, umm, so yeah, like I said, never anything negative. But uh, the U. S. was completely different for me.

There were never any home parties, or very rarely [in Japan], whereas in the States that’s all there is, you know. In Japan, you can legally go to izakaya, (pub) because there’s no way of checking to see how old you are. And in the States, everyone’s carded so you can’t go to a bar ....I remember, I think it was my junior year in high school and I was determined and my parent were as well, that I was going to go to university in the States, so I was like I have to go to summer school in the States because I’d never lived in the States...they’re like "Okay, well, why don’t you visit your grandfather and your family before you go."... So, the day I was going to leave, the day before or the morning before I was going to leave for summer school, Rick was called to a party. "Let’s go." and I went, "Okay." and we go to the party. And it’s a house party and you know everyone was drinking and god knows what else was going on and the police come ...And so okay, the owner of the house, or actually he was gone, his parents were out, he comes out and, this guy used to be a bouncer for some guy, he’s a big, huge guy and obviously he’s very drunk so the policeman points his billy club out because, you know, "Keep your distance.". So what did he [the drunk] do? He snapped his arm! So obviously, I’m watching this in horror and excitement in a sense, because you never see anything like that, because Japan is, most of the Japanese are used to authority, you’re very used to it...

Yeah, I remember, I had my bike when I was in middle school and because it would be a pain to put Phillip Stiller on it so I put my Japanese name and I’m riding on my back and a policeman stops me and goes “There’s no way you are [Japanese name], no way.” And I’m like, "No, it really is." And he’s like “No, there’s no way, I know you stole this bike. Come to the koban (police box)with me.” So I go, "Call, I don’t care." You know, I was like, at this stage, I was like, "Do what you have to do." And so he called. My Mom answered “I found your son’s bike, it was stolen, I have the guy who stole it here, please come pick it up." and you know whatever. My Mom explained things to him. He said
"I'm sorry, umm, you know, just... I put two and two together so I thought it was better to take you in." So it was like "Whatever.", but then I don't know who's right or wrong. But, uh, in that sense, you know, authority, policemen, and "Come to the koban." alright, you go.

Something like that so, but this was like, this guy is picking a fight with a policeman! So obviously the policeman, he is calling for help. Actually there were two of them, so one guy is on the ground, in pain and the other guy called and comes out and starts hitting the guy with his club, beat him up. So then everyone in the house looks out and goes, "They're beating him up! We have to, we have to help him!" So everyone in the house goes straight out. And so Rick, being hotheaded, was like "I have to go to." And there was only one level-headed guy there and he was a good friend of Rick's and said, "Look if we don't get out of here, Phillip's not going to go to school tomorrow." So the three of us, snuck out of the house through a back way and we went to a local 7-11. I remember, all directions red and blue white lights coming, from all directions to this, to this neighborhood.

I think there's more of an awareness in Japan of, of [foreigners and information about foreign countries] and maybe it is because of... the constant notion that there are foreigners out there, maybe that's why. I don't know but everyone, wherever you go, knows that you're foreign, and that's fine. In the country, sometimes the more in the country, the nicer some people are because they've never really experienced, they've never sat down with a foreigner....I was in Hiroshima actually, a few weeks ago and like, "Is this okay?", "Yeah fine.". You know, the same conversation, always. I eat anything, and so the question is always, "Can you eat this?" "Yes, of course, I can."

I don't really remember where, I don't really think I ever sat down, and thought, "I don't like this and yet if I don't eat this they will laugh." or, or "They're going to think I'm foreign." I don't remember that at all. But, I think there's a, there's a subconscious craving for showing that you are one of them. And it really depends on... for example, if you grew up in Japan and then you go to the States. Suddenly you want to become more American, this is what my sister did, when she moved to the States in junior year of high school, and then
she went to an all girls' college, junior college, she went to the Midwest, four years...but she completely shut off her Japanese...of course she would talk to my Mom in Japanese or maybe occasionally write a letter in Japanese but ...but my sister completely cut that [Japanese language study] off because my sister was more in touch with American culture than I was. My sister was more into music, you know, she was more of the artsy type than I am. You know, so .she always knew the music, all the plays and theatre and things like that, whereas for me, I was always sports, science, history, completely different. And you know the 80's, I guess, the music scene was more interesting over in the States than in Japan and, you know, for me I listened to the radio, Japanese radio...so I was more in touch with the Japanese side of things than the U. S. side....so you kind of, I think, you know whatever you view as the direction you want to go maybe, it's somewhere in your heart, where you're more secure that way or it's more, you're cool to be that side. I don't know what it is, but I think that anywhere you go, there...

You know, that's where you secure, that's where your identity is. I think my, my identity right now is I'm half, but, I'm a half that understands the Japanese side...consciously or subconscious I don't know, but I think it is a choice. I think it's a choice you made. For example, who you admire or who you want to be close to or what you feel more comfortable with. I think it's a whole mix of that and a whole big movement that you go through.

I don't really remembered being pampered or by anyone, either, in Japan. So, like, there's some people that you know are constantly pampered because they're half, therefore they feel relaxed, they feel secure in a certain location in a certain place like in Japan, and that's fine, but I don't really remember that either.

I think it was definitely, it was definitely a subconscious thing. There was a close family friend who was always taking us [places], he was always proud of us. It was one of the summers that we didn't go to the States, he would take me to places. It was actually the family in the house that my father first stayed at when he first came to Japan, really weird. My father first went to Hokkaido, he was stationed in the military there and then he went back to the States and decided to come back to study Aikido and he did Aikido. He earned a black belt. He would be, every New Year...you know, they'd have the big show and he was
actually the *gaijin* representative. That was his life. So, he wanted to find an apartment, he was living in a hotel and someone said, "Why don’t you find an apartment? Why don’t you stay with so and so, for, you know, a while ‘till you find your apartment." So, sure, and he stayed with this old, extended family, you know, the grandfather, grandmother was there, the whole family is there, right. So it was a local pharmacy and he was like, "I can stay there for about a month." and that turned out to be three years. So, uh, at that time a foreigner staying at your house, it was something to be proud of. And they were very proud of us. He [my Dad] was older than any of their children. He’d always say that when my sister was born and when I was born that these are our first grandson and granddaughter, so we were very close, and I became very close with him after a while. And we became really close when I was fifteen and he took me to the hot springs and there was really nothing to do there. Do you know igo? (game of strategy played with white and black stones), I didn’t. I played shogi once in a while, but no one played igo unless you were weird or some child prodigy and I was 15. And I got hooked because I hate losing and he would smother me, literally, literally. "No, this is not going to happen." I took up the challenge. You know when you’re bad it can only take 30 minutes,, smother you, but....So we would play like ten, fifteen games a day....We would play from nine till nine, practically and he would start drinking at nine and we would go to bed, but, uhh, yeah, that was the thing.

Being half goes so far, the first thirty minutes of the conversation but then if you can, it makes, it’s the *person* that actually makes the conversation go on. [being half] is only a part of my.....it’s only part of my personality. It’s me, but it’s only a portion of my personality. Although the way I think may be determined by that, although it is a central feature, it’s not the complete...umm. I would say...It’s a key part of who I am, yet not the only part. At least I would hope so.

Yeah, it’s, ummm, it is, and I think that’s why you delve for, you know, to be able to blend into one part of your halfness, umm, and have someone completely think that you are say, Japanese, would probably be like it’s an exciting part of, it’s an exciting thing to happen. You think you can never reach
that so, umm, you know being half even though you grew up here and like that and then to go farther than that. For example, like I heard of, a very close friend of mine in grad school...after talking to him for a time he would be, like, “You’re not Phillip. I can’t talk to you like Phillip, you’re Makoto.” That’s my Japanese name. And, umm, and “Look I understand, I see you and I know that you’re half and all that but when I talk to you, you’re just an ordinary guy.” and that’s where, where you want to go. That’s, that’s like a huge...that’s like, “Whoa, that’s pretty cool.” 'Cause, umm, cause you want to, if you wanted to blend, I think, I don’t know if it’s consciously but, umm, you know you start off with, like I said, with being half but then you know you stretch that out like, “Phillip is, you know, this and this interested in this.” and that halfness fades away. It, if you’re talking with someone and the halfness becomes subconscious or unconscious, that’s what you want. That’s what you’re going for. You know, if people are constantly reminding you that "Ohh, you know, since you’re half, that’s why you have the edge, you’re half that’s why you speak English." And “You’re half, you know, you’re popular among the girls ‘cause you’re half.” Then you’re like, hmmm, you haven’t accomplished anything. That’s weak. I think that’s weak.

I don’t know, just because you’re born mixed doesn’t make you special. I mean and I think a lot of people have to realize that....Then I think once you try to go beyond that then, either there’s denial or you’re like you know, identity crisis because you’re sort of unhappy with both being special and what’s going on...so... ideally, you want to, I think, you want to defuse that, although it’s a core part of your life, it’s, it’s you want it to be a small part of your life.

And I think the only way you can do that is to really to realize that you know, if you want to, wanted to...it’s like AA, you have to acknowledge, you have to realize you’re an alcoholic first. It’s kind of a first step, it’s like you know, you realize you’re half, there’s nothing you can do about it and there’s nothing special about it and, ummm, if you’re stuck on that “I’m half and I’m special.”, then there’s no going forward. That’s the boundary and that’s it, but, ummm, you have to go beyond that or there’s no progress, I think. You have to realize that, like, my Japanese is poor compared to the perfect Japanese speaker, so you have to strive to become better or my English is poor compared to the person...
who lived in the States all his life, he got a 1500 on his SAT, you have to strive for that.

Exactly, so you have to acknowledge that you’re just another person and...and, if you don’t do that...I think there’s lots of people, I won’t say lots of people, but some people I think, that are just stuck in this hole that they just can’t crawl out of because they know that they’re different, they know that they have very special talents but again ...

You know, especially at this age, people really don’t, you know, have a hard time... in the 60’s or in, you know, other interracial children, it’s different. But, especially if you’re Japanese/American, that mix is practically golden.

My boss, not my boss, this guy I work with, this director of, who I work with, constantly, he’s a 62 year old Australian guy and he’s very, a great guy, a great guy and he constantly, constantly reminds me that, umm, all, that it’s very good that you’re half, both sides, but you have to be able to lose some things that are not that good....But there’s so many things that you, you know, that you kinda cherish, in a way that, you know, that this guy’s going to help me out when I need help so I’m not going to say no and even if it kills me I know this guy’s going to help me out and they do because...I won’t go as far as to say to that it’s *giri-to-ninjo*, (social duty and obligation) I won’t go that far. There is a part when you’re working with someone and you know; you form this bond and you know that person can help you, whenever you need help and I mean it happens to a certain extent and that’s okay, it’s acceptable. So you know, something like that, in that sense you really understand, so you, you’re usually in situations when you’re trying to like support both sides here, you feel like it’s, umm, it’s a personal thing that you have to support your, you know, the other side because the other people don’t understand. I mean if they understood then maybe they could see. I mean they might not agree but I think they may understand that side, where as you, you know, so you know, you’re constantly trying to support both. You’re constantly trying to explain and whether it’s good or bad, I mean...you’re trying to explain it and they’re like but that doesn’t make any difference because it’s still you know it’s still a problem and you’re like, “I know but it,... you have to understand that this, this and this is historical background you can’t just say that’s bad because.”
The same thing with the Americans, Japanese people work in groups all the time, never really have an individual thought, they're you know, ridiculous machines, and you're like, "No, no, no, wait a minute." you know, and because you can see both sides, you know, and you and I think, I feel, I don't know if everyone feels that way because and this also comes with knowing who you are so you know if you're insecure...I mean, the bottom line is that, if you're secure then you can always say, "You know, look at it from the Japanese perspective or look at it from the American perspective." and you're, you're not threatened by it.
Liam

International school
Japanese mother-New Zealand father
High school junior

Liam is the oldest of two boys. His brother is just one year younger than he is and several centimeters taller. Liam was my student in both fourth and sixth grade. He is also one of my youngest son's closest friends. Liam is currently an 11th grader at a major international school in Tokyo. At the time of the interviews he was in 10th grade, his first year in a new and much larger international school. While he is a very personable young man, he is not extremely outgoing and open in public. He was always a fairly thoughtful young man in class. He discovered electric guitar at the end of 8th grade and was the organizing force behind the 9th grade rock band. He still plays and has been joined by his brother on bass. He is a computer aficionado, extremely competent and at home navigating his way through games, applications and programming. As a student of mine, he was hardworking and highly motivated, especially if the topic had anything to do with science and/or computers. As his teacher, I was impressed by the balance of his linguistic abilities. He and his brother had a reputation at the school as being not only good students but extremely nice kids with a wonderful family. I was somewhat surprised when he volunteered to be part of this study; he had not been one of the students who had spent a great deal of time talking or writing about issues around identity. It was his idea to use an on-line chat as a format. He was worried that an overseas phone call would be too expensive for me.
[I] Haven't thought much about being different. I don't mind being different. I want to think about myself as a special but I don't want to stick out.

I'm not afraid to be different in not so serious things like music. I can tell a Korn fan that I don't like Korn. I can say I like Mr. Big even though they might think that's weak. It doesn't bother me getting good grades, getting A's. People say that's weird. Or even failing, it's not a big deal what other people think.

Sometimes I get the feeling people are looking at me on trains and subways. I wonder why, like is it because I'm so tall or what I look like? Do I look half-Japanese or not Japanese or maybe they're not looking at me and I'm just feeling paranoid.

My name always reminds me that I'm not Japanese or normal Japanese every time I fill out a form for a train pass or a video club card. There's a line for furigana, which I don't need and the line for the name is short-for Kanji and then trying to decide the order to put my last name and first name into.

Some of my Japanese friends, people stare at them when they are speaking English when they look Japanese.

"What do you do, if anything?"

It depends, when I'm happy I just let them stare, whatever and when I'm in a bad mood I look them straight in the eye. Japanese don't like that, neither do I, and [they] will look away. We had a story in our kyokasho about that, it's part of Japanese culture and the author didn't think it was good...

Let's see, I guess it's personality, interests, appearance, stuff I'm good at and stuff I'm bad at...I think I have changed, and hopefully will change, like I hope I'll get more outgoing and comfortable to talk with people I don't know, but then again it's hard to change a thing like that...I know I have changed such as when I started going to •••—in the beginning I couldn't really talk to people I didn't know, but then as I got to knowing more people I started getting a little bit more confident about talking to people I didn't know. I think it's because at ••• you never meet anyone new, so I wasn't used to starting relations with new people.

I think I would find that kind of trust [referring to long established friendships] in other people, if you just get to know them well and maybe
knowing them for a long time would help to. Even though people from ⋆ ⋆ ⋆ are pretty close most of us are blending in with different groups and kind of spreading out, for example Minoru plays lots of sports so he's got lots of friends in sports and Yuta got lots of older friends etc.

I'm not sure what it is but I definitely feel more comfortable with some people more than others. I guess it's people who aren't really—wild? I guess people who are kind of like me, and they usually hang out together so I get to know people in that group...Mostly they're people who speak Japanese, but I have a few friends who don't. There seems to be a gap between full Americans and Japanese speakers at ⋆ ⋆ ⋆, but some people are exceptions.

I think I'm more comfortable speaking in Japanese, especially casually to friends. Actually, it's not that it's Japanese but it's because I can mix Japanese and English like I've done since the beginning of time. After all, nobody only speaks only Japanese at ⋆ ⋆ ⋆

It's just so much easier when I can mix the two, or rather it's difficult to stay in one language. In English class or when I'm talking to non-Japanese speakers then sometimes a word that I'm trying to say doesn't quite come to mind or the grammar gets mixed up (I say the first part of a sentence that can only be completed with a Japanese word) and when I'm in Japanese class and I make a comment on the reading, then suddenly an English word or phrase pops out. It comes right out in Japanese class because I know everyone there, including the teacher can speak English.

...but I always just wished that people wouldn't make such a big deal out of it [being bilingual], and I still do now. It's mainly Japanese people who comment on that, it seems. Most of the time people are amazed that you're bilingual, but I don't feel really happy about it because it, because it's not like I tried to be bilingual and put effort into it. I just happened, whether I wanted to or not, so I kind of wish people wouldn't make such a big deal out of it unless I'm going to gain something out of being bilingual.

Also, it's annoying for obvious reasons when someone points out something weird about my grammar or pronunciation or whatever and they automatically blame it on being bilingual or half...the guy was trying to be nice
by saying it's *shouganai* [can't be helped] because I'm half or bilingual. I was definitely bothered about that, but I wonder why. I guess I could have just blamed it on having to speak two languages, but I think I couldn't because I thought generally people wouldn't accept that excuse. And even if they did they'd still think that you can't speak as well as them, for whatever reason...I don't remember that kind of response in NZ or wherever...

Definitely there're also gains. Like, I wouldn't even be able to talk with the Americans that can't speak Japanese if I couldn't speak English, and vice-versa. The gain won't be that I'd get to know any one person better (unless they were *chanpon-go* [mixed language] native like me) but I could talk with more people. Hopefully it'll also help in making money, but I don't know about that.

I think I'm pretty comfortable with being both Japanese and NZ, because I don't feel any great patriotism or anything, and I don't want to anyways. As with language, that mixed language must have started even before I went to •••, although apparently I couldn't speak much English until I started going to •••. I had been going to a Japanese *youchien* [kindergarten] before (not that I remember anything.). The problem is, at home it seems to be generally accepted that when I talk in English I'm talking to my dad and when I'm talking in Japanese I'm talking to my mom. It's kind of awkward when I'm trying to address them both...They are bilingual but they revert to their native language at home. Especially my mom, she seems to get unhappy when we're talking in English because she feels like she's being left out or something. Weird people.

One thing I noticed kind of recently is that I'm polite in a Japanese way, such as over-doing *aisatsu* [greetings] and the use of *keigo* [polite register] which don't really translate well into English. I noticed this when I went to the States this summer and realized that this kind of reigi [protocol] doesn't really exist over there. But I also noticed that the Japanese type of reigi isn't actually polite because you say things without meaning what you say at all, while people in the US seemed somewhat more sincere about the things they say. I guess it's hard to notice this kind of thing unless you actually go to a different country so that I can see characteristics of me that I wouldn't have realised before (this was the first time I went to the States)....
This must have been way back when I was 7 years old or something. The whole Japanese side of my family plus my dad got together at my great-grandmother’s house out in the inaka [countryside]. For a reason that I can’t recall at all, my brother and I got appointed to go and buy some plastic cement and rubber sticky tape at the local bunbogu ya [stationery shop]. I guess we must have taken on this endeavour with fear since we would be all on our own, not to mention the large sum of economic wealth that we would be responsible for.

Anyways, we got to the ancient looking shop that I would most likely have to duck to get through the entrance now. We bravely walked in and started searching for the goods in the endless rows of dusty wooden shelves. After a while the old lady who was the shopkeeper must have decided that we weren’t making any progress so she asked us, “Nani sagashiteruno?”[What are you looking for?]

Thankful, we told her, “Gomu te-pu to cemento.” [gum tape and cement]

To our surprise, she had no clue what we were talking about. After a while of messing around, we finally found what we were looking for. The old lady exclaimed, “Ah, gamu te-pu to cemeda-in ne.” So, a couple of weirdly pronounced vowels led to this confusion, which was embarrassing for me, and probably my brother too. Embarrassing, especially when the lady started elaborating about how there must be differences in how gaijin pronounce the same stuff differently from nihonjin like her, and how such a small difference can seem so different. Feeling some sort of anger at her, we payed the money and left the store quickly.

Now I realise that there was no reason to be embarrassed, and that the lady was actually being nice and was just trying to start a conversation with us. But until I started thinking about things like that, I felt uncomfortable whenever people noticed anything different about me. Perhaps that feeling came from being treated as a gaijin even though I felt myself to be just a futsuu no [ordinary] Japanese like everyone else. Even now I don’t feel very comfortable about being different in whatever way, but I try not to care as long as that difference is a bad one.
Cecilia

Japanese school
Japanese mother-Austrian father
High school junior

Cecilia is the oldest of three children. She has a younger brother, in his first year of junior high school and a younger sister, currently in 5th grade. She has attended private Japanese schools and is now in her second year of senior high. She was in day care as a young child while both parents worked. Her mother stopped working with the birth of her younger sister. I met Cecilia through a friend and mother of a former student of mine whose son had attended the same elementary school as Cecilia. The two families still live in the same suburb of Tokyo. Cecilia was quite firm in her description of herself as Japanese, although she acknowledged her "half" status in her physical appearance. She was cooperative and although she never totally abandoned a semi-formal register of speech, she was less and less consistent with it as the interview progressed. She was confident and not self-deprecating. She was curious about my own son, who is her age, and what some of his experiences had been.

Her mother shared that she and her husband had first tried to raise Cecilia with Japanese and English, but gave it up before Cecilia began school. They stopped because Cecilia's response to English was quite negative. They interpreted it as stress and her behavior changed after they stopped using English with her. Her mother questions this decision to a degree. As she said, she wonders if they wasted an opportunity for Cecilia. Cecilia echoed that question when she spoke of her personal response when she is addressed in English or German, based on her appearance and she cannot respond, "Kuyashii!" (galling and embarrassing).

A word about the interview itself. This was the first interview that I had conducted completely in Japanese. I was nervous, not that I would not understand, but that I would not be able to establish a zone of security and comfort for Cecilia. The interview was held in her home. Her mother, who met
me at the train station, was surprised to see a foreign woman. She had assumed from my phone calls that I was Japanese, who had been away from the country. My contact had not mentioned that I was not Japanese. Cecilia was just back from school. She had only a week more of classes before summer vacation, although as she said, there was lots of work to be done over the vacation. She also has a part-time job with a donut chain. She had agreed to the interview and had chosen to hold it before her summer break. This was the first time anyone had talked to her about her status as an interracial individual in Japan.

I had brought some chilled fruit jellies, an appropriate gift for a hot summer day. Her mother served us each one, with a glass of cold tea and then left the apartment. She returned later, towards the end of the interview, but stayed in a room out of hearing. Cecilia expected me to ask her questions. Even though I tried to use open-ended questions, she usually answered with short responses which I tried to have her elaborate on. She began the interview using a semi-formal style of speech, which became more inconsistent as time progressed. Her responses also became more communicative and less formulaic. Because she had expected that I would ask her more specific questions, she did not seem at ease with the open-ended, "Tell me about who you think you are." question. However, there were some questions which prompted more spontaneous responses and information. She protested several times that she had not really given this topic much thought. I believe her. I think that this was the first time she had been asked to think specifically about who she thought she was. As a result of both my own hesitancy with this first Japanese language interview and Cecilia's first experience at talking about herself with a stranger, the interview would probably benefited from a written narrative from Cecilia first, followed by the interview. Nonetheless, she was able to give me a portrait of herself, at least a sketch. What follows is not a literal translation, but rather one which attempts to communicate meaning.
I'm 16, a first year high school student. My father's Austrian, from Europe. My Japanese grandfather died before I was born. We lived with my Japanese grandmother. But when I was five she passed away. My Austrian grandparents, are still alive in Austria.

I've been there on a trip four times and met them. My father goes back every year. There it is German, but I only speak Japanese so my father translates for me. I have two Japanese cousins, an older girl and boy in Niigata.

Since I was born I have lived in Japan, so,...I've always been to Japanese schools, regular Japanese schools, living just like Japanese, I think of myself the same as regular Japanese. So far, I've never had any unpleasant experiences. I've never really thought about myself in negative terms. Sometimes, I'm seen as a little more adult looking than I really am, maybe that's not so good....Something good....well...not anything special....Because I have two nationalities, I think that's good. My grandmother and grandfather are there and I can travel abroad, hmmmm,...Hmmm, I haven't thought about it much.

What about your son, has he ever had a bad experience?

"Nothing really bad, sometimes he shows off, but no really bad experiences. So, it seems that all three of my children think it was a good thing to be born like this, with two backgrounds. What do you do with your friends? What are your interests, things you do?"

"Just what everyone does, the usual... Oh, this outfit is cute, or next time we go out, let's look for it [to] like Shibuya, or Harajuku or Ikebukuro.

"What about music?"

"Hmm. Hamazaki Ayumi....Suzuki Ami. I sing her songs at karaoke.... I don't read many books... just my textbooks, mostly...I'm so busy with studies, I don't have time to read much....Watch TV, listen to music, play with my friends, talk on the telephone with my friends.

"Until late at night?"

"Until late at night, last night I did that."

"What do you want to do after you graduate from high school?"

"Technical school...I want to learn fashion design that would be good...First, I would study in Japan then go abroad, study abroad for a while...I would like to put out my own line...I like drawing and people will say, I'm good.
I want to live in Japan, but I want to work in different places around the world...I have to study languages first...I can only speak Japanese, because I've always lived here. My father speaks Japanese, English and German, he's trilingual. He hasn't taught me...Anyway, I need to learn English first, and then sometime learn to speak German.

My mother, my parents are thinking about a year in Austria like a homestay. They say "Go."... If I have a chance, I want to go, but for a whole year, what would I be using the time for... but to decide what I would do for that year. But I haven't decided yet... I'm not afraid, I'd like to get know the other people. I'm interested in foreign schools. They look like fun. They seem different from Japanese schools, they seem more free. [In Japanese schools] The girl's uniforms are all set, socks and such. It's pretty strict, really strict, the length of the skirt, everything....and In Japan, there aren't many school activities, right? Concerts and such, but not much else. There seem to be dance parties, and birthday parties are a big thing. And then at New Year's everyone gets really excited and parties, right. But in Japan, New Year's is really quiet. But that looks like fun."

"What school do you attend? Is it near here?"

"A private girl's school in Shinjuku, it's about one hour and 15 minutes one way... it's just one train.

I went to a private school during elementary, I could have just gone right up into junior high, but I objected. I took the exams and my mother decided on a private girl's high school, and I went from there."

"Why didn't you want to continue from your elementary school?"

"Well, you know, I really enjoyed school there, but it's sort of closed I wanted to try and see if I could make it in somewhere else.

"Compared with Japan it [Austria] is big. In Austria, the sky is so blue, you can see the Alps, there are churches, the streets are wide, it's really clean and pretty. I like that. I don't especially like Germany."

"Why?"

"Yes, why, the cities are a little scary."

"In what way?"
"I haven't spent that much time in Germany. We always go to Frankfurt... The people are a little scary, it's always cloudy and dark.

I've been to Venice and... when you come out of the airport, as soon as you leave you are on the water, no streets, you get on a boat and the houses. It's like they are halfway submerged. It was interesting. Everything is water."

...in foreign countries, people would sometimes speak to me in English, on the airplane they would speak to me in English, friends would ask, "Can you speak English?", people would ask "Can you speak German?". When they ask and I can't... I was born in Japan, raised in Japan supposedly just like every other Japanese, when they ask that... me who can't speak it feels galling and awkward."

"When you went to Europe... what did you notice, anything different, anything in particular?"

"It's just a nice place. I like it. Well, maybe the young people have different likes.... Well, fashion is really different. For example even elementary school kids dress in older, adult like clothes. Here, like now, it's all really bright colors, primary colors, but, and I haven't been there recently, but it's more just black and white. Their even elementary kids have their noses pierced, for example, or smoke. They're like adults or really cheeky about that, not much more."

"Do you think it would be easy to live there, have you thought about that, if you had the language?"

"Now, the things I'm doing in Japan, the things I can get. Like they don't sell Japanese CD's."

"I've been called haafu."

"When you were called haafu, how did you feel?"

"Nothing in particular... It's better to be called haafu."

"Why?"

"I'm not sure, but I don't like it when they assume and call me American. It's better when someone understands, recognizes me [for being Austrian, not American]."

"Now, some people are saying it's better to use double rather than haafu. What do you think?"
"I haven't really thought that deeply about it. Either one is okay, isn't it. I haven't heard the term double much at all. I thought haafu is what the label is. I haven't really thought deeply about it.

When I was in elementary school, some people around me called me gaijin and such there were some people around like that..."

"Do you remember how you felt?"

"Hmm, not so bad, just that they were really stupid. That's what I thought about the people who spoke that way, but nothing special.

Still, haafu people are unusual, there aren't very many around...I know Edward, we were in the same elementary school, and there's a person on the sixth floor of this apartment building. He was at the same elementary school as well, one year ahead of me. Him and...hmmm, after at other schools, maybe, about one person at each grade level, really not very many and then I think I'm one of them....I have never been teased."

"You have good friends."

"I do."

"Have your friends ever said they were envious of you?"

"Yes, that's happened, why, I wonder. They've said "You're cool." That's about it. ....... I've thought I'm lucky to be haafu

"Why?"

"Why I wonder, ...hmmm. Nothing special, being Japanese is okay. But like, I do have relatives in a foreign country, people are envious of that. About that."

"So, in your conversations with your friends, you don't talk about that?"

"No, not really, when we get to be friends. When I first meet someone they always ask questions...No, that's not so bad. When my Dad comes to school, he really stands out, that's kinda of...he's pretty tall, about 180cm and his hair sticks out...it's a little embarrassing....I don't think there are really any people who think of being haafu as bad, I'm pretty sure, that's what I think...Not much more than, I'm not just Japanese, just about that."
Rick

Japanese school
American mother-Japanese father
American high school senior

I was introduced to Rick through a network of university lecturers. His mother works for a prestigious university in Tokyo. She asked him if he would speak with me and he was quite willing. All the arrangements were made through her. The interview was held in their home, in a "new town" about an hour by express train from downtown Tokyo. During the interview, Rick's mother went out to do her shopping. Although she returned during the last part of the interview, she remained out of hearing. This was not the first time he had been interviewed about being "haafu". He had been hoping to get a summer job to earn some money, but had not been successful. He was relaxed, outgoing and at ease in his home and didn't bristle when his mother reminded him that he was grounded for having come back home quite late the night before. Before formally beginning the interview, we spoke a little about music, his likes and dislikes. He offered me some cold tea before we began, appropriate for a very hot, summer day.

His mother is concerned about his English language vocabulary and reading and writing skills and is working with him during the summer on a reading comprehension course. He chose to speak in English, as practice, as he had been using Japanese since returning to Japan for summer vacation. Although, he is at ease with English and displays fluency and confidence, his English does lack grammatical accuracy. He made many standard Japanese ESL types of errors with subject verb agreement, mixing of tenses, and irregular comparative forms. He also often avoided a precise description of an event or feelings. This could be attributed to not being able to put his tongue on just the right word. However, his incomplete control of accurate grammar did not stand in the way of meaning. It is possible to speculate about the portrait he would present of himself were he to conduct this conversation in Japanese, or even a mix of the two languages, but that is not really the issue, if I maintain the focus of
allowing the participants to define and describe themselves in the voice of their choosing. There is a deeper assumption at work in my choice to respect their words; that there is no one, true self to be revealed, but something else, perhaps a fluid arrangement of many selves. This is explored in more depth in the section on Conceptualizing Identity.
...Ummm, if I describe myself, I think I would be like one ice cream with two different flavors in it...yeah, it's the one thing but there's two different tastes to it.

I think I am pretty lucky compared to other people...Because I have two different kind of cultures,...and both cultures are real good cultures, both high society...it's just that, I don't know, I guess I can be proud of those...because I have double stuff compared to other people, so,...

Yeah, because you know, you always know, you just about always know more things than other people, about two of them [both Japanese and American cultures], I mean, you know more things like, you know more Japanese things than American people who live in America and you know more American things than Japanese people living in Japan, so...so...just about all the time, especially my age, if you compare to my age group people, so, yeah.

...Umm, I could speak English and have more [chances] and it's not like I had more trouble to learn English, it came more naturally than most other people, so, it seems that that's pretty lucky.

...The basic part, my listening was pretty good because my mother spoke to me in English all the time...Yeah, but so when I was smaller, my English was stronger because it was before I went to school and my parents spoke English but after I went to school, my Japanese got way stronger, so I can speak more English than average Japanese people.

"And now you're bringing your English back up going to high school in the States?"

[It's] a little bit hard...it's not that hard to listen, you get used to it, but it's more harder to speak the language, especially now when I'm going to America, but, how the people speak in high school is way different from the way my mother is speaking English with me, so...lots of different things I didn't understand at first

...I think I felt more Japanese so, or most of the time, because everyone treated me like Japanese, so I don't really remember that I felt bad...I don't think there was like a specific time that I thought they [my parents] were from different cultures because in my, or to me that was always normal, because when I was born it was like that, so, I didn't suddenly think it's different...[reactions of
others] especially my friends in Tokyo, I think they were more flexible,...well maybe because they were or were smaller when we started to play, because the friends I see now are mostly the friends I had from when I was in third grade so I think that third graders don't really care too much about, so...so...when I came to Chiba I was already in eighth grade so maybe they think more different stuff than third graders do...

Ummm, I guess it was different [the new school in the "New Town" where he moved in 8th grade] for maybe three weeks or one month, I don't know, but then the people get used to it now there's no difference at all. Yeah, I was, I didn't really like this place, I wanted to go back to Shinjuku all the time,...changed in ....one month or so...umm, here I thought it was more boring first...now, it's not so, but everybody was like just more, uhh, dull, it made me feel like I went back to elementary school again...Yeah, maybe everybody, [it] was the way they dress and how they talk and what they do and stuff like that

Yeah, quite a bit different, so, but I think, and it was a really small school, oh, it's a bigger school than Shinjuku but this was a new area when that time there was not much building as here now...there was only about twelve buildings here at first, so there was, the first year I went to that school there was about 90 people, there was only one class in my class [grade]...but now, my sister goes there and there's three classes and they're big.

Teachers are nice teachers, uh, but some stuff I couldn't understand much...'cause the school here is new they wanted, they changed, they won't have any rules. And we have to move class to class, like an American school. It's a regular public school but, it's like you have their locker, and then but, they say that there's no rules in the school, like there's no bells, you have to look at the time and go to classes. The teacher said you have to do what you think is right and wrong, so there's no school rules but, but, about a week. 'Cause at Shinjuku, there was rules, I always broke rules, you know, ...hanging out in the corridor, but in about a week I went to school and the teacher said you can't do that, I said, 'Huh? Why is that?' He said it's not appropriate or something...I guess, there is kinda rule. So, when I was in 8th grade I had a kind of pierce [earring], that was no good either.... Well, I kinda ...expected it, yeah, so, but so, I couldn't really understand why they said that in the first place, I think then they should, make a
rule... The other kids, you know, on the other hand I bet didn't even think about putting mousse and stuff [like kids in Shinjuku]... maybe the last year, maybe in 9th grade and a few months before we graduated they started changing, especially, maybe when they went to high school they change a lot, yeah, 'cause in high school, [kids come] from other schools everybody...so they would know more stuff.

Elementary school? I like it pretty good, yeah, I was always a bad student, but I liked it...I don't know why, I had lots of friends there, so maybe that's one thing, so, it was pretty good. When I was, maybe up to 4th grade, umm, me and... I had a good friend, we always did something, I don't remember during school, but after school, there's a park called Shinjuku Gyoen, we lived right in front of that, so we always went in there, we always climbed in, you have to pay, so we always climbed in and we'd catch lots of frogs and stuff like that but from about 5th grade, me and that friend changed classes and my other friend kind of changed the hobby, only doing video games, so I started hanging out with different people, well I had been hanging around with those people since I was in 3rd grade but I just was hanging around with different people then we started doing different games like, cops and robbers... in a different park, a very, very small park, but we used the whole town [neighborhood], so but the park was the middle of the town, we make like the cops' place and the robbers' place, maybe like the robbers....but we can use the whole town to run around and did those kind of stuff 'till, actually I just did those last year...

In school? Yeah, when I was in elementary school we did soccer a lot... from junior high I started doing basketball instead...I played in high school when I was a sophomore but after that I didn't really play.

Junior high was kind of, it was kind of the same as sixth grade, a little bit different....we went more downtown Shinjuku or Shibuya or maybe Harajuku but still it was kinda the same and kinda different. Everybody were trying to be more grownup I guess. First, everybody starts to like dress different, try to be more cool, then they put some mousse in their hair, stuff like that.

In Shinjuku we had uniforms, my grade, when I went to first year, everyone was wearing normal uniform...but maybe some people put stuff in their hair and maybe some people change the color very, very slightly so no one
can really tell, but grades, upper, higher or some *sempais* had different uniform like the pants are big pants and the *gakuran*, the *gakuran* or it’s like special made and so...[indicated a short tunic, which is different from the accepted uniform style].

It was, was real fun actually. I don’t really remember my favorite classes, but it was kinda fun to go to school.

See my friends, that’s the most enjoyable...My friends in Chiba, most of the time we go outside, maybe first go to a convenience store, in the summertime, get some firecrackers or something, we go to a park and light the firecrackers and then, we just, I don’t know...some friends just sing a song in a pretty loud voice.

[With my Tokyo friends] it’s kinda the same but kind of different, we don't ever really go out to a park and sing a song, but, ummm, let’s see, the last time I went, I went to my friend’s house. Most of the time when we talk and hang around it will be at somebody’s house, especially in the summer, it’s more hot, so, when we go out, maybe we got something to eat, maybe go to Macdonald’s, stuff like that.

"How do they feel about you going to the States?"

I think they really think I’m real lucky because, especially the ones who want to go to college they think I’m real lucky that I don’t have to go through these stuff [cramming for and taking entrance exams].

"Are there any people or any events that you can remember that you think were really special to you in becoming who you are?"

All my friends are pretty big influence I think, ummm, I think most of my friends, are it doesn't matter Tokyo friends or Chiba friends and my, uh, homeroom teacher at Chiba was a real good teacher....he always talked to the students first, so he was a real good teacher. I sometimes go to that school and see him. I already went to see him a few times since this summer, because I think this teacher was real nice, good...like if something goes bad, he talks about that thing so everybody will think , well maybe that’s right, and if no, everybody won’t think about that, it was most the time at the whole class, then the teacher would make us talk about it in the class, what was wrong, and stuff like that so, I think he used to work at like a handicapped school... there was, at my school in
Shinjuku, there was a handicapped class that was a completely different class and they had different events and stuff but it was in our school, right next to our regular class and in Chiba school there wasn't really a handicapped class and there's wasn't really a handicapped person, but kinda between, some people are real, real between, but he was real good with those people, to how, to teach them and how to make them adjust in a regular class because they were in a regular class the same class as us so, yeah,

Ohh, when I was a small child I really had lots of time to play with friends outside, so, umm, cause I just, lots of times to be with my parents, I think that was good. I mean when you're small, you go out, play a couple hours that's a lot of time. Two hours it seems like forever....Yeah, so, I was pretty happy when I was little, yeah, but, my grades I feel were always low, because I never studied anything...I think when you're small, I think studying is important but more important is to have some fun...with your friends and yeah, yeah, and the same time you know, I had time to, when I was smaller, I had time to go out with my family, with my Dad, with my father.

The stuff I remember, that I did with my father is, my father, well this I don't really remember, well maybe kinda remember because my mother told me the story lots of times but like he would take me to like a department store in Tokyo and we would do hide and seek in there...I remember we played catch ball, we, uh we, umm, fly kites. At uh, Jingu, Meiji Park and like uh, like a airplane stick with a propeller with a rubber band, [we] made that...At Jingu Park there's like, uh, Sundays or Saturdays, there's like....they loan you bicycle and then you, for free, and you can practice bicycles and that's the place I learned how to ride a bicycle without the training wheels so I was like four years old when I learned because my Dad, like he had more time then, yeah, when I was, and lots of times I remember when we go somewhere, I don't know where we went but when we go back my father would say he forgot how to go home so I would have to guide him to go home, I had to take him home but I was small, I don't really remember how, I just walked around I guess that age you just love to walk around.

Yeah, Mom was there too sometimes, Mom at regular days, Monday to weekdays, I had more time with Mom...ummm, we did, umm, we did more
different stuff I think, I'm trying to remember, ummm, ummm, I can't remember, but it's more like something at the house, it's doing more like something at the house and, uhhhhhh, book, reading but I didn't read anything, Mom read the book, but it wasn't like only a book, I forget the name, Gold Bug or whatever it was I don't remember, but it was like pictures and car and the bug was somewhere and you had to find it. Yeah, the book, about this big, maybe about forty pages, it was regular paper. Hmmm, hmmm, I remember doing something but I can't really remember, time in the house... We sometimes went outside, but, ahh, yeah, she took me to Disneyland sometimes, I remember. I don't remember anything there, I just remember I was in the stroller when we come back, asleep. That's all, that's the only thing I remember I just don't remember at all.

"Did you ever feel like you wanted a Japanese name?"

Oh, I have a Japanese name... everybody calls me Rick, except this ... me and my friends, two of my friends in Chiba and we started playing this game and two of my friends can't call me Rick, they have to call me Hayato, by my Japanese name and I have to call, because I used to call them by their last name, I have to call them by their first names

"What made you do that"?
I don't know, just because to do something so.

"You've never felt that Rick was strange o...r"

No, so, in these days, well not these days, well, yeah, since I just came back from to America here, everybody says I look more Japanese now, they say my sister looks more foreigner than me... Well I know that maybe I looked more foreigner when I was very small because the hair color was more lighter, and I would speak more English with my mother or father but, I don't know, I never really realized it until they told me

[My sister] She's 13, yeah, yeah, she's, but she thinks real Japanese, yeah, uhhhh, just exactly the same as regular Japanese junior high school students.

She does buka too, she's in a music group and she goes there everyday to play flute and she always says she doesn't like it, but she goes there everyday anyways, umm, I don't know if that's anything close but I, umm.

"Did you used to think that way?"
Uh no, I was in basketball, I enjoyed playing basketball, but there is people, they do it because they think they have to and if they are in they have to agree to go the whole year.

"Now, you're going to high school in the States, right?"

It makes me feel tired...because I have to change a lot and there...to change how I act, to change....I have to be more open and more and a little bit more aggressive and I have to change how I talk, ummm, from Japanese to English.

"What language do you feel more at home in?"
Japanese.

"If you want to use Japanese, go ahead"
Oh, no, it's fine. I haven't used English in a long time, it's maybe better to use some English.

"Are there some things you find that you just can't express in English?"
Yeah, lots of time, lots of time.

"Like what?"
I don't remember now, but, but I just think oh, well, it's all right, but, I don't know....I guess you need to talk more there than in Japan like, uhh, in Japan, like most the people would not say it so straight as in America, so I think in American I think they want you to say it more directly...I don't really like that...I got kinda used to it but...

The biggest change is to be aggressive...talk to more people, especially to make friends at school, yeah...there was a bit different from Japan. Like I said when I came to Chiba actually....when I think about it, when you move to school, actually the people in the class will come to you more in Japan, they will do all kinds of stuff for you but in America, they don't really, you have to go from yourself, to, they won't really do that kind of stuff so you have to be more aggressive so you have to push in...the people, yeah, different is in Japan, maybe when you go to high school, maybe you have to kind of be a little bit more aggressive in some ways but, I realized that even my friends in Tokyo or Chiba they hang around more their junior high friends than their high school friends because, just about everybody goes to a different high school after junior high but still they always, maybe because they live closer, I don't know.
Yeah, but still they have some friends in high school but they will be more like friends at school, they won't do much after school.

Umm, there was one foreign exchange student from Chiba who actually lives just around over there, he’s gonna’ come today here we...we were pretty good friends in America, we...most of the time when it’s only him and me we’ll just about always we spoke Japanese, but when we are with somebody else, it doesn’t matter, most of the people, most of the other people couldn’t speak any Japanese then we always speak, spoke in English but when it was the two of us then we wouldn’t speak English.

Well, my first year was a sophomore year, in Nebraska, •••, Nebraska, smallest town I ever lived in, about only 400 students from kindergarten grade to 12th grade...so there was pretty bad. But now I moved to Sacramento in California, to a much bigger school and in the school itself there's also different cultures...well, mostly, but in •••, there’s no such thing as different cultures so maybe different as American-German as American-Irish something, I don’t know. There all Americans from about great, great grandma or something from Germany or Ireland or something. When I was in Nebraska. Ummm, I don’t know, it just felt like they make a box for outsiders...There were other exchange students from Germany and from Ecuador and they had exactly the same for me and everybody,...maybe talk a little bit at school but that was about it. Me and the Germany and the Ecuador student were all pretty good friends. I don't know why they [kids from the town] really didn't talk to me, maybe first thing think they don't know anything about Japan or Germany or Ecuador or, ummm, maybe they are scared that we think differently and do something different or, ummm, maybe some people just don't like people from outside that little town or maybe some people don't care what other people, where other people come from, just care that small area, I don't know, maybe all mixed.

...and there's no stop lights in the town, no stop lights...yeah, no stop lights, just stop signs. Yeah, the main street is like the ghost street

After I graduate high school I will have time by going to college, because I will graduate at January so maybe I will work for like three months and do travel for three months...ummm, maybe I will go to Temple University in the Tamachi, maybe, but not exactly sure, maybe, maybe not....
“Do you think you’d prefer coming back here than going to college in the States?”

Yeah... I just feel more comfortable in Japan, it’s. I don't know, just like... Well, I don’t mind going to Japanese university but, I think my Mom wants me to go to Temple university so and I don't, I don't see anything bad of Temple university, I think it's pretty good so it's just in my head that you know... open looking for... I don't know [what I want to study], actually that's why an American university would be a better solution than a Japanese university because you have to choose what you want to study before... before you get into college... but American university you have lots of, you can change, you have lots of options so... Yeah, yeah,... I see something and if I choose something I want to study then a Japanese university would be fine but I really don't know yet so...

My friends are important, my family is important, to have double cultures, I don’t know... I wish I could hold on to my double citizenship since, but I can’t, I don’t think I can, eventually... I don’t know, I don’t know, I hope I can hold on to everything but I don’t know what will happen... I just have to go along with the flow to keep it all, you know.
Kenta

Japanese school
American mother-Japanese father
American high school junior

Kenta was the only one of the three Japanese school attendees to make his own arrangements to meet with me after an initial contact through his mother. His mother is a travel agent and friend of a former teaching colleague. I spoke with his mother first. She asked him if he would be interested in speaking with me. Once Kenta had expressed an interest in the project, all the arrangements were left between him and myself to complete. We met at a large train station near his home. The interview was conducted in a small coffee shop where we could sit for as long as we wanted as long as we both ordered something. The interview was conducted in Japanese. This was his choice, he felt that he could best express himself in Japanese. He used a relaxed, informal style of conversation once we started. What follows is not a literal translation, but one that tries to communicate the feeling of the conversation as well as being true to its content. Kenta had just completed his first year in an American high school, his first long term stay outside of Japan. He was only in Japan for about two months before returning to the States where he would start his second year in the high school. Perhaps as a result, he often compared his two experiences of living in Japan and in the States. Kenta is 16. He is of medium height and build with reddish tinted hair. He smiles easily. He thanked me at the end of the conversation for allowing him the chance to talk, it had been most interesting for him.
When I was little, my mother taught me English, but... because...everyone around me was Japanese, but I was different, I had a complex. Everyone around me only spoke Japanese, it was only me who spoke English. I thought I would be made the odd one out so I really didn't like English. This was when I was in elementary school, I don't remember in day care, but I probably didn't like English. I didn't want to be excluded.

But after I got into junior high, everyone started to study English and so I thought it would be good if I studied it, so I worked really hard. Then, everyone said I had really good pronunciation.

I think it was good that I was raised here. Because I was raised in Japan, I like natto, (fermented soy beans) I can eat umeboshi, (salted plums) everything is okay. If you don't try everything, you won't know what you like to eat. American food is easy to eat, I'm used to eating Japanese food, that's a good point, I think.

Growing up, everything was fun. Going to the park and playing, going to the after school center. We did art, basketball, different sports.

I have lots of different friends. I still see my friend from daycare, we went straight through together, he lives nearby. Just recently, he went with me to the States.

I didn't think of myself as American when I was little. I only spoke Japanese, not English, I thought I was Japanese. But I would look in the mirror and I looked different, it was a strange feeling. In elementary school my friends would ask me why I was different looking, "Why is your nose so big?". I got it a lot, even in junior high. That didn't bother me. I just thought, "So what, what's wrong with that." There wasn't anything else. Except English.

Around my friends, [when I'm with] with my mother, she speaks English. I only speak English only with my mother, but if it's the three of us [parents and Kenta], we speak English, but it gets all mixed. But I speak Japanese with my friends.

There was another haafu kid at my junior high. He was in 9th grade. His father was American and his mother was Japanese. He had a complex, he couldn't speak English, didn't like to study it. We talked [even though he was a 9th grader and I was younger] even though we were both haafu, we were both embarrassed so we didn't talk about being haafu, we both thought of ourselves as
Japanese so we just talked about the usual things Japanese kids talk about, but we didn't talk about being haafu...we didn't really want to [talk about it].

Some people notice and say something about my skin being so white. That's good. But I don't pay any attention to teasing or comments...but when I was in junior high, we studied about the war between the U.S and Japan and the kids asked me "Why did you fight?" even though I didn't, I just don't pay any attention. When I go to America, as a Japanese I am asked the same question, "Why did the (you) Japanese attack?" That's a pain. I don't know, it's interesting, why they ask me. In junior high, everyone was interested in America, that made me happy. They would ask me about places, my mother would come to school often for stuff, and we would speak English and everyone was "Wow!", that made me feel good.

At school I get asked a lot "Which nationality will you choose? In the future, which will you choose, American or Japanese?" I answer that I don't know yet. I want to have both.

But what happens if there is a war? Wouldn't you have to choose, I think. If the war was between other countries, maybe not, but if it was between the two countries [U.S and Japan] you would have to choose or not get involved with either side. I wouldn't want to get into it at all. It is difficult to choose, I like both. It's a problem when people ask, "Which?"

...I often get asked about when I get married, who will I choose, an American or a Japanese. It's too early. I haven't even thought about that, but everyone always asks. My Japanese friends ask me which do you like, American or Japanese. I can't really answer. So far, I just say they are both human beings, either would be fine. I don't get that question in America.

How do I explain myself? I am called haafu by those around me, but I like double better...I have another culture, more than those around me. If you are just Japanese, that's the only culture that you learn, remember, but when you are haafu you have more, a second one.

I would like to learn a third language, after English, the most globally understood language, French maybe?...even though I'm a double, I'd like to learn more cultures and languages. Even if I was just a Japanese, I would want to learn about America, about other countries, not just Japan. I want to have a wider
way of thinking. I don't want to have just one. Different countries have different cultures, have different music...I don't like Japanese fashion, everyone is the same...there is conformity in America but not the exact copying, being exactly alike that is in Japan. I have some friends like that. Japanese are interested only in American things, there was something on TV recently...like hair. I dye my hair, but people dye their hair to look like Americans; they wear those high shoes, to make themselves look taller, like Americans, Everything is to copy America. If you are Japanese, then be Japanese, that is beautiful.

I always lived in Japan but I would often go to visit America. I realized that I could go to both places. I was studying here [Japan], I could learn things in America. I could make up my mind. When I'm in America, I can match American styles, when I am in Japan, I can match Japanese.

...I know that I am doing that. Japanese are usually very shy, but if you act shy in America then nobody will like you, so when you're in America, then you show that part [a not being shy behavior] Then in Japan, you are not so open, and you conform to that behavior. I can do that if I want to. I hadn't thought about it before, but now little by little, I am thinking about it.

My father...He's about 30 years older than my mother. He's really strict, like greetings...if I don't ...but when you do it right, then people tell my father that I'm not an American, I can make proper greetings...My father likes America, he got married in America. He met my mother in Pennsylvania. He was travelling and met my mother at a restaurant where she was working.

I think my mother is incredible. She didn't speak any Japanese, got married to a man who is older than my grandfather (on mother's side). That made for problems in a small town in Pennsylvania where not many Japanese come. It's pretty impressive that she came to Japan, without being able to speak any Japanese, right after they were married. She didn't study anything about Japan, in such a small state. She's lived here for 20 years now.

My Japanese grandparents are dead, my grandfather had died before I was born, I remember my grandmother as gentle, nice. I would go and she would give me Yakult (a popular yogurt drink) and tell me stories about old times, like when my father was a boy. My American grandfather was really happy when I was born because I was his first grandchild. He has died, but I
remember him. He worked at a gas station. He liked the smell of gas, maybe because he worked in a gas station, and he was always really nice to me, I would always be with him, while he was working. I have more memories of my American grandfather.

In the States, it's much more free. You have to choose your own style, like what you're going to wear everyday, that's hard. Here, you have to wear the same school uniform everyday, that's easy but it's kind of gross. It's about the same... but there you have to find what you like... sometimes there are too many choices, but I really like that there is no keigo (polite registers of speech, used according to where the person you are addressing ranks in the social hierarchy). That really makes me happy. Even when I was in junior high, kids below me would use keigo, I didn't like that and I would say, "Please, stop."

It made it difficult to speak with those above me, if we are really friends then we can talk with our real feelings, what is in our hearts and souls, with friends who are older or younger, we can say what we are really feeling but when you use keigo, you can't say things directly, what you really want to say. But in the States, because there is no keigo, it is easier to talk [with people].

People over there are friendly, more than here... they talk to you. [Here] I would talk to a new person who came into my class, there are some who would go up and talk to them, but most wouldn't. They won't speak first, if the other person speaks then they'll talk but in America, because people came up and talked to me, I relaxed and talked. [Here] They ask where did you come from, the same here and then just stop though.

They're nice. I'm in music and so there really aren't any bad people in music. They'll invite you to come along, even someone like me. Usually, you wouldn't do that with someone you don't know. But, I go with the group. My Mom is still a little worried, like she doesn't want me to get in cars with people [I don't know], I just started high school. We wouldn't do that here.

Knowing Japanese, when I am in America and can show them kanji, it really makes them happy. I can put their names into kanji and write them, they really like that.

I go to Saturday school. They have the high school textbooks from Japan, so it's the same system, so if I graduate from there, I can get the same graduation
certificate. It's because Nissan has a lot of people assigned there on business, so when they go back, they can go back into high school, so I can speak with Japanese, it's interesting, sometimes half days, sometimes full days.

I really study lots, there's math, high school kanji, and essay writing and I don't like the essay writing...writing is easy, but thinking on my own, putting my own thoughts together and writing them is hard. We had to do it in junior high, but nobody likes to do it. [It's hard] Putting all your own thoughts together and into a specified form, a single format, (first write this, then next, etc.) You lose what you are trying to write. But even if I could write freely...

Music is my best subject.

I hadn't done much music [when I was young]. I was the only one of my friends who was interested in music in elementary school. then one year one of my friends said he would join the chorus with me, but he didn't join and I was the only boy! There was nothing I could do, I had to stick it out for the year. I liked it, but I didn't continue, I was different from all my friends so I quit. But when I went to junior high, I joined the tennis club, but I realized I wasn't very good at it. There was a brass band, the teacher asked me to try out and I made it and he said "You're pretty good!" That's when I realized I really liked music. I started on trumpet. At that time I didn't really want to stand out, so I changed to tuba and now I really like it...I like that everyone works together to make music. Everyone playing alone is still music, but when everyone plays together it is even more musical, more music. Brass band, marching band. This year I will start marching band in America.

My teacher in Japan is much harder, stricter than the teacher in America. Really rough. If you make a mistake he tells you to go home "Kaere!" That's scary. He also praises when you do well, but when I get praised, then I don't do so well....but he pushes you and if you don't push yourself, you won't get any better...they say the teacher over there is strict, but my teacher here is much rougher, so I don't think he (American teachers) is strict at all....I don't know what I will do with music, but I want to do music.

I like all kinds of music...I want to learn all kinds of music, from many different places. I want to look for the music that I like. I'm really happy now
because I have found something that I really like... you can't live without something like that.

No, I don't feel that way. I don't think that I need to choose.
CHAPTER 4

Findings

In this section I will discuss the major questions that emerged from the data. Each will be addressed along with relevant literature and reference to the data. The first is the question of constructing and asserting a bicultural or biracial identity within Japanese society. The second discussion revolves around the substantive differences between the experiences of the two groups of participants. Before addressing how identity was conceptualized by participants and by other researchers, it is important that the reader understand what it means to be Japanese. Therefore, I have included a short review of the construction of Japanese national identity, especially as it relates to the position of interracial/intercultural individuals. Following this short excursion, I consider the literature around definitions of self along with the data offered by the participants, including the role of culture and language. The last section deals with the misfit of current models of identity development and the experiences of the participants in this study.

What stood out was the almost total lack of commonality between the narrated experiences of the two groups of students. While I had expected a range of experiences, I had not anticipated such discrete stories. Reflecting on the differences in the two experiences, as related to me by the participants and relating that to what I know of the dynamics of Japanese society from reading research as well as having lived within and close to the society for so many years, a possible explanation began to emerge. The experiences of the two groups were fundamentally different because of the positioning of the two groups in relation to who is considered a part of and who is not considered a part of the Japanese social structure. While the fact that all of the participants were of mixed racial and cultural heritages, where their families had chosen to position themselves vis-à-vis the educational system, was probably the most salient factor in determining the tenor of their children's experiences. Those who attended Japanese schools had taken the option that defined them as part of just one
world, not two. They did not seem to have suppressed, denied or rejected their other language and culture but rather it had simply been left undeveloped. Using the word undeveloped may be taken as judgmental. It is not meant in that way. Each individual is born with many possibilities. During the course of a lifetime, some of these are explored and developed, others are not. What I would like to be understood in this context is that the possibility to explore and develop this one particular part of themselves is just one of the "roads not taken" to paraphrase the words of Robert Frost. There wasn't any need for it within the confines of "going to school" in a Japanese school context. This is essentially different from a conscious decision to suppress or deny a facet of yourself and should not be judged as a failure of or incomplete development.

Certainly language exposure and proficiency, proximity and contact with the second culture, and limited social interactions or the dialogue with the second culture community, which Taylor (1994) and Darder (1991, 1993) described, contributed to the tenor of the experience of the Japanese school attendees. These factors will be considered in more detail later. However, I believe that what is most basic to the difference is that the international school attendees were positioned outside of Japanese society and as such were denied access, in spite of their language proficiencies and familial ties, whereas the Japanese school attendees were positioned inside and made no attempt to place themselves otherwise, possibly as a partial result of the content of the identity dialogue inside the Japanese community.

One of the consequences to which Japanese parents are asked to give serious thought when choosing to put their child or children into an international school is that they will be cut off from many normative Japanese experiences; that they are in a sense burning a number of bridges into Japanese society. My own experiences over the twenty-eight years I lived in Japan also seemed to illustrate this. I felt early in my sojourn that I would never be "accepted" into Japanese society because I wasn't Japanese, was not yet proficient in the language, had not been raised and educated in Japan. On the other hand, I would be tolerated, even treated with respect, as long as I made no claim to a place within the society, other than that of gaijin or outsider. I was accepted into my husband's family, due primarily to the will of my mother-in-law who did not
want any of her daughters-in-law to endure the kind of cruel treatment she had endured as a young wife. However, outside of that sheltered context, my place was best defined as "in between". I lived, worked, bore and raised a family in Japan, but I have never been counted a contributing member of Japanese society, either legally or socially. Had I possessed a strong desire to "belong" and be accepted, I would have been greatly frustrated. However, this experience leads me to ask questions regarding the experiences of my participants and the attitudes of the society in general. There are important questions to be asked regarding the influence of family aspirations, resources and attitudes on this positioning. There are also important questions to be asked regarding the school experience, including the formal curriculum, the structure and nature of the school day and year, the social community of the classroom and the explicit and implicit values and assumptions around the goals and methods of educating children. One question, one which I believe is fundamental to understanding the differences between the experiences of the two groups in this study, is simply; "Is it possible to construct and claim a hyphenated identity in Japanese society?"

**Can you be a hyphen in Japan?**

I believe that it is an open question as to whether or not interracial/intercultural individuals can construct an ethnic identity in Japan, in the same way that Japanese/Americans or Canadian/Japanese have been able to do in the U. S. or Canada. As I have speculated, there are a number of contributing factors that appear to limit the Japanese school attendee participants' ability to include the foreign parent's culture and language in their sense of self. However, when I consider the international school participants' choices not to construct a hyphenated identity, there appears to be another, perhaps larger force at work. The question that emerges is one that forces a consideration of not just the individual and family dynamics but also the dynamics of a society that defines itself in exclusive terms. How can there be a dialogue with such a society that would contribute to the construction of a Japanese-Something identity when being Japanese precludes being anything else?
Whether or not Japanese school attendees eventually confront the possibility of being Japanese-Something in another context, outside of Japan; if they bring that sense of self back to the Japanese context or choose another configuration of self is the topic of a longitudinal study of interracial/intercultural individuals who pursue education and/or employment outside of Japan after completing a Japanese education, through university or technical school. Certainly a very viable precedent has not been set with other ethnic minority communities in Japan, although it must be acknowledged that there are compounding factors of racial and historical "baggage" in the case of Korean, Chinese, Okinawan, Ainu and Buraku groups that have undoubtly contributed to the limited vitality of these as ethnic communities within Japanese society.

Conceptualizing "Minority within Majority"

There are a number of barriers within Japan to the conceptualization of groups that are part of the society yet require different relationships, services, considerations in order to participate fully in that society. There are barriers to conceptualizing these different needs as rights rather than special considerations. These barriers are the carefully nurtured and promulgated myth of cultural and racial homogeneity and the behaviors associated with belief in that myth that creates a nearly impermeable boundary between Japan and any "Other", a rigidly hierarchical social organization that does not openly recognize the role of power and influence in that organization, and the positioning of Japan in the superior moral and cultural position and all outside of that boundary as inferior.

Coming to grips with just what constitutes discrimination and what actions, including the formulation of policy, can or need be taken to ameliorate the effects of that discrimination within modern Japanese society requires a consideration of: 1) the complex relationships between the accepted myth of Japanese uniqueness and homogeneity and the historical and present day diversity, 2) the discontinuity of that myth in the everyday experience of individuals, accepted social practices around a preference for a group or general good over individual considerations, 3) a reliance on a system of mediation and consensus building that ignores the elements of power and coercion inherent in a
hierarchical society, and 4) a legal system that is, to a great extent, dependent upon all of the above, including a preference for not using litigation to set precedents or settle disputes.

Is it possible to conceptualize minority groups, including long term resident populations, groups that in other countries would be considered immigrants, and the need for the recognition of minority group rights and privileges in modern Japanese society in both social and legal spheres?

Under currently accepted, at least in most prominent and media supported eyes, definitions of Japanese culture and society, it is not possible to have a minority because there is only one way of being Japanese. Any exception places the individual or group outside of the definition of being Japanese consequently making them Alien or Other rather than a minority within a majority.

Given the assumption that there can be no minority group within Japanese society, only Others outside of the boundaries, the chances of any wide ranging development of minority group identifications and recognition of minority group rights would seem slim. Changes are occurring within the society, changes that challenge this exclusive definition of Japanese society, but they are not systemic. For example, recently, a new perspective has been developing in the Korean communities. This was articulated by Kim Sukbun in a book Zainichi no Shiso or The Idea of "Resident Koreanism". According to Komai, the main point of the book was "...that resident Koreans no longer had any ties to either North or South Korea, and that they needed to change their perspective to one based on the recognition that their destiny was to remain in Japan..." (Komai, 1993, p. 242). What appears to be happening is the formation of an ethnic identity that is separate from nationality and ties to a country. There are considerable gaps between politicians and people, between policy and practice. In addition, as a result of both economic factors (an extended recession) and breakdowns in the infrastructure of the financial, security (police, safety regulation), political, medical systems and educational systems and the manipulation by the media of the reporting of these breakdowns, there has been a resurgence of conservative values and calls to throw off the false promises of Westernization and return to the truths of Japanese values and identity.
I believe it is important to note, at this point, that Japan’s constructed exclusive identity, especially the emphasis on the general welfare or the subordination of the individual to general good, is not an exclusively Japanese construct with mythical roots. The collapse of the Soviet Union and resultant independent development of many East European countries has exposed bureaucratic and educational practices that are shockingly similar to those in Japan. Writing about bureaucratic practices within the government and education bureaucracy in particular, "All procedures that maintain the standard are products of norms hidden behind these manifest processes...However, the civic value of equality was eclipsed by a common invisible and unelected authority structure which formulated norms and standards and manipulated by means of personal, individual interests" (Stech, 1994, p. 71). This is just as apt as a description of the extralegal practices and rationale used by the Ministry of Justice in Japan as cited by Murphy-Shigematsu. (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000b)

Prescribed subordination became the norms of an educated citizen and a means of constructing the state and society...The future utopian society was situated on the horizon as something defined and designed by others. One’s duty was to strive toward this objective in order to contribute to the common work enabling future generations to also reach it...One of the consequences has been a fear of differences and diversity (Stech, 1994, p. 75).

This could just as well be a description of Japan not only during the Meiji period of nation building, but also after World War II when Japan was striving to rebuild itself as a modern nation. While the parallels are fascinating, what is important to realize is that Japan, in spite of the social and political rhetoric, is not fundamentally different from any other nation searching for ways of establishing and consolidating a national identity among its citizens.

One of the manifestations of the inability to identify and recognize the differentiated needs of minorities within Japan is discrimination against foreigners, both positive and negative. However, foreigners, –the most obvious “outsiders”– are not the only people who suffer discrimination in Japan. The Buraku (the group of people traditionally associated with “unclean” labor, such as the handling of corpses, butchery, leatherwork), Ainu, Okinawans, the
mentally and physically disabled, victims of crime, HIV sufferers, all fall outside of the protection of the laws of Japan when it comes to discriminatory practices. One group which has managed to gain both a generally positive special status as well as preferential treatment, e.g. certain rights and privileges within the educational system of Japan, is that of the kikokushijo or returnees. But when the policies were first enacted this adaptation to one group was not accomplished without the concern that such a policy would set a precedent for other groups. There were complaints against this special treatment for fear "...that it may lead to other groups being given special treatment in Japan...[but that fear] is countered by the argument that other groups, such as handicapped people, do not have the skills to pass on to their peers, and Japanese society in general, which the kikokushijo possess (Greenles, TES, 20 May 1988; Kinoshita et al., 1985: 6-7)" (as quoted in Goodman, 1990, p. 230). Why, indeed, it has not opened the door for other groups to press their identity and needs is that these kikokushijo children can claim membership in the exclusive circle of Japaneseness, by virtue of the status of their parents and their parents’ network of relationships among the most powerful government and economic circles and thus are not really part of the “Other”. These children fit very neatly into the conservative interpretation of equality of opportunity in education first articulated in 1963 in an Economic Development Council report:

The principle of equal opportunity means that educational opportunity is given equally among people who have equal ability. If we follow this interpretation, the principle of Noryokushugi [ability first] must be applied. Selection by ability is not discrimination...the principle of Noryokushugi is not to have identical conditions going on to a higher level of education in the educational courses but to have a flexible education system corresponding to people’s ability (Keizai shingikai 1963, pp. 38-76 as cited in Okada, 1999).

This principle was first made concrete in the Central Council of Education’s 1966 report which said:

For development in the new era, the exhaustive reinforcement of equal opportunity in education is desirable. At the
same time, it is today’s important national task to provide our young people, who have the greatest part in forming national society and in taking responsibility for its economic as well as social development, with diversified educational opportunities corresponding to their different abilities (emphasis added, Chukyoiku shingikai 1966, pp. 70-83 as cited in Okada, 1999).

*Kikokushijo* could be described not as a minority requiring special treatment but rather, just some individuals who share the same ability (they will take their places in the power structure of the nation) and will be provided with the best education under the guise of a flexible education system. Despite the media coverage that portrayed them as victims of discrimination and ill treatment, they were not really seen as outside the system, not really different. Instead, they were treated more as having had the unfortunate experience of having been separated from their “family” and needed an extra boost of care to make up for that sad experience.

**Construction of Japan and the Other**

It is interesting to note that the ideograph used to denote difference is the same as the one used in the combination to denote a mistake or the idea of being wrong. There is a strong association of being different with being wrong. It is not that difference cannot be conceptualized, but rather the context in which it is conceptualized. The dichotomy of Japanese and Other leaves no space for other groups within the bounded territory of what has been constructed as Japaneseness or Japanese society. Therefore it becomes impossible to conceive of minorities within or as a part of Japanese society. Such a group can only exist OUTSIDE of the society and therefore is outside the responsibility of the state or the society.

The definition of Japanese identity, the criteria of who is Japanese, has been constructed on a myth, but a politically powerful one, that constitutes Japanese society as homogenous and everyone else as outsiders. This is strongly reflected in the language with the use of *uchi* and *soto* as delineators in all areas of interaction. *Uchi* and *soto* are usually translated as inside and outside, however, they carry a far broader and deeper connotation. *Uchi*, which is represented by
the ideograph for "house", carries the meaning of house and those who live within being one unit, separated from the outside. Soto then refers to all those who are outside of the house, outside of the "family". The two groups are physically separated, by the architecture of the building with an entranceway, by custom in the removal of footwear before entering, by the language used in addressing those who are inside and outside, and by behavioral and relationship expectations. The category of Other is a very well developed one.

Even though there is solid evidence that Japanese people are indeed a mix of peoples from the Pacific Rim and Asian continent who populated the archipelago over a long period of time and there have always been both Korean and Chinese peoples resident in Japan, many people will insist that it happened so long ago that it is insignificant (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000b, p. 210). The powerful image of one people with only one culture and one language has been consciously nurtured and protected, first by the nation builders of the Meiji era and then by subsequent governments and social thinkers in the face of perceived threats from outside forces. This does not account for the fact that even within this so-called homogenous culture there are distinct groups that are considered outside the definition. But that's just the point, when a group is outside of the boundaries it is not a question of majority and minority relationships, there can be no relationship, other than one of alien to native, 'us' to 'them'. When the relationship is conceived of in such terms, the idea of rights and responsibilities takes on a very different hue. There can be no minorities in Japan because it isn't possible to have a minority unless it is possible to conceive of the total entity being made up of different elements, not all equal in number or power but still all part of the same entity. Without that basic assumption, it is impossible to articulate the identity of a minority group and the subsequent rights and responsibilities around that identity; rights and responsibilities on the part of both majority and minority. This, perhaps as much as any other political or social force, has stymied the development of group identities and rights in Japan.

Japanese identity has been constructed in contrast to others. This is not extraordinary as Hingwan states, "...national cultures constitute their senses of identity by contrasting themselves with other cultures so that by defining the other the self is also being defined. The objects of contrast need not necessarily be
external cultures outside of the geographical boundaries but may even be internal cultures” (Hingwan, 1996, p. 52). What has been chosen as the contrasting culture or group and the value assigned it has determined the nature of Japanese identity. Race, culture and ethnicity have been combined to form an impervious boundary of what constitutes being Japanese. This is not a new development but has roots deep in Japanese history. It was first clearly articulated by Aizawa Seishisai during the early 19th century as part of a response to the threat of the possible takeover by Western powers. He reached into Japanese history and interpretations of Confucian, particularly that of Chu Hsi, thinking to formulate Japanese national identity, an identity which would separate Japan from the defeated and colonized nations in Asia, including the source of much of Japanese political, cultural and philosophical thought, China. His formulation conflated race, ethnicity and culture and assigned Japan a superior position within the “family” of Asian nations/cultures.

Race is generally agreed to be a social construct rather than a biologically definable grouping. Yoshino defines “race” as having “…no real biological foundation and…may thus be defined as a human group that perceives itself and/or is perceived by other groups as different from other groups by virtue of innate and immutable phenotypical and genotypical characteristics” (Yoshino, 1992, p. 23).

Hierarchical Society

There is another important aspect to recall, in relation to the construction of Japanese identity; the positioning of Japan as superior—morally and culturally—and the “Other” as inferior. This is both made manifest in and supports the rigid hierarchical structure of Japanese institutions and society. It is easy to see how Robert Miles’s description of the process of racialization works to maintain this superior/inferior positioning:

...those negative beliefs held by one group which identify and set apart another by attributing significance to some biological or other ‘inherent’ characteristic(s) which it is said to possess, and which deterministically associate that characteristic(s) with some other (negatively evaluated) feature(s) or action(s). The possession
of these supposed characteristics may be used to justify the denial of the group equal access to material and other resources and/or political rights (Miles 1982, pp. 78-9, emphasis added, as quoted in Weiner, 1995, p. 436).

The negative and inferior characteristics were identified in the "Other", which included not only those outside the geographical boundaries of Japan, but also groups within Japan who were not racially or sometimes even ethnically distinct; the burakumin, the Ainu, Okinawans, urban poor. For the Ainu, "...the special education programme established by the Education Code for Hokkaido Ainu in 1901...prohibited use of the [Ainu] from learning history, geography and science on account of the Ainu people's alleged 'emotional and intellectual immaturity'" (Maher, 1997, p. 117). And "the urban slum of the Meiji period was presented as a world existing somehow beyond civilization, and its inhabitants depicted as the descendants of 'remote foreign races'" (Weiner, 1995, p. 450).

Much of this rigid structure, that locks in the negative attributes and thus the inferior positioning of the Other, may be attributed to the Confucian world view and the five levels of human relationships it expounds. This organization of the universe was based on a strict hierarchy, based on a patriarchal model, with the ruler at the top and descending down through a succession of positions diminishing in status, responsibilities and rights to the family level. This fit the feudal structure at the ruling level that already existed in Japan and it provided a civilized structure for dividing the population. More than the specific divisions, I would suggest that the salient characteristic was the ordering and delineation of rank and role. Everyone has a place and, in order to preserve the balance of the universe, must remain loyal to that place. There was no movement between these positions, with the exception of extremely talented young men who could somehow study and pass the complex examinations to become part of the governing elite. This was translated into the Japanese setting, where it has manifested itself throughout the society in a subtle but very strong class system and a strict adherence to seniority systems in all areas of life, from neighborhood associations, kindergarten classes, amateur music groups, tennis clubs, to baseball teams. It is also institutionalized in the exam system that permeates entrance to and advancement in any endeavor, recreational and professional. The
sempai/kohai (senior/junior) relationship dominates social and business interactions. It is also a part of every student's education. Brian McVeigh, in an analysis of teacher's manuals for the “moral education” course, identified two words that appeared repeatedly—shido and sunao. These two words are usually translated as “guidance” and “obedient”, but McVeigh, who was attempting to trace links between “...ideology and intention, institutions and individuals...” (McVeigh, 1998) points out the broader connotations of these words in Japanese society. Shido “...often denotes more of a sense of actively directing or strongly persuading others” and sunao has a broader range of meaning, closely connected to the idea of knowing one’s proper place and “…also strongly implies positive acceptance of what one is told” (McVeigh, 1998).

There is an additional dimension of the hierarchy which needs to be considered, power. One may be of only a certain rank, but if the right connections and web or relationships can be accessed, it is possible to operate outside the confines of the hierarchy. This can be used to an individual or group’s advantage, but it can also work to quash protest of unfair treatment or violation of rights. One of the most blatant examples is in the way police and courts handle incidents of rape and domestic violence. Because women rank very low in the hierarchy, their reports of rape or domestic violence are generally met with little concern on the part of police. Women cite the insensitive, even abusive treatment by police when they do try to report a rape as a major reason for not going to police. Another example is in the litigation of medical malpractice. Doctors are rarely found to be at fault and, if they are, the financial awards to the patients are insignificant. The reason given is that doctors and judges are both given a rather exalted status in the hierarchy and generally choose not to violate that shared relationship. While the victim may have suffered serious injury, even death, the courts generally choose to protect the doctor, who carries more status and more potential influence and power (Personal communication, October, 1995).

A perception of reality that relies so completely on the idea of proper place in the universe leaves no space for a perception of reality that can conceptualize differences apart from rank or value and instead accept identity of a group or an individual as one of many, all of equal worth but not the same in
function or needs. Such a hierarchical legacy presents a challenge to the formation of policy and practice that would first recognize difference; ethnic, citizenship, religious, linguistic, physical, gender, and so on, as part of the society and social responsibility and not outside of both and then accept the consequent diversity of needs and responses.

**Equality of Education**

This has played out in the educational setting in an ongoing conflict between conservative Ministry of Education officials and the more liberal teachers' union, Nikkyoso around the issue of equality of educational opportunity. The Ministry has staunchly supported a meritocratic view that holds "...once external barriers are removed, success or failure in school primarily depends upon each individual pupil..." (Okada, 1999). The Nikkyoso have interpreted equality of opportunity in a more egalitarian way, regarding "...education as a valuable commodity in itself and considered that 'equality' demanded effective access to it should not be denied to any child on the grounds of a lack of academic ability" (Okada, 1999). It is interesting to look at how this egalitarian perspective has manifested itself in regard to differences in students. All Japanese students are required to attend six years of primary and three years of secondary school. These public schools are essentially free although there are some textbook and material fees. There are subsidies available for students who may not be able to afford such fees; however, the shame of claiming such aid keeps the burden of paying on the family. All children are assumed to be able to participate in the classroom activities; no differentiations are made for possible differences in abilities or learning needs. Teachers make extraordinary efforts to ensure that most of the children in their classes do indeed learn something or at least appear to be learning. However, children are not singled out for special help or as having special needs. If the situation is such that the child simply cannot learn in a normal school, then the child may be placed in a "special" school where children with a wide range of physical, mental and emotional needs are taught together. Placement in such a school is not socially desirable and avoided at all costs by most parents, especially if the child's "difference" is not visible, as the public knowledge of such "differences" can have a profound
effect on the future of siblings in the family, including future employment and marriage. Rather than being seen as a minority group within the society as a whole, these children are shunted outside the system, outside the boundaries of the society. It is interesting that the current heroic spokesperson for the rights of handicapped people in Japan did not attend such a special school, but with the extraordinary support of his parents managed to complete his education in a regular school, although it was often a battle with officials to allow him access to the school, as he is confined to a wheelchair. While he is fighting hard for the acceptance of handicapped people within the society, he is asking to be accepted without special consideration, without acknowledgment that he is in any significant way different or requires any different kind of treatment. On the one hand, open acceptance of those who are different into what amounts to a very closed society is highly desirable, but if such acceptance is premised on the assumption that the difference does not carry any requirements of different needs, has anything really been accomplished? Does such acceptance make it possible to ask for or expect wheelchair accessible facilities, including bathrooms and public transportation or to ask for or expect language instruction that will respect a child’s first language as well as develop the Japanese language skills necessary to benefit from the classroom experience as a right rather than special consideration, a favor which jars against the Japanese value and practice of avoiding any kind of meiwaku, being an inconvenience to others?

This aspect of the school experience, and the larger social experience, relates to another difference that appeared between the narrations of the two groups in the study. When the international school attendees described their school and classroom experiences, they often talked about seeing differences, talking about differences, accepting difference as a natural or normal state of affairs. This did not appear in the words of the Japanese school attendees, and I assume was a much less salient aspect of their experience.

**Conversations of Difference**

An element of this identity dialogue that is absent from the Japanese school attendees conversations is a conscious awareness of difference as topic of
any import. It appears to be a function of their peer group and school experience. As the international school attendee participants all stated, they were always surrounded by cultural and linguistic differences, they took that to be a natural part of the environment, "cultural differences were never really an issue. "they were a natural part of my environment". Differences in language, background, parentage, ways of doing things, was a part of the context and as such were part of the dialogue.

As a teacher in the international schools, I was committed to working from the strengths of my students. This required that I learn just what it was they were bringing from their homes, previous school experiences, life experiences into the classroom. Given that my students were coming from as many as ten different countries, speaking about half as many languages and most having lived in two or more different countries, I was working with a curriculum of diversity. As a kindergarten teacher in international schools, I was aware of the diverse family practices that my students brought to the classroom. I made those part of the curriculum. We listed all the different ways children named their grandparents. We collected stories of the different ways in which birthdays were celebrated. We invited parents to share their family holiday customs in the classroom. We would read as many variations of familiar tales, Little Red Riding Hood or Hansel and Gretel, as we could find including versions read in some of the children's first languages. Although the emphasis was on different ways of doing things, there was an underlying theme of commonality. Human beings have families, celebrate holidays and tell stories; they just do all of these things in many, many ways. This was linked with symbol systems, especially the alphabet. There are many different ways of making any given letter, but they are all an "A" or a "K". No form is more correct than any other, no form is exclusively the "right" one, however, there are conventions that we can choose to follow to allow easier communication. Diversity, difference, and variety were key concepts in the classroom. This did not stop at the kindergarten level, but was carried through the grades, with varying degrees of emphasis.

My work on the "Internationalizing the Curriculum" Project in 1991-93 carried out among several international schools in and around Tokyo made it clear that what was happening in my classroom was not an isolated event.
In fact, many teachers from kindergarten through high school were attempting to incorporate dialogues on difference into the curriculum in their classrooms and at their schools. It was evident that the students of international schools had little choice but to begin to recognize difference as a part of their world.

There needs to be a certain degree of recognition of difference in order to conceptualize differences. As Bennett (1986) explains in his model of intercultural sensitivity, people must develop categories of difference before they can actually see or hear difference. The example he often cites is people's response on a first visit to Tokyo. People see tall buildings, traffic, crowds of people, large department stores, big hotels and conclude that Tokyo is just a big city like any other big city. Their categories are still too broad to allow them to see other, somewhat more subtle differences, such as physical mannerisms and gestures, to hear the difference in language, to see signs in Japanese rather than only the English ones, to see differences in the way merchandise is displayed in those large department stores, or the way in which drivers negotiate traffic jams.

Students in international schools were given, indeed surrounded by, opportunities to develop many and subtle categories of difference. This does not appear to be the case for those students attending Japanese schools. The salient differences that Japanese school attendees develop awareness of in their school experiences are usually limited to their classmates academic standings, parental status as measured by the father's employer and perhaps university affiliation, the relative size of the family dwelling, (apartment or one family residence) and family size, only child, one or two siblings and position as elder or younger. There are other categories of difference, certainly physical abilities, appearance, special skills or talents that are noted if not discussed. Although, it is not unusual for classmates not to know of an individual's talents as a musician or dancer, for example, as these are not displayed or even mentioned. There is a powerful stricture at work not to stand out from the group. Difference, either recognition or expression, is not cultivated within the school environment. School uniforms are required from junior high on in public schools and usually from kindergarten in private institutions, so that everyone maintains a basic air of conformity although some students will push the limits of variations in the uniform or other
strictures on personal appearance as attested to by Rick and Cecilia. There are of course, exceptions to this requirement at a few prestigious institutions.

Because of the ranking of junior high and high schools according to testing scores and university placement records, a quasi-natural selection process takes place that creates a degree of homogeneity in goals, school performance, and background within the school population. This is not to say that differences do not exist but rather the importance attached to difference in the dialog of identity appears to be less than that in international schools. The range of difference is narrow rather than broad. Without the experience of difference and the cultivation of well-developed categories for seeing and appreciating differences, it is difficult to see how the topic can become part of the social or curricular dialogue that is part of the identity construction process. In other words, it is difficult to conceptualize yourself as bicultural without having well-developed categories for what it means to have more than one language, more than one school experience, more than one history and so on. Similar observations were made by participants attending school in the US about the narrow range of difference in certain schools as well. The phenomenon would not seem to be confined to any one culture or setting, however, there are well established policies and practices within both the Japanese education system and within the society itself that effectively suppress any celebration or encouragement of a culture based on difference. Stech’s analysis of the process of democratization in Czech schools is a case in point.

The result of this effort was to provide all students with the same programs, the same evaluation, and the same academic trajectories...It led to a general standardization of the Czech and Slovak schools. School equity and justice were defined in such a way that it meant all people...would receive a similar education. Step by step democratization became equivalent to standardization and neither label had any connection with equality (Stech, 1994, p. 73).

Standardization in the guise of equality applies to what happens within any given school, however, it is also important to remember that Japan is also a hierarchical society with a deeply embedded class structure as was apparent in
the success of kikokushijo families to obtain preferential treatment for their children within the system against the limited success of other groups who have claimed special needs for their children.

**Acculturation/Accommodation**

It would appear that the degree of acculturation or attempted acculturation on the part of the foreign parent plays a significant role in the making of the context in which an interracial/intercultural child is reared. I choose the term acculturation here because I believe it best reflects that aspect of Japanese culture and social practice that resists the concept that anyone can become Japanese. This relates back to Japanese national identity as it is defined both politically and socially. Acculturation, as defined by La Fromboise, et al. (1993) "(a) focus[es] on the acquisition of the majority groups' culture...(b) emphasize[s] a unidirectional relationship between the two cultures, and (c) assume[s] a hierarchical relationship between the two cultures...[and] implies that the individual, while becoming a competent participant in the majority culture, will always be identified as a member of the minority culture" (La Fromboise et al., 1993, p. 397). I think there are even limits to acculturation in the Japanese context, especially in respect to the expectation of becoming a competent participant in the culture. There are a great many individuals who are extremely competent at participating in the culture in a variety of roles and relationships, but there is not an expectation on the part of most Japanese that they actually do this.

Certainly the popular image as maintained by the mass media is that those who do accomplish such an incredible feat are somehow "strange". (The popularity and "talent" status of English-speaking foreigners on TV variety or comedy shows, the popularity of such shows at Beat Takeshi's deliberately provocative Kore wa hedayou, nihonjin! (Strange Japanese!)) Families who choose to live in Japan have several choices to make. First of all, is the question of the spouse's visa status. Permanent residency is not automatically granted to a spouse. The length of visas granted ranges from six months to three years. Therefore, a spouse must apply for a visa extension on a regular basis. Permanent residency status requirements have been relaxed somewhat in the
past ten years. However, this can still be an onerous process, depending, it seems, on the nationality and race of the individual who is applying for permanent residency status. There is a significant gap between the laws and the policies of implementation by the bureaucracy that creates rather unequal treatment of individuals and their families (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000b). Permanent residency status does relieve the individual of the need to apply for visa extensions, but the individual must still carry the alien registration card and get a re-entry permit before leaving the country. Permanent residency status does not get the spouse onto the juminhyo, (residency certificate) allow her or him to vote or any other rights accorded to citizens. The process for naturalization has also been relaxed, however, this has not been publicized. There are serious considerations to naturalization, one of the biggest being that the process requires that an individual give up his or her citizenship, as Japan does not recognize dual citizenship.

Even if the legal requirements are satisfied, as stated earlier, Japanese is also a social construct and one which is even more exclusive than the legal one. Individuals who do not "look" Japanese, e.g. Caucasian, Black, do not fit within the social construct. The rigid definition of who is or can be defined as Japanese would seem to preclude such an expectation as a newly naturalized citizen found out when he tried to enter a local onsen.(hot spring bath)

I, a newly-minted Japanese citizen, went to Yunohana, one onsen in Otaru which reserves entry for Japanese Only, with two Japanese friends.

Yunohana refused me entry. I even showed them proof (my driver license, which has my honseki [the family register that only citizens have] listed). The man in charge acknowledged that I had Japanese citizenship, but still said that onsen policy was to refuse entry to people like me (both the word "gaijin" [outsider] and "gaikokuji" [outside the country person] were used in reference).

Their reasoning (in paraphrase): "Even if we at the desk know that you are a Japanese citizen, the customers will not know and they will stop coming" (Aldwinckle, 2000a).
Even those who "look" Japanese are not accepted socially as Japanese if their ethnic background is public knowledge. There are exceptions to these generalizations. There are neighborhoods and villages that have included foreign spouses wholeheartedly, but the opposite is also true. Any family that chooses to make Japan home must accept certain limitations. These may include initial or long-term difficulties in finding housing, in enrolling children in schools, in neighborhood relations. Even now, long-term foreign residents in a small town in Hokkaido has been banned from certain restaurants and hot springs, simply because they are foreign and those places of business have instituted a "no foreigners" policy (Aldwinckle, 2000b).

The language that the family chooses to use may also be an issue both ways. In order to participate in the neighborhood associations, festivals, and other activities, in school functions (which are very demanding of mothers in particular), even such activities as taking children to the park demand a certain level of fluency in Japanese on the part of the foreign parent. Even if a family wishes to maintain a bilingual home, it is a challenge as peer pressure on children to conform linguistically can put strains on parent-child relationships. This was an issue for two of the participants in the study, with the foreign parent's language being discarded in favor of Japanese.

Assimilation into Japanese society is a very complex phenomenon. Even individuals of Korean ethnicity who are fourth or fifth generation living in Japan, who speak no Korean and have no ties with Korea or Korean relatives are not considered Japanese. They may pass, but there is always a fear of discovery. (Okada, 1999). There may be different patterns of accommodation and/or assimilation depending on whether the foreign spouse is male or female, place of residence (urban or rural), place and kind of employment. There are rather large differences in the socioeconomic status of individuals working for Japanese companies or employers and those working for foreign firms, which can have a significant impact on a family's ability to maintain regular contact with the foreign spouse's family as well as educational choices. Even diet can be an issue of assimilation/accommodation. Residence in a major city with access to a wide range of imported foods may allow a foreign mother to maintain a degree of her "home cooking" in her family's meals, which could be interpreted as an
unwillingness or inability to be sufficiently "Japanese". A child who doesn't have an appreciation of natto (fermented soybeans) or sashimi will have that taste preference attributed to his or her foreign parentage rather than an individual taste preference.

This would appear to be an area warranting a fuller investigation as the family is an important site of the identity dialogue in which an individual participates. I chose not to collect detailed data on participants' families and family lifestyles. I wished to maintain the focus on the voice of the individuals. However, it is an area of investigation that could be pursued and would contribute to a much deeper understanding of the context in which interracial/intercultural individuals grow and mature.

The differences in family lifestyle as reflected in participant narratives and interviews seemed to indicate that the Japanese school attendees were much closer to my own experience as an individual who having acquired a degree of second language proficiency and cultural proficiency and then reconstructing certain aspects of my identity and behaviors than to the concurrent constructed bicultural or multicultural identities of international school participants. That is not to judge one kind of experience as less than the other, but rather to emphasize that they are substantively different kinds of experiences with arguably different kinds of results in terms of identity construction. I would certainly not discount the effect that my experience of living in Japan has had on how I define who I am, nor of the effects of the American high school experiences have had on two of the participants; but that does not appear to be the same as being raised and educated with both cultures and languages.

**Same Place, Different Worlds**

This brings me to a conceptualization of these experiences as two separate worlds in the same geographical location. One, the Japanese school attendees', is an additive experience, firmly grounded in one culture and language with a second set of experiences being added to the first. The degree to which that second set of cultural and linguistic experience penetrates the first is a function of a number of variables including length of time spent in the second language and culture, receptivity to that second language and culture and support to develop
and maintain the second culture and language (LaFromboise, 1993). The other experience, the international school attendees', is integrative. It too is subject to a number of variables, including language proficiency, time spent in both cultures, and sense of community.

One of the important things to remember is that each individual's experience is essentially different because of the assemblage of variables. It is the relative impact of these variables as well as the timing of them that determines each individual's identity dialogue. Consider the range of possible identity dialogues in the following situations: a child with a Japanese mother and foreign father who speaks only Japanese in the home and outside until beginning formal education at the age of six: the child with a Japanese mother and foreign father who experiences both languages in the home from earliest memory: the child who recalls great consternation and embarrassment as a result of being spoken to or speaking with the foreign parent in the foreign language during the years prior to or immediately after the beginning of formal education: the child for whom exposure to the second parental language has taken place outside of Japan. They will each have very different ideas about language and the role of language in their own sense of self. Other variables include food, was the diet in the home primarily Japanese, Western, a mix during the child's early years? What sources of information, pop culture were available. Did they have cable TV with American sitcoms, BBC , CNN and MTV or only Japanese TV? What newspaper(s) was in the house, if any? What did their parents listen to on the radio? FEN or Japanese stations or a mix of the two? What music was usually enjoyed? Did the family do things together, go to movies or outings? Where and when? How much contact was there with the extended family, e.g. grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins? In what language and where did it take place? What of music lessons, dance lessons, swimming lessons, membership in local or even school sports teams?

...like you know with sports like activities, I think in an international school you have fall sports, winter sports and spring sports but then you do the same sport the whole year [in Japanese schools] so then you have this hierarchy building because that's
your life you know, you play baseball for the whole year so senpai and kohai, that whole interaction (Phillip, interview).

All of these contribute to where an individual may have experienced his or her identity dialogues. They are probably a function of the degree of the foreign parent's accommodation with the culture and decisions which, in conjunction with place of residence, socioeconomic status and resources, and family aspirations determined a number of choices parents and children made.

The experiences are qualitatively different. The data suggest that perhaps the most salient characteristics of each experience revolve around attitudes and practices regarding difference. One experience is based in an understanding and a grounding in difference based on a multicultural and multilingual context, the other in an understanding and grounding in commonality based on a monocultural, monolingual setting. While I found that the Japanese school attendees, particularly those who had opted to attend high school outside of Japan, primarily to develop their language skills, were willing to label themselves as haafu, they identified with their Japanese peers first and foremost; they thought of themselves as essentially Japanese.

"When I was little, I never thought of myself as American. I had only spoken Japanese, I couldn't speak English, so I thought I was Japanese" (Kenta).

"Since I was born I have lived in Japan, so, (pause) I've always been to Japanese schools, regular Japanese schools, living just like Japanese, I think of myself that same as regular Japanese" (Cecilia).

An interesting contrast to their definitions of themselves is provided by the kikokushijo or returnee students. I have worked with these children in the international schools and in the context of English language maintenance classes provided for the Japan Overseas Education Services organization. These returnee students most often had more developed bilingual skills than the Japanese school attendee participants, which is to be expected as the returnees had had anywhere from two to ten years of their education in English (or French). I would not label their attitudes and behavior as more or less Japanese or "Western" as I find those terms far too ambiguous to be of use. However, I did find that the kikokushijo were interested in and able to consciously address elements of their behavior and attitudes from their sojourn experience that they wished to maintain and would
use, depending on the context. I believe what this points to is the importance of the context of the identity dialogues that take place in a child's development. While having a foreign parent may provide possibilities, there are many other factors that affect the content and context of the dialogue. Indeed, in the child's experience, the foreign parent may represent only a very small part of the process.

This relates to a comment that one of the international school participants made about being interracial/intercultural. He stated that he was not responsible for his parents having gotten together, just because his parents are of two different races and from two different cultures does not predetermine who or what he is. It is just one more factor that he adds to the mix, in whatever proportion he chooses. While this certainly reflects his own assumptions about where the locus of identity development lies, it also highlights the randomness, the role of chance in at least the possible elements of one's identity. How the role of the individual and the society are balanced out in fitting those elements together may well determine to what extent this one particular element, mixed parentage, will play in the eventual identity construct. In the case of the Japanese school attendees, it appears to have assumed a role of relatively minor importance, at this point in their lives.

**Community**

All of the international school participants expressed instances of belonging, of not belonging, of not being permitted to belong, of yearning for a place to which they might belong. This was not a topic that appeared in any of the Japanese school attendee stories or conversations. The feelings around not belonging or yearning for a place to belong were usually associated with instances of having been excluded from Japanese society. Sometimes this exclusion was based on the response of Japanese people to the participants "The oddity of the name made heads turn towards me, the only gaijin (foreigner) on the pool deck. I pretended not to notice, but inside, I felt the need to hide." (Victoria)

"My name always reminds me that I'm not Japanese or normal Japanese every time I fill out a form for a train pass or a video club card. There's a line for
furigana, which I don't need and the line for the name is short-for Kanji and then trying to decide the order to put my last name and first name into" (Liam). At other times it was based on realizations that participants had that they "didn't fit" or were in some way "different". "I try to consider myself Japanese and when I went to Japanese school, the kokusai high school, umm, I was different from them“ (Michael).

On the other hand, feelings of belonging, of being accepted for the international school attendees were associated with being in a group of individuals like themselves, interracial/intercultural or with individuals who shared an interest in and respect for other cultures, countries, languages, diversity. The Japanese school attendees always located themselves with their school friends, a mix of friends from elementary and junior high and senior high. There are two aspects of this community that I feel are important to the process of constructing an identity for my participants. First, for the international school students this community is the group of people with whom participants feel welcomed and comfortable. It appears to be a mix of old and new friends, of family and acquaintances. It does not have geographic or temporal boundaries. It appears to be bound together by a set of values, values to which these participants expressed a commitment. In contrast, the Japanese school students’ community does have geographic boundaries. As an illustration, the Japanese school students all mentioned meeting friends after school to "hang out", go shopping or spending time talking after school on the telephone. The international school students also mentioned these activities, but in addition, they also all mentioned regular conversations conducted via email and on-line chats with friends who are spread around the world. Regular access to computers and email enable this kind of communication, but it was also a function of the reality that their friends are from many countries and cultures.

Monica Heller's research on the role of language and ethnic identity is helpful when considering this difference. Although her research is grounded in a very different sociopolitical context, that of francophone and anglophone relationships and identities in Canadian settings, many of the same processes are at work in the Japanese context of the participants in this study. She has limited her consideration of identity to ethnic identity in her study, whereas I have not in
my attempt to avoid setting up an either/or choice for individuals. However, the
principles she has highlighted appear to be at work in the contexts of my
participants. They are that "1) ethnicity is grounded in social relationships that
are formed through interaction, but that are constrained also by contextual
factors; and 2) language choice and language use play central roles in the
formation of those social relationships" (Heller, 1987, p. 182). The contextual
factors she cites are the opportunities for interaction, social and academic in the
children's daily lives and the values associated with those. It is especially
important to note her conclusions regarding the relationship between language
choice and boundaries. She has observed boundaries among the children,
between children and teachers that she sees to be a function of the language
choices that are made. For example, a francophone child chooses to not use
English in social contexts with peers and as a result finds herself with only a very
small group of friends and even excluded from activities because of her
perceived refusal and/or inability to use English outside of the classroom
context. On the other hand, another child chooses to use French in the classroom
and English in social contexts outside of the classroom and finds himself to be
considered inside the boundaries of the major social groups. The boundaries
appear to be a function of language choice. These choices and the boundaries in
turn affect the child's definitions of who he or she is in these different contexts.
She maintains that there is a degree of tension for these children, particularly the
francophone children, in terms of forming ethnic identities in the sociopolitical
context of Ontario. She also suggests that there may also be an identity as a
"bilingual", but that it involves a certain degree of rejection of the francophone,
more than the anglophone ethnic identity, which can be seen as problematic
from the perspective of the Francophone community that is dedicated to the
preservation of a language and culture within the Canadian context.

The boundaries are somewhat different for the participants in my study.
First of all, for the Japanese school attendees, they did not have the access to
social networks in English or Austrian for at least two reasons. One was the lack
of a community but the second was perhaps more subtle and complex, lack of
language proficiency. This lack of language proficiency could be seen as the
result of pressure from the Japanese language community not to use any other
language and therefore not developing that language proficiency, at least within "sight" of one's peers. "Because everyone around me was Japanese and only spoke Japanese, I would be different. I had a complex about speaking English. If I was the only one who spoke English, I would be made the odd one out" (Kenta).

On the other hand, the international school attendees did have access to both linguistic communities as well as access to opportunities to learn both languages and so are much more comparable to the bilingual group in Heller's study. However, social boundaries enter the identity dialogue for them in a slightly different form. Whereas they have the language proficiency, they are often not perceived as having the proficiency and therefore the boundaries become more rigid and indeed an entirely different interaction takes place. Heller referred to the confusion that resulted as a result of social changes in Quebec when old conversational patterns were no longer applicable; how each conversation had to be negotiated, frames of reference established before interlocutors could proceed with the business at hand. This is an accurate description of what the international school participants go through in a Japanese social context. It appears to be triggered by their physical appearance and/or their non-Japanese names, two aspects of themselves that have a very low correlation with their linguistic proficiencies. "I try to get away from that fact and it always comes up, always, always" (Phillip). The ideas of social networks and social boundaries are important to keep in mind when considering the influence of language, identity and schooling in the two worlds of the participants of this study.

**Language, Identity and Schooling**

**Language**

Language emerged as major theme, but a subtle one with several dimensions. The most obvious was in the opportunities that knowing more than one language afforded participants; to know more people, make more friends and be able to honestly claim their bicultural, bilingual identity. "I'm a lot more comfortable with myself now and, ummm, I mean, ummm, being able to speak both languages without having to worry about an accent. Which makes me feel more comfortable saying that I'm half Japanese, half American" (Violet).
"Definitely there're also gains. Like, I wouldn't even be able to talk with the Americans that can't speak Japanese if I couldn't speak English, and vice-versa" (Liam). "Omigosh, being able to know two languages is soooooooooo great. you can communicate with various people, and it's easier to make friends in different countries" (Anna). Participants also pointed out that having a second language gave them a wider range of expressive possibilities. "There are words I don't know in English and I don't know in Japanese and I can say that in any different language so I have more ways to express myself" (Michael).

They also made the point that having both languages also gave them important cultural information, "knowing how to act" that they would not otherwise have access to..

You know like the gender differences in Japanese, you know the way you put yourself down at certain times or you know you're the authority figure. You learn like, the culture, goes within you when you learn the language, especially from such an early age. Uh,...I think, that's what...to me that's what makes, that's one of the bigger..., ummm,...it plays a big role in me being bicultural I think. Not just, not just be living in Japan. Ummm, y'know. You can get a sense of the culture, but in Japan, that the language is what gives you, I don't know it's like.....it's like participating, y'know, I think, it's just the biggest part of culture, to me 'cause it just shows so much about the country and like just the customs and the way you're supposed to act, everything (Alice).

This was one area where both Japanese school attendees and the international school attendees shares perspectives in that both saw advantages of having more than one language. The difference was that the international school students lived in two or more languages, both socially and academically while the Japanese school students had experienced a second language primarily as an academic subject in and for school. The two students who were attending high school outside of Japan were now living in two languages, but they both were very clear in their assessments of their proficiencies. Japanese was their language while English was something they had to use in and for school.
There were also frustrations around language. The most obvious was the feeling that they needed to "know more", to be able to use both languages better.

Yeah, I need to improve my Japanese. I can understand it, I can get around, y'know, I know. No one says I have an accent or anything, but I don't feel confident. I want it to be perfect...I have trouble like, like only speaking in Japanese. Like I have to think about it. I have to think it through my head, sort of and make sure it makes sense but I lack vocabulary. I feel really frustrated and upset (Alice).

It could be argued that their expectations of their own bilingualism are unrealistic. It is interesting to note that frustrations around language proficiency were not expressed by the Japanese school attendees. Cecilia hinted at her frustration with being monolingual in just one statement,

In foreign countries, people would sometimes speak to me in English, on the airplane they would speak to me in English, friends would ask, "Can you speak English?", people would ask "Can you speak German?". When they ask and I can't I was born in Japan, raised in Japan supposedly just like every other Japanese, when they ask that... me who can't speak it is annoying and embarrassing. It's hard (Cecilia).

Rick and Kenta acknowledged some difficulty in "getting used to" speaking only English, but they did not indicate, at least in these interviews, the same level of awareness of the different levels of bilingual competency and subsequent frustrations at not feeling they were reaching those levels as the international school participants.

Just as no monolingual speaker is ever fluent in every aspect of his or her native language, it is unrealistic to expect a bilingual or multilingual speaker to be fluent in every aspect of both languages. Certainly the more areas in which they feel competent will increase both their ability to participate in a variety of roles within the society, but "perfect" bilingualism is a myth. A more subtle frustration was the assumptions others held about being bilingual. This was not an experience that any of the Japanese school attendees mentioned, but then, they were not perceived as bilingual in a Japanese context. Many of the beliefs
and opinions held seem to indicate deeply embedded stereotypes or myths around language acquisition, bilingualism, competency and the "uniqueness" of the Japanese language. Many of the stereotypical responses also seem to be closely tied to the individual's physical appearance. This seemed to have the affect of always separating the individual from the rest of the group, of always reminding them that they were somehow "different". "...but it effectively put me in a not-quite-able-to-speak-as-well-as-the-rest-of-us group" (Liam). "This kind of conversation [expressions of amazement over bilingual abilities] actually annoys me because it implies that if I'm only half Japanese, I shouldn't be able to speak and be literate in Japanese fully" (Victoria).

Bilingualism, as a part of the dialogue of identity, takes place in several places including within the family, in the classroom, in the local community. For the international school attendees, bilingualism is part of the dialogue in each of these locations whereas for the Japanese school attendees bilingualism was limited primarily to the family context, although it had become a part of the classroom dialogue for the two individuals who were ESL students in the U.S. In order to understand the role the classroom may play in the dialogue, particularly in regard to developing bilingual competence and attitudes, it is useful to explore some of the literature around bilingual classrooms. It is possible that international school classrooms, while they do not always meet the standards described below, are much more supportive of the concept of bilingualism than the curricula and classrooms in Japanese schools. In addition, before delving further into the data, it is important to establish a more detailed picture of the social institutional context in Japan in which, and around which, the identity dialogue takes place. First, consider the classroom and then the environment in which these classrooms are situated. I believe that gaining this background understanding will help the reader to understand better how the experiences of the two groups can be so different.
The Classroom Community in Support of Bilingual/Bicultural Development

The idea of a classroom as a cultural democracy that can support bilingual and bicultural development, and thus be a part of the identity dialogue, is eloquently described by Ramirez:

...[a cultural democracy] is a philosophical precept which recognizes that the way a person communicates, relates to others, seeks support and recognition from his environment (incentive motivation) and thinks and learns (cognition) is a product of the value system of his home and community....requires that the school refrain from making the choice [identifying with one culture or the other] for the child (Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974, p. 23-4).

Ramirez and Castañeda offer three levels of interpretation to the educational setting for their philosophy of cultural democracy. One concerns providing the educational experiences (language skills, cognitive and sociolinguistic skills) to "enhance their right to be able to function in both cultural worlds" (Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974, p. 28). A second involves the recognition of cultural evolution and change as opposed to a purist sense of a static and reified "culture" in that they expect the education to nurture the "...ability to function in both cultural worlds, whatever their characteristics at any given point in time" (emphasis added, Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974, p. 28). The third level builds on both of the above and recognizes an individual's need to be a contributing member of a community, "...it is important for the individual to be able to function in whichever cultural world he finds himself and at the same time to contribute to its enrichment and continued development" (Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974, p. 28). They are asking that the education available, in this case to Mexican-American children, but it can be extrapolated to any bilingual group, provide the opportunity to learn to function and contribute to both cultural communities.

First of all there must be opportunities for students to use both of their languages around valued activities. Second, both "ways of viewing the world"
need to be an explicit part of the curriculum. This is easier said than done, as Antonia Darder has shown. All languages and all ethnic/cultural groups do not exist equally. In fact, it has been said that ethnicity is a function of opposition, that ethnic groups define themselves in opposition to another ethnic group (Heller, 1987; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, & Rannut, 1994). This is particularly true in situations of unequal distribution of power, status and resources among groups. In fact, Skutnabb-Kangas, has stated that the more push there is to assimilate or eliminate ethnic differences, the more a group will resist and hold on to its exclusive ethnic identity, a hardening of the boundaries (Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 1994). Darder raises the ugly head of ideology in the classroom. "...if schools are to move toward a context of cultural democracy, then it must be recognized that the ability of individuals from different cultural groups to express their cultural truths is clearly related to the power that certain groups are able to wield in the social order” (Darder, 1991, p. 28). Societies are not fair and equal in their division. Certain groups and their values have a higher status than others. There can be little argument with that. It may not be the ideal, what the society is supposedly striving for, but it is the reality. Language, at least in many societies that have based their national identity on the idea of a unifying language, becomes one of the tools of the oppressor. If one is from a minority language group or language is perceived as a threat leading to fragmentation, if one is from the majority language group.

It is critical that educators recognize the role language plays as one of the most powerful transmitters of culture; as such, it is crucial to the survival of the cultural community. Within the student’s native language is contained the codification of lived experiences that provide the avenues for students to express their own realities and to question the wider social order (Darder, 1993, p. 37).

This is important to understand from the perspective of both groups. The language is essential to the construction of a cultural identity, however, from another point of view, language is a threat, a danger precisely because it does allow individuals a voice, a way “to express their own realities and to question the wider social order”.
Monica Heller argues through her research that "the basis of ethnicity can be found in the social networks within which individuals form relationships and carry out the activities of their daily lives" (Heller, 1987, p. 180). The next step in her argument is that language is a means by which access to networks is regulated. She asserts that "Shared language is basic to shared identity, but more than that, identity rests on shared ways of using language that reflect common patterns of thinking and behaving, or shared culture" (Heller, 1987, p. 182).

Going back to both Heller and Ramirez and Castañeda, there are several points to consider here. One is the importance of language and its connection to the ethnic or cultural community, which is the basis of the social network Heller referred to as so basic to the formation of an ethnic identity. And basic to Ramirez and Castañeda's cultural democracy is the existence of vital cultural communities. Without language, both of these are in jeopardy. Another point is the implied role of the teacher and the school in relation to language and culture in the classroom. Darder is eloquent in her portrayal of the power constructs of schooling and minority groups, beginning with the term minority which she states "...linguistically, and hence politically, reflects and perpetuates a view of subordinate cultures as deficient and disempowered" (Darder, 1993, p. xvi). Even bicultural which she writes "...connotes an enculturation process that is distinct from that of mono-cultural Anglo-American students characterized by two cultural systems which conflict and a different set of sociopolitical and historical processes" (Darder, 1993, p. xvi).

These forces and elements produce a classroom, teachers, and students who interact within its boundaries. To what degree a cultural democracy is achieved is dependent on the attitudes and proficiencies teachers and students bring and the school and community values that shape the goals and methodologies. deAnda (1984) has identified six factors that influence the development of biculturalism (more in the sense that supports cultural democracy than Darder's interpretation). Examining the interaction and the content of a classroom against these begins to develop some sense of what kind of classroom discourse and the qualities and qualifications of teachers that would support both a classroom cultural democracy and bicultural/bilingual development of students. They are:
1) the degree of overlap or commonality between the two cultures with regard to norms, values, beliefs, perceptions and the like;
2) the availability of cultural translators, mediators, and models;
3) the amount and type (positive and negative) of feedback provided by each culture regarding attempts to produce normative behaviors;
4) the conceptual style and problem-solving approach of the bicultural individual and their mesh with the prevalent or valued styles of the majority culture;
5) the individual's degree of bilingualism; and
6) the degree of dissimilarity in physical appearance from the majority culture such as skin color, facial features, and so forth (Darder, 1993, p. 50).

Some of these are clearly manipulatable, others are not. Numbers two and five are directly connected with identity development; the concept of voice and a teacher's philosophy regarding the teaching of language. Is a second language something to be maintained and developed or is it a transitional crutch until there is a mastery of the culturally dominant language? Is language something mechanical, consisting of discrete skills and bits of knowledge to be mastered or both medium and message, something requiring both a repertoire of skills and an ability to interpret? Often, when language is seen as a set of mechanical skills it is taught separately as an isolated subject. When it is viewed as medium and message, language is more often integrated into the different content areas. If language is integrated into the content areas in a bilingual/bicultural classroom, it is likely that students will have an opportunity to interact with academic content in both languages, that diverse selections of literature genre, history and social studies texts from both languages as well as reference materials in both languages will be found in the classroom. It is likely that students will be taught not only the mechanics of language but also a critical awareness of the political and persuasive aspects of the use of language. The second view of language allows the inclusion of the students' personal and social world in the academic and as such, the students' voices.

According to Giroux, "The concept of voice represents the unique instances of self-expression through which students affirm their own class,
culture, racial, and gender identities. A student's voice is necessarily shaped by personal history and distinctive lived engagement with the surrounding culture" (Giroux 1988a, p. 199, as quoted in Darder, 1993, p. 66). Darder includes teachers in this idea of voice, "Bicultural educators who have found their own voice can provide an effective bicultural mirror, which may validate, support, and encourage students through this process during moments of cognitive disequilibrium (internal culture shock), and help them discover a language that accurately describes the feelings, ideas, and observations that previously have not fit into any of the definitions of experience provided by the dominant educational discourse" (Darder, 1993, p. 69).

Indeed, this is what Margaret Weisman found in her examination of bicultural identity and language and the use of Latina teachers in bilingual classrooms. Weisman exposed the complexity of this issue. Simply being identified with the cultural group or having a degree of proficiency of the language does not lead to the kind of classroom Darder, Ramirez and others dream of. Teachers' philosophies of education as well as their training, methods of choice and pedagogical styles are the product of their own interaction with the society and culture in which they live. Weisman found a range of teachers and classrooms, although all were classified as bilingual classrooms and were staffed by bilingual, Latina teachers. But it was their attitudes toward the dominant culture and language, towards being a bilingual, bicultural individual that determined the nature of their own teaching and subsequently the access of their students to the language and cultural experience of their ethnic identity. Students found their classrooms places in which they could or could not express or develop their linguistic and cultural selves. In some classrooms they had voices, in others they did not. There is much more to be done in this area, as Weisman wrote, "The impact of the teacher's cultural identity on his or her teaching practice has been minimally addressed by research and the relationship between cultural identity and the teacher's language patterns in the classroom is virtually non-existent" (Weisman, 1997, p. 53).

This should not be a profound finding, given what we do know about the process of learning. Perhaps it is because what is known has not been applied. There are several ideas that come together here. First there is what Vygotsky
showed us about the nature of learning and meaning as socially constructed phenomena, particularly the necessity of interacting with an individual or individuals who possess a greater knowledge or understanding of the concepts and knowledge being constructed. Second, is the power of the individual’s sense of value of his or herself. This sense of value is a complex construction of messages from the community in general and specifically from the expectations of the authority figure in the learning context; what the teacher’s expectations are as Rosenthal and Jacobson found in their 1968 work, *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectations and Pupil’s Intellectual Development*. Third is the strength and flexibility that emanates from an individual who feels a sense of internal and external affirmation that is based on a consciousness of cultural identity and positioning as both an individual and a social being.

Therefore, a teacher who not only has linguistic proficiency but who has also consciously examined and made choices about the issues of bicultural/bilingual identity is best prepared to provide a context in which children confronted with those same issues can make sense of the world. Weisman found a particularly strong influence on the way in which the minority language was conceptualized. In the classrooms of teachers who themselves had apparently chosen assimilation over bicultural identity, Spanish was seen primarily as a tool to be used, as little as possible, to provide a bridge into English. English was the predominant language of instruction and English language culture provided the knowledge base for both the academic and social world. In fact, language instruction, even in English was seen as a mechanical set of skills to be mastered and nothing more. Culture was not consciously defined as part of the classroom context, although it defined the classroom. Whereas in the classroom of teachers who had struggled against assimilation and chosen to construct a bicultural sense of self, both English and Spanish shared the classroom space, academically and socially. Language was more than a set of skills, but seen and used as a window into different worlds. As such, different choices were made about content, picture books and reading material presenting the images and knowledge of both Spanish and English language cultures.

The complexity of this issue is apparent, but the complexity should not prevent examination and action. Hakim Rashid wrote ‘...biculturalism should
also be considered an important component of the cognitive and behavioral repertoire of all American children, for it is only through recognition of the need for biculturalism that a foundation for true multiculturalism [in society] can be built” (Darder, 1991, p. 53). That such a goal is not a part of Japanese classrooms and curricula, is not part of the educational discourse, makes it much easier to understand why the context and the subsequent identity dialogue is so very different for the two groups of participants.
CHAPTER 5

To Be Japanese

National Identity as Context

When one begins to consider the subject of identity within a nation, the most obvious place to begin, defining identity as state or concept, is also the place that could be seen as the crux of the problem when one considers the identity of interracial/intercultural individuals. After all, the identity dialogue takes place not only within the context of national identity, but also with the institutions that define and promulgate that identity. Ignoring this makes it difficult to understand at least one aspect of the profound difference between the experiences of the two groups of individuals who shared their thoughts with me for this study. It also may help to explain why the most important characteristic of their experiences has not been their mixed parentage but rather where they have been positioned and position themselves vis-à-vis Japanese society. Because identity is defined, in Western terms, as being something cohesive, something bounded and whole, an interracial/intercultural individual is automatically placed outside the acceptable boundaries of having a whole, cohesive self. After all, such an individual is comprised of two, separate, perhaps even conflicting cultures, languages, and "identities". Within the confines of bilingual studies, identity and identities seem to be constrained and defined by the defining "Other", the Other that holds the power of including or excluding. It seems to be the power relationship more than the act of being bilingual that creates the problem of having to decide between two languages and two cultures and two selves. Bilingual education which is designed and controlled by the institutions which control access to belonging or not belonging and with that inclusion, access to power of definition, reflects the problematic stance toward individuals who have more than one language, culture and "identity", or so it is assumed.

This is not necessarily true for all cultures. When Chuang wrote about the fusion model of identity in her ethnographic study of an extended Taiwanese-American family, she cited the Taiwanese characteristic or value of having at
least more than one language, culture as a desired characteristic, a marker of success and power, "No Taiwanese could be deemed successful unless they acquired another language and culture" (Chuang, June 1998, p. 56). With such a norm, it would follow that to somehow construct a fusion identity would be not only acceptable but desirable. The study done by Oketani of the second generation Japanese-Canadian high school students regarding their sense of identity, cited the particular Toronto multicultural atmosphere as being important in reframing identity not as an either/or proposition, but one in which an integrated unique identity taking from both Japanese and Canadian cultures was acceptable (Oketani, 1995). Weisman's 1997 study of Latina teachers in bilingual classrooms in California and Freeman's (1998) study of Oyster school in Washington DC both situated the question of bilinguality, biculturalism and identity within a larger question of a social valuing of diversity, inclusion and definition of a second language and culture as a resource rather than a problem. (Freeman, 1998; Weisman, 1997) It is possible to have a social context that supports bilingual, bicultural development as a norm rather than an aberration, although that is more likely to occur in an international school than in a Japanese classroom.

In order to support the analysis of the material collected it is also necessary to develop an understanding of the way in which Japan defines itself as a nation and its national character. I contend that Japan has gone through a number of national identities as the country has developed and global dynamics have changed. These include Japan's initial emergence into the 19th century community of imperialistic powers, its self-defined role as the liberator and leader of Asia, its turn inward after defeat in WWII and its reemergence as an economic power to be reckoned with in the last half of the twentieth century. Interestingly, Japan appears to be trying once again to construct or reconstruct a national identity. It seems to have been first articulated by former Prime Minister Nakasone in the late 1980's and continues to be a topic of political and social debate. Much of the debate centers around the constitution "imposed" or "adopted", depending on your political leanings, after defeat in World War II and the Educational Reform Law that was "imposed" or "adopted" at the same time. Part of this definition of nation includes the role Japan has assigned to its citizens
in the development, maintenance and growth of the economy and Japan's influence within the global, political and economic order.

There is a very close and emotional relationship between Japanese language and Japanese cultural and national identity. Language and cultural identity are addressed by the educational system, therefore an understanding of the way national and cultural identity have been manifested in educational policies and national and cultural definitions of what it means to be Japanese is important in developing an understanding of the context in which interracial/intercultural individuals develop their own personal set of identities.

**Construction of a National Identity**

Nations come into existence and develop as social, political, economic, and military entities through complex, interactive processes. There are forces that propel a nation into being and forces that shape that being. These have been examined and considered by thinkers since earliest times and undoubtedly will continue to command attention as people strive to make sense of the institutions they construct around them. In an examination of any part of a national sense of identity it is important to remain cognizant of the mix of forces. An examination of Japan's educational policies as one manifestation of the national identity with special attention to foreign language education for Japanese citizens and Japanese language education for non-Japanese is of limited utility without some consideration of the forces which have shaped those same policies. Japan's economic and political development bears consideration as the forces that propelled the formulation of an articulated national identity. Equal consideration must be given to the racial and ethnic assumptions inherent in that development in order to understand the shaping of that identity.

A national identity takes shape under the pressure of many interactive, sometimes even conflicting, influences. At the same time that a nation is presenting an ideal of itself to the world it is often presenting rationalizations for that image to its own people, involving them in a complex interaction that attempts to mold them into that image even as that image is constructed and justified through the nation's history and aspirations. An important aspect of the formation process of national identity of Japan was that it was done in contrast to
or in opposition to an identity that had been assigned by other, stronger nations. Japan constructed and continues to affirm an identity of equality or even superiority in place of an identity of inferiority in relationship with Western nations. "Japanese identity is the anti-image of foreignness and, as such, can only be affirmed by formulating the images of the Other; namely the West (or in a previous age, China)" (Yoshino, 1992, p. 11). It is also important to realize that Western thinking at the time Japan was constructing itself as a 19th century nation state was heavily influenced by Darwin’s ideas of evolution and the subsequent theory of Social Darwinism. As this particular way of thinking was based on the idea of an evolutionary movement from less-developed to more-developed; it carried within it a responsibility to help the lesser-developed societies evolve to a higher level of civilization. This moral responsibility helped to provide an acceptable rationale for the continued suppression of indigenous populations. The British, the French, the Americans, the Dutch, the Germans in all their wisdom and knowledge would protect the lesser developed indigenous populations and support their development until they too could take their place among the civilized societies of the world. According to Weiner “…there existed a remarkably high degree of consensus regarding the existence of ‘race’ and a natural hierarchy of races” (Weiner, 1995, p. 449).

Japan employed the same rationale as they went into Formosa, Korea and China. Japan had started its pursuit of modernization with the specific goal of being able to compete head on with the Western nations. The leaders had taken a very practical approach; observe what the strongest nations did and use those successful strategies. Even before the Meiji Restoration, there were political thinkers who identified the strong national unity and mature sense of national identity of Western nations as instrumental in their ability to successfully confront and take over other countries. (Wakabayashi, 1986) This was stated in the public press:

If a nation wishes to stand among the great powers and preserve its national independence, it must strive always to foster nationalism…Patriotism has its origin in the distinction between ‘we’ and ‘they’ which grows out of nationalism, and nationalism is

Given the blurred distinction or more accurately, lack of distinction between race, culture and nation, it is not difficult to see how Japan worked at constructing a national identity based on characteristics which would set it apart from and above other races, cultures and nations. Therefore, while obliquely recognizing other Asian countries were of the same "race" the Japanese acted on a moral superiority which gave them the right and responsibility to protect and educate the lesser developed inhabitants of Formosa, China and Korea and permission to colonize as the Western nations had done.

It is helpful to consider how race has been and can be defined. The idea of clearly, physically distinct races has been refuted because the boundaries between groups are so blurred and the genetic diversity within groups is as great as between supposedly distinct groups (Yoshino, 1992). The idea of biologically distinct racial types is simply meaningless given this information. However, another racial construct is used pervasively throughout societies; a socially constructed definition of race. Socially constructed racial groups rely on both the members’ perceptions of their defining characteristics as well as the perceptions of groups outside their boundaries to define themselves. Yoshino defines "race" in his study as having "no real biological foundation and ... may thus be defined as a human group that perceives itself and/or is perceived by other groups as different from other groups by virtue of innate and immutable phenotypical and genotypical characteristics" (Yoshino, 1992, p. 23).

Ethnicity is another defining category when considering groups of people. Wallman defines an ethnic group as one “where the boundaries which separate ‘we’ from ‘them’ are defined by acquired cultural characteristics” (as cited in Weiner, 1995). Ethnicity, then, is an acquired identity and is mutable and is based on shared cultural assumptions and institutions. This appears to be at odds with commonly accepted definitions of ethnicity and ethnic groups, however, if it is considered from the perspective of the construction of an ethnic group in response to a perceived threat from another group or groups, it makes sense.

National identity is often associated with ethnicity and an overt political agenda. This would certainly seem to be the case in the construction of Japan’s
national identity that both selected and defined as exclusively Japanese, certain characteristics as ethnic characteristics. Many of these were taken from traditional rice cultivation "culture" while ignoring the fishing, mountain and craft cultures that actually engaged a greater part of the population (Amino, 1996). As Weiner points out in regard to Japanese nationalism, it was not propagated only in racial terms but developed at a particular point in history which placed a focus on racial terms, "in the context of colonial rule in particular, ideologies of 'race' came to occupy a pre-eminent position" (Weiner, 1995, p. 436-7). Wallman calls attention to another aspect of the ethnic/racial distinction, how it acts as a boundary process "...by which 'their' difference is used to enhance the sense of 'us' for the purposes of organisation or identification (Wallman 1979:3)” (as quoted in Yoshino, 1992, p. 11). The combination of these two categories, immutable genetic characteristics and shared cultural assumptions has been used as the basic rationale in constructing Japanese national identity. Even Japanese language has been subsumed into this concept as something that only people with Japanese blood, preferably untainted, can truly understand and use. The constructed nature of Japanese national and ethnic identity is not a generally recognized concept among the population of Japan (Amino, 1996). The educational system along with the mass media has been quite efficient in promulgating the myth of an uninterrupted and homogeneous history and identity.

**Role of Education in the Construction of National Identity**

Robert Miles describes a process of racialization:

...those negative beliefs held by one group which identify and set apart another by attributing significance to some biological or other 'inherent' characteristic(s) which it is said to possess, and which deterministically associate that characteristic(s) with some other (negatively evaluated) feature(s) or action(s). The possession of these supposed characteristics may be used to justify the denial of the group equal access to material and other resources and/or
political rights (Miles 1982, pp. 78-9; emphasis added, as quoted in Weiner, 1995, p. 436).

This process of racialization is greatly aided and abetted by the national education policies and practices. The negative images of the "other" serve to promote the positive images of the nation as it wants to be seen by itself and others. Japan created for itself a national identity based on its unique and superior position among the cultures and nations of the world. By assigning itself the superior position in the hierarchy of nations, all other nations and peoples automatically became inferior and as such were assigned negative characteristics. This attitude included groups within the borders of Japan itself, the burakumin, the Ainu, Okinawans, and urban poor are still observable in current society.

With the introduction of a national education system by the Meiji government, the Ainu were very firmly informed of their "proper place", according to John Maher. First of all, Ainu children were only required to attend school for four years as opposed to Japanese children's required six years. "...the special education programme established by the Education Code for Hokkaido Ainu in 1901...prohibited use of the [Ainu] language, specifically excluded the Ainu from learning history, geography and science on account of the Ainu people's alleged 'emotional and intellectual immaturity' (Maher, 1997, p. 117). Just to make sure there was no doubt about the potential of the Ainu, a Hokkaido senator was quoted as saying, "It is true that the Ainu are an inferior people, but they can understand and use the Japanese language only if we make the education good enough. Of course, we know that their ability is low compared to that of Japanese... (quoted in Hatakeyama, 1990, p 42)" (Maher, 1997, p. 118). If there is any doubt about the insidious affects of such attitudes even today, according to Mizuno as cited in Smith only 78% of Ainu youth continue to high school whereas the national average is 95%. The figures on college are even more skewed with 35% of the general population going on to college but only 8.1% of Ainu youth continuing. Welfare benefits are not common among Japanese communities as there is a great deal of shame and embarrassment connected with them, however, the rate of receipt is six times higher among Ainu than the general population (Smith, 1995, p. 206-7).
It wasn’t the Ainu alone who were outside the pale of the Emperor’s more worthy relatives, “the urban slum of the Meiji period was presented as a world existing somehow beyond civilization, and its inhabitants depicted as the descendants of ‘remote foreign races’” (Weiner, 1995, p. 450). The Burakumin (a class of people, traditionally viewed as racially separate from Japanese although there is no evidence to support that view, associated with leather working, butchering, and the disposal of dead bodies and dead animals. Their place as outcastes of society was fixed by early Tokugawa rulers in the 17th century. The Burakumin of Mie Prefecture were described in 1907 as “a ‘race’ apart; ruthless and cruel, lacking in any sense of morality, and due to ‘their perverse nature’ possessed by a ‘strong inclination to unite for unjust purposes’ (Hané 1982, p. 146). Only after considerable political pressure was applied, have discriminatory practices toward the buraku people been addressed. In 1969 the Special Measures for Regional Improvement Law Project went into effect. It has had some positive affect on buraku children’s education, but there are still significant differences when buraku children’s performances are compared with national averages. Retention rates to post-compulsory education and tertiary education have improved but still do not equal national averages. A higher percentage of buraku children attend lower ranked high schools and there is a higher drop-out rate among buraku high school students. The absolute level of school performance has improved but is still behind the national averages and there is greater disparity between buraku and non-buraku school performances (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 121).

If we keep in mind the construct of race as social and cultural, then it is easier to understand first, that the national identity and then, the educational policies used to develop and maintain that national identity are permeated with racist meaning. Michael Weiner outlines the development of Japan’s national identity during the early days of Japan’s development as an international power. A school of thought developed which saw a conflict between the white and yellow races, with Japan belonging to the same racial category as the Chinese and Koreans. At the same time, however, there was another definition of race, which equated race with nation. This definition was applied to the Yamato minzoku, the Japanese race/nation who all shared common ancestors, history and
culture. This Yamato minzoku was seen to be morally superior to the Korean and Chinese through a complex traverse of Social-Darwinism, literal interpretation of ancient Japanese documents, Japan's emperor system, and Japan's successful resistance to Western invasion and colonization. According to a Japanese elementary school textbook written between 1910 and 1923, "The God-given mission of peace in East Asia rests on the shoulders of such people as us. Japan has a heavy responsibility in advancing the civilization of the East" (as quoted in Tanaka, 1993, p. 201).

**Japan as a Modern Nation**

The context in which Japan was forced to end its self-imposed isolation was a complex interaction of external and internal forces. Britain and the U.S. were both moving steadily into the Asian region; the military and economic power of those two countries was on display. Russia had made its intentions known as well. While Japan's geographic position had kept it isolated for a long time, the kamikaze winds could not be counted on to keep intruders at bay forever. What happened in terms of Japan's emergence as an independent nation rather than a colony of a Western power between the first treaties in the 1850s and the first decade of the Meiji Restoration was the result of a constellation of what might be termed fortuitous turns. Britain was almost entirely focused on extending and consolidating power in China, the U.S.'s attention was consumed with the Civil War and Reconstruction; France and Prussia were preoccupied with the Franco-Prussian war. All in all, at the time when Japan was most vulnerable the attention of the Western powers was focused elsewhere, giving Japan an invaluable window of opportunity to set their own house in order and work to present a strong, independent nation to the rest of the world that would make the other nations think twice before trying to invade. There is little disagreement that the group of leaders who guided Japan from feudal state to modern nation were a brilliant group of individuals who were often farsighted in their understanding and conceptualization of the task before them, as well as ruthless in their use of manipulation and coercion in order to ensure success. There is disagreement over the role of the peasants, of economic forces and dissatisfaction with the ruling forces by historians, Western and Japanese, in the
Restoration and subsequent militarization. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore those arguments, it could be an interesting exploration in how the ideological needs of Western nations may have contributed to the stunting of the growth of democracy in post-War Japan and consequent emergence of neo-Nationalistic forces (Dower, 1975).

There were very deliberate decisions made and actions taken in order to ensure that Japan could present itself as a modern nation worthy of the respect of other modern nations of the world. In this sense the Meiji leaders were very savvy. They understood that to be accepted by the Western nations they would have to show themselves the equal, on Western terms, of those nations. That meant having a modern, industrial economy, an efficient and effective fighting force, and being able to present themselves as a modern government and nation. They sent students out to study educational, military, medicine, legal and industrial systems. They paid close attention to the reports their emissaries brought back from these study trips. What the Meiji leaders were interested in presenting to the rest of the world was the image of a modern nation in order to be accepted as an equal among nations. The Japanese thinkers of the day were not willing to throw over everything in the Japanese culture in order to do this. Included in the principles promulgated in connection with the reestablishment of the University of Kyoto in 1868 was this:

Foreign learning, both Chinese and European, must be made to subserve the interests of Japan. The past calamities of the empire have been due to the usurpation of power and the neglect of their appropriate duties on the part of the military chiefs. Hereafter let all adhere strictly and honestly to the duties belonging to their respective stations (Education, 1876, p 115).

This was a clear indication that while there might be much to be learned from the West, the application of that learning was to take place within the confines of Japanese society.

The leaders identified education as one of the most important tools for making Japan competitive among the modern Western imperialistic nations. The idea of education was not new to Japan, it had been part of the culture since the beginnings of the Japanese state; but it had been officially limited to the ruling
classes, although there had been limited opportunities for learning among the common people, especially in urban areas in the form of terakoya or temple schools. What was significant in terms of both education and the definition of the nation was the decision by the late Tokugawa and Meiji leaders to include the commoners, the peasants, as well as the aristocracy and warriors and wealthy business class, within the nation and the educational system in order to build a strong nation.

**Education under Tokugawa**

Education in Japan was initially established in order to provide the leaders with the skills, military and learning, necessary to govern. There were some important assumptions about the nature of leadership and governance implicit in the education of the ruling class, the *samurai*. These assumptions had been brought to Japan through Korea early in the 4th Century. Shotoku, in the 5th century, is generally credited with the formation of the first formal organization of a unified country. He relied heavily on Chinese models, writings and political thought for everything from the physical construction of the capital city to the establishment of a Temple of Learning (Horyuji), staffed by Korean scholars. “His political success in setting up a consolidated government is questionable...[however] a great deal of educational activity took place in this politically formative period of the Japanese nation as a result of its contact with the literacy culture of China” (Kobayashi, 1976, p. 3). Shotoku had sent a group of young students and priests to study under the new ruler of the Sue dynasty. A number of these men were to exert considerable influence during the middle of the 5th century during the Taika Reform of 645, advising the leaders to build their own centralized state based on a model of T’ang Dynasty. The Taiho Code, which emerged as the legal basis for the government, was basically Chinese in principle although adjusted to meet the local needs. Of the thirty administrative codes of regulations contained in the document, one was an Education Code, *gaku-rei* that set out a state system of education, including provincial schools. An important element was the central school or *daigaku-ryo* where potential bureaucrats would be trained. The school was based entirely on a worship and study of Confucius and his doctrines of government and morality. Attendance
was limited to the sons of the aristocracy. The idea was to supply government officials from promising youth, selected by their abilities; however, the ambitions of the ruling elite effectively kept the reins of power firmly in the hereditary hands of power. It is generally accepted that in addition to these official government schools, there were private schools in Japan, which taught Buddhism and Confucianism (Kaigo, 1965, chapter 2).

According to Kobayashi this first education system had three characteristics “which have, indeed, become almost inherent characteristics of Japanese schools...schools were set up on the initiative of the government for the training of personnel necessary to the state, secondly, from an individual point of view, the schools provided a way to social success for ambitious youth, and thirdly, the schools taught the elements of a new civilization abroad, and thus functioned as an effective tool for allowing Japan to “borrow” a culture” (Kobayashi, 1976, p. 4). Education in Japan then was very utilitarian as far as the State was concerned. The sole purpose of educating people was to make them good citizens. It would be expected that the content of the education would reflect that perspective. This included the education of the *samurai*, who were to be educated in both the pen and military arms. Hojo Tokiyori (1227-1263) advised the Shogun:

that there should be training in both cultural and military arts. Both teachers of Japanese and Chinese poetry and teachers of archery and horsemanship were to be sent to the place (Kaigo, 1965, p. 20).

Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa instructed the military households:

The arts of peace and war, including archery and horsemanship, should be pursued single-mindedly.

From of old the rule has been to practice “the arts of peace on the left hand, and the arts of war on the right”; both must be mastered (Passin, 1965, p. 163).

Education was promulgated by the state for specific reasons, one of the characteristics Kobayashi has pointed out. “Education was from the beginning regarded as a most effective tool for conserving the *status quo* and was encouraged by Ieyasu and his successors. The aim of education was to fit the
people into the existing social and political order” (Kobayashi, 1976, p. 11). Passin concurs with this assessment, stating that:

…the underlying conception of Tokugawa education was essentially a class one. Higher education was required by the samurai to maintain their position and efficiency as the governing class. It was therefore officially supported and carefully watched. For the common people, however, an education suitable to rulers was inappropriate (Passin, 1965, p. 16).

There are some characteristics of the education system and the values that produced this system that are articulated very clearly in these early stages of development that have had a profound impact on current policies and it could be said discriminatory policies and practices. First and foremost, is the concept of education as a tool to serve the rulers in building a strong and internationally competitive nation but it is also something that is to be closely watched and controlled as there was a healthy disrespect for the ability of commoners to make proper use of education. Ogyu Sorai wrote the following in 1721:

…It is not necessary that the common people should be taught anything apart from the virtues of filial piety, brotherly submission, loyalty, and trustworthiness...The study of other works will merely increase their cunning and will lead to disruption. For when the people are filled with cunning they are difficult to rule (as quoted in Passin, 1965, p. 190-1).

Close to a hundred years later Aizawa Seishisai articulated very similar attitudes in his New Theses (Shinron), a political tract explicating his beliefs about Japan and its future. Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, in his translation and analysis of this work points out that what would now be termed offensive pejoratives—“stupid commoners” for townspeople and peasants, “barbarians, foreign beasts or cats and dogs” for Western people reflected the “biases integral to the world view shared by virtually all men of their period, class background and education” (Wakabayashi, 1986, p. xiv).

Education was to serve a practical end. Citizens needed a certain level of skill in reading, writing and computation in order to do the work of industry and trade. Education served a second very practical end, the inculcation of certain
values and attitudes that would allow the government, the rulers, to perform their jobs without hindrance. This required a high degree of unquestioning obedience and loyalty. Leaders were very clear about the role of education in establishing and maintaining that obedience and loyalty. This was later given life in the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, but the roots were deep within the history of education in Japan. The resultant (in good hands) benevolent authoritarian and paternalistic educational values are still apparent in modern organizational structures, behavioral expectations and the current concern of educators and the public with "moral and ethical" education as a antidote to what many believe to be an alarming lack of respect for authority and the experience and opinions of leaders and the resultant disintegration of discipline and deterioration of academic and social standards.

**Economic Development and Education**

The Meiji leaders were unapologetically capitalistic in their approach, "passing from [her] restricted type of town-against-country mercantilism to a social organization compounded of monopoly control in private industry and state control of vital industries, thus permitting no economic freedom of the *laissez-faire* variety and consequently very little political freedom" (Dower, 1975, p 306). However, there was no time to let capitalism develop at its own pace and in unpredictable directions. This rush to develop for a very specific purpose together with the fact that there was relatively little accumulated capital to begin with and what there was concentrated in the hands of a few families, gave the government unquestioned permission to develop a system of tight, central control of the economy. Norman points out that a separate independent group of industrial capitalists did not develop because banking capital and industrial capital were not separate to begin with, but both intricately woven into a web of state initiated industrialization and private enterprise closely connected to the large banking institutions (Dower, 1975). The government also pursued a policy of development strictly focused on building up a strong defense and military, thus heavy industry and the necessary supporting infrastructure were developed first.
The government had yet another weapon in its arsenal to mobilize the country to develop to resist foreign invasion, the fear of foreign investment leading to foreign intervention. Business development was not for the profit of the individual, but to serve the nation, as it was only through a strong, industrialized economy that Japan would be able to throw off the chains of unfair treaties and tariffs and reclaim its rightful markets in Asia. The founder of the present day Maruzen trading company (Maruya Shosha, 1869) stated, "I would be neglecting my duty as Japanese if I just say [and did nothing] and saw trading and commercial activities being monopolised by foreigners" (quoted in Hazama 1972: 94) (Yoshino, 1992, p. 160).

The education system played an important role in this development in two ways; first as a technical training site and second as an effective conduit for the dissemination of the government’s set of national values and attitudes. Stability within the country was a major concern to the leaders so they would not tolerate any delay or unnecessary drain of time, capital or resources as a result of unrest or independent development. They were also very clear, from the beginning of this enterprise, that the citizen had an obligation to the state, but there was little concern for what obligations the state might have to the individuals within its borders.

**Language Education**

Language education and policies toward languages were also issues in the process of building an identity. This took two forms in Japan. There was the initial need for information available only in foreign languages, therefore study of foreign languages was approved and encouraged as long as such study served the development of the nation as stated in the guiding principles of the University of Kyoto; "Foreign learning, both Chinese and European, must be made to subserve the interests of Japan" (Education, 1876, p. 115). Foreign language study had always been suspect for anything other than strictly utilitarian ends and it would not be sanctioned for anything else. Access to foreign language was controlled. In 1870 the Japanese central government ordered each provincial government to choose “one or more promising scholars, to be sent to the Foreign-Language School to be educated at the government expense” (Education, 1876, p. 180). The most promising students were sent
abroad for more advanced study in Western science, literature and medicine at
government expense. Lest there be any mistake about the purpose of this foreign
study, it was “further ordered that all students studying abroad, whether sent by
the central or local governments, should be under the control of the Educational
Board” (Education, 1876, p. 180). In keeping with this utilitarian perspective on
foreign language education the choice of foreign languages was limited to
English, French, German, Russian and Chinese in the Foreign Language School
as “The intercourse of Japan with the leading foreign nations made necessary the
instruction of young men in these languages” (Education, 1876, p. 128). The
languages offered were later limited to just English, French and German and
then finally (in 1876) to just English. So English became the only foreign
language to be offered in the schools as it was “deemed essential to the economy
and efficiency of the administration...” (Education, 1876, p. 128).

The second part of language and Japan was apparent in Japan’s policies
toward other Asian countries, especially those that became part of the
Japanese/Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. In these countries, Korea, Manchuria, and
Formosa, Japan followed an aggressive policy of language education and
indoctrination. School attendance was compulsory for all children, language
education classes were compulsory for most adults. People were forbidden from
using and learning their native languages. They were to be replaced with
Japanese. All official business was to be conducted in Japanese, names were
changed to Japanese names, even place names (Dower, 1986).

**Citizenship, “Other” Populations, and Education**

Japan has used the definitions of citizen and the educational system,
including the official recognition of schools, to effectively limit the participation
of certain populations in the society at large. Without a recognized graduation
certificate, a person is denied access to further education and training and all but
the lowest levels of employment. This discrimination was institutionalized in
Japan after World War II when Japanese citizenship was unilaterally rescinded
from all people who had been brought to Japan from its former colonies. This
included mostly Koreans, but also many Chinese. At the end of 1946 there were
525 Korean language schools in Japan, in 1948 the Ministry of Education decreed
that all Korean children must attend Japanese public schools (Maher, 1997, p. 122). Furthermore graduates from Korean language schools and all other alternative schools, including international and mission schools, would not be recognized as having completed their compulsory education. Therefore, if a Korean or a Chinese chose to attend a school in their native language this education would not be recognized and they would not even be allowed to sit an equivalency exam to qualify for an equivalency qualification which would allow them to apply for and sit examinations for post-compulsory education.

According to Simon and Lynch, Japan’s definition of citizenship is extremely exclusive. “The last country included in this study, Japan, can be summarized with a few words. A foreign national can never become a Japanese citizen” (Simon & Lynch, 1999, p. 460). This is somewhat of an overstatement. The legal procedure of naturalization is actually quite simple with no requirements for language proficiency or historical knowledge. However, it has been made to appear difficult and demanding by extra-legal measures—"dropping the ethnic name and adopting a "Japanese-style" one, being fingerprinted...(Tanaka, 1994)" (Murphy-Shigematsu, 1999, p. 484). Foreigners comprise one percent of the Japanese population. There are less than 5,000 refugees in the country, and most do not plan to remain (Macura and Coleman, 1994). It is estimated that 156,000 Koreans were naturalized between 1952 and 1990 (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Nevertheless, it is not an easy emotional process. There are difficult issues to resolve individually and with the community when the decision is made to apply for naturalized status. As Japan will not recognize dual-citizenship, this becomes a particularly sensitive issue for families of international marriages. Essentially, citizenship is available only to those registered on a Family Register. Without this Family Registry, a person is not and cannot be a Japanese citizen. (Perhaps more indicative of the overall feeling about non-Japanese residents of Japan is expressed by the absence of Japan in Stacy Churchill’s examination of educational policy with respect to linguistic and cultural minorities in the OECD countries (Churchill, 1986)).

Japan has attempted to promote its image as a modern and outward looking nation through kokusaika or “internationalism”. This became a buzzword from the late 1970s and still dominates discussions of education, although
participants are hard-pressed to explain exactly what it means in concrete terms. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone took advantage of his position in the 1980s to initiate a series of reforms which would rid the society of the Occupation imposed educational institutions (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). He used the rhetoric of “internationalizing”, however, it was based on the premise (not entirely untrue) that a person could not respect other cultures and nations without knowing and respecting one’s own, first. “...it will be useful for pupils to develop a self-awareness of being Japanese, a love for the nation, and an attitude desirous of the nation’s prosperity...it will be useful to nurture an understanding of, and affection for, Japanese culture and traditions” (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 216). It was also at this time that the use of the flag, the Hinomaru, and the anthem, Kimigayo, were made compulsory for school functions. These recommendations were controversial, especially among members of the teachers’ union, and in light of the fact that neither the flag nor anthem had legally been named as the national flag and anthem. There was still far too much controversy over the both as symbolic of Japan’s military excesses. However, Nakasone was in a strong position and was able to strong-arm many of his recommendations through. An interesting sidebar to the extent of this conservative turn is the adoption in August 1999 of both the Hinomaru and Kimigayo as the legally recognized national flag and national anthem, in spite of continued controversy at some levels of society.

Maher cites the rationale for the language education policy of Japan taken from the guidelines for internationalization: “(1) To improve the teaching methods used in foreign language classes. The goals of foreign language teaching and learning are to provide opportunities to better understand the distinctive history, culture, and customs of other nations in the world” (Maher, 1997, p. 124). Further evidence of the superficiality of Japan’s commitment to language education exists in the outlines of the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program. "According to the information displayed on the web page of both Monbusho and CLAIR (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations) in July 1998, all university graduates can apply to be ALTs (assistant language teachers) as long as they are native English speakers. No teaching experience or professional training is required" (Lai, 1999, p. 219). The only language study
authorized by the Ministry of Education is compulsory English in junior and senior high. According to Maher, even foreign language study at the university level is extremely limited. He listed only seven languages offered. English and German are offered at nearly 500 universities across the country while Korean is offered at only 11. Other languages include French, Chinese, Russian, and Spanish (Maher, 1997). It is likely that other languages are offered at the university level, however, they are limited both in the range of languages and the number of universities that offer them. And as Maher goes on to state, "...but nowhere does internationalisation include support for regional and community or indigenous languages" (Maher, 1997, p. 124).

It is the policies toward what Okano and Tsuchiya term "newcomers" and the increasing number of biracial and potentially bilingual children that are of interest and serve to illustrate the limits of the rhetoric of "internationalization" in Japanese educational policies. It is also instructive to examine the renewed calls for increased emphasis on "moral" or "ethics" education as an answer to the perceived degeneration of student behavior and respect for teachers and education in general, but it is an ethics education based more on neo-nationalist ideas than the ideas proposed three decades earlier.

Akira Honda wrote in 1961:

It is because young people today have not been taught these things [relationships involve mutual respect for the lives of others] that they have intolerable manners and violate public morals. When the Ministry of Education began to propose that ethics be taught in the schools, why did the Japan Teachers Union not oppose the move by presenting a new system of ethics based upon respect for the lives of others? Why was it satisfied to merely oppose the plans of the Ministry of Education? When I observe the behavior of young people today I feel keenly the necessity for some kind of ethical education which would implant in their hearts at least a basic respect for life (Honda, 1963, p. 67).

Brian McVeigh in a recent article examined a collection of teacher's guidebooks for "moral education" for national identity markers. He was making an attempt at "...tracing the linkages between ideology and intention,
institutions and individuals..."state maintenance" on a daily basis" (McVeigh, 1998). First he pointed out that the role of the educational institute in Japan is a very active one with a long history.

The bureaucratic elite’s concern for guiding education...is part of a fundamental political philosophy about the role of the state in individual intellectual and moral development that is visible from the beginning of modern Japan’s history as a nation-state until the present (McVeigh, 1998).

This certainly fits with what I found in my investigation of the construction of Japan’s national identity and the role assigned to education and the schools at the time of Japan’s re-emergence on to the international scene in the late 19th century. McVeigh makes an important point when he examines the language used in the teacher’s guidebooks. The most common word appearing in these books is shido. Indeed, it appears in nearly every communication from the Monbusho, applied to nearly every action teachers take. It is most often translated as “guidance”, but as McVeigh points out “it often denotes more of a sense of actively directing or strongly persuading others” (McVeigh, 1998).

Another word that often appears in Japanese educational practice discussions is sunao. This is usually translated as obedient, but as McVeigh points out it has a much broader range of meaning and is closely connected to the national identity value of “proper-place”.

In a pedagogical context...this word is used to describe the “good child” and has connotations of open-mindedness, non-resistance, truthfulness, naivete, naturalness, simplicity, mildness, and straightforwardness. It strongly implies active cooperation and engagement in group activities (1987: 28). It also strongly implies positive acceptance of what one is told. (McVeigh, 1998)

McVeigh describes many other topics and the language used to exhort teachers to properly guide their students, all of which are meant to inculcate in students a strong awareness of who they are, where they belong and their responsibilities in the society. Of particular interest to me are the directives around nationality and morality. There is still some degree of sensitivity to excesses of “nationalism” however, as I have pointed out before,
"internationalism" provides a legitimate reason to focus on Japanese identity. McVeigh’s findings seem to support this as he finds that several of the teacher guides “using the same phrases over and over again, the need for students to become “Japanese who have a sense of identity”. It is explained that “Japanese who live in an international society” must have their understanding of “Japan’s culture and tradition” strengthened” (McVeigh, 1998). Just exactly what needs to be the focus of this study is specified:

...students should study the “ancient Japanese imperial court” and how it unified the country, how the life of ancestors is related to their present life, and how they should value cultural assets and heritage...[students should] “notice that our nation has a different culture” (SGSH: 74). ...Another way in which cultural national identity may be constructed in the schools is through learning kokugo (national language) (McVeigh, 1998).

Even the flag and the national anthem, which have long been associated with the most extreme militaristic and nationalistic factions have found legitimacy in the context of kokusairikai or “international understanding”. “...in order to respect the flags and anthems of other nations, Japanese must “respect” their own flag and anthem and “understand their significance” (SGSH: 81-93)” (McVeigh, 1998). The point I wish to make here is not a judgment about the right or wrong of teaching a sense of cultural and national identity, rather, it is about the nature of that identity. Japan is certainly not alone in constructing a more exclusive than inclusive national identity. In a sense, that is the nature of any constructed identity as it sets one group of individual apart from others. What is of concern to me is the way in which an exclusive and arguably racial identity is presented and promulgated through an inclusive concept, “internationalization”. This sets up potential conflict and tension when the Japanese version of “internationalization” comes into contact with other versions of the concept. One area where this is particularly visible is in Japan’s policy or rather lack of policy for the education of children who are not Japanese citizens.

Based on Japan’s constitution, which provides no clear definition of foreign residents and workers and their basic rights, the Ministry of Education has operated under the assumption that “the right to receive education (article
26) applies only to Japanese citizens (Shimada 1994: 161) and only "Japanese nationals have a duty to participate in schooling until the end of compulsory schooling" (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 135). While there are no legal restrictions, to my knowledge, on non-Japanese nationals attending Japanese schools, the practice has often been to prohibit them from attending, at least in areas where "alternatives" exist, the alternatives being ethnic or "international" schools.

There are several categories of children these interpretations and practices affect. One is the children of international marriages. The children of marriages between resident Korean or Chinese men (the most common pairings) and Japanese women only had Korean or Chinese citizenship. Luckily, this has now changed, but there are still many children whose parents have not gone through the extensive paperwork to gain citizenship for a variety of reasons. There has been an increase in the number of residents in Japan and along with them an increase in the number of international marriages. Until 1997 the greatest number of these took place between Japanese and Korean nationals, but in 1997 this number was surpassed by marriages between Japanese and Chinese. Following this group are marriages between Japanese and "other" which includes Filipinos, Thais, Brazilians and Peruvians (Yamamoto, 1999, p. 13).

The children of foreign workers are another category. Traditionally, because Japan only admitted skilled foreigners into the country, e.g. families who came with generous relocation packages including tuition for private schooling, these children went to the "international schools", schools that were primarily English-medium. The character of foreign workers has changed and is no longer restricted to only highly skilled workers. The revised Immigration Act of 1989 granted a kind of special status to second- and third-generation descendents of Japanese emigrants to South America. These people were allowed to come to Japan to work, regardless of their skill level. Needless to say, most of these people did not come with comfortable expatriate packages that included school tuitions. Many of these people have settled in Aichi, Shizuoka and Kanagawa prefectures. Their children have little or no knowledge of Japanese language or customs, yet, if they wish to get an education must attend Japanese public schools (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 129).
A third group of children is the grandchildren of Japanese war orphans, the children who were left behind in China at the end of World War II. As relations between China and Japan were cultivated in the late 1970’s and 80’s, it became possible for the now aging adults who had been raised by Chinese parents to come to Japan to search for relatives. Some of these people chose to settle in Japan with their children and grandchildren. This was one of the first challenges to Japan’s education system, teaching these families enough Japanese to survive, emotionally and economically.

A fourth group is the children of illegal foreign workers. During the bubble economic years in the late 70’s and 80’s, there seemed to be a tacit understanding between industry and immigration officials to look the other way. This was vividly documented in Ray Ventura’s autobiographical book, *Underground in Japan*, in which he described his years as an illegal worker living in Yokohama. The bulk of these illegal workers are from Thailand, South Korea, the Philippines, Malaysia, Iran and China. They are employed primarily in construction and factory work, the "three K" kinds of jobs; *kiken, kitanai, kitsui* (dangerous, dirty and difficult). Most of the female illegal workers were employed as hostesses and barmaids. These workers have no access to any kind of social welfare or medical insurance schemes nor can their children register for schooling (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 130).

One last group is Indo-Chinese refugees who were admitted to Japan. According to Okano and Tsuchiya, over half of these refugees left to settle in other countries (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 130). However, those who have chosen to settle in Japan must make some important choices regarding their own identities, assimilate (to the degree which Japanese society allows) or try to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage. Their children have a range of schooling experiences and subsequent language needs.

What happens to these children in schools? For many years, those few non-Japanese children who did attend and "looked" Japanese were simply taught as if they were Japanese. No recognition was given to their "other" identity, whatever it might be, although, students, especially Korean lived in fear of discovery of their ethnicity. A high school teacher in Yoshino’s study
states, "'You have to be born a Japanese to appreciate the subtlety of Japanese thinking'" (Yoshino, 1992, p. 117). A high school headmaster stated that:

Although Chinese and Japanese look alike, we have very different customs and mentalities, Unlike the Continentals who are ozappa (relaxed enough not to be concerned about small points), we Japanese have more delicate feelings. It is important to know our differences for the sake of better mutual understanding (Yoshino, 1992, p. 118-9).

A businessman is a bit more blunt:

No matter how long they live here, I think they will remain Chinese or Koreans. After all, we are different minzoku (ethnic/racial) groups (Yoshino, 1992, p. 119).

The same businessman could also state that in regard to some Chinese and Koreans who have become naturalized (and successful in the world of sports and entertainment):

As long as we are not informed of their former origins, it is true that they can become Japanese. (Yoshino, 1992, p. 119)

Regarding the possibility of Japanese-Americans becoming like Japanese, however, the perspective is a bit different:

Yes, that would be very possible because they are Japanese anyway concerning blood. Those who have just returned from America might take some time and effort, but their children will certainly become perfectly like us (Yoshino, 1992, p. 118).

There is considerable evidence that such assimilation is not the case, especially in the Brazilian and Peruvian communities. But that is the topic of another study (Takenaka, 1999).

Official government policy aside, the reality in many classrooms in Japan today is that there are a number of non-Japanese speaking students. In 1991, there were 1,973 primary and middle schools representing 5,463 students who required Japanese language classes (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 129). Finally, in 1993 the Ministry of Education began to provide extra teachers whose assignment was to teach Japanese as a second language, "but the numbers were inadequate, local education boards still send out extra teachers to needy schools,
set up classes for Japanese language and cultural adaptation, and send out instructors with the children's mother tongue (Enokii 1993:25)” (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 134). Language instruction is essentially haphazard. In Yokohama, which has over 500 students requiring some kind of language instruction, there are no official texts, no standard expectations for proficiency, no agreed upon standards of instruction, content or methodology. There are a group of part time teachers, many of whom are retired, who are concerned about these children and committed to trying to help them succeed. They have had little or no background in second language teaching. Theirs is a frustrating job as they can spend only 1-3 hours per week with any group of students; there is little or no time to work with the classroom teachers to coordinate instruction.

Language is not the only issue. There are also the issues of how these children are treated within the classroom, how their families are treated in the community, and their educational futures; will they go on to high school, vocational school or university? The consensus of the Yokohama teachers was that students entering the system as junior high students had no chance of going on to high school, thus relegating them to the same unskilled labor market of their parents (Kinnear, 1999).

When “international understanding” is restricted to gaining an appreciation and knowledge of one’s own culture and history, there is little guidance for the nurture of attitudes which would support an inclusive pedagogy, helping “…mainstream Japanese children learn to accept friends who are different and to make fruitful relationships with them…. Simply being present in the same classroom does not automatically lead children to mutual understanding” (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 132). When education is seen only in terms of citizens, there is little room for including the diverse population residing inside a country’s borders. When these resident non-citizens are excluded from education and subsequently from the economic opportunities dependent on completing school they are pushed further towards the periphery of society. This does little to encourage mutual understanding and respect, essential components of a multicultural, “internationalized” society. In some ways it would seem that Japan is a prisoner of its own national identity, which is rooted in racialized superiority.
To bring this back to the dialogue of identity for interracial individuals in Japan and in particular in Japanese schools, it should be somewhat easier to see how the educational context in which the Japanese school attendees in many ways dictates the dialogue, or in Taylor's terms, provides a script for individuals to use. Perhaps, because of relatively recent changes in attitudes towards interracial individuals (as long as they are Caucasian mixes) promoted by the mass media, physical appearance, in particular, did not seem to function in the same way for the Japanese school attendees as it did for the international school attendees, in fact it gave the participants of this study an extra "panache", at least when they entered junior high. Also, the three students I spoke with did not consider themselves bilingual: they did not use another language, outside of limited interactions with a parent in the case of two of the individuals. Therefore, their Japanese language skills were not suspect or "tainted" in any way. They clearly did not have to negotiate the same kind of dialogue as the international school attendees who by virtue of their schooling, perhaps their addresses, certainly their circle of friends, and their assertions of themselves as bilingual and bicultural placed themselves outside of the context of "Japanese". Their experiences are also outside of the negative range of examples cited by Okano and Tsuchiya. This may be attributed to their obviously Caucasian roots rather than Asian or Black or it may reflect the effects of a critical mass of thinking and action in the particular contexts in which these three individuals lived and went to school. It certainly demands further inquiry. Their reports of their experiences also reinforces the idea that Japan as a culture and as a modern society is not as monolithic as it often is presented and presents itself and thus reminds us to be wary of our own assumptions about the experiences of interracial/intercultural individuals and the context of those experiences.
CHAPTER 6

Conceptualizing Identity

According to the data from this study, international school participants saw their identity as being made up of an individual’s knowledge, experiences, reflections on the past, present ways of thinking, perceptions of things and surroundings, perceptions of self, and reactions of others to the individual all of which interact and affect one another. This identity is constantly evolving and changing.

The international school participants in this study never described either their own identity or the idea of identity in general in static or bounded terms. They saw identity, their sense of who they are, as something that has developed and will continue to develop and change as a result of their ongoing experiences, interactions, reflections and acquisition of knowledge. They also saw themselves as having an active role in that process; identity was not something that happened to them or was "found" but something about which choices were made. None of the participants expressed a sense of having to choose to be either Japanese or their other nationality as a final destination, although there were instances of feeling pressure that they would be judged as "not Japanese" if certain opinions were expressed. "I'm not about to stand up and say I believe this, this this because that's just making myself stand out even more and I don't want myself to be even more of different person" (Violet). They also sometimes felt forced into an either/or position by questions about their citizenship or language, although they usually tried to avoid answering those kinds of queries. I see this as a function of application of stereotypes, both, of what is meant by being Japanese and what is meant by being "haafu". When they were speaking about who they were, they consistently spoke of constructing a "new place". "I don't know how to say it but, we thought it's hard to put us in a place that was coming from the old part say which one we have to find a new place for us a new understanding and, uh, so we just have to make something in between the countries" (Michael); finding a balance of characteristics, "...it seems like my personality takes on a balance between what it typically means to be
Japanese and Western. For example, I'm not overly individualistic and not completely group-oriented. I see the great aspects of both Japanese and Western culture and I want to incorporate what is best from both cultures" (Victoria); choosing to make "halfness" just one part of who they were, "you start off with like I said with being half but then you know you stretch that out like "Phillip is good at this and this, interested in this" and that halfness fades away...if you're talking with someone and the halfness becomes subconscious or unconscious, that's what you want. That's what you're going for. ideally, you want to... I think, it's you want to defuse that although it's a core part of your life, it's, it's you want it to be a small part of your life... you don't want the halfness to be what you are" (Phillip); having everything all mixed up within, one thing affecting the other, "I don't think one thing [one culture or language] would cause one specific characteristics, but it would be kind of blended, with more than one thing affecting one [personality] trait" (Liam). Perhaps one of the best descriptions was a metaphor Alice used,

I'm constantly searching. I rest for a bit, then I go up the stairs again and I'm like this, yeah, like this is pretty comfortable, go up again, and looking for a top, this top I won't really reach, but I'll...I think it's just you know reaching different stages of my life and you know maturing. You're forever learning. There's no limits. Rest and look back "Ahh, I did a good job. It's like oh, I could have gone a bit quicker there or like I shouldn't have tripped there but I'll be careful next time (Alice).

In contrast, none of the Japanese school attendee participants responded that they had given much thought to who they were, "Anmari kangaetenai. (I haven't really thought about it).". This response should not be interpreted as somehow less sophisticated or less thoughtful than the responses of the international school participants. Rather, it is necessary to remember the context of the dialogue is very different, construction and assertion of a personal identity is not a large part of the dialogue in the Japanese school context. There are a number of roles in Japanese society and individuals are expected to conform to those roles. Kondo, writing about her experiences as an ethnographic researcher in Japan, describes vividly the attempts of her informants and relatives to nudge
her into the appropriate roles as daughter, guest, young woman, student. She calls them ready-made molds (Kondo, 1990, p. 14). Cecilia, Rick and Kenta were all conforming appropriately to their roles, their "selves" within Japanese society. It is helpful at this point to consider how self and identity have been discussed in the literature.

**Definitions of Self**

One of the paradoxes found in an examination of identity development in interracial and/or bilingual individuals is the widely held notion among families, individuals and even educators that identity is bounded and static when much of what is currently being written about identity acknowledges its fluid and unbounded nature. One aspect of an interracial/intercultural individual's development is confronting this stereotype of identity as much as having to deal with the racial, linguistic and cultural stereotypes. The dominance of this line of thought may be traced to the work of Erik Erikson, particularly his description of the need of the adolescents to resolve identity conflicts and find their "niche" in society during adolescence. "In finding it the young adult gains an assured sense of inner continuity and social sameness which will bridge what he was as a child and what he is about to become and will reconcile his conception of himself and his community's recognition of him" (Erikson, 1959, p. 111). Later Erikson describes what he calls the process of identity formation and states that it is "a conscious sense of individual uniqueness...and unconscious striving for continuity...[and] a solidarity with a group's ideals" (Erikson, 1968, p. 208). Merry White summed up the American, at least, view of a healthy identity: "We are taught that to have a single, integrated personality is the goal of personal development and consistent behavior is the outward evidence of good character. Being two-faced, behaving differently in different situations, is a pathology" (White, 1993, p. 21). It appears that this conceptualization of identity formation has influenced the direction and tenor of research particularly in regard to adolescents development. It has supported the formulation of hypotheses based on the "the assumption that adolescents may find it difficult to integrate the different expectations held by the dominant and subgroup cultures, particularly when competing claims from family and from society present
conflicting or unclear messages about appropriate behavior, values, and attitudes" (Rosenthal, 1987, p. 158). This coupled with the dominant metaphors Stonequist and Park popularized about "marginal man" and the confusion and conflation of terms such as ethnicity, ethnic identity, personal identity and cultural identity has made it relatively easy to continue reaching the conclusion that anyone who has more than one cultural and/or linguistic background will suffer from serious internal conflict. Doreen Rosenthal explores this in some depth in her work on ethnic identity development in adolescents (Rosenthal, 1987). What is important to this study is that ethnic identity is a dynamic concept that requires consideration of "not only objective differences in context but also the subjective meaning of that context" (Rosenthal, 1987, p. 169). While Rosenthal's research focuses on immigrant communities, the assumptions about the perspectives and processes she identifies are applicable to what little research has been done with interracial/intercultural individuals. Assimilation, marginality and adaptation are processes that are all based on a culture conflict model of experience. Rosenthal points out that while research, particularly anecdotal material, has collected some powerful material describing conflict between adolescents and their parents, research has rarely been done that documents that this is a higher level of conflict than what may be experienced between adolescents and their families in non-immigrant families or even comparisons with families of the same cultures in their home countries.

Another aspect of identity, at least as it is defined in Western terms is the predominant focus on the internal, individual part of the process with much less attention being paid to the role of either other individuals or the society in general in the process of identity formation and definition.

Geertz defines self as "a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgement, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against a social and natural background" (p. 48) as quoted in Markus, 1991, p. 226). Consistency and stability are key to this primarily Western concept of self identity. Shibutani states that "Self-images vary from situation to situation, but each man also has a stable sense of personal identity....A man is able to act with reasonable consistency in a wide variety of
situations because of the relative stability of his self-concept” (Shibutani, 1964, p. 231-232). Erikson's model which spans an individual's life sees as the product of the resolution of each stage contributions to a consistent core of identity (Rosenthal, 1987, p. 158). The consequence of being born of two parents with different languages and cultures, precludes a child from having the continuity “between that which he conceives himself to be and that which he perceives other to see in him and to expect of him” (as quoted in Phinney, 1989, p. 62). This is a problem, only so long as the construction of the self is conceptualized as an individual effort with the goal of a stable, bounded entity.

Individuals dealing with two sources of identity are often described with terms such as “powerlessness, isolation, anxiety, insecurity, ambivalence, self-consciousness, malaise, and self doubt...low self-esteem, internalized prejudice, frustration, anger, a sense of inadequacy, guilt, hostility, and feelings of betrayal” (Bennett, 1993, p. 4). If there is no stability within one's identity, one is not yet whole, complete, mature. These descriptions ignore what Goldberg (1941) argued, that a person with a community "that provides a definition and norms for that individual will not suffer negative psychological effects, at least as the result of being a marginal person" (LaFromboise et al, 1993, p. 395).

Goldberg is talking about two things. One is a community or social context which considers individuals with two races, two cultures, two languages within the norm. The supportive, even formative, role of society in identity formation is often mentioned but it seems to remain in the background. Bourne (1978a) notes, "identity is not simply a "structural and/or experiential entity but also a type of relationship" (p. 227)" (Rosenthal, 1987, p. 159). The emphasis appears to be put on the production of a series of social identities, from which "one's sense of identity then, is synthesized" (Rosenthal, 1987, p. 159). This is different, however, from a recognition of the reciprocity of identity formation with and within a social group, especially one that counts interracial and bilingual within the parameters of normal.

The second idea that Goldberg hints at but does not explore, leaving that to later thinkers such as Bandura (1978, 1986), Markus and Kitayama (1991) is the role of the context, the environment, in a bi-directional or recursive manner in the construction of identity. LeVine (1982) "believes that human behavior is not
just the product of cultural structure, individual cognitive and affective processes, biology, and social environment. Instead, we believe that behavior is a result of the continuous interactions among all of these components" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 396). LaFromboise, et al (1993) also cite "Bandura's (1978, 1986) concept of reciprocal determinism, which suggests that behavior is influenced by and influences a person's cognition and social environment" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 396). This is very similar to ideas around the evolution or development of cultures. A society maintains a set of cultural assumptions, values and behaviors yet even as people practice those they are affecting them and those assumptions, values and behaviors change which in turn affects the society that practices those. Culture is not static, it does change, albeit, usually at a very slow pace. This is evident in the tension that often develops between cultural enclaves in a foreign country and the "home" culture about which group practices the "true" culture (Tanaka, 1993).

This interdependence is also echoed in Dean Barnlund's definition of interpersonal understanding which states that the greater degree to which to people share a similarity of perceptual orientations, of belief systems and a similarity in communication styles, the greater chance they have of successfully communicating. Barnlund acknowledged his debt to Edward T. Hall, especially his book, The Silent Language, 1959, and the concept of high and low context cultures on his conceptualization of communication. However, in his consideration of the factors affecting communication, Barnlund does not limit himself to cultures. Barnlund is careful to point out that his model is not a linear model or even a bi-directional one, but much more complex. Perceptual orientations, systems of belief and communicative styles overlap and affect each other; they are three interdependent variables (Barnlund, 1975). The point being, the theoretical constructs for a more complex definition of self are available, it is now more a problem of application, of generating a new metaphor.

**Fragmentation or Portfolios?**

Judith Oster, in a discussion of mirrors and mirroring in bicultural texts has explored the issue from a literary perspective, particularly in narrative and
autobiographies, especially the conflict over the need for a wholeness in a society that demands it.

What postmodern theorists have been undermining—stable ego, personhood, identity—these bicultural writers have already felt on their pulses. Phillip Harper makes the additional point that in works of the "socially marginalized" such issues have always been of concern, and have predated postmodernism (3-4). These writers, and their protagonists, are always acutely conscious of a non-unitary self....in these works...characters confront their own fragmented subjectivities, and are only too well aware of the various, often conflicting, elements that are destabilising, even as they are constructing their identities (Oster, 1998).

"Fragmented subjectivities" is a description that is based on the idea that an individual's subjectivity, identity must be whole, "unbroken". If the premise is changed, if something like David Plath's idea of a "portfolio of identities" is introduced, much of the tension may be taken out of the situation (Plath, 1980).

Plath based his description of identity on what he had observed of the presentation and construction of self in Japan. Plath's description emphasizes another important aspect of a different perspective on identity, that of the role of others in the construction of one's identity. Markus and Kitayama (1991) refer to this in their work on different construals of self. They looked at self from the perspective of an interdependent self and an independent self. Their analysis focused on the single variable of "...what they [people] believe about the relationship between the self and others and especially the degree to which they see themselves as separate from others or as connected with others" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 226).

Befu explicates this in more detail. "In the Japanese view, it is the interconnectedness of persons and the quality of this interconnectedness that determines who one is. Connectedness is not merely a matter of knowing someone; it also expresses moral commitment to reciprocal support, whether instrumental or expressive" (Befu, 1986, p. 23). Befu goes on to describe three characteristics of this connectedness which reflect the high context aspect of Japanese society to which Hall referred. Understanding these adds depth to an
understanding of Plath's characterization of the self as a portfolio of identities. They are:

a) Particularism—referring to the value component of a relationship...those who are connected have a commitment to one another, and this commitment varies, depending on the relationship that obtains between them.

b) Mutuality of trust—Trust is extended to particular individuals in Japan to a degree considered not quite normal among Americans [an example, a friend acting as a guarantor for a bank loan, a new job or in the renting on an apartment]. Should such a person act contrary to normative expectations, the guarantor may be called in to explain or rectify the situation. Serving as a guarantor obviously assumes mutual trust.

c) Interdependence—Persons in a relationship of mutual trust depend on and, are obliged to, assist each other. What degree of burden one can impose on the other is a subjective decision but is normally well understood by both parties (Befu, 1986, p. 23).

This interdependent construal of self is what Plath was describing. He uses the phrase "complex persons" and cobiographers to convey the idea that not only are people in possession of complex selves but that these selves are also interdependent with those around them.

With a casual stranger, you may share only one idiom of identification, e.g. as buyer and seller. With a convoy member, you come to share many. The ability to switch, often rapidly, from one idiom to another in the relationship is what makes the bond so rich, allows it to incorporate duty, respect, affection, comradeship, a history of shared experience...Convoy bonds, then, are multivocal: we can address each other in various idioms. We are not limited to the "givens" of a single role. We create whole batteries of roles together—cultivate each other as persons (Plath, 1980, p. 225).

Plath also includes a time dimension to the development of identity, it is not confined to adolescence but continues throughout a lifetime.
Our successes and failures echo in the lives of our convoy others...In dealing with long engagements, then, we must look not just at the change in an individual across life stages, but at the evolution of persons in whole clusters of relationships. Every member of our convoy embodies a mutual history of shared identifications and a stake in shared futures...We evoke multiple meaning in each other. And as we bundle along the symbols that carry these meanings, and use them repeatedly in varied settings and times, we further deepen their evocative powers. Here we realize our potential for meaning more to each other. In this way a convoy not only cultivates persons; it simultaneously cultivates meanings (Plath, 1980, p. 226).

Befu, Plath, Markus and Kitayama all highlight the role of the community or social group in the construction of an identity. Plath's conceptualization of Japanese identity as a portfolio of identities, each of which is valid, each of which has a place in the individual's being captures the potential of a multiplicity of selves if not a fluidity of boundaries. It is ironic that a society that can produce such a concept of identity is the very same society that has such difficulty conceptualizing and accepting interracial/intercultural, bilingual individuals.

While it would appear that the conceptualization of self as a portfolio would allow the inclusion of a bicultural or bilingual self with a second language, another set of behaviors and even physical characteristics as just one more item in the portfolio, there seems to be another force at work that preempts this inclusion. Being "Japanese" is a very exclusive concept, as constructed by the society. The identity that has been constructed as Japanese has rigid boundaries and definitions. While there is an acceptance of the idea that an individual may have many identities, many "faces" within those boundaries, there is little opportunity to add anything new, any new faces to the catalogue of acceptable roles, characteristics, behaviors and beliefs. When White compared U. S. and Japanese concepts of teenager, she described an area of "permitted gaps and loopholes—an institutionalized area of freedom—allowing for different, even deviant, behavior to coexist for the most part quietly with the more public "correct" expectations" (White, 1993, p. 21). There is freedom but, it must still fall
within accepted boundaries as defined by the society. When exceptions are proposed, the response is often one of increased rigidity and exclusion. The continuing controversy over hair color may serve as an example. An article in a 1996 newspaper led with this, “Parents, school officials and social commentators can heave a sigh of relief. The so-called chapatsu (brown hair) boom in which kids have been dyeing their hair light brown – a trend that seems to distress many of their elders – has finally started to ebb” (Nakajima, 1996). It was trend that many people equated with delinquency and being “unJapanese” (Kristo, 1996). However, the trend was far from ebbing. Hair color has become an issue outside of the school rule books, young parents who dye their own hair do the same with their preschool children’s hair. Not only do entertainment figures color their hair, but major sports figures have also flashed colored locks from under baseball caps or on the soccer field. The common understanding of the limits of “rule breaking” does not appear to be as commonly held as before. These individuals, especially sports starts, have not conformed as expected after becoming adults in the adult world. A growing number of people are not respecting the “institutionalized areas of freedom”, but instead are asserting this behavior in society in general. Japan’s major airlines all ban dyed hair among their employees. It is not explicitly banned by other major companies or government offices, but employees are expected to use “common sense” or the supervisor has the final say. As peers are expected to enforce social norms in school, they have the same responsibility even when individuals have entered the work force, therefore, hair color bans need not be explicitly stated, as long as dyed hair is understood to be an unacceptable Japanese adult characteristic. However, the issue has become more complex since a truck driver challenged his dismissal because of his dyed hair. He was reinstated by the courts in Kitakyushu (“Growing Number,” 1999). The setting and enforcement of norms is no longer completely a matter for social negotiation. It now has a legal basis, which is a new addition to the process in Japan where there are still no laws on the books prohibiting discrimination. This has made the issue a little more public and has given the boundaries a bit of a push, although it has by no means settled the issue. This controversy gives some idea of the rigidity of acceptable attributes and behaviors within an apparently inclusive conceptualization of identity. Hair
color has challenged the definitions of what may or may not be included in the list of acceptable characteristics for the acceptable roles in the portfolio of acceptable identities. The social norms have been challenged, but not yet changed. The conceptualization of identity as something that is constructed together with one’s peers over a period of time and can include a multiplicity of selves operates within this much larger context. It is this larger context which imposes limits on just what may or may not be acceptable within the boundaries. The larger context is the constructed national identity, that conflates race, ethnicity, culture, language and national identity. This larger context, the national identity then sets limits as to what will be included in what at first glance appears to be a malleable vehicle for the construction of an interracial/intercultural identity.

As stated earlier, the role of the community or the society in which the individual lives in the identity formation process has not always been fully acknowledged. Or, if it has, it has been politicized where it still retains the either/or characterization and thus is characterized by a demand of loyalties (Banks, 1981). Oster also provides a concise but telling description of the tension over who does the defining:

... examples of the disowning Sau-Ling Wong finds central to all doubles, and of the more particular minority dynamic where self-definition is shaped by more powerful others who define us (85, 89); when the perception that “to become acceptable to a racist society, one must first reject an integral part of oneself” (77), to disown precisely those characteristics by which one has been defined (Oster, 1998).

Okano and Tsuchiya’s quote from a young Japanese-Korean woman and her experience going through the Japanese public school system illustrates this disowning in another context;

Whenever the word ‘Korea’ came up in casual conversation with friends, I became tense and nervous, and desperately pretended that I was not affected. When Social Studies classes referred to ‘Korea’, I pretended that it had nothing to do with me. Deep in my mind, however, I was always worried that somebody
might uncover my secret, thinking how I would react if found out. While I wanted to hide that identity throughout my life if possible, I also felt a sense of guilt that I had this secret (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 118).

These preceding paragraphs partially express concepts explored in Chris Weedon's 1987 work, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. I bring some of these ideas to bear on this study because they allow me to acknowledge the role of the individual, the communities and languages in the process of building an identity without casting the process in the dichotomous language and concepts of most of the minority and/or ethnic identity literature. Realizing that there is no one form of poststructuralism, I quote Weedon's interpretation of the role of language.

For poststructuralist theory the common factor in the analysis of social organization, social meanings, power and individual consciousness is *language*. Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is *constructed*.

Language is not the expression of unique individuality: it constructs the individual's subjectivity in ways which are socially specific...poststructuralism theorizes subjectivity as a site of disunity and conflict, central to the process of political change and to preserving the status quo (Weedon, 1987, p. 21).

The individual participants in this study are all involved in a variety of dialogues through and in which they are constructing their identities. How those dialogues and those identities are interpreted by other individuals who are not part of the particular communities or social networks is also a major part of this dialogue of identity for the participants. Weedon's interpretation of the role of language in this dialogue allows me to consider all of the elements my participants have identified as important to them, including these interpretations of themselves, as part of the identity formation process. Language is not limited to proficiency in English, Japanese or German, nor is identity limited to an ethnic or cultural template of behaviors and values to be followed. Rather, "[i]n
poststructural feminism, we can choose between different accounts of reality on the basis of their social implications" (Weedon, 1987, p. 29). The idea that an individual can construct his or her own meanings is dependent upon the "social power of existing discourse, our access to them and the political strength of the interests which they represent" (Weedon, 1987, p. 29), helps to explain many of the frustrations of the international school attendee participants as well as what might be construed as a lack of deliberation of their identity on the part of the Japanese school attendees. It also allows me to formulate some questions around the idea of access to the discourses that participants and their families in both groups may or may not have that would allow them to redefine the language and the reality of identity for interracial/intercultural individuals.

**Cultural, Social, Minority Identity**

Ethnicity and ethnic identity are often used interchangeably with the terms of cultural and minority identity. However, Chun has examined this perspective and makes two important points about these two terms and our understanding of them in relation to identity formation processes.

Our impoverished contextual comprehension of the phenomenon as well as our neglect of its historicity seems to have caused the delay in recognizing the moderating effects of class, occupation, education, and socioeconomic status on the third-generation phenomenon. These demographic variables contribute to the self-perception of a person, as a member of an immigrant/ethnic group, in relation to other groups or their members. The nature of one's resulting ethnic self-definition may determine the acceptance or rejection of ethnicity at any generational point....Clearly, future studies of ethnic identity would benefit from an explicit accommodation to its historicity (Chun, 1983, p. 192).

He is writing specifically about the tendency in the U.S. for second generation children to reject their ethnicity and third generation children to seek it out. But I think there are other reasons to consider the historicity of ethnic groups within the political, socioeconomic and political context of any nation.
First of all is the claim or rejection of that ethnic identity, providing there are no outstanding physical attributes which would immediately identify an individual with a certain group; second are possible changes within the ethnic group’s own definition of themselves, changes in such mundane things as diet preferences, celebration or religious practices as well as in values. There seems to be this underlying assumption that somehow the defining characteristics of an ethnic group will remain constant, when according to the thinking of Morris-Suzuki and Nishikawa, changes do take place as a result of contact with or in opposition to either the majority group or other groups, from the edges working in toward the center.

A second issue Chun brings up is the lack of definition of what exactly ethnicity is. I found that although everyone talked about it, used the word, no one defined it, except Banks (Banks, 1981).

"Based on an analysis of 65 studies, Isajiw (1974) concluded that "very few researchers...ever define the meaning of ethnicity...[Of these 65 studies] only 13 included some definition ...and 52 had no explicit definition at all" (p. 111)" (Chun, 1983, p. 193).

There could be a justifiable rationale, in that the term was too new to be precisely defined and defining it would have prematurely limited exploration and subsequent ability to define it. Another rationale is a respect for the complexity of the phenomenon.

"Erikson's deliberate imprecision...speaks to the complexity and elusiveness of the matter he seeks to deal with—even the term "identity" itself is never pinned down in pages but allowed, as he says, to speak for itself in its various connotations. (1975, p. 25)" (as quoted in, Chun, 1983, p. 193).

"[Ethnic identity] alternately circumscribe[s] something so large and so seemingly self-evident that to demand a definition would almost seem petty, while at other times they designate something made so narrow for purposes of measurement that the overall meaning is lost, and it could just as well be called something else. (1968b, p. 150)" (as quoted in, Chun, 1983, p. 193-4).

Chun attempts to distinguish between ethnic and social identity while at the same time recognizing their interdependence.
The way our role relations are construed and the way the epistemic questions are answered lead to the construal of the sense of a person being a distinct individual or a member of a distinct group. To place oneself in this world of social relationships and ontological questions—which for expository convenience I will call a socioepistemic world—is to define oneself in terms of each relationship or question as well as the total configuration; that is, to clarify who one is and to articulate one’s stance from other stances (Chun, 1983, p. 194).

Chun describes the process of distinguishing role relationships one from the other is a form of boundary setting, placing a boundary between oneself and others.

As Barth (1969) has done with ethnic groups, to emphasize demarcation and boundary as effective definiens is to view social or ethnic identity as primarily a matter of boundary setting. The question of how a boundary gets set has priority and the question of what is contained with and enclosed by the boundary is secondary. It is, therefore, important to separate ethnic identity from the characteristics or traits commonly associated with ethnicity: that is, to distinguish the sense of boundary from what is enclosed by the boundary” (Chun, 1983, p. 195).

Another important distinction which Chun points out, but which I think becomes lost in the everyday, is between the individual’s version of ethnic identity and the group’s version. This becomes the source of some tension, especially when the group’s version is characterized by very rigid boundaries. It is the boundary making and marking function of ethnic identity, both personal and group that are important in the process of identity formation among my participants. It is important in how they are aware of both definitions, how they are aware of the boundaries, personal and social which come to apply when they place themselves within or are placed outside.

Whether ethnic identity supersedes social identity would seem to depend on how the group perceives membership in the group. Chun states that because there are so many social role and role relationships, "the socioepistemic
differentiation mediated by ethnic markers is merely one of many differentiations" (Chun, 1983, p. 196). But is that the case with being "Japanese"? It would seem that being "Japanese" becomes the salient identity and all other social identities operate within the boundaries of being "Japanese". If this is accepted as an accurate description of the relationship between ethnic and social identity in the Japanese context, then it is easier to understand the exclusive nature of "Japaneseness", especially in relationship to interracial/intercultural individuals. After all, their ethnic identities are not at the center of their self-definitions, but only a part of a constellation of ethnic, racial, linguistic, class, or in Bell's (1975) thinking macrosocial, microsocial and intermediate level social units as sources of their identities. The conflict or the difficulty that the international school attendees articulate is not so much a clash of values but a clash of boundaries. They have a different way of assembling the multiple identities and dealing with boundaries, the most influential being where Japaneseness fits in the hierarchy and the degree of rigidity or permeability of those boundaries. This would be one way of describing what Chun terms "integrative identity", how constituent identities are organized in relation to each other (Chun, 1983, p. 198). The Japanese school attendees, in contrast, did not see any conflict around their two cultural backgrounds. However, in the conversations I had with them, they did not indicate that they were attempting to assemble an identity that included as a salient element, language, behaviors and/or values of a second culture.

He also sees three issues as essential to understanding the process of differentiation or boundary setting. First is the source of that differentiation, second, the markers that set the boundaries and the symbols that sustain the existing boundaries and third, the context in which the differentiation takes place. Has the individual chosen to set him or herself apart or has the differentiation been imposed by others?

I think this is important because of the markers, e.g. physical appearance, language, and to some extent behaviors, are outside the control of interracial/intercultural individuals. They exercise control in different situations by either allowing themselves to be set apart or by setting themselves apart or by attempting to permeate the boundaries by emphasizing one boundary marker
over others. An example would be an emphasis on linguistic proficiency over physical appearance or experience over physical appearance. Each of these is an attempt to reduce the salience of "Japoneseness" and rearrange the configuration of social and ethnic identities within the Japanese geographic and social context.

When the self is defined with relatively impermeable and unchanging boundaries, marked by linguistic, physical and behavioral characteristics it is difficult to think of that self as being in an intimate, reciprocal relationship with the community in which it exists. However, post-modern thinking in anthropology and sociology has provided indications that the metaphor may be undergoing some changes. They have pointed out two important influences on the identity of individuals, although they have not really questioned the concept of a stable and unchanging "self" in each individual. Clifford Geertz provides a basic definition of culture;

...an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life (Geertz 1975:89) (as quoted in, Shweder, 1984 #96, p. 7).

In the same book, Robert LeVine provides a description of the relationship between the culture and the self;

...the self can be conceptualized as both an individual mental representation and a cultural or collective representation. You can examine its status in cultural ideals and prototypes and also examine the child's or adult's individual representation of self, and then look at how that's acquired and what relationship there is between the individual's mental representation and the cultural ideal (Shweder & LeVine, 1984, p. 14).

It is with these insights that researchers such as Freeman (1998) can begin to consider that culture and in a smaller context, the individual's, community may both be affected by and affect an individual's identity. Part of this context, as later references to the work of Antonia Darder show, is language and voice. The school that Freeman investigated is an example of a community that is trying to pull together these many elements using a bilingual education policy and
practice that is only one part of a much larger community building movement. The ideas are beginning to take shape in a number of areas, slowly coming together to create a new metaphor that could alleviate much of the tension that individuals who embody two races and/or two cultures face.

I can't help but think that much of the tension is not between the two cultures but between the individual's own experience and the stereotypical experience he or she is supposed to undergo as a biracial individual. The power of the dominant metaphor on the research as well as the individual is illustrated in the examples Johnson and Nagoshi provide. As Johnson and Nagoshi state, "Speculations regarding the negative effect of intercultural marriages on the adjustment of offspring are common, but representative data (i.e. not merely anecdotal) are almost totally absent" (Johnson & Nagoshi, 1986, p. 280). What they were able to cite, was one study done by Duffy in 1978 which concluded, "that there were no differences in self-esteem between the groups [Caucasian, Japanese, Caucasian-Japanese], that they did not differ in type of interaction with parents, and that offspring of intercultural marriages maintain a "simultaneously dynamic ethnic identity" (Duffy, 1978: vi)" (Johnson & Nagoshi, 1986, p. 280). Phinney and Alipuria have reported "Consistent with the results of several recent studies (e.g. Field, 1993, Grove, 1991; Hiraga et al., 1993), we found that multiethnic young people were not at a psychological disadvantage because of their mixed background. A self-esteem measure did not indicate any difference in terms of psychological well-being between the multiethnic individuals and their monoethnic peers...thus, contrary to popular views (Berzon, 1978; Nakashima, 1992 and earlier clinical impressions (Gibbs, 1987; Sommers, 1964: Teicher, 1968), multiethnic individuals are not troubled, marginal people" (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996, p. 152).

The metaphors that appear when bicultural and bilingual identities are discussed are often ones that assume two separate and often conflicting entities; bridges, hybrids, people on the edge, on the margin, "inbetweens". As long as bilingualism and biculturalism are defined in bifurcated, either/or language, the possibility of a synthesis, of the creation of an identity that is greater than the sum of the parts remains illusive and somehow socially unacceptable. I would like to assert that if the process of identity formation in bicultural/bilingual
individuals is reframed as an ongoing construction of an identity that is not just a simple summing of the parts but the creation of something more than the sum of the two parts, it will put bicultural/bilingual individuals into a more positive context and would allow them to be more part of the mainstream of society rather than confined to the edges and seen as problematic.

Cultural and Social Identity

Freeman cites Carbaugh’s 1990 notion of cultural identity as “cultural dispositions or preferences that govern an individual’s way of believing, thinking, and behaving” (Freeman, 1998, p. 71). Freeman also refers to Harré’s idea of a social identity, that acknowledges the influence of power differences, which she describes as “…a particular social identity is made up of two interrelated notions: (1) positions, a dynamic aspect of the moral order of speaking that relates to face-to-face interaction, and (2) role, the participant’s associated rights and obligations in the social order” (Freeman, 1998, p. 76).

There are obvious connections between social and cultural identity. The cultural identity will have a strong affect on the positions and role that make up one’s social identity. According to Harré and Davies, language plays an important role in the production of the social identity in that “An individual’s role in the social order is...considered to be generated through the learning and use of particular discursive practices in interaction” (Freeman, 1998, p. 76). This fits nicely with La Fromboise, et. al.’s fourth dimension of competence, communication ability.

Ochs, in his studies of students in international schools would agree that language does play an important role in the formation of social identity, although he would contend that students, at least in the context of multilingual international schools, are not merely passive entities in the interactive discourses. He describes a very dynamic use of language and discourse to construct social identities, in the face of an opposing discourse on the part of school administration that sought to impose a tightly bounded English/Western definition of roles, rights and obligations of the students (Ochs, 1993).

Minority Group Identity

John Ogbu attempted to provide a theoretical framework for considering the identity of minorities that recognized the effects of a powerful majority
(Ogbu, 1978, 1987). He divided minority populations into two groups, involuntary minorities and voluntary minorities. According to his ideas, the involuntary minorities develop an identity "in opposition to the mainstream population, but only after these minorities have internalized their subordination" (Ogbu, 1987, p. 323). A result of this "cultural inversion" is that because these individuals reject the majority definitions of success and the steps necessary to achieve that success;

These individuals are trapped in the dilemma of either rejecting their own self-identity or failing... Most people tend to retain their self-identity and their culture as a mechanism of collective and individual preservation. If they are forced to abandon their culture in order to succeed academically, they are destroyed psychologically even if they succeed by mainstream standards (Trueba, Cheng, & Ima, 1993, p. 12).

Ogbu’s work bears attention because it takes into consideration the interaction between a majority and minority group and the affect they have on one another. His work, while important in that it recognizes minority groups and at least part of the dynamic involved seems to still be very positivistic in nature and frames the identity formation of individuals within this context as an either/or dilemma. It also considers the minority group monolithic in nature, precluding consideration of intragroup differences and their influence on individuals.

**The Role of Culture**

Just as identity has been dominated by conceptualizations and metaphors that emphasize stability and impermeability, so have many of the ideas defining culture. One of the most invidious examples is the campaign against multiculturalism in the United States. It was popularized with the publication of the book, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today’s Students* by Allan Bloom in 1987. Morrise-Suzuki, exploring current thoughts on Japanese culture in the context of their roots, has highlighted a very interesting and pertinent, to my interests, line of thought. There are two parts to it, which inform this discussion of the
relationship of national identity and education policy and practice, not just in Japan but in any nation, which is struggling with the challenge of unity and diversity within its borders. The first is from the work of Nagao Nishikawa, a current thinker and writer on the issue of culture and identity in Japan. He concludes that “national culture” is an ideological construct which, both in Europe and in Japan, emerged with the rise of the modern nation state and helped to serve the demands of the state for social integration” (Morris-Suzuki, 1995, p. 776). If that is indeed the case, then the next point Nishikawa argues is a very important one to understand, especially in an educational context. He goes on to argue that “the culture which exists within any country is both dynamic and diverse: ‘within Japan there are many cultures, but Japanese culture does not exist’ (Nishikawa 1992, 226)” (Morris-Suzuki, 1995, p. 776). Japan has used first the Imperial Rescript on Education and then later the 1947 Fundamental Education Law and subsequent Ministry of Education Guidelines regarding especially the “ethics” or “morals” course of study as the means by which this ideological construct of Japanese national culture is maintained and reinforced.

The second part stems from Nishikawa’s conclusion that “culture is ultimately a matter of values. In the end, it is the individual who decides on values. “It is ‘I myself’ who not only decides my own place in a single culture, but can also choose to abandon one culture and select another” (Nishikawa 1992, 233) (as quoted in Morris-Suzuki, 1995, p. 776). If one can accept this idea of both culture and identity, then it is easier to be more optimistic about the possibility of achieving a national identity that respects and honors diversity within its borders.

Morris-Suzuki pushes this idea further, reminding us of the importance of understanding “the constraints, the paradoxes, and the conflicts which influence the individual’s choice of values” (Morris-Suzuki, 1995). I would add that it is not only the constraints, which influence an individual’s choice, but that it is important to understand the constraints, paradoxes, and conflicts that influence the group’s choice of values. The bigger question and consideration is as Morris-Suzuki phrases so well:

In a sense it may be most important to challenge the conventional vision of culture, not by questioning the level at
which it is applied...but by questioning its insistence on "culture" as a coherently structured whole. Even at the level of the individual, human identity is surely not a simple, single thing constructed only in relation to a single group or value system, but something which has many dimensions linking each individual to gender, age, family, occupational groups, and ethnos. These dimensions of identity, besides, do not seem to stack neatly inside one another like Russian dolls, but (even in the most integrated societies) to overlap and jostle against one another, so that the sense of self is created and recreated out of a constant struggle to draw the many dimensions of identity together in actions of everyday life. As a result, culture is (to borrow a rather unattractive word from Laclau and Mouffe) "unsutured": instead of being a neatly sewn-up whole, it is an always incomplete effort to pull together the jagged edges of conflicting definitions of identity (Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Barrett 1991, ch. 4) (Morris-Suzuki, 1995, p. 776-7).

**Culture, Language and Education**

Phinney, Ogbu, and Spindler and Spindler have all recognized that culture plays a role in the development of an individual's identity. They have also touched on the need for knowledge of language and cultural practices, although the process of gaining such knowledge is not explored. They have also acknowledged that power has some effect on that process, but they have not examined the relationship between culture, language and identity primarily through the lens of power. Nor have they moved the discussion of identity formation beyond the Western definition of a bounded, static self.

When culture is redefined to include the element of power in concert with social and group relationships, the definition of identity and the process by which it is formed begins to change. Richard Johnson has written that;...

...cultural processes are intimately connected with social relations, especially with class relations and class formations...as a form of dependency....culture involves power and helps to produce asymmetries in the abilities of individuals and social
groups to define and realize their needs...that culture is neither autonomous nor an externally determined field, but a site of social difference and struggles (Johnson, 1983, p. 11) (as quoted in Darder, 1991, p. 29-30).

When culture and identity are perceived through this lens, the roles of knowledge and language change. They become objects in a struggle over access and in the case of knowledge, content. Voice takes on major significance in the formation of identity. Voice presupposes that identity is formed not only within the individual but also within the dynamics of a community.

Language domination silences student voices and seriously curtails their active participation in school life. With few opportunities to enter into dialogue and reflect on their reality and lived experiences in terms of political and historical contexts, many bicultural students are marginalized and isolated (Darder, 1991, p. 38).

But the struggle for identity also gives biculturalism and bilingualism as attributes of individuals a legitimacy that was not part of more bounded definitions. It still assumes a daily conflict between competing cultures and voices within an individual, but it holds out the possibility that an individual can be bicultural and bilingual and still be considered normal. The stereotype of the conflicted bilingual/bicultural individual still has considerable power, but when bilingual/bicultural individuals gain voice in both of their cultures, both of their communities, the dialogue can be expanded. One goal being to discredit such stereotypical speculations around intercultural marriages that Johnson refers to, as stated earlier.

The main reason for choosing the research methods of narrative and interview for this study, was to allow individuals to express their experience in their own words and to find a way of sharing their words with a larger audience. This may not translate directly to providing the opportunity for participants to express themselves in their own voices, as such would be to assume that all of the participants had found and developed their own voices. Whether or not they have had the opportunity and/or have actually done so is another set of questions and another investigation entirely.
The literature on identity, bicultural, ethnic and minority group identity shows that while the Western concept of a bounded and independent identity still dominates the work, it is no longer unchallenged. A much more fluid construal of self with more permeable boundaries which admits the interaction of culture, language and context into the construction of an identity has been described and conceptualized. It is by no means accepted at all levels of knowledge making and application, but it is acquiring a voice. I see it personified in the children of interracial, interethnic or international marriages who have had and subsequently have taken advantage of the opportunity to acquire both cultural and linguistic competence and then to reflect on and craft themselves.

While this may be occurring within a few enclaves of current society, there are forces that are limiting the dissemination and acceptance of these ideas. These are primarily, but not exclusively in the political sphere of modern life and are intricately bound up with the forces of economic and political power and national identity. The issue of bicultural and bilingual identity is not confined to the individuals and their families, but is an issue that is affected by and affects nearly every facet of modern society. A new metaphor that allows what have been seen as problems to be viewed as possibilities is essential, in my opinion, to avert the kind of destructive polarization and hostility engendered by such questions as the cultural identity or the language of education for children.

In 1992 Maria P. P. Root published a book, Racially Mixed People in America. This collection of contributions by twenty-seven different individuals provides one of the most comprehensive looks at what it means to be biracial, bicultural and bilingual, in the United States. Root attributes the absence of biracial/bicultural people from the research and social picture at least partially to antimiscegenist feelings which were legally supported in most states until 1967, when a Supreme Court ruling overturned such legislation. In addition she cites the ideas of hypodescent, “a pseudoscientific literature on race mixing (e.g., Provine, 1973) and the internalized oppression still evident in communities of color” (Root, 1992, p. 7). She also makes the point that considerable “monoracial and monocultural bias of these theories [social, psychological] is evident in the constructions of assimilation and acculturation models” (Root, 1992, p. 6). Such
attitudes are not limited to the United States, but may be found to a greater or lesser extent in most nations around the world.
CHAPTER 7

Models of Identity Development

As stated earlier, one of the most disturbing aspects of conducting this research was comparing what the participants had shared with me with the theories and models of identity development. The list of terms and issues that emerged from my analysis of the data I had collected did not mesh well with any of the models or theories, although there were aspects of several that were relevant. Before looking at the various models, a list of terms and definitions as used in these models is useful to consider.

Definition of Terms

Bicultural—Buriel and Saenz define biculturalism as "an integration of the competencies and sensitivities associated with two cultures within a single individual" (as cited in LaFromboise, 1993, p. 246). Ramirez and Casteñada go beyond just learning two behavioral repertoires and include "enjoy[ing] satisfying relations in more than one cultural world and to identify with aspects of both of those cultures" (Ramirez & Casteñada, 1974, p. 16). They emphasize participation in both cultural worlds and "...to contribute to its enrichment and continued development" (Ramirez & Casteñada, 1974, p. 28). Although not explicitly stated by Ramirez & Casteñada, biculturalism assumes a degree of empathy with both cultures, being able to shift cultural world views. Bennett refers to bicultural in both the adaptation and assimilation stages of his developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. He emphasizes the development of empathy based on "the reconstrual of differences as a "thing" to difference as a "process"" (Bennett, 1986, p. 185). In adaptation being bicultural is seen largely as "the habitualization of a particular empathic shift" and in the integration stage he implies that the empathy for different cultural behaviors and values is applied to one's own identity (Bennett, 1986, p. 186). He quotes Adler's description of a multicultural person as one "who is always in the process of becoming a part of and apart from a given cultural context" (p. 26)" (as quoted in Bennett, 1986, p. 186).
Biracial—"refers to someone with two socially and phenotypically distinct racial heritages—one from each parent" (Root, 1992, p. 11). Root suggests a "looser" definition which refers "to a multigenerational history of prior racial blending" which "moves away from the notion of "halves" (Root, 1992, p. 11). According to Kerwin and Ponterotto "It most appropriately signifies the presence of two racial backgrounds in a nonjudgmental manner" (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995, p. 201).

Ethnicity/Ethnic group—"includes group patterns of values, social customs, perceptions, behavioral roles, language usage, and rules of social interactions that group members share (Barth, 1969; Ogbu, 1981)" (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987, p. 11). According to Shibutani and Kwan (1965) an ethnic group is "those who conceive of themselves as alive by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others" as quoted in (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987, p. 11). Banks notes that social scientists are not in complete agreement on a definition, but that it includes "shar[ing] a common ancestry, culture, history, tradition, and sense of peoplehood and that it is a political and economic interest group...is primarily an involuntary group" (Banks, 1981, p. 81). In Japan there is a confusion of ethnicity and race. Simon Kaner refers to this confusion in his discussion of Japanese archaeology, "Early Japanese archaeologists were concerned to establish the ethnic or racial identity of the early inhabitants of Japan in order to see how far back a distinctly Japanese identity could be traced" (Denoon, Hudson, McCormack, & Morris-Suzuki, 1996, p. 46-7). According to Murphy-Shigematsu the word minzoku "is a confusion of race, nation, peoples and ethnic group...includes psychological, social, cultural or linguistic factors...It continues to describe not only culture or nation but also biology or blood as evident in the popular confusion of kokumin kokka (citizens' state) with minzoku kokka (nation (ethnic) state) (Dower 1986, Weiner 1997)" (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000b, p. 198). Chun's discussion of ethnicity, as referred to in the previous discussion of Cultural, Social, Minority Identity reiterates this lack of clear definition and use of the terms both in Western research and Japanese social and political contexts. In this research, I am not interested in the participants' "ethnicity" and have refrained from using that term when discussing their comments about themselves.
Ethnic Identity—refers to the individual's acquisition of group patterns (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987, p. 13). According to Phinney and Rotheram (1987) this is a very broad term that includes ethnic awareness, self-identification, attitudes, behaviors. It is often used interchangeably with cultural identity. This is also a term that conflates personal identity with a group identity. Cross addresses this in his research with black identity, pointing out how they are often assumed to be highly predictive of each other and thus for one to stand for the other (Cross, 1987). He differentiates between personal identity and reference group orientation. According to Cross, "PI [personal identity] studies focus on variables, traits, or dynamics that are in evidence, to one degree or another, in all human beings, regardless of social class, gender, race, or culture" (Cross, 1987, p. 121). Reference group orientation comprises group values, lifestyles, worldviews, symbols, for the self. Or, as Cross puts it, "In a sense, RGO [reference group orientation] represents the ethnographic dimension of the self-concept" (Cross, 1987, p. 123). Such a distinction is important to keep in mind, especially as it preserves the reality of great diversity of personality within any given group of people; something that ethnic stereotypes do not recognize, but instead assign behaviors and traits to all members of a particular group.

Interracial—Kerwin and Ponterotto define interracial in terms of marriage and family when there are individuals of different racial backgrounds who are married or make up a family unit (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995, p. 201). As Murphy-Shigematsu pointed out, no distinction is made between interracial and intercultural marriages (and children) in Japanese statistics, only in marriages between individuals holding different passports which only compounds the confusion around the terms in Japanese (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000b).

Intercultural—used here to refer to marriages between individuals of different cultural or ethnic background but of the same racial background, e.g. between Japanese and Korean, Japanese and Chinese or the children of these unions. There is no such distinction or recognition of ethnic intermarriage made in Japanese record-keeping.

Below are a selection of models from the research that has specifically considered identity development in members of minority groups. I have chosen to highlight minority group identity development research as it comes closer to
reflecting the context of interracial individuals, albeit still imperfectly. The fact that interracial individuals simply have not been considered, even in this area of research might best be illustrated by the following comments from researchers in a project that had initially set out to focus on African American and Asian American adolescents. In the process of recruiting a representative sample, the researchers came to realize the diversity of the Asian population, however, "With all our talk of diversity, these were not scenarios [adolescents with parents of two different races] we had anticipated. Like most other researchers, we had neglected to consider the biracial child" (Cauce et al., 1992, p. 208).

Miller would add two more cautions to a consideration of these models, particularly the assumptions regarding universality and linearity of process. Her critique of the universality of the models echoes my own concern with the lack of concern for the context in which the identity formation process takes place.

Eriksonian-based models of ethnic identity development assume that the developmental process is universal (i.e., that the content of identity development is immaterial for understanding the psychological process of coming to feel that one is a member of a social group). Similarly, social psychological theories of group affiliation assume that the process itself is always the same, regardless of the specific self-to-other comparisons one makes (Miller, 1992, p. 31).

The second caution regards the assumed linearity and end state of the development process. Miller concedes linearity "only to the extent that multiculturalism itself is an end state" (Miller, 1992, p. 33). She makes the point, similar to Chun's observations about the historicity of ethnic identity, that "Within the life space of any one individual, the relationships between his or her social groups and other groups might change: The yardstick by which a person determines his or her social fit may change over time. Social identity will change concomitantly" (Miller, 1992, p. 33). Both of these cautions reflect a more fluid quality of identity than these models are prepared to admit. This fluidity has been addressed in more recent work by Root (1990), A. Wilson (1984), Kondo (1990) and Weedon (1987).
Peter Adler's idea of a "Multicultural Man" emerged from observations of how "technology and organization have made possible simultaneous interpersonal and intercultural communication" (Adler, 1977, p. 24). One result, according to Adler, is the development of a "psychocultural style of self process that transcends the structured image a given culture may impress upon the individual in his or her youth...the navigating image at the core...premised on an assumption of many cultural realities" (Adler, 1977, p. 31). This identity is characterized by psychocultural adaptivity. His identity is "premised, not on the hierarchical structuring of a single mental image but rather on the intentional and accidental shifts that life's experiences involve" (Adler, 1977, p. 30). His is a relativistic perspective. "He is always in a state of "becoming" or "unbecoming" something different than before while yet mindful of the grounding he has in his own cultural reality" (Adler, 1977, p. 30). "The parameters of his identity are neither fixed nor predictable, being responsive, instead to both temporary form and openness to change...is capable of major shifts in his frame of reference...his psychocultural style...must always be relational and in movement" (Adler, 1977, p. 30). Adler did not discount stresses and tensions in such an identity.

Adler's description of multi-cultural man captures the relativistic nature of many of the participants' process of defining themselves. It also suggests a more fluid sense of identity, open to change according to "shifts in frames of reference", boundaries are not fixed. This is very similar to what Victoria, Phillip, Michael, Anna, Rick, Kenta and Violet found themselves doing as they moved back and forth between the U. S. and Japan. Adler suggests that changes in behavior and attitudes are made as a result of conscious choice, there is an element of individual agency. However, he still sees each individual grounded in one cultural reality, not two as was the case especially for the international school attendees. Adler's ideas are echoed in Victoria's desire to label herself as "international" rather than double or haafu in the belief that she has much to learn from others. In many ways this was a naïve and idealistic vision that did not take into full account the element of power; social, cultural, and political elements, in the formation of individual identities.
**Bennett and Constructive Marginality (1986, 1993)**

Janet Bennet, working out of the field of intercultural communication, presents not so much a developmental model as a description of the process of creating a unique cultural identity that Muneo Yoshikawa calls a state of "dynamic in-betweeness" (Bennett, 1993, p. 10). Her work is primarily theoretical in nature, but reflects her extensive personal and professional practical experience working with individuals from a variety of professions who embody this process either through mixed parentage or long term experiences in cultures and society's other than their native one. This conceptualization suggests "continual and comfortable movement between cultural identities such that an integrated, multicultural existence is maintained, and where conscious, deliberate choice making and management of alternative frames prevail" (Bennett, 1993, p. 10). One of the most important contributions of this description is that it moves away from a bipolar conceptualization of identity for individuals with more than one cultural heritage, by virtue of birth or life experience. Bennett calls this being a constructive marginal. This state is usually reached as a result of an *internal* culture shock, to which the individual responds by exercising conscious reflection, self-differentiation and personal responsibility for choosing and constructing value sets. The result is a feeling of authenticity and recognition that "one is never not at home in this world" (Bennett, 1993, p. 10).

An important requisite of this state is a relativistic world view and a perception that "knowledge is constructed from context, not from "truth" as given by authorities. This stage depends on the person's ability to tolerate ambiguity, respect other perspectives, and define his or her own frame of reference. Ultimately it requires the person to make a commitment to a value system honed from many contexts and an identity actively affirmed and based solidly on self as choice maker" (Bennett, 1993, p. 10-11). While this description acknowledges the role of context and community in the process, it places the emphasis on the individual's self-reflectiveness.

The catalytic incident of "internal culture shock" might be comparable to Kich's Stage 2, *Struggle for Acceptance* or Poston's third stage *Enmeshment/Denial.*
What Bennett emphasizes is the change in world view, the development of empathy and the consciousness of making choices about what is and is not included in one's identity.

The move away from a bipolar conceptualization and forced choice of one cultural identity or another, the relativistic world view, choice and commitment are all reflected in some degree in the participants narratives, particularly among the international school participants. This model does not give full consideration to the role of language or the community and the idea of a dialogue. It also makes no allowance for how the individual is perceived by others so that physical characteristics and/or language are not numbered among the factors. Instead, it places the locus of development within the individual instead of between the individual and the societies.

**Phinney (1989, 1993)**

Jean Phinney, using both Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966) as references, proposed a three stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence. This model takes into consideration the role of culture, in particular the culture of the ethnic group of which the child is a part and the majority culture, although it doesn't include the role of language in that process. It also does not acknowledge the roles of status and power of the child's cultural or linguistic heritages within the society to any significant degree. It has been quite influential among other researchers trying to understand ethnic identity development. The three stages are reflected in most of the stages of the other models. There is a time of unawareness, a search and then some kind of decision, ideally towards an inclusive definition of self.

Phinney's three stages are: Stage 1: Unexamined Ethnic Identity. Stage 2: Ethnic Identity Search (Moratorium) and Stage 3: Achieved Ethnic Identity. The influence of Erikson's work is profound in that these three stages reflect the exploration of abilities, options, and possible roles along with eventual commitment to a single set. This model does take into consideration the wider range of possibilities for a child who is a member of an ethnic group (or two groups) e.g. simultaneous membership in both groups, but claims as the final, desirable stage a "clear confident sense of own ethnicity" (Phinney, 1993, p. 67).
It is still a bounded, single identity. Phinney’s model shares with Bennett’s constructive marginal the important aspect of conscious examination, choice and commitment in identity formation.

**Banks (1981)**

James Banks, primarily concerned with the education of minority groups, developed a typology of the stages of ethnicity. His perception of reality, differing from Adler’s and Bennett’s, was heavily influenced by his perception and experience of the role of power in society. One of the purposes of this typology was "to suggest preliminary guidelines for teaching about ethnicity in the schools and colleges" (Banks, 1981, p. 194) that would raise the level of awareness. His typology is deeply contextualized in the sociohistorical movements in the U.S. that saw the emergence of proud claims to hitherto suppressed ethnic, particularly Black, group and personal identities. Nonetheless, it is conceptually important in that he is at pains to explain that his typology "be viewed as dynamic and multidimensional rather than as static and linear...division between stages is blurred rather than sharp...it is a gradual and developmental process...that individuals may experience the stages upward, downward, or in a zigzag pattern" (Banks, 1981, p. 197). The model also emphasizes both knowledge and affective elements.

The six stages are:

- **Stage 1: Ethnic Psychological Captivity**—"the individual absorbs the negative ideologies and beliefs about his or her ethnic group that are institutionalized within the society".

- **Stage 2: Ethnic Encapsulation**—"characterized by ethnic encapsulation and ethnic exclusiveness, including voluntary separatism". Individuals at this stage are likely to exhibit a belief in the superiority of his or her group and expect other members to exhibit similar levels of commitment to the group.

- **Stage 3: Ethnic Identity Clarification**—through clarification of personal attitudes and ethnic identity the individual achieves a degree of self
acceptance that allows the individual to be "able to accept and understand both the positive and negative attributes of his or her ethnic group".

-Stage 4: Biethnicity—"the individual...has a healthy sense of ethnic identity and the psychological characteristics and skills needed to participate successfully in his or her own ethnic culture as well as in another ethnic culture. The individual also has a strong desire to function effectively in two ethnic cultures".

-Stage 5: Multiethnicity and Reflective Nationalism—"Individuals within this stage have a commitment to their ethnic group, an empathy and concern for other ethnic groups, and a strong but reflective commitment and allegiance to the nation state and its idealized values".

-Stage 6: Globalism and Global Competency—"The individual...has clarified, reflective, and positive ethnic, national, and global identifications and the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and abilities needed to function within ethnic cultures within his or her own nation as well as within cultures outside his or her nation" (Banks, 1981, p. 194-7).

Banks's model does include the sociocultural and political context. However, because it is a particular sociocultural and political context with a number of assumptions about power and status, it is not readily transferable to other times and places. Again, language is not given any consideration. The assumption of belonging to one group or another does not allow a consideration of a more fluid dialogue that includes both social and cultural groups from the beginning of a child's life.

**Poston (1990)**

According to Ponterotto et. al. (1995) Poston suggested his model of biracial identity development because of the poor fit he had observed between monoracial identity development models and biracial individuals. Poston was responding to the dichotomous nature of the monoracial development models, specifically the ideas that individuals will reject both minority and majority cultures at different stages and the absence of the possibility of including more than one racial and/or ethnic identity within one's sense of self (Kerwin &
Ponterotto, 1995, p. 205). Although he allows the possibility of a multiracial identity, he still assumes that "all biracial individuals will undergo confusion and resultant periods of maladjustment". This appears to be at least partially based on Hall's 1980 research with Black-Japanese individuals. I believe that this also is very reflective of the sociopolitical context of the U. S.. There appears to be little possibility held out in the politically charged majority/minority relationships for an individual to claim not only membership in two groups but to claim a personal identity that is at peace with a combination of racial and/or ethnic behaviors and values. This is not the same context in which the participants in this study were growing up. It is not realistic to expect that they would therefore respond in the same way. While Poston does acknowledge that the case of interracial individuals is different than others, he still cannot extricate himself from the basic assumptions that the majority/minority political and social structure imposes. This model also does not recognize the role of language.

Poston suggested a five-stage model "during which the individual develops reference group orientation (RGO) attitudes" (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995, p. 205). RGO is a concept picked up from research done by Cross (1987) in his work on Black identity development. RGO includes racial identity, group identity, race awareness, racial ideology, race evaluation, race esteems, race image, racial self-identification (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987, p. 120-3).

Poston's five stages are:

1) Personal Identity—"when a young person's sense of self is independent of group identity or RGO attitudes because these have not yet developed";

2) Choice of Group Categorization—"when the young individual perceives him- or herself as compelled to choose an identity, usually just one ethnic/racial group";

3) Enmeshment/Denial—"an individual has become enmeshed with one group and experiences guilt and self-hatred as well as rejection from one or more groups due to the choice made";

4) Appreciation—"an emerging receptivity to one's multiple heritages and a resultant broadening of one's reference group orientation;
5) Integration—when individuals “perceive value in having a multiple identity. They continue to acquire knowledge regarding their multiple racial/ethnic identities and experience a sense of wholeness and integration” (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995, p. 205-6).

**Jacobs (1977, 1992)**

Jacobs (1977, 1992) looked at biracial identity formation from the perspective of color awareness. He worked with children from age 3-8 and then later extending his interviews to include 8-12 year olds as well. He based his stages on the results of interviews and results of doll play methodology. Children are shown a group of dolls representing a range of skin colors and asked various questions that are attempts to ascertain the children’s awareness of and attitudes towards skin color. He identified three stages of identity development. Stage 1, Pre-color constancy: Play and Experimentation with Color. Children at this stage accurately identify their own color but are flexible, playful in their choice of color for other family members. The choice of color is generally non-evaluative, although if a child has had negative experiences associated with skin color, there may be negative evaluations made. Stage 2, Post-Color Constancy: Biracial Label and Racial Ambivalence. As a child gains knowledge of color meanings and the fact that his or her color is not going to change, the child will become ambivalent about his or her racial status. According to Jacobs, this ambivalence is necessary so that "his or her development of racial awareness moves forward to the level where discordant elements can be reconciled in an unified identity" (Jacobs, 1992, p. 201). It is also at this stage that the child finds a label and begins to use that to think about his or her own identity. Stage 3, Biracial Identity There has been a general decrease in racial ambivalency across Stage 2 so that during Stage 3 "the child discovers that racial group membership is correlated with but not determined by skin color…but rather by parentage" (Jacobs, 1992, p. 203). The decrease in ambivalence may continue to the point where "discordant elements of racial identity are fully reconciled in a unified ego-identity" (Jacobs, 1992, 203).
I see the significance of Jacobs' research in the role it assigns to the awareness of the importance of physical attributes, particularly skin color, in an individual's construction of an identity. Physical appearance certainly appeared to be a crucial aspect of my participants' experiences, especially in the context of assumed homogeneity of appearance. However, by concentrating solely on color awareness, the model does not allow a full consideration of other contributing experiences and dialogues, that may or may not be related to both the individual's perception of his or her physical appearance.

**Kich (1992)**

Kich based what he terms a heuristic developmental model on an initial qualitative study done in 1982 and subsequent years of involvement as a clinical psychologist with multiracial community groups and his clinical experience, in the U.S. He identifies three stages of development. He sees it as a lifetime process, "something constructed out of the relationship between personal experience and social meanings of ethnicity, race, and group membership" (Kich, 1992, p. 316).

Stage 1: Awareness of differentness and dissonance—"Differentness can be seen as neutral, based on an objective comparison process (Pinderhughes, 1989). Dissonance...implies a negative judgment about the differences, where the comparison process results in an experience of devaluation and discrepancy" (Kich, 1992, p. 306).

Stage 2: Struggle for Acceptance—"The struggle for acceptance often occurs in the context of school or community settings" (Kich, 1992, p.309). He characterizes this stage with fluctuations in self-perception, experimentation, exploration, limit testing and a variety of reference groups. He also finds in the strategy of "passing" that many individuals adopt, "...their ability to take on or accept roles becomes a powerful means of empathically understanding others, of exposing for themselves the mechanisms of acceptance and rejection interactions, and of clarifying some of the complexities of race and ethnicity" (Kich, 1992, p. 312).
Stage 3: Self-Acceptance and Assertion of an Interracial Identity—It is at this point that the individual is able "to create congruent self-definitions rather than be determined by others' definitions and stereotypes" (Kich, 1992, p. 314). That allows individuals to exercise the empathic powers and their responses "to others' mislabels or prejudicial statements becomes a differentiated and multiple answer, often with more consideration for the other person's dilemma" (emphasis added) (Kich, 1992, p. 315). They have a sense of knowing "when to fit in and when to expose or confront distortions about differences...often can recognize the parameters of group roles, rules, and characteristics" (Kich, 1992, p. 315-6). People at this stage also actively seek out a community of others who are biracial, bicultural or of other ethnic or racial groups, in Kich's words "They want contact that is not inhibited and that does not require a "full explanation" of their heritages" (Kich, 1992, p. 316).

This comes much closer to describing the range of experiences participants described, however, it does not take into consideration the sociopolitical context or the linguistic aspect of identity that individuals in this study felt they were dealing with, nor does it consider the role of language and the access that language proficiency allows to the communities individuals may wish to participate in.

La Fromboise, Coleman, Gerton (1993)

They describe a model of bicultural competence based in a context of second culture acquisition rather than within the context of growing up as an interracial or intercultural individual. However, an important aspect of La Fromboise, et al.'s (1993) work is their recognition and explication "that an individual is able to gain competence within two cultures without losing his or her cultural identity or having to chose one culture over the other" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 395). This premise is based on two assumptions, the first is the development of a strong "sense of self-sufficiency and ego strength" that is distinct from the person's environment. (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 402). This seems to recognize the distinction that Cross pointed out between an individual's personal identity and reference group orientation. The second is that this sense of
self will "interact with the individual's cultural context in a reciprocally deterministic manner to develop an ethnic identity (Mego, 1988)" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 402). This recognizes the dialogic nature of the process and most importantly the idea that this is not a neat, linear process. Rather, the individual affects the context just as the context affects the individual as they participate in this identity dialogue.

LaFromboise, et. al. use the term cultural identity to refer to "the evolution of self in relation to a culture of origin and who one is within and without that cultural context" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, 402). Interracial or intercultural individuals differ in that they have two "cultures of origin". This is not to ignore the possibilities, the diversity in the contexts of interracial/intercultural individual's journey from childhood to adulthood. It would be useful to consider a continuum of cultural context provided by the family during childhood and adolescence. This could begin with a monocultural environment characterized by the physical context including food, behaviors, customs, education and language moving through degrees to a fully bicultural environment characterized by equal representation and practice of both parental cultures in those same elements. It might also be possible, highly likely even, that there would be different periods when one culture would have a stronger presence than the other but overall, achieve a balance. Any interracial/intercultural individual's family life could take place anywhere along the continuum, thereby affecting the individual's identity development. A child raised primarily in a monocultural context, in spite of having parents of two heritages would probably be much closer to LaFromboise, et. al.'s description than another child raised in a very bicultural and bilingual context.

They suggest that an individual must have competence in six dimensions in order to develop bicultural competence and the ability to alternate between cultures. Those dimensions are:

- knowledge of cultural beliefs and values
- positive attitudes toward both majority and minority groups (or both of their cultural heritages)
biculural efficacv, "the belief, or confidence, that one cn live effectively, and in a satisfying manner, within two groups without compromising one's sense of cultural identity" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 404)

- communicative ability
- role repertoire- the range of culturally or situationally appropriate behaviors or roles (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 406)
- a sense of being grounded-stable social networks established in both cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 407)

This model fits nicely with the idea of a "cultural democracy" in the classroom that Ramirez and Castañeda describe, (Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974), especially the idea that a bicultural individual can and should expect to be able to contribute to both of his or her cultures.

Reflections

Reflecting on each participant's experiences and the meanings each has assigned to those experiences reinforces my initial response that the models of development are a poor fit. First of all everyone, some more extensively than others, conflated race, nationality or citizenship, and ethnicity. I can speculate that the participants' visual distinctiveness in Japan coupled with the Japanese discourse that also conflates those concepts have worked together to cause a lack of distinction of the concepts in their minds. Therefore, separate consideration of racial and ethnic self has not figured in their identity dialogues whereas, the models of development separate the concepts and assign values to power and status to race, ethnicity, and nationality.

Banks has assumed that there are "negative ideologies and beliefs about his or her ethnic group that are institutionalized within the society" (Banks, 1981, p. 194). The experiences of the participants in this study reflect a far more complex set of ideologies and beliefs about interracial individuals. They are both objects of desire and envy but at the same time held apart from the rest of the society. There was no monolithic ideological response experienced by the participants, although they certainly ran into stereotypical images time and again.
Poston's separation of individual and reference group orientation, while opening the door to a more fluid sense of self, reflective of many cultural/ethnic realities, still assumes the embrace of one social identity, rejection of another and guilt feelings about having done that. Phinney, Poston and Banks all use a model that moves through stages of awareness, rejection and into acceptance. They emphasize slightly different aspects but they all assume a certain sociocultural and political context which currently or historically has oppressed and denigrated minority groups, thus setting up a polarity of majority/minority. There is little room under these assumptions for responses other than embrasure/rejection and subsequent feeling of guilt that need to be dealt with.

They do not give language a role in the process nor do they consider citizenship and all that choosing a nationality might entail. Choosing a nationality remains an issue, because Japan does not recognize dual citizenship and has recently begun to contact families to inform them that they must make such a decision (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000a). The process is assumed to take place in a majority/minority context where everyone speaks the same language and holds the same passport. Even though Heller and others have acknowledged the role language can play in determining identity, it is ignored or given only a minor role in these constructions. It seems naïve to think than an interracial individual in a very different sociocultural and political context would go through the same experiences and respond in the same way as all of these writers have suggested.

On the basis of what participants chose to share with me they did not reflect this kind of pressure to accept one identity and reject the other. Their circumstances were not represented as an either/or proposition. Many of the participants acknowledged preferences for some aspects of both parts of their experiences but they did not feel constrained that they had to be one thing or another. Even though Japanese school attendees identified themselves first as Japanese they did not reject, suppress or deny their dual heritage. Therefore, to look at their experiences, to consider their words through the interpretive framework of awareness, rejection and acceptance would prevent me from being able to appreciate and understand the complexity of their relationships with all of their defined selves.
Jacob's stages are based exclusively on recognition of skin color and physical characteristics. This is relevant to all but one of the participants, as physical distinctiveness did play a large part in how they perceived themselves and how they were perceived by others. They were all aware of their "mixed race" appearance, although they did not use the word race, but instead the label Japanese-American or just "different". Only Phillip used the word Caucasian when he described himself. This reflects again the way the terms of race, ethnicity, and nationality are used interchangeably. While many of the individuals did go through stages of recognition, rejection and acceptance of their physical appearance, this was not the only nor the dominant element in their identity dialogues, as Jacobs seems to assume. The participants talked about language and behaviors as equally salient characteristics equally significant in their experience as the color of their skin.

LaFronboise has constructed a model based on bicultural competence that includes dimensions that reflects many of the issues participants identified in their experiences–knowledge, attitudes of others, communicative ability, role repertoire, having a community. The belief in bicultural efficacy seems to be less prominent primarily because the international school attendees did not see cultural identity as exclusive in nature. This may reflect their experiences both within families that were inclusive of two cultures on a daily basis as well as school experiences that were inclusive of diverse values and experiences. In particular, knowledge, communicative ability and role repertoire were dimensions that participants named as important elements in their identity dialogues in both Japanese and U.S. cultural contexts.

All of the models include individual consciousness of their situation, individual reflection, and choice and commitment, none of them considers the individual, his or her dialogue within many spheres of daily life with other individuals, social groups, and social and political institutions. The role of language is not given more than a minor role in the dialogue. My participants have shown me how these models don't work, don't fit. They have shared with me what their experiences have been thus far. From that I have been able to identify some influential factors–Language, Community, Conceptualization of Identity, Stereotypes. However, what is more important and intriguing are the
questions around these. Is the community grounded in diversity or
commonality, what access to language is there, what is acceptable competence,
what are the family attitudes toward the Japanese society, assimilation,
acculturation, international or transnational, what is the political context?

All of these are powerful influences in the identity dialogues, yet none of
the models cited fully acknowledge that this is a dialogue, that this construction
of identity is not exclusively an individual enterprise. Perhaps, most
fundamentally, these models locate the locus of defining one's identity within
each individual, even while nodding, as Poston and Cross have done, to a social
identity with the concept of reference group orientation. However, the
experience of the participants in this study locates the locus of defining identity
almost equally within the individual and within the milieu of social relations,
experiences and obligations where there are no distinct boundaries between an
individual self and others (Kondo, 1990, p.22). This characterization could be
labeled feminist and interpreted from that perspective. However, that would
locate the experience within a particular set of cultural and political assumptions
that are not representative of the sociocultural and political context in which they
took place. To illustrate my point, Kondo cites Takie Lebra's conclusions after
trying to use narratives from American and Japanese women. Lebra's purpose
was to "capture American social structure out of the individuals' biographies" (as
quoted in Kondo, 1990, p. 33). However, she was not able to because "...although
Western feminists have undertaken the important work of deconstructing "the
whole subject" by pointing to differences within "Western culture," the
relationally defined self of American women still remains solidly within a
linguistic and historical legacy of individualism" (Kondo, 1990, p. 33). The way in
which interracial individuals in Japan have gone about defining themselves may
appear to have a feminist nature, but that does not reflect the context in which
that identity was constructed and therefore can lead someone to make
assumptions about the role of power and status that are unwarranted.
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research project was to hear the experiences, thoughts and opinions of interracial individuals who grew up and were educated within Japan. Having obtained a set of those stories from individuals who were educated in international schools as well as from individuals educated in Japanese schools it first appeared that they had little in common and that a comparison of their experiences was not appropriate. However, looking a little closer illuminated something, in my mind, more profound. These individuals, regardless of where they grew up or received their educations are constantly being interpreted through standards set from a body of research that was conducted primarily in either the United States or Canada on individuals from publicly labeled minority groups. But those standards did not reflect the reality of the experiences of the participants in this study, as they perceived and related it to me. If one accepts a conceptualization of identity constructed in dialogue with one's self, one's family, community and social institutions, as I do, then it is inappropriate to analyze these individuals' experiences through the filter of the contextually specific conclusions of the current research.

Related to that conclusion is the finding that much of the tension in the experience of the participants results from stereotypical responses to their physical appearance, linguistic abilities, names, their stereotypically defined identity, particular to the context in which they were living.

A major factor that affected the role of stereotypes as well as the tenor of the identity dialogue was the social and political grounding of the dialogue in commonalities or differences. The Japanese school attendees seemed to conduct their dialogue in a context of commonality whereas the international school attendees conducted their dialogues in a context of differences.

Generally those individuals who had attended international schools seemed to experience more tension and conflict asserting their identities. However, it was not a simple dichotomy between being Japanese or not Japanese. Rather, it appears to be a clash of assembly and boundaries, where "Japaneseness", the other culture and language fit in a hierarchy and the relative permeability or rigidity of the boundaries.
Most importantly, I found that there is much more to learn about elements of the identity dialogue and their relationship with one another. Future research questions must include an exploration of the role of language, language access and proficiency; the role of the schooling, curricula, and school dialogues, the roles of the families and where they position themselves in relation to Japanese society.

It would be important to examine the changes in individual's perceptions of themselves, their opportunities, their decisions and their concerns as they move from childhood to young adulthood and out into society.

There is another task to be done, one which the participants in this study feel is important. Given the high profile of stereotypes in their experiences, it is easy to understand their concern. They would like to see that their experiences, opinions and ideas are shared with others, not just within the academic community but with the public at large. They see this as one step in the construction of a more inclusive society, as one contribution to making life more fulfilling for their own children.
Appendix I

International School Participant Letter #1

April 1, 2000

Dear [Name]:

I have lived and worked in Japan for twenty-eight years. I am the mother of three "doubles", children with one Japanese and one foreign parent. I also spent many years teaching such children in the international schools in Tokyo. However, I have recently changed careers, from teacher to student and am currently a graduate student at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto preparing to start my thesis work on the topic of the process of composing a bilingual, bicultural identity growing up in Japan. It is a process I have observed and participated in, at least peripherally as parent and teacher, but it is really only you who can provide insight into the process of defining yourself.

I would like to invite you to tell me your story, to talk with me or to write about the process you have experienced and perhaps are still experiencing as you decide on who you are, how you wish to define yourself as a "double". I would like to do this through a narrative response journal and/or interviews. A narrative-response journal involves writing your story, your reflections about topics around your identity. I will read these and respond with comments from my own experience, questions to help me understand your thinking better or questions about certain issues you may have raised. It is much like an extended conversation.

If you choose to participate, I would like you to chose the medium with which you are most comfortable. Should you choose the journal, I will ask you to keep a journal in which you explore different aspects of your experience to which I will respond. You are free to decline to write about topics with which you may be uncomfortable. We would do this through the mail. I anticipate about 3-5 entries over no more than a two month period. Until the project is complete, I will keep your journal in a locked filing cabinet to which only my supervisor and myself will have access. When the project is completed, I will return the journal to you. The time you will spend writing will be spread over a two
month period, however, I will keep the journal until my thesis is published which may take up to two years.

If you choose the interview, we will explore the same topics as we talk during two one-hour interviews. Each interview will be tape-recorded, however, you are free to request that I turn off the tape recorder at any point. This is your story.

I will be using the information you share with me to analyze and search for patterns or trends in the process of identity development in dual heritage individuals for my master's thesis and possibly a journal article. I will use pseudonyms for you. I will show you the transcripts of your interview so that you may check the accuracy and remove any part of it that you might not want used in the final write up of the study. I will also ask your permission to use any direct quotes from your journal. If you wish to withdraw from this project at any time, you are free to do so and the data I have obtained from you will be destroyed or your journal returned to you, as you request. I will send you a copy of the final summary, if you wish.

I will choose three to five people from those who are willing to participate. If you wish to participate in this project, please sign the consent from on the back of this letter and return it to me in the enclosed envelope. I will let you know as soon as possible if you are one of the three to five participants and arrange the details of the journal and/or interviews. If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 416-926-2518 or email me at pkinnear@oise.utoronto.ca.

Sincerely yours,

Penny Kinnear
I have read the letter by Penny Kinnear concerning her research on the identity formation among dual heritage, bilingual international school graduates and I agree to participate in the study under the conditions she outlined in the letter.

Signature of participant

Signature of the researcher

I would like to receive a copy of a summary of the findings of the project after the research has been completed.

Yes _______ No _______
Appendix 2

International School Participant Letter #2

March 30, 2000

Dear [Name];

Over the past twenty years I have observed, nudged, cajoled, taught, listened and watched in awe as you and others like you have worked at putting together who you want to be in the world, who you want the world to see you as. It is a process that has fascinated me and provoked myriad questions. I have always felt strongly that you are “sum” people, not half of anything. Today, there are more and more children who are facing a similar process of composing their identities. Many of them must put themselves together in communities that are not always understanding or supportive of their efforts. Understanding something about the process, the roles that schools, teachers, parents, and friends may play in that process could help all of the participants make the process a little less daunting for the individuals. It could also help to create more empathy for the individuals and their families as well as building more appreciation for the contribution they can make to communities and to the societies in which they choose to live.

I can speculate about the process that you are going through, but it is really only each of you who can provide real insight into how you go about putting yourself together. As a graduate student at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, I now have the time and the opportunity to explore the experiences I have observed and participated in, at least peripherally, over the past years. If you choose to participate in my research project your experiences and your reflections on those experiences can contribute to what is at this point a very poorly understood and unexplored phenomenon.
I would like to invite you to tell me your story, to talk with me or to write about the process you have experienced and perhaps are still experiencing as you decide on who you are, how you wish to define yourself. I would like to do this through a narrative response journal and/or face-to-face interviews. I would like you to choose the medium with which you feel most comfortable. You may choose a journal or an interview conducted face-to-face or by telephone. If you choose the journal I will ask you to keep a journal in which you explore different aspects of your experience to which I will respond on a regular basis. There may also be a possible follow-up face-to-face or telephone interview. If you choose the interview we will explore the same topics as the journal as we talk. Each interview will be tape-recorded, however, you are free to request that I turn off the tape recorder at any point. You are also free to decline to write or talk about topics with which you are uncomfortable. As both a parent and a teacher of “doubles” I am aware that there are areas that may be sensitive or prompt discomfort. You are under no pressure to explore those areas. This is your story.

I will be using the information you share with me to analyze and search for patterns or trends in the process of identity development in dual heritage individuals for my master’s thesis and possibly a journal article. I will use pseudonyms for you. I will show you the transcripts of your interview so that you can check the accuracy and remove any part of it that you might not want used in the final write up of the study. I will also ask your permission to use any quotes from your journal. If you wish to withdraw from this project at any time, you are free to do so and the data I have obtained from you will be destroyed if you so request. I will send you a copy of the final summary, if you wish.

I will choose three to five people from those who are willing to participate. If you wish to participate in this project, please sign the consent form on the back of this letter. I will let you know as soon as possible if you are one of the three to five participants and to arrange the details of the journal and possible interview. If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 416-926-2518 or email me at pkinnear@oise.utoronto.ca. I look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Penny Kinnear
I have read the letter by Penny Kinnear concerning her research on the identity formation among dual heritage, bilingual international school graduates and I agree to participate in the study under the conditions she outlined in the letter.

Signature of participant

Signature of the researcher

I would like to receive a copy of a summary of the findings of the project after the research has been completed.

Yes _____ No _____
Appendix 3

Japanese School Participant Letter

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これは私が少なくとも周辺の立場の親、そして教師として実際に参加して気づいた過程でありますが、事実、あなただけが自分を定義する過程に見識を与えることができるのです。

そこで、ぜひ、あなたの話を聞かせていただきたいと思っております。あなたが誰なのか、どのようにあなた自身を“ダブル”として定義したいと思ってるかを決める上であなたが体験した、または現在も体験している過程を私に話していただくか書面にあらわしていただきたいのです。これを物語風の応答日記にしていただくか（または、それに加えて）インタビューに答えていただきたいと思っております。物語風の応答日記は、あなたの話を通じてあなたのアイデンティティを取り巻く問題についてあなたの回顧を書いていただきます。私がまずそれ程を読みます。そして、私自身の体験からくる私のコメントと、あなたの考えをより理解する手助けになる質問、またはあなたがとりあげた論点に関する質問で応答します。

あなたがこれに参加していただけるのであれば、あなたにあなたが最も心地よいと思われる方法を選んでいただきます。もし、日記を選ぶのであれば、私が応答するあなたの体験の異なった面を探す日記をつけていただくようお願いします。あなたが不快と思われる体験について避けさせていただいてはいかがでしょうか。これはメールを通じて行われると思います。せいぜい二ヶ月の間で3回から5回のやり取りが予想されます。この企画が完成するまで、私はあなたの日記を、私の監督教授と私だけがアクセスできる個人的な資料キャビネットに保管します。企画が完成した時点で、あなたに日記を返却いたします。あなたが書面作成に費やす時間は二ヶ月の間にわたって配分されますが、私の論文が出版されるまで（二年までかかると思われます。）その日記を保持いたします。

もしあなたがインタビューを選択するのであれば、二回にわたる一時間のインタビューで同じ問題に取りかかります。両方のインタビューはテープに録音されます。あなたはいつでもテープレコーダーを止めるよう要請して一向に構いません。これはあなたが語る話です。

私の修士論文と、恐らくジャーナル記事のためにも、二つのヘリテージ（遺産）を持つ個人におけるアイデンティティ展開の過程の型や傾向を分析、探索するためにあなたが私と共有してくださる情報を使用します。あなたには仮名をつかいます。あなたがあなたのインタビューの写しを見せることで、あなたに正確さをチェックしていただき、またあなたが最終的なこの研究の書面に利用されたくないと思う部分を除去していただきます。また、あなたの日記からの直接の引用文利用についてはあなたに許可をいただきます。あなたがこの企画からいつでも撤退されたいと思われるときには、あなたは自由にそうすることができますし、あなたの希望に応じて、私があなたから集めた情報は消去されるかあなたの日記をあなたにお返しします。あなたが希望するのであれば、最終の要点の写しをあなたにお送りします。

私は参加してくださる人を3人から5人選択いたします。あなたがこの企画
に協力していただけるのであれば、この手紙の裏にある同意書に署名して、同封した封筒に入れて私に返送していただくようお願いします。できるだけ早くあなたが3人から5人の選ばれた一人になるかどうかお知らせし、日記やインタビューの詳細について打ち合わせます。質問がございましたら、何なりとお申し付けください。電話番号は416-926-2518です。E-mailはです。

敬具
Penny Kinnear

Penny Kinnearさんの二遺産、二か国語のインターナショナルスクール卒業生のアイデンティティ形成についての研究に関する手紙を読みました。そして彼女がその手紙の中で概略を述べたような条件のもとでその研究に協力することを同意いたしました。

参加者（あなたの）署名

日付

研究者署名

日付

この研究完成後にこの企画の調査結果の要点写しを戴きたいと思います。

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Appendix 4

Interview Probes

Possible Interview Probes and questions for possible use in narrative response journals and unstructured telephone or face-to-face interviews:

What are your parents nationalities or cultural backgrounds?

What language(s) did you speak with your parents?

How often did you have any contact with grandparents or other relatives in your mother/father’s home country?

Did you ever have instruction in your mother’s/father’s language outside of school? In school? If so, what kind? How often? How long did you continue?

Describe a time when you have felt fortunate to have been a double? Has there ever been a time when you have felt being a double has not been a good thing? Describe this time?

What metaphor(s) might you use to describe yourself?

Who do you think of yourself as? How did you get to be this “you”?

Describe an event or a time when you experienced a strong sense of “who you are”. What triggered the feeling? What role might have your language abilities or the place or the people you were with play?

Describe an event or a time when you may have experienced a strong feeling of NOT knowing “who you are”. What triggered the feeling? What
role might have your language abilities or the place or the people you were with played?

Describe times when you feel very comfortable with yourself, uncomfortable.

What in the situation might make you feel comfortable or uncomfortable? What kind of people do you feel “at home with” now? Has this always been the case? If it has changed, how and when did it change?

What makes a place “home” for you?

How have your ideas about who you are changed or not changed? When? Why? What may have triggered the change?
REFERENCES


