帰国子女の文化的アイデンティティーとコミュニケーション：ケースストーリの調査

ラブリーエスター

要約

　本稿では、日本の帰国子女をフォーカスし、コミュニケーションと文化的なアイデンティティーの順応性に与える影響について考察する。外から見られる日本はよく文化の一致、同質社会として見られている。しかし、現在の日本の社会に色々なマイノリティーは存在している。そのマイノリティーの中に「Invisible」つまり、見分かれないマイノリティーもいる。子供時代に海外で生活したことのある帰国子女がそのようなマイノリティーの一つである。1980時代から父親の転勤で日本を発ち、数年間欧米国に移動する家族は多くいた。帰国子女は海外で学校を通い、外国語も覚え、海外の習慣、価値観にも影響される。海外にいる間、家族の人以外に日本人と交流できる機会がほぼなかった帰国子女もいた。それなので、海外に滞在する理由がなくなり、日本に帰国すると帰国子女はよく日本の文化的環境に順応することに問題を直面する。先行研究では帰国子女はリバースカルチャーショック（逆カルチャーショック）で苦労している人やバイカルチュアルの人として調査が行われた。Kanno（2000、2003）の行ったカナダで滞在した帰国子女の研究は二文化を持ち、文化的なアイデンティティーが矛盾しているという結果が出た。帰国子女はどのような方法で逆カルチャーショックを乗り越え、そして海外の経験がどのような影響を残っ

たことについて調査が求められる。先行研究では長期的なアプローチを利用する調査が割と少ない。又、帰国子女のアイデンティティーの変更におけるメカニズム、例えばコミュニケーションの影響、について調査も求められる。ということで本稿ではそう言ったメカニズムを表す目的としてケースストーリの形で研究参加者の帰国子女の一人の海外と帰国後の経験について示す。帰国から数年後でも海外で受け入れた知識と価値観がより深い印象が残された。コミュニケーションとして人と人の間に限らず、色々なメディアも影響を与えた。

"Returnees' cultural identity and communication: A case story"

Esther Lovely

Background

This paper explores the impact of communication on the cultural identity change of a young Japanese returnee student. The concept of fluid cultural identity is increasingly significant in Japan, which has often been characterised as ethnically, culturally, and linguistically homogeneous. An essentialist view of Japanese identity, in which Japanese-ness is purported to be an inherent trait, immutable since birth, leaves no room for the gradually increasing cultural diversity in the country (Coates, 2016). This diversity includes not only immigrants, who are needed to supplement the gaps in the workforce left by Japan's aging population and low birth rate, but also an invisible minority of tens of thousands of Japanese returnees.

Returnees, in Japanese called kikokushijo (帰国子女), or kaigaishijo (海外子女), spend several years of childhood or adolescence outside Japan for a range of reasons, including a parent's job transfer. They attend school overseas for several years, then they may return when their parent is transferred back to Japan, or to enter university in Japan. Returnees have been the subject of debate in the Japanese media, by the Japa-

nese education system and the government. They have been characterised as disadvantaged social misfits who are no longer "junjapa" (純ジャパ), that is, "pure Japanese" because their time abroad means that they may have problems of adjustment to Japanese society when they return. For example, language can present a problem, as returnees, having little opportunity to use Japanese outside the family home while living abroad, may not have learned to use formal or honorific Japanese expressions. These language forms are essential in social contexts in Japan including school environments, when addressing teachers and older students.

Alternatively returnees are viewed as privileged cosmopolitan individuals who are valuable resources for Japanese society in a globalising world. This is particularly because of their perceived English proficiency. However, as Sueda (2014) points out, there are returnees who live in non-English speaking countries in Asia, and those who attend Japanese schools while overseas, which mean that they do not necessarily acquire any particular English language ability. White's landmark work on Japanese returnee families (1988), followed by other significant studies on Japanese returnees and their families (Yashiro, 1995; Sueda, 2002, 2014; Kanno, 2000, 2003) have shed light on the challenges and difficulties these individuals experience upon returning from abroad.

The case story presented in this paper examines some of these difficulties and challenges, but also takes a broader approach, analysing the participant's experiences through the lens of Kim's (2001) integrative theory of cross-cultural adaptation. Kim's theory, and the accompanying model (see Figure 1), conceptualise cultural adaptation as a process of
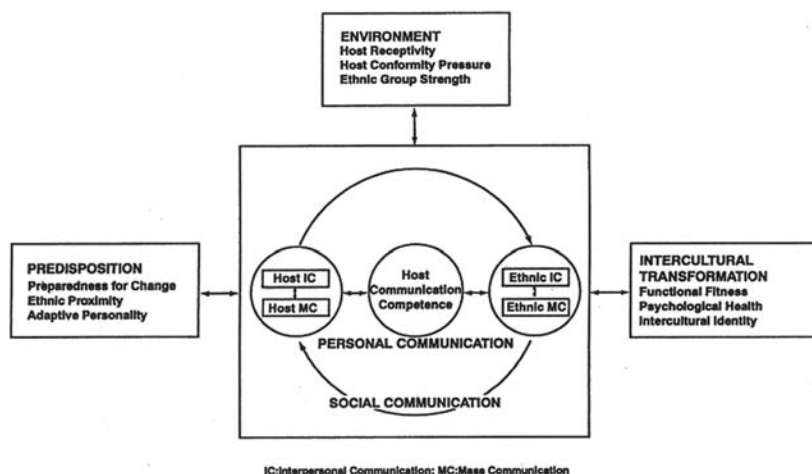
Figure 1: Young Yun Kim's structural model of cross-cultural adaptation (2001).

learning and growth with no fixed end point. At the heart of this process is communication in its many forms, which act as a driving force. This emphasis on the influential role of communication in identity change aligns with Hall's (1990) conception of identity as socially and politically constructed, that is, a constructivist view of identity. Seen from this perspective, the challenges and difficulties of re-adjusting to life in Japan are contextualised within the broader story of cultural identity change of the participant. In light of this, this investigation addresses the question of what forms of communication influenced the participant's cultural identity change, and how.

In order to capture as detailed as possible a picture of the participant's experiences, this research used a narrative inquiry approach to examine her communication patterns over time within the context of her life experiences. The case story shows how the returnee's cultural

identity, or identification as Hall puts it, influences and is influenced by certain forms of communication. The longitudinal nature of the investigation, combined with retrospective elements, allowed for richly detailed exploration of the returnee's experiences. The case story reveals the ways in which the overseas sojourn has long-lasting effects even several years after the participant's return to Japan.

Collecting the stories: a narrative inquiry

As mentioned in the previous section, this study took a narrative inquiry approach, commonly used in qualitative research to investigate a phenomenon by constructing chronological stories of participants' experiences (Menard-Warwick, 2007). The stories typically have a particular focus in order to answer the aims of the research, and are viewed as a collaborative effort between researcher and participant (Barkhuizen, 2011). The data analysis is embedded in the case story itself, with the researcher's interpretations incorporated into the participant's account. By reporting the findings of a longitudinal study in this form, the researcher is able to preserve the participant's story and allow readers to understand the context and sequence of events.

I met Nami[1], whose case story is presented here, at a public lecture given at her university in Tokyo in November 2017. I introduced myself and my research and asked if she was interested in participating in a series of interviews. She provided me with her contact details and I sent her an information sheet and consent form. After gaining her written

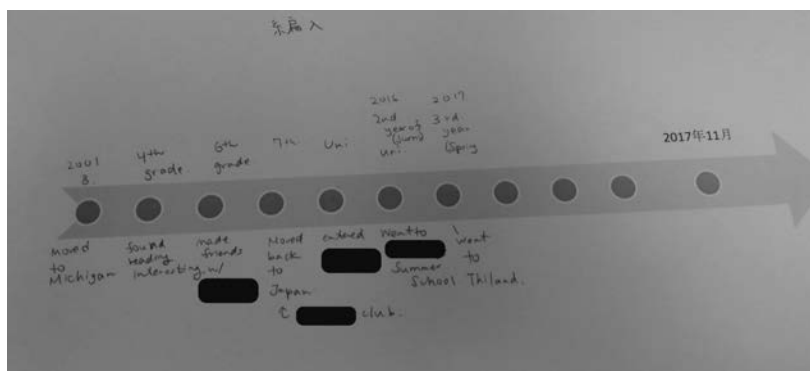[1] Names have been changed to protect privacy.

Figure 2: Participant's timeline diagram.

consent, we scheduled the first interview.

I interviewed six participants, including Nami, four times over a period of about eight months between December 2017 and July 2018. The interviews were held at approximately monthly intervals. In order to answer the aims of the research, they were semi-structured in nature, guided by a protocol containing mostly open-ended questions. This was so that participants had room to communicate freely during the interview.

A combination of retrospective and concurrent interviewing was used (Barkhuizen, Benson & Chik, 2014). The first interview focused on establishing rapport and investigating participants' past experiences overseas and past communication patterns and social media use. At the first interview, I also asked participants to complete a simple visual timeline on paper (Figure 2). This often served as a useful memory aid (Bagnoli, 2009), and helped participants to organise their past experiences. Subsequent interviews then aimed to elicit updates on the participants'

lives, focusing on changes in their communication patterns, and how these changes might have influenced their cultural self-identification.

I audio recorded each interview, then wrote summaries of each interview while re-listening to the audio. I later expanded on these summaries, transcribing certain passages verbatim that I felt were of particular interest. These summaries also served to guide my line of questioning in subsequent interviews and enabled me to remind participants of what they had previously said.

Constructing the case stories

In narrative analysis, data is analysed and findings are presented by means of storytelling (Barkhuizen, Benson and Chik, 2014). As Polkinghorne (1995) stated, the narrative constructed by the researcher gives meaning to the data. It "…displays the linkage among the data elements as parts of an unfolding temporal development…" (1995, 5). Clandinin and Connelly concur that narrative inquiry involves narrative as a method of data analysis (2000). In order to construct a narrative that answers the aims of the research, it is necessary to undertake a process of filtering and organizing the data into a cohesive and focused story. Raw interview transcripts can often be long and lacking in coherency. Participants describe events out of order, repeat themselves, and omit detail that the researcher may tease out in a separate interview. The process of condensing meaning (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) and selecting information relevant to the aims of the research are an important part of the analysis.

Throughout the data collection period I listened to the interview audio files and conducted close reading of the summaries. I arranged the information from the interviews into chronological order as much as possible, in order to create a sequential account of the participants' stories up until the final interview. I highlighted sections that mentioned communication, relationships, reflective and evaluative comments about culture and the participants' feelings about their interactions and changes in their life. In order to establish links between changes in the participant's circumstances and the way that those changes appeared to have affected their beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviour in different life domains（Navas et al., 2007）I used a modified table from Lewis' longitudinal study on evaluations of a National Job Retention and Rehabilitation program（2007）as an analysis guide. In Lewis' study, the researcher recommends analysing changes that occur in the participants' lives by considering the eight external and internal influential factors. These are: description of the change, location of the change, explanation of the change, evaluation of the change, consequence of the change, personal meanings, fit with current theory, and reflection.

I then selectively edited the case stories, deleting or condensing information that was less relevant to the focus of the research. I retained detailed accounts of events and communication that impacted participants' cultural identity change. As I edited, I added in analysis of the participants' experiences, and interpretation based on the information provided in their other interviews. This enabled explication of the ideas and assumptions underlying the participants' account of their experiences（Bell, 2002）. By doing this, case stories with a specific focus based on

the research aims were produced from the interview data. Barkhuizen (2011) calls this process "narrative knowledging". This is "the meaning making, learning, or knowledge construction that takes place during the narrative research activities of (co) constructing narratives, analyzing narratives, reporting the findings, and reading/watching/listening to research reports" (Barkhuizen, 2011, 395). According to this definition, knowledge is produced through the shaping of meaning at every stage of the research; by participant, researcher and research audience, with each party gaining understanding of the experience.

In the following section I present the edited case story of one participant from among the six people I interviewed during the research. Certain details such as names of individuals and places have been changed to protect privacy.

Nami's story

In 2001 Nami moved to the United States with her parents and two elder brothers when she was five years old. She completed schooling there from kindergarten to grade 7 of elementary school, but had to repeat the 7th grade when she returned to Japan with her mother.

Nami recalled that Michigan, where they first lived, was mostly populated by Caucasian Americans. Later, the family moved to Detroit, which had a more multicultural population, and by the time she was in 4th grade, she had some Japanese classmates[2].

During her time in the United States she had a close school friend named Melissa, whose friendship was to have a long-lasting impact on

Nami. To begin with, due to Melissa's influence, Nami became an avid reader, consuming fiction books in English. Additionally, contact with Melissa and her family gave Nami a firsthand experience of Christianity. Melissa's family were devout, and Nami occasionally visited their home and even attended church with them. Melissa also had an adopted sibling, and Nami described the family as "very loving".

By the 7th grade her school's student body had become increasingly diverse, with 20 to 30 Japanese students, and more African American, Indian, and Chinese students. However, Nami avoided contact with other Japanese students. Not only because they were older than her, but their insular attitude repelled her. She observed these students speaking badly of other students in Japanese so that they could not be understood and disapproved of this behaviour. This experience was one of the first instances when Nami did not identify with her Japanese peers and felt uncomfortable interacting with them. It shows that she had already developed a sense of belonging in, and preference to integrate with, the mainstream American culture around her.

When Nami was 13, she and her mother left the United States and returned to Japan. Upon her return, Nami enrolled in an all-girls' Protestant school. Having already being accustomed to an American school environment, Nami described her new school as "very Japanese" in terms of the atmosphere and regulations. To Nami "Japanese" indicated rigidity and restrictions. She also said that there was much pressure to achieve

---

2) Nami surmised that they were children of families connected with the Japanese car manufacturers in the area. By the early 2000s, Toyota was a significant presence in the American car manufacturing market. (September 14, 2002). Japanese car makers down the road: Twenty years later. *The Economist*. https://www.economist.com/

academically. She had difficulty understanding her classes conducted in Japanese, especially maths, and was far behind her classmates in her knowledge of Japanese history. Even in English class, where returnees are expected to excel, she had trouble studying English grammar in Japanese.

Academics were not the only area where Nami struggled. Like many returnees, it was difficult for her to fit in with her classmates, hampered by her imperfect use of Japanese. Her school peers soon pointed out her deficiencies in speaking Japanese, calling her speech "katakoto" (片言), that is, halting or broken, and commented that things she said were "weird". This caused problems in the school volleyball team she joined, which operated under a strict age-based hierarchy among team members. This necessitated the use of honorific language, which was a learning curve for Nami. She described her time in the volleyball team as a period of "learning to be Japanese". She gave the example of senior members of the volleyball team overruling the opinions of other students and expressed the opinion that such behaviour was very "Japanese-ish".

A welcome escape from these problems was the school's English language library, and Nami visited twice a week. She read avidly, to the point where she was awarded prizes for her extensive English reading. Rather than reading in Japanese, Nami preferred to read books in English and asserted that she liked the covers of English books better because they were more interesting than the Japanese book covers. Another factor was convenience – the Japanese language library on campus was not as close to her classroom as the English language library.

Nami had a few close friends in high school, who were also return-

ees, but outside school hours, she was "not good at staying connected with people". She did not own a smartphone during high school, and only used Facebook on her PC to contact a small circle of five friends.

In 2015 Nami began studying in the liberal arts faculty at S university in Tokyo. She felt out of place in her faculty, calling herself "too Japanese" compared to the other students, many of whom were non-Japanese students, or Japanese recently returned from overseas. Unlike Nami, they had attended high school in the United States, so they shared American high school experiences such as attending prom. Their time abroad and its impact was still fresh and readily apparent, while the impact of Nami's time in the United States, after years spent readjusting to life in Japan, was less apparent. This gap made it difficult for Nami to find much in common with them.

Furthermore, after having difficulty with studying in Japanese during middle and high school, Nami now had problems adapting to using English again at university. During her first year she struggled to complete written assignments in English for her classes.

Nami had been a member of a sports team during middle and high school, and decided to join her university's lacrosse team. Her involvement with the team presented a starkly different environment to her other social circles at university. She spent a lot of time with her team mates out of necessity, but occasionally found them frustrating to interact with. In contrast to her "open-minded" and easy-going faculty classmates, the lacrosse team members were "typical Japanese people", and very fiercely competitive. To Nami, "typical Japanese people" had a tendency to stereotype and categorise others. She had experienced this

when she first introduced herself to her team mates and said that her hobby was reading, and that she had been reading modern Japanese literature. Her team mates reacted with astonishment, and to Nami's annoyance, from then on they seemed to view her as "a literature otaku (geek)" obsessed with reading. Feeling out of place in most of her social circles, there were times when Nami felt stifled by her surroundings and said she wished she could go overseas again. This indicated that even though it had been several years now since her return to Japan, she still retained a sense of her returnee identity, that gave her an outsider perspective from which to critique Japanese culture and norms around her.

In general, Nami disliked smartphones and social media, a rather unusual attitude amongst her peers. However, she knew that if she did not use the LINE app, she risked missing out on news and information that her friends shared with each other via LINE. When Nami entered university, she bought a smartphone, but regretted doing so because of how it impacted her reading habits. Instead of reading books on the train, she now found herself occupied with her smartphone. She used her smartphone and LINE to communicate with her friends and family in Japan but used Facebook to keep in touch with contacts in the United States. She also had an Instagram account, but rarely used it. She told me that she only recently started using Twitter, for looking up information, rather than for producing content or contacting friends.

At my second interview with Nami at the end of January 2018, she told me her father had taken a work trip to France just before New Year's. This was a move that significantly impacted Nami's family, as her father would be staying there for as long as two years. Her mother

planned to join him once Nami had graduated and found a job.

　　Nami had intended to seek his advice for her upcoming job-hunting activities, but decided that in his absence she would have to rely on her elder brothers. While at first she had communicated with him via video calls, an argument between her parents had made Nami hesitant to communicate with him.

　　Nami told me that the argument had made her view her parents differently, and had even changed her feelings about reading as a hobby. Until now, she had thought of reading as a pleasant and enjoyable activity. Now, although she still found it a welcome escape from reality, reading a story which dealt with real life issues that she had experienced was upsetting and stressful. For the first time she wondered why people would read books as a hobby, if not to feel happy or good about themselves.

　　This prompted me to ask what she had been reading lately. For a class at university she had read a novel by a Japanese author about the life of a closeted homosexual youth[3] . She was surprised that even though the novel had been published more than 60 years ago, it contained discussion of issues that were still relevant. After reading it, Nami decided that she would like to try writing her own stories about impactful real-life issues, as well as escapist fantasy.

　　Due to the tensions between her parents, Nami turned to her elder brothers for advice about writing job applications, which they had helpfully provided. She not only had trouble thinking of what to write, but also had difficulties writing in Japanese. While at the beginning of her

---

3）　Yukio Mishima's "Confessions of a Mask".

university career, writing in English had presented a challenge, by now she had spent three years writing mostly in English for her university classes, and was no longer used to writing formally in Japanese.

Other than daily interactions with her mother and seeking advice from her brothers, Nami had had limited social contact since our last interview. She used LINE when she needed to text but used email for formal communication with her university lecturers, some of whom she had also contacted for advice about job-hunting.

At the time of our previous interview Nami had been attending lacrosse training sessions every morning, but now it was the off-season, so practices were only held twice a week. As before, she did not communicate with her team members outside of practice.

Nami and I next met on the 15th March and she informed me that her mother had visited her father in France in late February for a week. The family conflict was apparently resolved.

Lacrosse practice five days a week had started again, but Nami said that her biggest problem now was finding a job. Seeing her classmates decked out in their business suits, heading to job interviews, was a daily reminder and added to the pressure she was feeling.

For two weeks numerous companies had held information sessions at her university, prompting her to mull over her skills and future career trajectory. Two paths lay before her: a) to follow her love of reading and work for a Japanese publishing company or b) to find a job in a non-literary industry where she could use English. She informed me that publishing companies were normally based in Japan and used Japanese only.

One of Nami's classmates had begun working for a multinational

company, but because all the customers were Japanese, she had no op-portunities to use English. Mentioning the fact that this classmate had graduated from a high school in the United States led Nami to reflect on her own attitude towards English.

Nami had left the United States during elementary school and missed out on typical American high school experiences such as attend-ing prom, and participating in high school clubs and sports, and even studying for exams. Nami thought her choice to study English literature such as Shakespeare, which most American high school students studied, was her way of trying to replicate parts of that experience. This showed that Nami felt that compared to her peers who had attended high school in the United States, there was something lacking in her returnee identi-ty. Her years of adjusting to living in Japan again seemed to disqualify her from matching the popular image of a returnee. English literature provided a means towards supplementing that lack, though imperfectly.

Job-hunting activities had made Nami feel inadequate in other ways. She reiterated her opinion from our previous interview – that she needed to gain skills other than English proficiency to successfully live abroad. Nami told me that in Japan,

> "…they admire you just for using English, but if you live overseas and speak English, it's not that special." (Interview 3, March 15, 2018)

She was attending information and recruitment sessions held by various companies, and hoped to find a job that would take advantage of her English skills, and connect with her passion for reading.

I asked what Nami had been reading recently, and while she had

done little recreational reading, she told me about a story she had been required to read and analyse for a job application. The story was a traditional Japanese folk tale called "Kachikachi yama"（かちかち山）. According to Nami's explanation, in the story a raccoon teases an old man. A rabbit witnesses this and decides to punish the raccoon. The raccoon kills the old man's wife and makes a soup out of her. Then the raccoon transforms into the old woman and tricks the old man into eating the soup. The rabbit fights the racoon, burning the raccoon's back and applying chili to the burn to cause more pain. Then, they somehow get into boats, the raccoon's boat sinks, and the raccoon drowns, ending the story[4].

Nami's task was to write an essay analysis of this story, but the symbolism confused her. When she discussed it with her mother and brother, they both asserted that the message was about karma – the raccoon committed a crime and was punished for it by the rabbit. But Nami found herself suspicious of the rabbit. She pointed out that in the version she read, the raccoon was never told the reason for the rabbit's actions. In Nami's opinion, the rabbit was a sinister figure, and the truly "evil" character in the story. She went so far as to investigate the symbolism of different animals in stories and found that while raccoons commonly tricked humans in Japanese fiction, rabbits were portrayed as clever and frequent liars. Her mother told Nami she was over-thinking the story.

In our interview, Nami cited the tale as an example of how Japanese stories often seemed to have unhappy or ambiguous endings. She com-

---

4) Nami's explanation captured the main story beats. There are different versions of the story, but the points about the rabbit punishing the raccoon for killing the old farmer's wife remain the same.

pared it to non-Japanese stories she had read in English, saying,

> *"A lot of books I read from other countries they usually have a happy ending or, if the character, like, apologises-they get off the hook, that comes from a Christian background...but in Japanese stories there's nothing like that, bad story ends with a bad ending, there's nothing good out of the whole cycle...so when I first started reading Japanese stories that really caught me, because like I was expecting a happy ending...and in this story as well, the raccoon didn't realise he was getting tortured for what he did, he never noticed until the end I think..."* (Interview 3, March 15, 2018)

Nami explicitly linked happy endings and themes of redemption in English fiction with Christianity. This indicates that her childhood friendship with Melissa, which had exposed her to Christianity, and her reading habits as a child in the United States had had a profound and lasting impact on her values and attitudes, which was still in evidence years after returning to Japan.

On 25th April I interviewed Nami for the fourth and final time. After reminding her of what we had talked about in the previous interview, I asked her to tell me about her progress regarding her job-hunting activities.

She had undergone one group interview, and told me that the day after our interview she had another interview scheduled. She was also preparing and submitting written job applications.

Nami was attending classes at university three times a week. To ensure she successfully graduated the following year, she said she wanted to take extra classes. Between the two, Nami asserted that university

was not as difficult as job-hunting, but she was finding it hard to strike a balance. She stated plainly, "I don't like this Japanese process of job-hunting." Labelling the process as "Japanese" demonstrated her tendency to think of stressful, regimented and restrictive experiences as typically Japanese. Nami had left the United States by middle school age, so she could not have had experience seeking jobs there, and therefore could not realistically make an informed comparison of job-seeking practices in both two countries. However, her overseas experiences and her consumption of English literature had given her a benchmark against which she measured aspects of her life in Japan, and found them unsatisfactory.

In earlier interviews Nami had described two career paths that were open to her – one in publishing that would make the most of her creativity and love of books, and one that would require her English skills. At this final interview, she said that was she was more focused on the first path, and had been investigating positions in Japanese publishing companies.

She had also attended an information session held by the clothing brand Uniqlo and found it interesting. Although it was unrelated to books, she thought that at least a multinational company would be a good starting point for her career. Perhaps for now, it would be sufficient to work in a different field, but later find a way to connect it to books. Nami's change of heart was also partly because she claimed to have missed the time frame for submitting applications to larger manufacturing companies. These companies tended to hire applicants with English skills and overseas experience.

Nami had expressed a dislike of social media early on in our inter-

views, so I asked if her attitude had undergone any change during the past months. She replied that in the past prior to our interviews, there had been occasions where she had felt differently about social media. She believed that it could be useful, and still kept her Facebook account in case people might want to contact her. When she had started university, Instagram had been increasing in popularity so she had liked it at the time. She found the app easy to use and convenient for communicating.

However, she saw a danger in checking Instagram frequently, which could lead to drawing negative comparisons between the lives of others as depicted via their Instagram, and her own life. She believed that starting a habit of drawing comparisons would lead to jealousy and unhappiness. For this reason, she limited her time on Instagram. However, she was aware of the role social media use could play in facilitating in-person relationships. Being aware of her peers' social media posts could be a conversation starter in-person, therefore, she said, "I shouldn't avoid SM just because I don't like it", or else she risked being left out socially.

Nami was concerned about how Facebook the company might be misusing her personal information, but the convenience of Facebook prevented her from shutting down her account. She was unsure as to whether or not she would ever become more enthusiastic about using social media and communication technologies, claiming that she was "too lazy" to explore them further. Although social media changed and added new functions to apps, Nami only knew and continued to use the basic functions. She kept her access to social media accounts only to stay connected with others and stay abreast of their activities, not to share information about herself.

While her smartphone gave her easy access to these means of communication, Nami expressed regret over owning one because of how it impacted her reading habits. For example, instead of reading books on the train, she now found herself frequently occupied with her smartphone instead.

Conclusion: thoughts on Nami's story

This edited version of Nami's case story reveals that she experienced some of the same challenges and difficulties documented in previous research on returnees, but goes beyond previous studies to also examine how her experiences affected her in the long-term. When she first returned to Japan, during middle school and high school, Nami's time in the United States had the effect of separating her from most of her school peers. She struggled to overcome her lack of Japanese language skills compared to her classmates, and her lack of knowledge in areas such as Japanese history. She felt closer to other returnees like herself, and saw her other classmates, particularly those in her sports teams, as "teaching" her "to be Japanese". In that context "being Japanese" meant fitting into the existing hierarchy of juniors and seniors, using appropriate language forms, and accepting the authority of those older than herself.

Nami's case story extends past these immediate readjustment difficulties to show that upon entering university she again found herself out of step with those around her. This time she was "too Japanese" compared to those returnees who had spent their high school years abroad.

Simultaneously, she felt a gap between herself and her "typical" Japanese team mates in the university sports team she joined. Although she spent a significant amount of time with them, it was out of necessity rather than choice. She had negative feelings about the way they labelled her as an "otaku" due to her love of reading, and viewed this again as narrow-minded, "typical Japanese" behaviour. Although she had some friendships among a small circle of university friends, during the interview period, maintaining these friendships was overwhelmed by university studies and job-hunting.

Nami's feelings of being different, of being "weird", also influenced her experience of the Japanese job-hunting process. Even though she had left the United States at a young age her experiences as a child there were mostly positive. While she did not go so far as to self-identify as bi-cultural or American, during our interviews she positioned herself as an outsider to criticise and comment on aspects of Japanese society, including the job-hunting process.

Throughout Nami's story, communication via social media and con-sumption of social media did not seem to play the most influential role in her cultural identity change. This is due in part to the fact that access to these media was still relatively limited at the time Nami was in the Unit-ed States, especially for children her age. However, even at the time of our interviews in 2018, Nami used social media and communication tech-nologies mainly for exchanging information and messages with friends and family members. As shown in our final interview, she remained cau-tious about the possible threats to privacy posed by social media sites. She was also aware of and concerned about the negative effects of social

media on mental health and well-being.

Rather than being influenced by these forms of communication, Nami's love of reading proved to be an enduring thread weaving throughout her story, beginning with her childhood friendship with Melissa in the United States. Specifically, English language fiction and literary works from English-speaking countries influenced her values, beliefs and attitudes over the years after her return to Japan. In high school, reading English books was a refuge from the difficulties she experienced adjusting to classes held all in Japanese, and gained her recognition and rewards from her school.

As a university student, Nami again felt caught between being "too Japanese" and "not Japanese enough", but by reading English literature she attempted to capture the formative experiences she had missed out on by leaving the United States before entering high school. Even as she stood poised to graduate university and begin the next phase of her life as a working adult, the influence of English literature on her cultural identity was again evident in Nami's response to the traditional Japanese folktale, "Kachikachi yama". Her comments showed that through her reading habits she had absorbed certain typically "Western", "Christian" values, which left her confused and dissatisfied with values and attitudes she perceived in Japanese fiction.

Nami's story is a fascinating example of how diverse modes of communication can influence an individual's cultural identity change over a number of years, including the readjustment period and beyond. As Sueda (2014) points out, studies have tended to focus on returnees' difficulties in adjusting to the Japanese schooling environment. As more of

these returnees of the 2000s and 2010s reach adulthood, future research should investigate returnees in Japanese universities and workplaces. In this way, Japanese institutions may not only better accommodate, but also benefit from these returnees' skills and experiences, and returnees can gain a better sense of belonging and acceptance in Japan, while retaining their returnee identity.

Acknowledgements

References

（2008）."Kachikachi-yama". https://japanfolklore.blogspot.com/2008/08/kachikachi-yama.html.（Accessed 10 June, 2021）.

Bagnoli, A.（2009）. Beyond the standard interview: The use of graphic elicitation and arts-based methods. *Qualitative Research, 9*（5）, 547–570. doi: 10.1177/1468794109343625

Barkhuizen, G.（2011）. Narrative Knowledging in TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly, 45*（3）, 391–414.

Barkhuizen, Gary & Benson, Phil & Chik, Alice.（2013）. Narrative Inquiry in Language Teaching and Learning Research. Narrative Inquiry in Language Teaching and Learning Research. 1–132. 10.4324/9780203124994.

Bell, J. S.（2002）. Narrative inquiry: More than just telling stories. *TESOL Quarterly, 36*（2）, 207–213, doi: 10.2307/3588331

Clandinin, D.J., & Connelly, F.M.（2000）. "Narrative Inquiry: experience and story in qualitative research". San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Coates, J.,（2016）. "Not multicultural, but a more diverse Japan?". EASTASIAFORUM. https://

www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/12/03/not-multicultural-but-a-more-diverse-japan/. ［Accessed 7 June, 2021］.

Cook, V.（Ed.）（2003）. "The Effect of L2 on L1". Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Hall, S.（1990）. "Identity: Community, Culture, Difference". Jonathan Rutherford, Ed. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Kanno, Y.（2000）. Bilingualism and Identity: The Stories of Japanese Returnees. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 3*（1）, 1-18, doi: 10.1080/13670050008667697

Kanno, Y.（2003）. "Negotiating Bilingual and Bicultural Identities: Japanese Returnees Betwixt Two Worlds". United Kingdom: Routledge.

Kecskes, I.（2008）. The effect of the second language on the first language（The dual language approach）. *Journal Babylonia, 2*（3）, 31-34.

Kim, Y. Y.（2001）. "Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation". Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S.（2009）. InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications. Lewis, J.（2007）. Analysing qualitative longitudinal research in evaluations. *Social Policy and Society, 6*（4）, 545-556. doi: doi: 10.1017/S1474746407003880

Lewis, J.（2007）. Analysing qualitative longitudinal research in evaluations. Social Policy and Society, 6（4）, 545-556. doi: doi: 10.1017/S1474746407003880

Menard-Warwick, J.（2007）." Because she made the beds. Every day." Social positioning, classroom discourse, and language learning. *Applied Linguistics, 29*（2）, 267-289. doi: 10.1093/applin/amm053

Navas, M., Rojas, A., Garcıa, M., & Pumares, P.（2007）. Acculturation strategies and attitudes according to the relative acculturation extended model（RAEM）: The perspectives of natives versus immigrants. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 31（1）, 67-86.

Polkinghorne, D.（1995）. Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 8*（1）, 5-23, doi: 10.1080/0951839950080103

Sueda, K.（2014）. "Negotiating multiple identities: Shame and pride among Japanese returnees". Singapore: Springer.

White, M. E.（1988）. "The Japanese overseas: Can they go home again?". New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Yashiro, K.（1995）. Japan's returnees. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development. 16*（1-2）, 139-164, DOI: 10.1080/01434632.1995.9994597