



Kina Masataka

OKINAWAN HAAFUS' IDENTITIES: THE STORIES OF LIVING AND BECOMING
HYBRID IN THE BORDERLANDS

Master's Thesis in Education
KASVATUSTIETEIDEN TIEDEKUNTA
Education and Globalisation, Master's Programme in Education
2020

University of Oulu

Faculty of Education

Okinawan haafus' identities: The stories of living and becoming hybrid in the borderlands
(Masataka Kina)

Master's Thesis in Education, 69 pages, 3 appendices

May 2020

This study centers on Okinawan haafus' identity processes at the core of the inquiry. It aims to understand and describe the haafus' intricate identity processes in Okinawa. In this study, the term haafu refers to biracial individuals who have American and Okinawan (Japanese) parentage. The geographical context of the study is Okinawa. It is a Japanese prefectural island where a large amount of the United State military bases have been located since the end of World War II. By combining the concepts of identity from sociological and psychological fields, the study builds the groundwork for investigation of the haafus' identities, the Okinawan context and their reciprocal relationship. Such relationship is evident in the haafus' border-crossing and reinforcing. While border-crossing fractures existing borders, border-reinforcing strengthens the boundaries between differences. Race, the fence of the US military base, the Japanese nationality law and the terms of haafu are discussed as the concepts that pertain to haafus' identities in relation to physical and non-physical borders in Okinawa.

Narrative as research material, as a methodology and as an approach is applied to this study. Therefore, the data is stories of the four haafus who were born and have grown up in Okinawa. The data is collected through semi-structured interviews. Narrative analysis is used to examine the structures of the haafus' storytelling. The structures of their stories both converge and diverge on certain experiences. Also, stories are strategically constructed to produce some characters which foreground their identity claims and insights into the Okinawan context.

In line with the data of the study, the findings are presented by writing the individual haafus' stories. These stories describe the haafus' cognitive processes in making sense of their past experiences, future purposes, and relationships with the people around them. Their stories illustrate their hybrid identities which is evident in their creative ways of becoming who they are. It often indicates the meeting points in different cultures, beliefs and values present in Okinawa. Their identity implies diversity in Okinawan haafus' experiences and identity processes. In addition, their experiences and identity processes address the simply divided image of the Okinawan political, cultural and racial narratives.

As described in the haafus' stories, identity is an on-going process which relationally and situationally appears and is often accompanied by suturing and negotiating differences. The stories of haafus' identities are a significant reminder for us to live together in differences under the circumstances of globalization. The Okinawan haafus' sharing a sense of living in-between through storytelling cares for our relationships.

Keywords: borderland, haafu, hybridity, identity, Okinawa, storytelling, the American military base.

オウル大学

教育学部

沖縄のハーフのアイデンティティ：境界に生きる物語（喜納昌貴）

修士論文、合計ページ数：69、付録数：3

2020年 5月

この研究は、ナラティブアプローチを用いて沖縄に住むハーフのアイデンティティについて理解し、それを表現することを目的とする。本研究におけるハーフとは、アメリカ人と沖縄（日本人）の両親を持つ者を指す。また、第二次世界大戦や米軍基地等の歴史的、そして政治的な背景を持つ沖縄が本研究のコンテキストである。理論的枠組みは、社会学および心理学におけるアイデンティティの概念を組み合わせ、ハーフ個人、そして沖縄社会レベルでのアイデンティティ構築、さらにこれらの相互作用性を考察できるように構成されている。

本研究で使われるデータは、会話（インタビュー）を通して得られた4人の沖縄に住むハーフの語りである。データの分析にはナラティブ構造分析が用いられている。「語り」を通して、ハーフがどのように自身の経験を組み立てるか、また、彼らのアイデンティティがどのように現れるかを読み解いていく。そして、分析から浮かび上がる社会的コンテキスト、さらに、研究者と研究参加者の間で構成される語りの相互作用性にも着目する。

研究結果は、ハーフのアイデンティティに関する心理的そして社会的プロセスを、物語の形を用いて表現している。これらの物語は、彼がどのようにして異なる文化や価値観の境界で、創造的に生きているかを示唆している。また、ハーフの〈間〉に生きる感覚は、沖縄の政治的構図が、米軍基地賛成・反対と単純に二分化された状況を再考する必要があることを批判的さらに感情的に促している。

ハーフの語りは、アイデンティティが特定の状況や人間関係の間で、それぞれの差異と衝突、そして交渉しながら、異なる形を持って現れる、「アイデンティティの流動性」を明示している。彼らのアイデンティティに関する語りは、グローバル化する世界で異文化をもった人々と共生していく重要性を伝える。

キーワード：アイデンティティ、沖縄、語り、境界線、ハーフ、ハイブリディティ、米軍基地

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the people who helped me write this thesis. Unfortunately, due to the limited space, I cannot name everyone here. Please know, not only are you an important part of the thesis journey, but also you have become an essential part of my life.

Especially, I am grateful to all the EdGlo-18 (Education and Globalisation) members, not only for your various ways of supporting my thesis, but also and most importantly the friendships and learning journey that started almost two years ago.

Special gratitude goes out to Magda Karjalainen. I appreciate that you have been an amazing teacher and wonderful human being throughout my time in this master's program. Thank you so much for encouraging me to be creative and being supportive of who I am (becoming).

最後に、私の家族に感謝を示したいと思います。お母さん、あなたの支えなしには私は今ここで卒論を書いていることではないでしょう。本当にありがとうございます。そして、すずとなり、お兄ちゃんをいつも信じてくれてありがとう。

(I am also grateful to my mother Rie. Without your emotional and moral support, I would not be sitting here finalizing this thesis. Also, I would like to show my gratitude to my siblings Kosuzu and Masanari who kept believing in me.)

Contents

1	Who am I, and why am I doing this research?	6
2	Looking at identities from sociological and psychological lenses	12
2.1	Where is my study positioned?	12
2.2	Sociological perspectives on identities: Hall's identity and hybridity in borderlands	13
2.3	Okinawan-American colonial, economic, political and cultural discourses	14
2.4	Physical and non-physical borders crossed and reinforced in Okinawa	17
2.4.1	<i>The fence of the American military base</i>	17
2.4.2	<i>The Japanese race and non-Japanese race</i>	18
2.4.3	<i>The legal division between Japanese and non-Japanese by the nationality law</i>	20
2.4.4	<i>Complexities of terms; mix, haafu, daburu and AmerAsian</i>	21
2.5	Psychological approaches on identities	22
2.6	Theorization of haafu's identity developmental stages	23
3	Narrative as research material, methodology and approach	27
3.1	Is it possible to define "narrative"?	27
3.2	Research participants: Haafus in Okinawa	31
3.3	Data collection method and procedure	32
3.4	Analysis procedure and process	35
4	Presenting and discussing the Okinawan haafus' identities	39
4.1	Okinawan haafus' individual stories	39
4.1.1	<i>Ichiro: Living or not living on both sides</i>	39
4.1.2	<i>Hana: Becoming an unsuccessful haafu</i>	41
4.1.3	<i>Yurika: Story of kindness and restless effort</i>	43
4.1.4	<i>Bob: Strength, independence and attentiveness</i>	45
4.2	Haafus in Okinawa and me as a researcher	46
4.3	Hybrid identities risen from haafus' cognitive process in their storytelling	48
5	Did I do this study right?	54
5.1	Credibility of the study	54
5.2	Being self-reflexive and transparent to be a sincere researcher	57
5.3	Caring for the community and the participants	58
6	Closing the study, continuing the discussion and opening new dialogue	62
7	References	65

1 Who am I, and why am I doing this research?

“if you wanna know me, you have to listen to my stories, as well as I have to know my stories”

(Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 9)

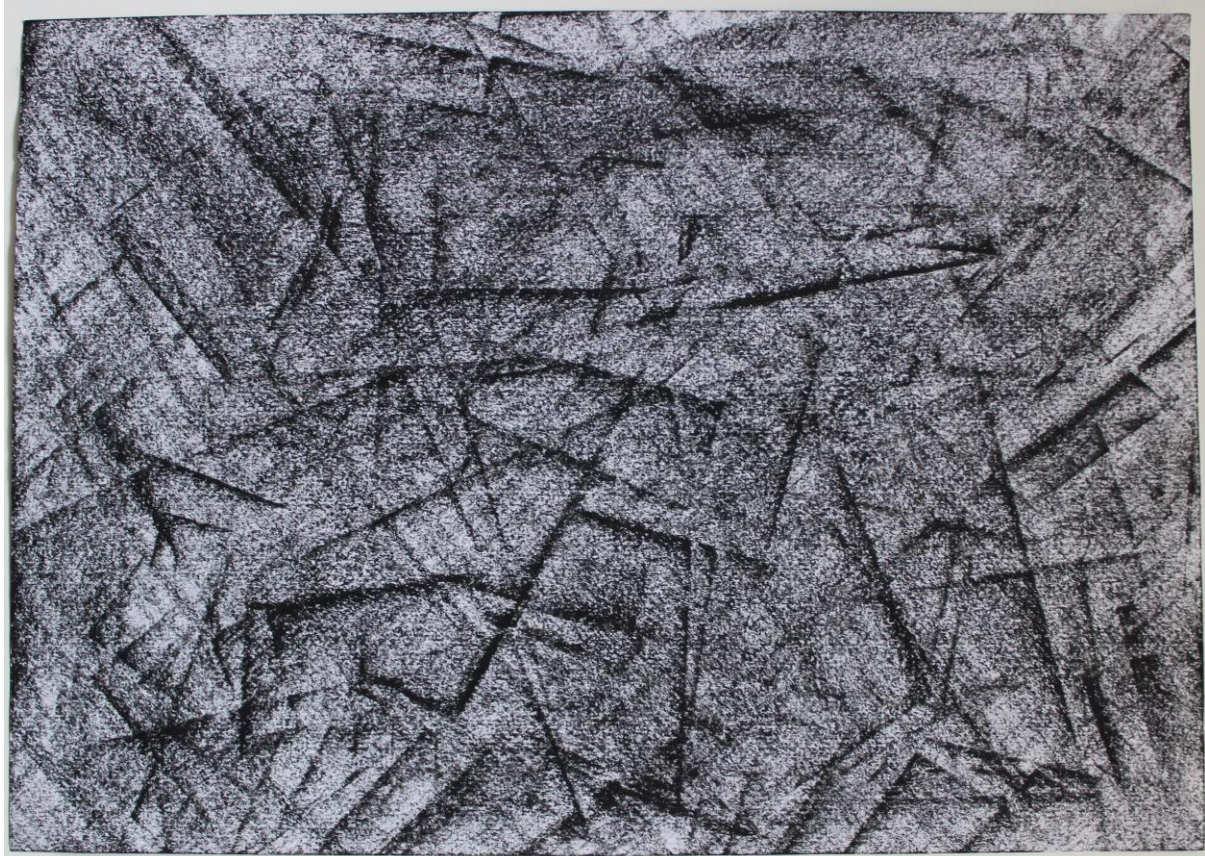


Figure 1. A photograph of my painting created at the end of the first semester.

“Are you Okinawan or Japanese?”. My friends often ask me this question, and my response always differs: “I am Japanese”, “I am Okinawan”, “I guess I am both” and “I don’t really know”. Such confusions and unsettled feelings about *who we are* are one of the most fundamental questions of *identity* which is the central topic of this study. I painted this picture in one of the courses at the end of the first semester of my master’s degree. At the time, the painting did not have any specific meaning. However, towards the end of writing this master’s thesis, my thesis supervisor – who taught the course and kindly kept this painting – shared her interpretation of it, which inspired me to include this picture in my thesis. It was significant for me to be able to express myself creatively in this thesis because creativity is an important part of

my identity. Moreover, this particular painting nicely describes the confusing state of a man who came from Okinawa and started his international master's degree in Finland. The first quote from Gubrium and Holstein (2009, p. 9), the abstract, rough and black painting, and the question stated above signify not only the beginning of this thesis, but also the beginning of my story. For those readers who do not know what/where Okinawa is, let me first briefly introduce Okinawa because it is not only where I was born and have grown up but also the context of this study.

Okinawa is a small prefectural island located in the southernmost part of Japan. It is renowned for beautiful beaches and unique tradition, as well as the post-war existence of the United States military. Okinawa has a complicated historical and political relationship with Japan that is not widely recognized. As a matter of fact, there is much that I did not know (or I did not even care to know) before starting my master's study in Finland. From a historical perspective, Okinawa used to be a self-governed island called the *Ryukyu* Kingdom. However, in 1609, the Satsuma (Government envoy) from the Tokugawa samurai regime began infiltrating and invading the islands. By the 1890s, the Ryukyu Kingdom was annexed to Japan. Consequently, the name, *Ryukyu* was replaced by Okinawa (Inoue, 2007, pp. 251-252). Since then, the colonized-colonizer relationship between Okinawa and Japan has been subtly maintained (Barclay, 2006, p. 120). The term *colonized-colonizer* was used here, but it depends on individual perception and point of view whether Okinawa and Japan have such a relationship. As an Okinawan citizen, I had not sensed this relationship. At the very least, neither my Okinawan friends nor family ever talk about such issues.

That stated, inequality and power balance is palpable in history. During World War II, Okinawa was used as a battleground, which took more than 150,000 people's lives on the island (Inoue, 2007, pp. 37-38). As a result of Japan's loss in 1945, the American military bases have been stationed since Japan signed the US-Japan Security Treaty. This allowed the US occupation of the land of Okinawa until 1972 (Johnson, 1996, p. 22). However, even after 1972, Okinawa has been bearing a large amount of the US military bases. Nishiyama (2019, p. 5) pointed out that more than 70% of the US military in Japan is concentrated in Okinawa, which occupies 8.3% of the island. As a result, there have been a multitude of American military-related incidents happening in Okinawa. Several of these incidents include Okinawan people's lives impacted through servicemen's rape, drunken disorder, violence, and aircraft crashes (Nishiyama, 2019, p. 6; Ginoza, 2007, p. 143; Inoue, 2007, p. 50). Despite such incidents, the US military bases

have been a significant part of Okinawan people’s everyday lives with both positive and negative results. My own life has involved the US military bases as I voluntarily chose to work as a waiter and barista on a base to practice English and to pay my school tuition fees. Thus, the meaning of the US base largely varies depending on the individuals as well. This ever-changing perspective and subsequent meanings of the US military can also be seen in some American-Okinawan biracial people’s lives.

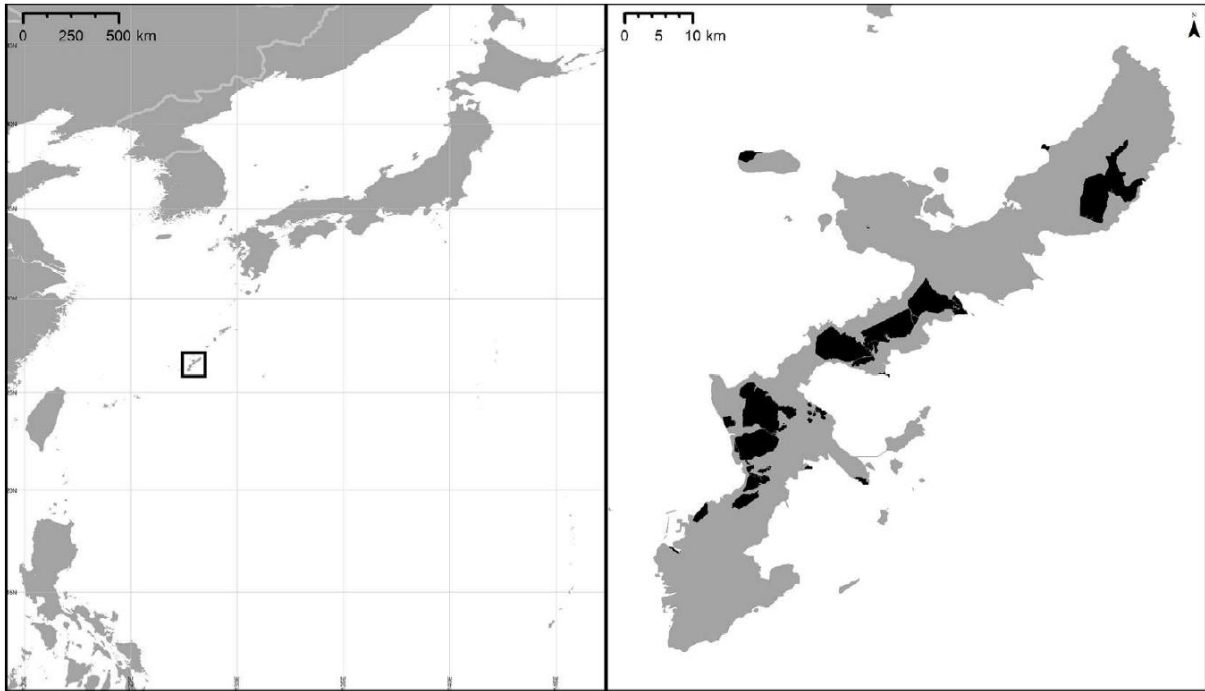


Figure 2. The geographical location of Okinawa (on the left) and the “US military bases (areas in black [on the right]) [on] Okinawa main island” (Nishiyama, 2019, p. 5).

Even though there are biracial people in Okinawa whose parentage is not American and Okinawan, in this study, I will focus only on those who were born to an Okinawan parent and an American parent. American military parents will be defined as parents who have been deployed to Okinawa for military-related work. I will refer to American-Okinawan biracial people as *haafu* in the study. The term *haafu* is rather controversial, and it will be discussed in Chapter 2. The reason I chose to use the term *haafu* in the study is based primarily upon my four participants. I interviewed four Okinawan *haafus*, and before each interview, I asked them if the word *haafu* bothered them. Not only did they answer “no”, but they actually preferred to be called *haafu*. For this reason, the term *haafu* will be used in the study. However, I will also use other terms when referring to biracial people in previous studies because I believe those researchers

also came to their own decisions on how to refer to them as a consequence of thorough reflection. I now list other names alternated in my study: *AmerAsian* (Noiri, 2005, 2016), *Biethnic* (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007), *mixed-race/haifu* (Oshima, 2014), *(shima) haafu* (Shigematsu, 2008), and *biracial* (Poston, 1990; Renn, 2008).

The first purpose of the study is to challenge *the myth* of Japanese homogeneity by bringing haafus' experiences concerning their identity process in school. Previous studies indicated and accounted for *the myth of Japanese homogeneity* (Shigematsu, 2008, p. 301) for hardships experienced by minority children with foreign lineage or cultural, linguistic or physical differences, including haafus in Japanese school (Oshima, 2014, p. 28-30; Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 637-638). Even though the number of foreign residents in Japan has been increasing and reached its highest level in 2019 according to the Ministry of Justice (2019, The Number of Foreign Residents in Japan section, para. 1), the structural adjustment to meet the needs of this changing demographic in the Japanese education system has not been adapted. From my teaching experiences, which I have found extremely rewarding, I have seen great potential as well as problems in education in Japan. Amid problems, the academic gaps between *mono-racial*, cultural and linguistic students who have Japanese lineage and those who have culturally diverse backgrounds are significant and intriguing to me. Therefore, I aim to accentuate the diverse picture of school in Japan by drawing on Okinawan haafus' identity processes.

A second purpose of this study pertains to Okinawan political discourse. As depicted earlier, the Okinawan political relationships between Japan and America is rather complex. In response to military-related incidents and unequal distribution of the US bases, there have been social movements against the US bases in Okinawa. However, such social movements do not illustrate the society as a whole. Actually, there is a fair amount of Okinawan people who hold pro-base positions because of security, economic and political reasons (Inoue, 2007, p. 98; Nishiyama, 2019, pp. 6-7; Kouno, 2017, pp. 19-25). This will be discussed more in the next chapter. Thus, the political composition of Okinawan society might look divided into pro/anti-base groups. My study tries to address this political discourse (division) by drawing on the Okinawan haafus' identity processes. That is, it aims at deconstructing the simply divided political image of Okinawa by attentively listening to and describing how haafus negotiate their identities in this particular context.

The last purpose of the study is to illustrate the very process of Okinawan haafus' identities by showing how the theories of identity can be contextualized in this particular case. According to

Macleod, Bhatia and Kessi (2017), one of the research aims should, especially in studies in a postcolonial context, be “to produce contextually relevant and theoretically diverse studies” (p. 317). In addition, identity is a highly complex and abstract concept which has been applied by a number of sociological and psychological researchers (Hall, 1996; Bhabha, 1996; Shigematsu, 2008; Cuninghame, 2008; Bush, 2008; Côté & Levine, 2016; Poston, 1990; Renn, 2008; Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007). In the early stages of my research, I have struggled to grasp the different concepts of identity. Not only is identity an abstract concept but it is also discussed rather vaguely and elusively, especially in the sociological field and particularly for an inexperienced researcher like me. As such, I aim to craft this study to be one accessible insight for those who are interested in identities of particular populations or even themselves to capture the complex picture (process) of identity.

These study purposes, stated, above are guided by my interpretivist and some elements of post-colonial epistemological and ontological standing points. This study pays attention to those lived experiences which have not been considered in the process of knowledge production in Okinawa or more broadly in the world. This study is interested in describing “the complexity of personal and social relations” (Esin, Fathi & Squire, 2013, p. 204). Particularly, I will look at the complicated interactions between haafus’ identities and Okinawan society. In concert with the narrative approach, I attentively listen to and describe the haafus’ stories. These stories will tell us neither the truth nor generalizable facts about haafus’ identity formations in Okinawa. Also, it does not aim to draw a line between bi/mono-racial people’s experiences in school or pro/anti-base people’s perceptions in Okinawa. Instead, by listening to and showing individual haafu’s stories, this study “attempt[s] to create a common ground for peoples in the periphery by proposing that the colonial difference should be the starting point for knowledge and thinking” (Andreotti, 2011, p. 386). In doing so, it highlights the irreducibility of the Okinawan political discourse, haafus’ experiences in school, as well as their identity processes.

Consequently, the aims of the study and the epistemological and ontological standing point guide me to form my research questions. These are:

1. How are Okinawan haafus’ identities manifested in their storytelling?
2. How are the stories of Okinawan haafus interactively co-created in the complex relationships between the teller, listener, reader and the sociocultural, historical and material context?

This second question is inspired by Smith and Sparkes (2009, p. 284), and it is further discussed in the third chapter. As seen in the first question, *identity* is the key concept of the study, and it is understood as a never-ending, situational and relational processes in this study, and this is the theoretical starting point.

Here is a brief summary and entry to the chapters of this study. In Chapter 2, the theoretical framework will be presented. It centers the concepts of identity from sociological and psychological approaches. In order to discuss the haafus' identities in the specific context, the Okinawan political, cultural and social discourses will thoroughly be reviewed. In Chapter 3, I will illustrate what narrative approach means in this study. Then, I will discuss the methodological choices and procedures. Also, the four Okinawan haafus will be introduced as the study participants, and it will be followed by describing the analytical framework. Subsequently, the findings and discussion will be presented in Chapter 4. I wrote stories and painted a visual representation to present and further discuss the findings. Chapter 5 will describe the overall reflection on the research as applying the concept of evaluation, reflexivity and ethics of qualitative studies to this particular study case. Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the study. It will present this study's limitations, implications and connections with education. As much as this is an academic work, it is also one form of a story shaped not only by me but also the participants and will be storied and reshaped by future readers. With that stated, let us move on to the next chapter.

2 Looking at identities from sociological and psychological lenses

2.1 Where is my study positioned?

Although I am aware that the lines between academic study fields are not very clear and thus stating where my study is located might not be so meaningful, positioning my study could help me understand the ways I look at “identity” and how I want to talk about it. I *find* the study of haafu’s identity in the boundary between two fields of study; sociology and psychology. According to Oishi, Kesebir & Snyder (2009), despite the similarities in the interests and topics of these studies, sociology focuses more on macro level such as “the development, organization, functioning, and classification of human societies” (p. 335), while psychology more looks into “mental processes and related individual actions” (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 54). There is also a study field called *social psychology*. Oishi et al. (2009) cited Cartwright’s (1979) definition, “[s]ocial psychology is that branch of the social sciences which attempts to explain how society influences the cognition, motivation, development, and behavior of individuals and, in turn, is influenced by them” (p. 342). In other words, my interests lie in investigating identity negotiation at both macro and micro levels and their complicated reciprocal process.

Therefore, my theoretical framework is constructed by merging and mixing sociological and psychological lenses in order to approach the haafus’ identity. By doing so, I believe that I can construct a more holistic frame and base to discuss identity processes at both macro and micro levels as well as their interactions and reciprocity. Before going into details in the theories of identity, I re-emphasize that identity is seen as fluid and an on-going process in both sociology and psychology (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 37). Keeping this understanding as a cornerstone of this study, this theoretical framework will provide the accounts of discussing haafus’ identities and Okinawan political and cultural discourses.

With that stated, I start my theoretical framework by defining identities by referring to Hall’s (1996) identity, hybridity and borderland theories based on some postcolonial researchers (Bhabha, 1996; Bush, 2008; Cuninghame, 2008) as a sociological lens. This is followed by contextualization and thorough analysis of Okinawan society. Then, I will discuss the fence of the American military base, race, the terms for haafu and the Japanese nationality law as influential elements of haafus’ identities. I will also approach identity from more psychological perspectives by mainly referring to Côté and Levine’s (2016) three analytical levels of identity. Lastly, I look into theories of identity development stages in case of haafus in Japan.

2.2 Sociological perspectives on identities: Hall's identity and hybridity in borderlands

In this study, Okinawa is understood as a place where intricate colonial legacies can be found in everyday life. By reviewing the concept of Hall's (1996) identity, hybridity and borderland theories by postcolonial researchers, I attempt to illustrate the Okinawan macro level impacts on the haafus' identities and its reciprocal processes. Although both, Hall (1996) and postcolonial researchers have indicated the similarity in which they see identity as fluid, there are differences in their (paradigmatic/theoretical) standing points. Hall's identity (1996) is more embedded in postmodernist theory, which is helpful to deconstruct the widely accepted ideas that identity is something possessed by individuals or originated in certain places. On the other hand, hybridity and borderland theories originally come from postcolonial theory, which provides useful lenses when discussing identities particularly in colonial contexts. Therefore, I will employ identity theories from the both theoretical standing points and explain them more in detail in the following sections.

In sociological perspectives, identities are constantly forming through meeting and negotiating in differences. Hall (1996), in his introductory chapter "Who Needs 'Identity?'" mentioned that identities are a "meeting point, the point of *suture*" (p. 5). This metaphorical expression of identity implies not only its fluidity but also that identity is a *process* of interactions in differences between individuals, and an individual and society. This understanding of identity is useful to look at identities in Okinawa as diverse historical, cultural and political viewpoints constantly meeting and interacting with one another. Alexander, Jr and Wiley (1981) highlighted such meetings and interactions as "an ongoing process of establishing, affirming, modifying, and sometimes destroying situated identities" (p. 274). These diverse modes of identity interactions are, according to Hall (1996, p. 6), a twofold process. While social and thus, external forces underline the subject's (cultural and social) differences, the subject, her/himself also "invests in the position" (p. 6). Stated another way, meeting and suturing involve the subject's active articulation of their cultural and social differences and similarities in parallel with external/societal forces to locate them. In such a twofold identity process, cultural and social differences and positions are often reduced to "social-identity designations" (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 47). Race, gender, ethnicity, class, nationality and educational background are some examples. The term *haafu* also fits under racial and cultural categories as it highlights their differences from Japanese race and culture in the Okinawan society. Particularly, as stated earlier, Okinawa has colonial traits in which the identity processes can be differently accounted for when discussing through postcolonial lenses.

Postcolonial scholar Bhabha (1996) implied *hybridity* as a similar concept to Hall's identity, by indicating "[hybrid identity] is the collision between differing points of view on the world" (p. 58). Firstly, even though *hybridity* originally carried negative connotations such as impurity, contamination and miscegenation (Cuninghame, 2008, p. 21), the recent sociological understanding of hybridity underscores a creative state of *becoming* by mixing and merging cultures that carry different values. These different views are often attributed to colonized-colonizer differences in the hybrid theory while there are Okinawan haafus who seem to live and restlessly negotiate between colonized-colonizer views and values in Okinawa. Such in-between spaces are called *borderlands*, and it is the space where hybrid identities emerge as a result of interactions between colonial differences (Cuninghame, 2008, p. 19; Grossberg, 1996, pp. 91-92; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 18).

Similar to identities, borderlands are not stable. The word borderland, at the beginning of its use, often implied physical/national borders (e.i., "the US-Mexico border", Cuninghame, 2008, p14). Currently however, it transcends the physical borders and includes mental and relational spaces. For instance, Bush (2008) introduced the concept of internal colony as one type of borderland to explain its existence within a boundary by referring to African-Americans' hybridity, who "remained structurally, culturally, socioeconomically, legally, and socially marginal" (p. 130). He denoted that hybrid identities were entailed by negotiation between differing values within a social structure (pp. 172-173). According to Cuninghame (2008), such hybridization is described as "border-crossing" and "border-reinforcing" (p. 16). While border-crossing can be transformative, border-reinforcing can be accompanied by "hostility, fragmentation, and division" (p. 22). Thus, it can strengthen boundaries between differences, so it is "not necessarily emancipatory" (p. 16). In order to contextualize these theories of identity and borderland, the context of Okinawa will be reviewed regarding its colonial history, economic, political and cultural discourses pertaining to the US base issues in the following section.

2.3 Okinawan-American colonial, economic, political and cultural discourses

I will first discuss Okinawa as a colonial location in order to build a contextual groundwork to later look at the Okinawan haafus' identities/hybridity in this particular context. Okinawa is a place where its colonized-colonizer relationship between Japan and America is complicatedly manifested not only in its history but also in everyday life. Despite the current political status

of Okinawa being part of Japan, it was originally a self-governed kingdom until Japan's annexation of Okinawan land in 1870s. Since then, the colonized-colonizer relationship between Okinawa and Japan has been constructed. Barclay (2006), underscored one of the key features of Western colonization, which recognized indigenous populations as primitive, less civilized and backward was also evident in Japan-Okinawa colonial relationship (p. 120). The emblematic example of this relationship is the attempt at exhibiting Okinawan, Chinese and Korean as a *different human kind* at the Osaka Industrial Exposition in 1903 (Nishiyama, 2019, p. 5). After Japan's loss of World War II, Okinawa was forced to carry a burden of the US military bases in its land, which added another dimension to Okinawan political and colonial composition. Now, the discussion will shift toward the colonized-colonizer relationship between Okinawa and America.

Even though the Okinawan-American relationship is not widely recognized as colonized-colonizer, some researchers imply colonial traits found in their relationship (Inoue, 2007; Inoue, 2011; Nishiyama, 2019; Ginoza, 2007). As briefly depicted earlier, Okinawa has carried a large amount of the US military bases in its small land since Japan's loss of WWII. As a result, there have been military-related incidents. For example, an American aircraft crashed into an elementary school during their training in 1956 and killed 17 pupils and injured 210 people (Murakami, 2012, p. 37). Also, rapes and murders of Okinawan young women by the American military personnel provoked Okinawan people's resentment against the US bases (Nishiyama, 2019, p. 6). Consequently, such resentment against the American military bases are occasionally manifested in social movements (Inoue, 2011, p. 332). Further, the Okinawan people's feeling about the US bases is often mixed and associated with their historical understanding of the tragedies in WWII which has been taught and told through peace education, media, social movements and older family members' storytelling (Murakami, 2012, p. 57).

Despite such Okinawan experiences in relation to the American military, there are some people who show their endorsement of the military bases in Okinawa for economic and political reasons. Nishiyama (2019, p. 6) pointed out employment opportunities inside the base with stable salaries, income from leasing land to the US military, and the military members' expenditure around the bases as economic reasons for some Okinawans to endorse the continuous presence of the US bases. Also, Okinawa receives a large amount of subsidy in exchange for having the US bases (Inoue, 2011, p. 322). Kouno's (2017, pp. 19-20) survey in his study identified the security of Asian regions and the maintenance of a good relationship with the US as the other

reasons for the increasing number of pro-base groups in Okinawa, especially among populations that did not experience the American occupation. According to his survey, less than 30% of those who were born after the occupation answered “unnecessary” or “dangerous” to have the US bases compared to more than 50% of interviewees who have experienced the American occupation (p. 20).

The cultural discourse pertaining to the American military, especially amongst the younger generations, adds another dimension to discuss some Okinawans’ endorsement of the military presence. This is strongly tied with the cultural identity of people in Okinawa. The situation across Okinawa, especially around the US bases, are well described by Inoue’s (2007, p. 142) mention of the increasing number of Western style cafes, restaurants, clubs and bars which primarily target American military personnel and their family members to entertain. In such entertainment, Ogura (2003, p. 467) pointed out that a large number of Okinawan rock musicians during American occupation performed in English instead of composing their own songs in *Japanese* or Okinawan language. These cultural interactions describe how American cultures have become a large part of Okinawan people’s lives and identity resources. Ginoza (2007, pp. 139-141) critically examined and illustrated the situation where such entertainments that primarily targeted the Americans have also become popular destinations for Okinawan youth. She continued to indicate this exciting Western atmosphere around the US bases as having ideologically influenced younger Okinawans. Ginoza’s points sharply implied the colonial relationship between Okinawa and America as she denoted, “[a]s a result, young Okinawans in the space consume the [racialized and gendered] images of a powerful America as an indispensable part of modernization of Okinawa while accepting the cultural, economic, and politic vulnerability” (p. 141).

Such cultural, political and economic perspectives on the US military often encounter the bitter collective experiences of WWII and military-related incidents in Okinawa. These political and emotional crashes appear as perplexing and conflicting viewpoints in a “political contradiction between the pro-base and anti-base positions” (Inoue, 2011, p. 321). Consequently, people living in Okinawa struggle to face (or not to face) this complex political, cultural and emotional composition, which accentuates the complexity of Okinawan people’s identity processes. Inoue (2011) mentioned such an ambivalent Okinawan situation as “Okinawa’s everyday dilemmas” (p. 321). Given this understanding of Okinawa, in the next section, the theories of identity, hybridity and borderland will be contextualized in Okinawa in order to build the frame for the Okinawan haafus’ identity processes.

2.4 Physical and non-physical borders crossed and reinforced in Okinawa

As Hall (1996, p. 5) and Bhabha (1996, p. 58) mentioned, identity (hybridity) is the process of meeting in differences. Therefore, I chose four cultural and political phenomena to highlight the Okinawan haafus' identity processes in the different meeting points in the Okinawan context. These are the fences, race, Japanese nationality law and the terms for haafu. Further, as a thinking tool of these different concepts, I will apply the previously discussed borderland theories. Borders are both physical and non-physical, and they are constantly forming and reshaping as a result of people's crossing and reinforcing. In this study, the fence of the US military base is conceptualized as a physical border while race is presented as a non-physical border. The nationality law and the terms for haafu are considered as cultural and political discourses, which actively set new boundaries between people and haafus living in Okinawa.

2.4.1 The fence of the American military base



Figure 3. Photograph of the fences of the US military bases, taken by the author's mother in Uruma city in May 2020.

The commonplace “barbed wire fence” (Inoue, 2007, p. 16) as a physical border that divides space between American and Okinawan societies, constantly shapes and reforms, thus, it changes its meaning in the symbolic dimension. Practically, these fences can only be crossed by American military and their family members, Okinawan/Japanese people who are entitled to work on base, and those who happen to hold dual citizenship such as haafus. On one hand, physically crossing these borders might mean privilege since the employment on base can imply economic stability (Nishiyama, 2019, p. 6), and American culture has symbolized power and cultural superiority (Ginoza, 2007, p. 141). On the other hand, the fences might be a symbol or

reminder of “the pain of historical experiences - Japanese oppression, the war, the US bases, and the rape” (Inoue, 2011, p. 324). Such different meanings intersect in this physical border as Okinawan people cross and reinforce the fences. Consequently, it shapes the experiences and thus, identity processes of the people living in Okinawa.

Focusing on the case of Okinawan haafus, Noiri (2005) and Shigematsu’s (2008) studies described well the processes in both crossing and reinforcing the fence, which entails hybrid identities. Noiri’s (2005) case study of an AmerAsian who lives on base underlined the hybridity of her study participant (pp. 52-53). Noiri identified her participant’s negotiation and discovery of his own creative ways to live in-between by merging the cultures on both sides of the fence. On the other hand, Shigematsu’s (2008) study indicated the critical role of fences, which shape the Okinawan haafus’ experiences in being susceptible to the Okinawan resentments against the bases. As stated earlier, the fence can remind some Okinawans of their painful historical experiences in relation to the US military. Shigematsu (2008, p. 288) argued that such Okinawan people’s resentments sometimes scapegoated the Okinawan haafus. One of his research participants depicted her experience in getting rocks thrown at and derogatory words directed her way. Her experience illustrated some Okinawans’ enduring resentments in relation to WWII and the issues of US bases. Shigematsu continued and denoted such situations where haafus could be symbolized “as living reminders of the oppressive and sacrificial situation that local people endure” (p. 289). Based on Cuninghame (2008), this process can still be called a hybridity caused by border-*reinforcing* which strengthens the border with “hostility, fragmentation, and division” (p. 22).

2.4.2 The Japanese race and non-Japanese race

Race is discussed as another meeting point where identity processes manifest. In this study, race is conceptualized as a non-physical border, meaning a racial border is unstable due to the subjects’ active border-crossing and border-reinforcing. Race can be a significant topic for the study participants, haafus, because it is often applied as a divisive tool to categorize people based on how they look. Consequently, a large amount of studies of haafus refer to the topics of race in Japan (Shigematsu, 2008; Noiri, 2005; Choi, 2003; Oshima, 2014; Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007; Taguchi, 2016). In order to investigate racial issues, particularly in the case of the haafus in Okinawa, it is essential to review how the concept of race has been constructed in Okinawa’s (Japan’s) own historical and political context.

In Japanese historical and political contexts, the binary picture of *Japanese race* and *non-Japanese race* has been formed, yet its interpretation has been fairly fluid across its history. According to Koshiro (1999, p. 7), there are similarities between the hierarchical relationship in racial issues in Japan and other contexts in a sense that it legitimized racial superiority by emphasizing its own racial/ethnic purity. For instance, Choi (2003) implied Japan's colonization and the expansion of power were a means of justifying their racial superiority by identifying people in other Asian nations as "the 'lesser breeds' in Asia" including Okinawa (p. 334). That being stated, Wirth (2015) denoted that Japan has never succeeded in becoming a member of "great [white] powers' club" (p. 293). Stated another way, Japan's racial inferiority has mentally been constructed through power negotiation with the Western countries during the war period, and it has been reinforced since Japan's loss of the war (Koshiro, 1999, pp. 21, 71). Particularly, in Okinawa, due to the presence of the US military bases, there are some spaces where the racial dichotomy has been enhanced through individual interactions. Ginoza (2007) indicated the entertainment facilities around the American bases as places where the American GIs "perform their racially privileged masculinity" (p. 139).

Such discourse of racial dichotomy between *Japanese* and *non-Japanese* race shapes the haafus' experiences and identity processes. Identity, as argued by Hall (1996, p. 6), is a twofold process of society's locating an individual and their autonomous articulation of their position in society. In the case of haafu in Okinawa, while the society pushes haafus toward the non-Japanese side on this racial spectrum, they articulate their positions based on how being a haafu is communicated in their close community. For example, Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) accounted the Biracial people's positive perceptions on being Biracial for the current Japanese beliefs on that Biracial were "better looking and more cosmopolitan than the average Japanese" (p. 644). In Okinawa in particular, Noiri's (2005) case study described how individual interactions could shape an AmerAsian's experience. Her study participant experienced being marked and unreasonably followed by a security guard at a mall in Okinawa. The AmerAsian accounted the security guard's action for his instant association between the AmerAsian's *non-Japanese* look and unfavorable incidents caused by some US military personnel (p. 49). These individuals' experiences describe the process of racial border-reinforcing which strengthen the boundary between Japanese and non-Japanese races.

2.4.3 The legal division between Japanese and non-Japanese by the nationality law

While race is conceptualized as a non-physical border which is shaped by people's active border-crossing and reinforcing, the Japanese nationality law (naturalization) creates a new set of boundaries that *legally* divides the Japanese and non-Japanese people. Tsukida (2004, p. 13) defined nationality by investigating the relations between Japanese minorities' identities and the Japanese nationality law. Tsukida defined the term nationality as a device to set criteria in order to identify individuals as a constituent member of society and to distinguish its own citizen from non-citizen in order to differentiate legal treatments. The Ministry of Justice of Japan strictly encourages those who have multiple nationalities to declare the choice of their nationality by the age of twenty two, and those who fail to do so "may lose their Japanese nationality" (Ministry of Justice, 2014, para. 1). Such nationality law "is based on the principle of *jus sanguinis*, which grants nationality through registration by a Japanese parent, not by birth in Japan" (Shigematsu, 2004, p. 311). Based on such a principle and its impacts on people who are regarded as non-Japanese, Shigematsu (2008) criticized the assumption of "the myths and ideologies of the homogeneity of the nations" (p. 301). In agreement with Shigematsu, Takeda (2017, p. 75-76) highlighted patriotic, nationalist and exclusive attitudes manifested in the political discourse on the nationality law.

Shigematsu (2004) who identified himself "as a mixed hybrid-Japanese, Irish and American" (p. 304), indicated the nationality law in Japan as a crucial issue for some haafus' identity negotiation (p. 310). A large number of studies illustrated haafus' feeling of urged to pick a side (Takeda, 2017, p. 77; Shigematsu, 2008, p. 295; Shigematsu, 2004, p. 309; Tsukida, 2004, p. 17) or their difficult life situation strongly affected by the Japanese nationality law (Noiri, 2005, p. 42, 51-52; Oshima, 2014, p. 23). For example, Noiri's (2005) case study illustrated the AmerAsian's difficult situation where he was stuck between choosing either Japanese or American naturalization. That is, he faces the future potential to be left out from employment service provided by the US bases and less opportunities to find a job outside the base due to the lack of his Japanese academic background and language skills (p. 52). As such, haafus are bound to live in uncertain situations and eventually, make an emotional decision on whether they want to be legally recognized as a Japanese or American.

2.4.4 Complexities of terms; *mix*, *haafu*, *daburu* and *AmerAsian*

In addition, the terms for haafus also shape haafus' perceptions and identity processes by actively drawing borders among haafus. According to Taguchi (2017), how haafus are called have been changed in the course of Japanese political and cultural history. Namely, these are: *mix*, *haafu*, *daburu* and *AmerAsian*. First, Taguchi as himself having mixed-race parentage, indicated that a word "*mix*" (*konketsuji*) was used to refer to haafus as an unwelcome consequence of the war and the American occupation and a symbol of shame for Japan's loss of the war (p. 218). Particularly in Okinawa, those children who had American and Okinawan parentage were also called *mix* and simply associated with improper sexual intercourse between American soldiers and Okinawan women (Noiri, 2016, p. 49). Then, in the 70s, *mix* was replaced by a term "*haafu*" which, according to Taguchi (2017, pp. 219-220), was largely used in media and advertisements idolizing the West and beauty in the course of rapid Japanese economic growth. However, he denoted the use of the term "*haafu*" was criticized, because it involved negative connotations, such as impure blood and only a half self (pp. 221-222). Consequently another word "*daburu*" was introduced.

Shigematsu (2008) described "*daburu*" as "neutral and now empowering labels which came from the English 'double'" (p. 286). In Okinawa, a term, *haafu*, was also viewed as a discriminatory word. Noiri (2016, pp. 51-52) highlighted the establishment of AmerAsian school in Okinawa, which aimed at respecting both American and Japanese cultures and de-stigmatize *daburus* (or *AmerAsians*) as the symbol of victim and the US military-related issues. Despite this seemingly positive transformation, Taguchi (2017, pp. 222-223) pointed out the resurrection of "*haafu*", because the implications of *daburu* (the both cultures and languages) did not quite represent some individuals' realities. One of the participants in Shigematsu's (2008) study illustrated this ambiguous position of herself and said, "I think there is also a catch, because it holds up the bilingual, bicultural haafu as an ideal. And at this point in our lives, we can't learn to speak English, we can't go to America, we can't really become daburu. So we need to feel it's okay to be a haafu who can't speak English!" (p. 288). Further, Taguchi (2017, p. 223) mentioned that the revival of "*haafu*" was led by the individuals' own active use in social networking services, movie, events and symposiums.

Now, the discussion will move on to the identity process in psychological lenses. So far, I have built the groundwork for contextualizing haafus' identities at the social (macro) level. Hereafter, the focus will be more on individual haafus' cognitive processes (at micro level) by referring to identity theories from the field of psychology.

2.5 Psychological approaches on identities

Before diving straight into discussing theories of identity formation in psychology, it will be helpful to briefly review how identity has become such a central issue in modern and especially post-modern eras. Identity studies have not always been a common topic. According to Côté and Levine (2016, p. 3), in the premodern era, most people had to spend a great deal of time on physical labor; therefore, identity was not a common topic. However, as people started to be liberated from physical labor, their roles and positions in society began to be unstable and movable between classes. This symbolizes a shift from the issue of "physical survival" to "psychological survival" (p. 4). That is, both physical and psychological survival gained social equivalent and interdependence (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 4). In other words, people started to think and question *who they really are*, which sometimes supports and sometimes harms psychological health. As such, identity studies gained more notice in psychology focused more on cognitive process and its reciprocal relationship with society.

In order to get an insight into identity in psychological approach, I employ Simplified Identity Formation Theory (SIFT) by Côté and Levine (2016). They followed Erik Erikson's (1968) theory of identity. They theorized identity formation as a continuous process by looking at three analytical levels and their mutual interactions; these are *social*, *personal* and *ego* identities (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 15). First, *social* identity mainly focuses on integration. People try to identify common features and their roles to play to fit in a group(s). While social identities were determined at birth based on parents' social status and positions back in pre-modern societies, in late-modern societies, it has been and continues to be a *lifelong challenge* to find one's social identity. This means that one has to work hard to be recognized as a member of society (Côté & Levine, 2016, pp. 25-26). Secondly, once people have developed a sense of belonging through integration and formed their social identities, they tend to differentiate themselves from the group(s) by finding their own uniqueness. This differentiation process occurs at the *personal* identity level and manifests into "interpersonal behavioral styles that have been saved by a person's actual life experiences and learning history" (p. 27). For example, being a specific sport team fan or a diligent and hard-working student can respectively represent an informal

status and roles in personal identities (pp. 46-47). Similar to social identity, personal identity is also uncertain in late-modern societies because “the standards of acceptable behavior can continually change” (p. 27). This signifies the reciprocal relationship between social and personal identities. Since social identities are often strongly tied with social and cultural norms, negotiation between social and personal identities involves presentation, challenge and validation. Social contexts implicitly regulate or influence the negotiation process by providing and limiting opportunities for individuals to display their personal identities based on their gender, race, age and the like (p. 47). Through such experiences in integration and differentiation, people try to form a sense of themselves by forming *ego* identity.

According to Côté and Levine (2016), the stronger ego identity one forms, the better the sense of “sameness and continuity” of self that individuals will manifest in their “interpersonal behavior and commitments to roles, values, and beliefs” (p. 16). Côté and Levine’s concept of ego identity is developed on Erikson’s (1968) *ego identity* which “... [represents] a sense of temporal-spatial continuity and its concomitants” (p. 113). This concept was developed by Erikson’s study on soldiers’ war trauma and “a loss of ‘ego identity’” (Erikson, 1968, p. 17). Erikson further identified this *identity crisis* in citizens and metaphorically attributed the identity confusions to “war within themselves” (p. 17). Therefore, in psychological perspectives on identity, this “sense of continuity over time and across contexts” (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 16) is an important element to maintain psychological health. Otherwise, people with lack of ego identity not only struggle to set their life purposes because of the discontinuity in their past, present and future, but also can be vulnerable to “the vicissitudes of social conflicts and tensions” (p. 115). With that stated, Côté and Levine additionally emphasized Erikson’s point which highlighted that the process of forming ego identity - feelings of sameness and continuity throughout time - continuously accompanied fluctuations, and identity formation never accomplished or stabilized (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 37). It is a common misconception that psychological approaches consider identity as fixed and stable. On the contrary, this SIFT theory acknowledges the movability of identity throughout life. In the following paragraphs, I will introduce the stages of identity development from various researchers.

2.6 Theorization of haafu’s identity developmental stages

The haafus’ identity models have been developed based on other minorities’ identity models by the researchers who studied the topic. For example, Poston (1990) reviewed developmental stages of African-American identity formation, which he advanced to apply and contextualize

to biracial populations in the US. Poston (1990) critically reflected on the limitation of minorities' identity formation stages and proposed five stages of biracial people's identity development. The first stage through which biracial people go, according to Poston's model, is *personal identity* which is quite early in childhood where they are not able to differentiate their racial and physical appearance, therefore, their identity is based on "a sense of self", such as what they can do (p. 153). The second stage is *choice of group categorization* in which the biracial individuals feel urged to pick one side of their racial category based on three factors; 1) how race is communicated in society, 2) how (un)supportive their familial environment is, and 3) what kind of physical appearance, cultural and political knowledge they possess (p. 153). Then, the next stage is *enmeshment/denial*, and in this stage, biracial people have to overcome the "anger and guilt" toward the racial category which they consider to be undervalued. This stage is necessary to move on to the next stage. The fourth stage that is called *appreciation* (p. 154). Biracial people start to appreciate the multiple sides of themselves, which eventually leads them to the final stage, *integration* (Poston, 1990, p. 154). Poston (1990, p. 154) argues those who reach this stage, finally embrace their wholeness and integrate all aspects of themselves. This model became one of the most crucial theories to be developed and applied to analysis of biracial people's identity formation in different contexts.

The current haafus' identity models have paid more attention to the environmental factors. Renn (2008) is one of the researchers who integrated environmental nuances into biracial people's identity development and indicated its fluidity. Instead of using identity development *stages*, Renn (2008) described the process as "patterns" (p. 16). This allows us to see identity not as developing through a linear stage but as moving through different patterns depending on situations. This process is strategically done by biracial individuals by "developing, managing and executing ... [identity] resources suitable to various institutional contexts" (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 93). Côté and Levine (2016) termed these identity resources *identity capital*. According to Côté and Levine, identity capital is accumulated through humans' negotiation between their purposes of life and social norms and structures (p. 94). As such, haafus identities are situational and negotiated between the circumstances and how much identity capital they possess at the moment.

Renn (2008, pp. 17-19) further conceptualized relevant social norms and systems as three environmental factors which influenced college biracial students' identity formation in the US. These are: "physical appearance, cultural knowledge and peer culture" (p. 18). Physical appearance and cultural knowledges respectively refer to the kinds of racial features a person possesses

and how many specific cultural resources, such as language and interests in the culture, biracial individuals have (p. 18). Even though these are attributed to individuals, Renn (2008, p. 18) mentioned that the environment largely controls these aspects and generated cultural and racial norms. Peer culture indicates how college peers interpret race as neutral, positive or negative. Based on peer culture, biracial people move “among identity-based social groups” (p. 19). Particularly, there are studies contextualizing biracial people’s identity formation to Japanese society (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007; Oshima, 2014).

Oikawa and Yoshida (2007, p. 640) employed Cooley’s Looking-Glass Self Theory (1902) to examine the interactive relationship between Biethnics and Japanese society. According to Oikawa and Yoshida, Cooley’s theory highlights the interdependence between individuals and society because one can know about oneself “through her/his reflection in a mirror”, and this mirror is “the reaction of others” (p. 635). They conducted focus group interviews as a means of data collection in order to identify “the relationship between identity and society” (p. 640). From the data, Oikawa and Yoshida highlighted the participants’ experiences in recognizing the differences in their physical features as a consequence of interpersonal interactions within Japanese society. They theorized Biethnics’ three different “reactions to being Biethnic”, and these are, “Unique Me”, “Model Biethnic” and “Just Let Me Be Japanese” (p. 644). *Unique Me* implies their claim that they want to be recognized as just an individual. *Model Biethnic* means that they enjoy being Biethnic due to current societal admiration toward Biethnics for the increasing number of mixed-race celebrities and models. Then, *Just Let Me Be Japanese* indicates that Biethnics regard themselves nothing different from Japanese and wish the society looks at them the same (p. 644-645).

This marks the end of my theoretical framework. By combining the relevant theories of haafus’ identity from sociological and psychological approaches, I have constructed the base to look at and discuss the Okinawan haafus’ identity processes. Okinawa is a borderland where the fence of the US military base as a physical border and race as non-physical borders are constantly crossed and reinforced, meaning they are also constantly shaping and reforming themselves. Also, the Japanese nationality law and the terms for haafus have created new boundaries to categorize not only Japanese and non-Japanese people but also among haafus. While such macro level interactions between haafus and Okinawan society account for their reciprocal relationship, psychological approaches guide our attention more to individuals’ cognitive processes. Identity is in constant negotiation between integration and differentiation, which is accumulated and becomes an individual’s sense of sameness and continuity. With this sense of

continuity, haafus' identity processes manifest themselves differently according to a particular situation under certain norms and ideologies. Particularly in this study, the fence, race, the Japanese law and the terms for haafus are considered as significant elements to compose norms and ideologies which shape the haafus' identities. Such identity negotiations can well be described in telling the stories of individuals' past experiences. In order to attentively listen to haafus' telling their experiences, I applied narrative as research material, methodology and approach to this study and will discuss it in the following chapter.

3 Narrative as research material, methodology and approach

In this section, narrative as data (material), as a methodology and as an approach is first discussed. Currently, narrative is becoming a common methodology in sociological and psychological studies (Riessman, 2008, p. 3; Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou, 2017, p. 2; Esin, et al., 2013, p. 205). Its definition has been very ambiguous, and it was confusing for me to understand what narrative was. Thus, it made it difficult to employ in this study. At this juncture, I will define narrative specifically in relation to my research topic. This process of defining what narrative is will serve as the foreground for how my study has been guided in accordance with epistemology and ontology. Also, background on the research participants, *Okinawan haafus*, and semi-structured interviews as a data collection method are respectively explained by following the narrative definition. In the last section, I will review narrative analysis as my analytical method.

3.1 Is it possible to define “narrative”?

Yazaki (2016) argued that it was fairly difficult to define what narrative is (p. 48). As such, it is helpful to look into how narrative has been defined in different fields and in its history. First, according to Esin, et al. (2013, p. 205), narrative has been employed as an analytical tool across the different fields of human and social sciences. In these different fields, narrative as *material* has been differently defined (Yazaki, 2016, p. 48). For example, some studies have treated narratives merely as “sources of information” or “coherent, natural or unified entities” while narratives were defined as more complex, incoherent and interdependent texts in other studies (Esin, et al., 2013, pp. 204-205). Another issue of defining narrative as a material is that there have been some cases where this very deed of defining narrative caused unwanted consequences. One example can be seen in the development of the Labovian narrative analysis. The Labovian approach is one narrative analytical method which centers plotment of story at the core of its analysis (Patterson, 2008, pp. 22-24; Yazaki, 2016, pp. 49-51; Elliott, 2005, p. 9). According to Patterson (2008), sociolinguist Labov’s (1972) analytical model which strictly follows sequential order of a story unintentionally had created *division* between “‘good’” (following Western traditional story plot) and “‘bad’ narratives” (not following it) (p. 37). Patterson continued by indicating several researchers who later reflectively used Labov’s model and broadened its definition by recognizing “complexity and subtlety” of told stories (Patterson, 2008, p. 31). This overview of the development of defining narratives informs me that defining

narrative is not merely difficult, but the mutuality between narrative as material, methodology and approach have to be taken into consideration (Yazaki, 2016, p. 49).

In order to examine this mutuality, I will list one example of narrative definition by Patterson (2008) to investigate how these three narrative elements (material, methodology and approach) are evident in her definition. Patterson, in her study of traumatic experiences, defined narratives as:

“texts which bring stories of personal experience into being by means of the first person oral narration of past, present, future and imaginary experience” (p. 37).

Firstly, her narrative definition functions in a way that prevented everything said from being objects of analysis yet still keeps her data suitable to her analysis. Secondly, her ontological standing point is evident in this definition. She indicated that narrative can, as a text, be “*being*”. This means that narrative becomes a part of reality through analysis of *how* the narrator’s traumatic experiences are presented. One step further, the *how* in her definition implies interviewee-interviewer mutuality in producing narrative texts in a “*first person oral narrative*” interview. Along these lines, Elliott (2005) stated that tellers always expect listeners to join “in the telling of a narrative” (p. 11). In this sense, narrative is often co-constructed between a teller and her/his audience. The last point that I will explain based on Patterson’s definition is that of the relationship between “*experience*” in narrative and social and cultural contexts. Stated another way, how a narrator structures their experiences into a story can reflect her/his cultural and social contexts. Further, Gubrium and Holstein (2009) indicated that when stories are told, narrators’ social positioning and relationships to others can figure in the structure of a text by situating their experiences and events in certain times and places. In this sense, stories go beyond something not only that the narrators hold but also that “[t]he environment and the occasion ‘own’” (p. 12).

Based on this reflection upon Patterson’s (2008, p. 37) narrative definition, I would like to present my definition. For the purpose of this study, narrative is defined as:

Stories that reflect the identity processes and social contexts by means of interactions between tellers and listeners and the strategic use of cultural, social and political resources.

While I am explaining this definition in the following section, my choice of narrative as a methodology will also be explained. This definition is mainly constituted of three elements of narrative. The first element is related to my topic; identity process. According to Riessman (2008),

identities are formed by “individuals and groups through storytelling” (p. 8). In line with Riessman, Gubrium and Holstein (2009), mentioned narratives could be “windows on inner life” (p. 7). In other words, researchers may get access to tellers’ sense-making process by looking into how tellers strategically arrange what they have experienced in their lives and how they want to be known. As such, by bringing past experiences and events into story form, this can make the personal identity negotiation process visible and interpretable. Elliott (2005) went into details about this strategy of narrators organizing past experiences in order to find the sense of self “with continuity through time” (p. 126). Put another way, through narrating, people try to make sense of why and how they have evolved into the present *who they are* by re-constructing and re-organizing the meaning of past experiences in accordance with present feelings and thoughts. In this sense, identity can be understood, “as permanence through time without sameness through time” (Elliott, 2005, p. 125). Thus, producing narrative “functions to express, confirm and validate the claimed identity” (Patterson, 2008, p. 29). However, this very process of narrative is not exclusively carried out by a teller who has resided in her/his context.

The second element of my narrative definition regards the context where the narratives are situated. As much as narrative can enable researchers to get insights into the narrator’s personal identity, it can also allow us to interpret social and cultural circumstances where the stories are generated. As stated by Gubrium and Holstein (2009), stories structured by tellers are also owned by “[t]he environment and the occasion” (p. 12). Elliott (2005) brought some good examples to explain this Gubrium and Holstein’s point. As far as narrative structure is concerned, frameworks of how to tell stories have been learned by people who have access to “the cultural repertoire of stories” (Elliott, 2005, p. 126). In other words, this shows that stories of particular social groups tend to follow a similar structure. Elliott continued by referring to job interviews as an “extreme example” of how social spaces construct the ways people are expected to structure their telling stories (p. 128). This indicates narrative structure can highlight “[social and] cultural resources” which narrators “draw on or take for granted” within certain circumstances (Riessman, 2012, p. 3). Phoenix (2008) called these particular narratives as *canonical narratives* where “normative cultural expectations” become visible (p. 65).

The final element of my narrative definition is about interrelationality. A number of narrative researchers have highlighted the significance of spatial relationships between tellers and listeners, which shapes narrative production (Phoenix, 2008, p. 70; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 10; Squire, 2008, p. 44; Elliott, 2005, p. 11). According to Gubrium and Holstein (2009, p. 10), the moment of storytelling mediates how a teller organizes their stories. For instance, there are

linguistic aspects such as “non-verbal cues, short responses or back channel utterances” and interactional strategy aspects like how much detailed information should be told during interviews (Elliott, 2005, p. 11). Also, there are less controllable but equally, if not less, influential elements such as class, race, gender and occupation of the people present in conversation. Squire (2008, pp. 44-45) reflected on her own research about people living with HIV. In her research, she as “a white, middle class female university researcher from the overdeveloped world” interviewed “black, mostly women, almost all working class, and largely under the age of 30” (p. 44). She stated that these aspects were influential to what and how the participants told their experiences (p. 44). In line with Squire, Phoenix (2008, p. 70) also reflected on her position as a black researcher who conducted a study about race and interviewed a white mother whose child was colored. In that study, Phoenix implied *category entitlement* by which people employed to “establish their right to speak on the topics being discussed” (p. 70). The mother in her study particularly used shared or similar experiences of being a target of racism in order to get category entitlement (pp. 70-74).

These three elements of the definition of narrative as a window into the identity process, cultural and social contexts, and interrelationality come together in this study’s approach to the narrative materials. Consequently, they guided my analytical procedure in order to answer my research questions:

1. How are Okinawan haafus’ identities manifested in their telling?
2. How are the stories of Okinawan haafus interactively co-created in the complex relationships between the teller, listener, reader and sociocultural, historical and material context?

The first question refers to the micro level of the participants’ identity negotiation. I look at their narratives by investigating the *how* of their storytelling of their experiences that have been important parts of their identity formation. The second question is more interested in the Okinawan cultural and social context and interdependence in storytelling between the teller, listener and reader. It was inspired by Smith and Sparke’s (2009) suggested question: “How is a story co-constructed in a complex choreography - in spaces between teller and listener, speaker and setting, text and reader, and history and culture?” (p. 284). I have repeatedly formed and reformed my research questions throughout my research process. When I read their study, I thought this question described the gist of my second interest. Further, it showed how narrative analysis could help me examine the context by identifying the participants’ strategic use of

story structures shaped by the cultural and social contexts. It also allows me to investigate the interviewee-interviewer relationship in telling their experiences. These aspects correspond to choosing and creating my analytical framework, which will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

3.2 Research participants: Haafus in Okinawa

According to Creswell (2007), there should be one or more participants who can share relevant stories around particular topics in a narrative research (p. 119). In my research, there are four participants, which I assume are enough participants; especially, because the aim of this study is not to find generalizable facts about either the context or haafus in Okinawa but to describe the haafus' diverse experiences and the identity processes. The participants are not only biracial individuals having American fathers and Okinawan mothers as parents but they also grew up and spent more than half of their life time in Okinawa. Therefore, I would argue that they can shed light on issues of haafus' identity formation as well as the impact of American military bases on the people of Okinawa. My second justification of choosing the participants is related to time. As mentioned above, reflecting on and drawing on past experiences into forms of story can manifest a sense of continuity within themselves (Elliott, 2005, p. 125). Relatedly, Kearney (2013) stated that storytellers often re-organize their stories and engage in a sense-making process as they reflect upon their experiences in the past (p. 129). Therefore, I chose participants who had already graduated from high school between five and ten years ago. In this way, the study participants can reflect on their past experiences related to their identity processes in school.

The four participants in this study are American-Okinawan haafu, who currently study at a university or have a job. Two of them are female (Hana and Yurika) and the other two are male (Bob and Ichiro). The participants' names presented in this study are pseudonyms. They are all in their early to mid-twenties. Hana and Bob are my friends from junior high school. Bob went to the same high school as me, and Hana went to another high school. Yurika is a good friend of Hana and kindly agreed to participate in this study. I did not know Ichiro prior to the study, but he was referred by a friend. Despite his busy schedule, Ichiro agreed to participate in the study. All the interviews took place around August 2019. At the beginning of each interview, I briefly told them about this research, and all the participants were given an opportunity to provide informed consent to participate in this research as suggested by Creswell's (2007, p. 123) interview procedures. My consent form provided information about me as a master's degree

student in Finland and a researcher of this study. It also stated that the interview would be recorded. Further, the consent ensured that the participants were aware that they could withdraw from this study at any time without explaining why. In addition, this informed consent makes sure that the participants can ask any questions to clarify the research (see appendix 1). All of them signed this form to agree to be a main part of this research. Table 1 presents the participants' profiles.

Table 1. Participants' profile in this study

Pseudonyms	Gender	Father's race	Parental marital status and participants' living situation post-separation (where applicable)
Hana	Female	White	Divorced when she was 3 and lived with mother
Bob	Male	Black	Divorced when he was in high school and lived with mother
Ichiro	Male	White	Married
Yurika	Female	White	Divorced when she was in elementary school and went back together when she was in high school

In order to protect the participants from any harm as a consequence of being a central part of this research, this minimal information was provided and pseudonyms were employed for anonymity and confidentiality. In addition to their pseudonyms and gender, I chose to include their fathers' race and their family status in the table with their consent, as these topics appeared to be crucial aspects of their identity negotiation processes.

3.3 Data collection method and procedure

Squire, et al. (2017) mentioned that there is no clear guidance on what way is most suitable to collect data in a narrative study (p. 2). Among several possible ways to collect data, such as

field notes, diary, text message and speech, I chose *semi-structured interviews* as my data collection method. The first reason for choosing this method is related to the aims of this research. The aims of the research are to interpret American-Okinawan haafus' identity negotiation process and life experiences in Okinawa through narrative analysis. Thus, it was essential for the participants to have space during the interview to tell their stories. Elliott (2005) highlighted the disadvantages of using structured interviews in narrative study, which could limit stories by asking interviewees to give short and clear responses (p. 21). Concerning the question form, Creswell (2007) suggested to use open-ended questions for narrative interviews so that researchers could pay attention to tellers while "construct[ing] the meaning of a situation" and life experiences (p. 21). In addition, according to Ayres (2012), through the semi-structured interview with open-ended questions, an interviewee and an interviewer's interactive process can develop stories appropriate to narrative analysis (p. 2).

Prior to the interviews, I told the participants about the topic of this study and that I was interested in listening to haafus' identity processes in Okinawa. However, I did not provide my participants with interview questions (see Appendix 2) and what I was going to ask, prior to the interviews. The reason comes to one of the divisions in narrative research, *small* and *big stories*. While big stories tend to refer to "the content of the (auto)biographical story", which leads analysts to investigate "identity and cognitive perspectives", small stories have researchers more focused on their linguistic organization and social structure that appears in everyday interactions in analysis (Phoenix, 2008, pp. 64-65). In this way, negotiations and dilemmas can figure in storytelling, which are important elements of identity. Therefore, I intended to construct our interviews with the aim of generating everyday-like conversations, thus, *smaller* stories. According to Squire et. al. (2017), researchers who claim the importance of small stories emphasize more attention to naturally occurring conversation in everyday life (p. 7). Although I understand the interview setting was far from such a conversation setting, I tried not to structure our interviews as formal question-answer style. Consequently, I came to this decision on not sending the participants any questions prior to the interviews. In this way, the participants did not have to feel pressure to prepare what to say, which in my opinion, is not close to naturally occurring everyday conversation. To even more emphasize this small story aspect, at the beginning of each interview, I told the participants the interview should be more conversational than the traditional structured interviews where I asked questions and they answered each question.

All the interviews were conducted face-to-face in different places in Japan. One interview was in the participant's house, and the others were at cafes of their choices. Across all the interviews, I started by briefly re-telling them the topic and purpose of the study and explaining in detail the informed consent form to ensure their autonomy. During all the interviews, there were a fair amount of silent moments and digressions from the main topics. When these happened, I did not forcefully try to take control to bring the topic back or fill the silence. Instead, I tried giving the participants space to feel comfortable to reflect on their past experiences.

Ichiro and Bob's interviews were carried out one-on-one whereas Hana and Yurika's were interviewed at the same time. In this way, Hana and Yurika's interview was a smaller version of a focus group interview. Hana invited Yurika to participate in the study, and they asked me if they could have the interview together. At the beginning, I thought my study would lose consistency in data collection by interviewing the two participants individually and the other two together. I consulted a professor who has conducted narrative studies about my concern. Consequently, I chose to value how Hana and Yurika wanted to create the interview space and also examined the pros and cons of a focus group interview. Creswell (2007) reviewed some advantages of focus groups. He mentioned they were advantageous if the interviewees shared similar experiences, and they were cooperative to engage in conversation (p. 133). During Hana and Yurika's interview, conversations went on not only between me and each of them separately but also between the two participants. It seemed that each other's similar experiences and events encouraged and triggered their own past experiences to be shared with all of us. Moreover, Hana and Yurika are close friends since they met in high school, so the conversation was mutually co-constructed to a large degree by reflecting and commenting on each other's characters, experiences and thoughts. In this sense, there was no situation, in my eyes, where one participant dominated the conversation and another participant felt hesitant to speak as Creswell (2007) suggested this could be a disadvantage of conducting focus group interviews (p. 133).

All the interviews were conducted in Japanese language even though there were two participants who would have no problem talking in English. The reason we conducted the interviews in Japanese was, first, my mother tongue is Japanese, and second, I thought I would be more likely to speak Japanese with them in an everyday setting. This language aspect of narrative and its structure will be discussed in the following analysis section. Ichiro and Bob's interviews were around 60 minutes respectively and Hana and Yurika's interview together was almost 90 minutes so that each participant had enough time to reflect on and share their experiences. All

the interviews were transcribed. To protect their anonymity and confidentiality, once I transcribed them, all the information that could possibly reveal the participants' identity was either deleted or replaced with care. After this process, I sent the transcripts to each of them and asked to make sure there were no details that they did not want me to use. Consequently, the data was ready for analysis after a few revisions in response to the participants' requests.

3.4 Analysis procedure and process

As stated by Riessman (2008), there are several ways to approach narrative materials, but mainly there are narrative analysis and analysis of data (or analysis of narrative) as a "family of analytical methods for interpreting texts" (p. 2). I chose the former, narrative analysis, which is more interested in "intention and language - *how* and *why* incidents are storied" than *what* is told (Riessman, 2008, p. 11). In relation to the topic of my study *identity*, it was important for me to direct my attention to *why* the participants chose particular events and experiences to tell and the ways (*how*) they did in order to claim "who they are and how they want to be known" (Riessman, 2008, p. 7). To analyze the narrative data, I employed and combined a couple of analytical methods instead of choosing just one model. These approaches are the Labovian (1972) structural analysis, Phoenix's (2008) contexts-centered approach and Riessman's (2008) dialogic/performance approach. They all are within the framework of narrative analysis or at least share methodological elements of narrative analysis in their analytical procedures. Each approach and its choice will be discussed in relation to my research questions.

I will first review the Labovian (1972) approach by mainly referring to Patterson's (2008) example because her work best explains this approach and how to apply it to a study. First, Patterson introduced William Labov as a sociolinguist who coined this approach (p. 22). It centers its analytical interest on the structure of people's storytelling, in other words, *emplotment* of story (pp. 22-27). Labov's motivation to develop this analysis of story emplotment lied in empowering American black English to "be recognized as a language" which had its own *systematic organization* just like standard English (p. 22). Second, Patterson introduced how his analysis could be deployed. This analysis first begins with breaking down text into clauses and then labelling each clause with one element of story emplotment. These are; "abstract (A), orientation (O), complicating action (CA), result (R), evaluation (E), [and] coda (C)" (p. 24). In more detail, *abstract* introduces what this story is about which is followed by *orientation*, "the who, when and where of the story" (Parcell & Baker, 2017, p. 1072). Then, a turning point which is introduced by a character's action or a significant event is presented in *complicating action*,

and its *result* comes after this. This is often followed by reflective comments of a narrator in *evaluation*, and *coda* usually comes at the end to bring back the story to the present moment (Patterson, 2008, pp. 24-28; Parcell & Baker, 2017, pp. 1071-1072; Yazaki, 2016, p. 51). In agreement with the researchers who have used this analytical approach, *evaluation* is the most important element. Thus, attention should be paid to *evaluation*.

In order to implement the Labovian approach, I took some steps after collecting data. First, I listened to and transcribed the recorded interviews into a form of text. Riessman (2008) underscored that there was much to be lost through recording and transcribing, such as, in my participants' case, not only Okinawan accents but also "the fluid and dynamic movement of words and gestures" (p. 29). In order to keep the details of the interview as much as possible, I did not use digital technology to transcribe but spent a number of days listening to the audio records because as Riessman (2008, p. 29) argued, transcribing itself is already an interpretation of data. Additionally, I added some symbols and description of tones and dynamics of interviews (e.g., [...] for pause and [笑] for laughter). Then, before diving into analysis, I re-read each interview in order to familiarize myself with the data. When all the data was ready in text forms and became familiar to me, I started my analysis. I started by systematically following the Labovian analytical model by breaking down my whole data into clauses and labelling each clause with the plot elements. In this way, I knew where to focus, and it became clearer what were the repeated and recurrent topics and dilemmas. Also, this process identified similarities and differences in the structures of the stories. Despite its systematic means, some limitations emerged when I was analyzing the data.

The Labovian structural approach's main focus is on how the story is structured with rather exclusive ways of looking at a *story* as a chronologically ordered text (Parcell & Baker, 2017, p. 1071). As I continued my analysis, I found a number of clauses and sentences in the data that were essentially not compatible to the analysis even though some of the participants' experiences were worth being analyzed regarding the topic of this research. It is because this approach exclusively sees narrative as chronologically sequenced texts. This perception is evidenced in some narrative studies. For example, Elliott (2005) emphasized "the coherence of the narrative plot with a beginning, middle, and end" (p. 125) in order to analyze her participants' identities. The data that the participants and I produced did not strictly follow this order for some possible reasons. First, all the interviews were rather, as mentioned above, interactional and conversational than the participants reporting to me their monologue about their life stories. The second reason might be a more cultural aspect of story plot. The Labovian analytical model was fairly

developed around story emplotment that is originally rooted in western contexts (Parcell & Baker, 2017, p. 3). Patterson (2005, p. 31) criticized the Labovian approach by indicating that some non-Indo-European stories might not be organized around time but rather presented differently, such as being told around place, hierarchical relationship of the characters, or their relationship to the narrator. All the interviews were conducted in Japanese to co-create narratives. Although Japanese traditional story plot is not going to be explored in detail in my study, I still applied this systematic analysis to my data by being culturally flexible and sensitive to non-chronologically ordered stories.

While using the Labovian approach as systematic analysis to my data, I also needed interpretive tools in order to examine identity claims and contextual aspects that respond to my research questions. Therefore, I reviewed and applied Phoenix's (2008) narrative analysis. Firstly, she introduced *key narratives* which guided analysts into the narrative analysis of personal identity claims and cultural and social contexts. *Key narratives* entails the teller's *personal identity* and *canonical narratives* (see page 30?). They are developed in storytelling in order "to explain and justify people's actions and decisions" (p. 67). In Phoenix's study, for example, an interviewee repeatedly stated her position against racism in different forms which became the key narratives of her story. Such key narratives claimed her personal identity as being against racism and simultaneously embodied the canonical narrative which foregrounded "normative cultural expectations" (p. 65). Thus, I identified key narratives in my participants' stories in order to investigate both their identities and the Okinawan cultural and social contexts. As such, I looked into the participants' *evaluations* in their narratives, which are the most important plot element as explained above. Moreover, the participants' repeated and recurrent dilemmas and events were other targets to find key narratives.

Lastly, I will discuss the analysis of interrelationality between tellers and her/his audience by referring to Riessman's (2008) dialogic/performance approach. Several narrative researchers recognized and highlighted that narratives were co-produced by a teller and her/his audience (Riessman, 2008, pp. 106-112; Phoenix, 2008, p. 69; Elliott, 2005, p. 4; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 10). In other words, identity, cultural, social, political and gender positioning that both interviewer and interviewee bring to the relationship matter in co-creating narratives. Narrators often *perform* in accordance with the preferences of their specific audience and how they want to be understood (Riessman, 2008, pp. 106-111). Further, Riessman (2008, p. 111) indicated narrators often considered the wider audience, such as potential future readers when telling their stories, which is beyond the teller-listener relationship. Consequently, these aspects of narrative

analysis required me to reflect upon my position not only as a male, Okinawan, master's student abroad in his mid-twenties, but also my experiences in working inside the US military bases as a barista and food service worker for over five years. This reflection on my past experiences leads to further reflection on my current experiences in Finland. Currently, I am an international student from a small southern island of Japan. My perception on Okinawan cultural and political situation and history started reforming as a result of learning postcolonial and postmodern theories. Therefore, and to be honest, I have/have had/will have internal tensions when thinking and talking about Okinawa, which might have influenced the process of co-producing the narratives with my participants who have American and Okinawan parentage. My reflection will be more discussed in later chapters in this study.

With that stated, my analysis first followed systematic procedure, which clarified structures of the narrative materials and enabled me to identify where to focus. Then, I looked for key narratives. These include both personal identity claims and canonical narratives foregrounding cultural and social aspects which impacted to structure the participants' storytelling. Finally, I paid attention to and discussed the mutuality of narrative co-creation through thorough reflection on my positioning. The analytical framework allowed me to present my findings in detail and in creative manner, which will be presented in the following chapter.

4 Presenting and discussing the Okinawan haafus' identities

In this chapter, I present and discuss my findings. The reason I combined the findings and discussion together in the same section is based on how identity is understood in this research and the use of narrative analysis as an analytical framework. As repeatedly stated, identity is fluid, situational and relational, which implies that identities can be manifested in story-telling. Therefore, I chose to write the stories of each participant and my thought processes as a means of presenting the identities that were claimed, embedded, interpreted and negotiated in the participants' oral stories during our conversation. Facing, engaging in and analyzing Ichiro, Hana, Yurika and Bob's stories have become my stories, as Smith and Sparkes (2009) mentioned that "for storytellers, analysis is the story - it is a written, theatrical, or visual story" (p. 285). I first present four individual stories in order to answer my two research questions;

1. How are Okinawan haafus' identities manifested in their telling?
2. How are the stories of Okinawan haafus interactively co-created in the complex relationships between the teller, listener, reader and sociocultural, historical and material context?

Subsequently, theories of identity will be presented by referring to all the stories. At the end of the chapter, I will apply "visual creative analytic practices" (Smith & Sparkes, 2009, p. 282) as a way to visualize the four participants and my identity processes.

4.1 Okinawan haafus' individual stories

4.1.1 Ichiro: Living or not living on both sides

"I don't know if that happened because I am a haafu or just because of my personality." Ichiro looked rather uncertain when he was sharing his experiences in being bullied in school. We met for the interview during Ichiro's lunch break from his part time job. While our conversation went smoothly thanks to his talkativeness, his ambivalence was implicitly embedded in his telling his experiences and the issues in Okinawa.

Ichiro seemed certain that his first realization of his *different look* was rather external. *"My friends say, 'you have a foreigner-look', then I started noticing that my appearance was not like Japanese, and you know, it was true"*. This "foreigner-look" means *American-like look* particularly in Okinawa, and he used it as a contrast to his Japanese-like character. When I

asked him to describe himself, he said, *“I tried to be more humble and kind, like Japanese stereotypes!”*. Such dualities appeared as he attributed his look (outside) to a *stereotypical American* and his character (inside) to *stereotypical Japanese*. Such dualistic presentations of himself frequently occurred throughout our conversation, but what intrigued me was his sense of (not) finding himself on this American-Japanese and outside-inside continuum.

When Ichiro was in Japanese primary school, he got bullied by a group of students. *“It was both physical and mental, but I do not know that happened because I am haafu or just because of my personality, now that I think about it, maybe it was because I was haafu... or... maybe it was my personality”*. He tried making sense of this event twice during our conversation though we did not reach any conclusion which would have told us it was because he was haafu or for his character. Does this unsettled state of Ichiro between this dichotomy imply what it means to live in Okinawa as a haafu? When finding and claiming identity, Ichiro used cultural discourse that he has accumulated throughout his life. American-like look and Japanese-like character are prevalently communicated in Okinawan society and have been learned not only by Ichiro but also haafus living in Okinawa as resources to describe who they are. However, when Ichiro courageously told about his bullying experiences, this cultural discourse was outmoded and futile to his accounting of this event. Yet, this ambivalence itself appeared as his identity in our talk, even though Ichiro could not find what was the real cause of the bullying. Among the resources that Ichiro employed to find who he was, Japanese nationality law seemed to be a critical one which influenced his identity negotiation.

As I already discussed earlier, dual nationality is not technically allowed in Japan, and those who hold it are urged to decide which nationality to choose and abandon. Although Ichiro asserted that he did not feel like choosing one nationality, high school was the time when he had to think about choosing a side due to the invisible and implicit force of the Japanese nationality law. *“We talked a lot about it among my haafu friends because we thought we had to decide which nationality we would take by the age of 22. And I always wonder why we had to decide to pick one side”*. Eventually, he shared his acknowledgement about foreign football players with multiple nationalities and a famous American-Japanese tennis player holding dual nationality, which impacted on how he perceived himself being in a similar position to these people. Ichiro’s story depicts his reflective thought process from feeling pressured to pick a side to discovering famous athletes who stand in the similar position as Ichiro. As such, he personalized the tactic to integrate into where he belonged, but sometimes, there seemed to be a need to claim his personal identities. Ichiro clearly showed conflicting views on the topic of haafu’s

name. I asked him, at the beginning of the interview, if the word haafu made him uncomfortable, and what he replied was, “*not at all*”. Ichiro had a rather assertive attitude toward this topic and shared his experience in listening to a speech of proposing “daburu” as an alternative name for haafu. “*I don’t understand why people make so much noise about it. I felt it was unnecessary to claim that. The term haafu has never bothered me, so I think I am fine to be called haafu.*”

The political discourse of the US military bases in Okinawa gave Ichiro a more complicated yet intelligible tool to claim his identity. When he started studying at university, he chose to investigate the American military’s perceptions on Okinawa for one of his individual projects. He retrospectively said, “*I thought it would be interesting to know how the American side saw Okinawa because there are not so much material for it*”. He also said, “*negative things the Americans have done were always reported on news and spread in Okinawan public. Even though they sometimes do good things, Okinawan newspaper companies never take it as a topic*”. It seemed that Ichiro pointed out and tried to fill the gap in perceptions between how he and the Okinawan public differently saw the US bases. At that moment, I felt I saw his sense of living in-between. Later in our conversation, he told me that he was a pro-base person because of the benefits he has got. However, he sympathetically told me: “*but I understand why some people are against the American military bases after all, so I hope they (the American military) do not cause any troubles so that negative news about them would be decreased*”.

4.1.2 Hana: Becoming an unsuccessful haafu

Hana is a cheerful and kind person who I have known since we were in junior high school. Hana, Yurika and I had the interview at a cafe in Okinawa. Throughout our conversation, she lightened up the atmosphere by joking about and telling her life stories. While Hana was sharing her experiences and reflective thoughts on her identity, she showed me her determination to be a strong and positive person. She often referred to her mother raising Hana as a single parent. “*I have seen my mom going through tough life, so I feel I have to put my act together*”.

Hana often mentioned about her not being able to speak English when describing who she was. At the beginning of the interview, she jokingly told me she was “*in the unsuccessful side*”. This “unsuccessful side”, pronounced by Hana comes from the idealized images of haafus in Okinawa. Haafus are often expected to be familiar with both Japanese and English languages and cultures. Hana drew on this discourse and described herself as being an “unsuccessful” haafu as oppose to its counterpart, “successful” ones who hold both American and Japanese cultures

and languages. *“I could have spoken English if I grew up with my dad”*, she pensively breathed. However, the absence of English language seemed to help her make sense who she was and reinforced her sense of being Japanese. When we were talking about the nationality law, Hana looked firm and said, *“there was no hesitation to choose Japanese nationality because I have lived in Japan my entire life and I cannot speak English”*. At that moment, I glimpsed her strength to position herself not as an unsuccessful haafu but just as who she was. Despite her strong sense of being Japanese, however, interacting with people in Okinawa sometimes makes her wonder if she looks more American.

Hana works at the airport check-in counter, and there are sometimes foreign customers intentionally picking her service counter. She laughed and said, *“all the other counters are also empty though!”*. Then, she mentioned that it made her question if she looked more American especially when people suddenly spoke to her in English. Nevertheless, Hana joked about such an experience, laughed and told it as a funny story. Throughout the interview, her positivity was present even when telling her bitter experiences. When Hana was in elementary school, a boy mocked her because of her whiter skin. Even though it hurt her emotionally, she interpreted that the boy just wanted to get her attention, and she said: *“I think going through such a thing actually made me a stronger person”*.

In her self-reflection on when she was in school, Hana, as the other participants, implied the sense of being in-between. *“I was not like a typical girl. I played with boys a lot, like making mud balls and throwing them at a wall, didn’t you do that when you were young?”*. She applied the discourse of gender to locate her younger self being fluid in this typical boy-girl continuum. Hana’s identity claim was often supported by the similar pattern of not belonging to any side or group. She described herself as a person who did not like to belong to certain friend groups but as someone who got along with everyone without a boundary. *“I didn’t like to be in any friend groups because it often involved dislikes and discriminations toward other groups, you know? It really annoyed me, haha, so I was a girl who could get along with and talk to everyone”*.

When we were talking about the US military bases in Okinawa, Hana showed her frustration toward the political clash between pro/anti-base groups in Okinawa. She expressed her displeasure: *“why can’t we all be nice to each other?”*. She was also fed up with Okinawan media being always biased against the American military. As if Hana counter argued anti-base discourse, she denoted her concerns about possible economic and security crisis Okinawa might

face if it lost the bases. Despite her growing up without her American father, I, as a listener of her story, could not help linking her thoughts on the American military base with her own roots and her mother's emotional support. Hana pondered: *"but if the base wasn't here, my mom would have never met my dad, and I would not have been haafu"*. Recently, Hana for the first time since her parents' divorce, visited her father in the US. She told me that her mother was rather supportive of her decision to meet her father. *"My mom told me that it was up to me though she said she wouldn't go with me, haha"*. Hana showed her gratitude for her mother raising her as a single parent and being emotionally supportive to who she is. Hana quoted her mother and said, *"my mom told me 'there were lots to go through but you are here because I met your dad, so I am very happy now'"*.

Hana's life and telling her stories embodied her "sense of living in borderlands" (Shigematsu, 2008, p. 300) in Okinawa. Despite her strong and positive character, the political discourse of Okinawa, the idealized image of haafu, and her mother's unconditional love relentlessly put her identity in vulnerable and susceptible positions.

4.1.3 Yurika: Story of kindness and restless effort

Yurika described her childhood as being rather a shy kid: *"I really hated speaking in front of public and getting attention in class"*. She seemed rather quiet at the beginning of our conversation, but once she started sharing her life stories and self-reflection on her life, her mindfulness manifested in her telling. Because of her parents' marital and working situations, her childhood was rather unsettled, which she thought had a great influence on her identity.

Yurika frequently moved back and forth between Japanese and English-speaking environments until she started the 4th grade in Japanese public school. *"I did not speak both Japanese and English as fluently as my family and friends did. On one hand, when I got my Japanese improved, my family spoke in English and sometimes singled out my mispronunciation of new English vocabulary. On the other hand, I was standing alone outside the friend circle because I could not understand what they were talking about. Even if I understood what they said, I could not respond to them and joined their conversation. This situation lasted so long and it was very frustrating that I could not express myself"*. Again, the idealized public image of haafu speaking both languages can be seen in Yurika's struggles. It constantly pressured her to be in a mold in which the society implicitly entreats her to fit. Yurika spoke softly, *"I am tired of people's envying haafu, it is not like all the haafus are the same"*. Such feeling depicted the

situation where the stereotypes of haafu ignorantly have erased some haafus' restless effort in keeping both languages and cultures alive. Despite Yurika's struggles, she told me that some life events and experiences rekindled her to keep moving forward.

Now, she finds herself different than in the past as she has got lots of support from people around her. She met a teacher at vocational school, who encouraged and pushed her by giving extra support to improve her Japanese writing. *"I really liked that teacher, she treated me normally"*. Yurika told about this story right after telling her experience of being given up on and left behind by other teachers when she was in elementary school. *"Soon after I settled in Japanese school, I was sitting in the class not knowing what was going on, but the teachers did not come to help me at all"*. When I asked Yurika to tell me about her identity, she first illustrated her two younger sisters and found herself standing today because of their love and support. She ruminated: *"because my sisters saved me when I was in the darkest place, I am standing here today"*. Yurika's telling about her sisters not only implied her love for her family but also inseparability between her and people around her in the process of her identity. Similarly, her thoughts on the issue of the US military bases in Okinawa were shaped through her empathy for people around her and people around this issue.

"It is not easy to say 'no' to the base because I empathize with my dad," she recollected her memories, *"I remember my dad seemed so sad when Okinawan media reported unacceptable American military-related incidents on TV and disappointedly said, 'again, Americans have done such stupid things'"*. Yurika reminisced about her dad trying to compensate for such bad images of the US military by telling the volunteer work the Americans had done in Okinawa. Nevertheless, she showed her understanding of the complexity of this political issue. *"I have never heard the anti-base people's thoughts, so we don't see the whole picture of this issue"*. Yurika's thought process in her telling about the US military base issues and her emotional connection with her American father illustrate the complex state of living in such a context. Afterwards, Yurika added her personal thoughts, *"but it is sad we have fences dividing our societies. I saw Japanese children saying they wanted to play at the park on the other side of the fence, and they were told that they could not go there. I wondered if the children questioned why"*. Yurika used to be able to go inside the bases before but not anymore. Her experience symbolizes the fluidity of the fences as a physical border as it has changed its meaning to Yurika's life.

Her struggle to balance Japanese and English languages has become motivation to set a purpose of her life. Now, Yurika works in tourism in Okinawa which she found herself enjoying by using her language resources. *“I used to struggle to balance Japanese and English, but I finally manage to maintain both languages, which helps me build great human relationship at my work. So I want to keep improving the both languages and incorporate them into my future career”*.

4.1.4 Bob: Strength, independence and attentiveness

“I think you should interview Michael but not me, he is also haafu and he must have more topics and stories that you might want to listen to!”. Bob told me this after struggling to respond to my asking about the experiences of being treated differently because of the differences he has, which I arrogantly assumed possibly impacted on his identity. I have known Bob since we were junior high school students. During our conversation, we joked and laughed a lot due to Bob’s amusing character although he sometimes had to deeply think back on his life in order to come up with experiences that he thought I wanted to hear.

He tried hard to tell his stories in response to my prepared questions, which made me realize that my perspective on haafus’ experiences was based on an assumption that they had gone through hardships simply because they looked different than their mono-racial counterparts. He complained, *“I cannot think of any (experiences I got because I am haafu)!”*. Nevertheless, he tried: *“like I was asked to speak English, or given English menu at a fast-food restaurant?, but honestly, I can only tell those boring stuff!”*. Though Bob did have such events to tell me based on his daily experiences, he did not connect these events, which he squeezed out in order to respond to my questions, with his identity or who he was at the moment. Instead, he shared his experiences and thoughts on his identity in relation to his friends and family.

Around the time Bob started his junior high school, his parents divorced, which seemed to be a major impact on his identity. By telling this story, he was making sense of his positive character. *“I started feeling that I had to be strong and independent because my mom had to raise four of us, and I am the only boy in my siblings”*. He imagined his life without his parents’ separation, *“I would have had a very different personality if I grew up with my dad”*. Bob’s story of his parents’ divorce was accounted for his strong and independent character. Also, Bob told me about his older sister as a significant figure in his forming of identity. He respected her for never complaining even though she went through a tough time. *“Every time I complained about some*

small things, she had this attitude, 'so what?', you know? That's why I don't complain a lot and try to take things more positively".

According to Bob, his positive character was also constructed by managing friendship. *"I had a small conflict with a guy, which made the other friends around us very uncomfortable. So I decided to be more attentive to other people's feelings"*. He referred to Japaneseness to describe such a characteristic making one's own decisions based on how other people might feel and react, *"maybe, I have more Japanese blood when it comes to maintaining human relationship"*. As Ichiro, Hana and Yurika did, Bob also used a cultural resource to find who he was by drawing on Japaneseness as his being attentive in human relationships. He brought this experience in maintaining friendship to the present moment, *"now, I am often told that I am very positive and good at socializing with people"*.

In terms of the issue of the American military bases and the topic of being called haafu, Bob told me that he did not really care about these things. Bob, like the other participants, questioned why some people complained about the US military presence by referring to the compensatory relationship between the American bases and Okinawan economy. Also, Bob told me a story when his youngest sister came up to her three siblings and complained that she did not like to be called haafu in school. He retrospectively said, *"well, actually we all said to her, 'but you are haafu, aren't you?'"*.

Bob's honesty and humorousness reminded me of diversity and different interpretations in one's own identity formation. Bob left Okinawa for his job after graduating from the university. Now, he works in a bigger city in Japan while meeting and connecting with people with his bright and funny personality.

4.2 Haafus in Okinawa and me as a researcher

All the participants' stories embodied some similarities but indicated diversity in their experiences. Narrative analysis allowed me to look at the structures of their stories, which enable me to compare and contrast (Patterson, 2008, p. 28) their similar/different modes of being hybrid, their similar/different ways of making sense of life events, their similar/different ways of claiming their identities and their just becoming who they are. Hana and Bob's stories of their parents' divorce shared the similar structure in which they told me that they felt a need to be stronger and more independent. Ichiro and Yurika's empathy with anti-base people were differently presented. While Ichiro first assertively clarified his pro-base position and then showed

his understanding of anti-base people's opinions, Yurika employed her emotional connection with her American father to claim where she found herself in this issue.

How "haafu" is communicated in Okinawa was manifested in all the participants' key narratives, which indicate "normative cultural expectations" and personal identity claims (Phoenix, 2008, p. 65). Ichiro employed American-like look and Japanese-like character as two opposite components that compose his identity. It is similar to Bob's referring to Japaneseness as his character to keep friendship by being attentive to what others think about his decisions and actions. Both Yurika and Hana's stories embodied the idealized images of haafu though their experiences under this meta-narrative largely vary. On the one hand, Hana claimed her identity by calling herself "unsuccessful" haafu as not being able to speak English. On the other hand, Yurika's story implied that this haafus' image urged her to try to maintain Japanese and English languages.

Riessman (2008) stated "one can't be a 'self' by oneself; rather, identities are constructed in 'shows' that persuade. Performances are expressive, they are preferences *for* others" (p. 106). According to what Riessman stated, the participants' identity claims were not only shaped by their past experiences but also formed with me as an instant listener and wider audience. Yurika, for example, performed her mindful, humble and self-centeredless character oftentimes after she shared her struggles in her life, "*oh, but it is not only me, everybody must have gone through hardships, right?*". In doing so, she made sure to give speaking turns to me and Hana during the conversation. This showed her avoiding to always be the center of attention. Bob added masculinity to perform his becoming a strong and independent person after the divorce. "*I was the only boy in my siblings, and boys are usually more trouble-making than girls*". Hana and Ichiro shared similar ways to play a flippant character especially when engaging in deep and serious conversation. Ichiro said, "*I don't often take these topics seriously, haha*". Both Ichiro and Hana repeatedly performed such a character, which soothed not only the atmosphere of our space but also their personalities in my eyes.

Then, who was I in their telling about their identities, as well as, further presenting their identities? As mentioned in the methodology chapter, narrative requires researchers to be reflective on their positioning (Reissman, 2008, p. 111; Phoenix, 2008, p70; Squire, 2008, p44-45). I cannot tell how I was positioned by the participants, though I can analyze how my positioning possibly affected our co-constructing of the identities that were manifested in the telling. I am not a haafu, so I have barely felt their struggles in my life. For example, Yurika was trying to

keep both English and Japanese or Hana was wondering if she looks more American than Japanese. However, because I am not haafu, the participants might have got more authority to speak about their experiences that they thought relevant and assumed I had not experienced. For instance, Ichiro told me: “‘*WE*’ are supposed to pick one nationality by the age of 22”, but it was not necessary for me to choose my nationality. That being stated, I was born and have grown up in Okinawa. Sharing contextual understanding was helpful in keeping subtleness and nuance in co-constructing conversation. When talking about the American military bases, all the participants except Ichiro did not clearly mention which side (pro/anti-base) they belonged to, neither did I. This political positioning is what I have been avoiding when engaging in this US military conversation, probably because I cannot help associating it with an internal conflict and division within Okinawa. Despite this Okinawan political discourse which carelessly depicts the society divided into pro/anti-base groups, our conversations did not fall into either side and kept our sense of being in-between. Even Ichiro had a space to share his sympathy to anti-base people’s emotions. Now, I have written their stories as I try to maintain their stories as subtle and nuanced as possible. This might have been (or not) accomplished partly due to my lived experience of being in-between of Western/non-Western and Japanese/Okinawan, which I will further discuss in the later chapters.

4.3 Hybrid identities risen from haafus’ cognitive process in their storytelling

Hereafter, I look at the participants’ stories as a whole in order to locate their identity processes in broader contexts. To that end, I first draw on Hall’s (1996) metaphorical expression of identity as “meeting point, the point of *suture*” (p. 5). This indicates the very ordinary yet unique things that people engage in everyday life, such as meeting new people, facing different cultural and political values, telling and listening to stories, and negotiating to live. This emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between individuals and society in identity negotiation, which signifies that identities are relational, situational, and a never-ending process. In this research, the Okinawan haafus’ identities were evident in their storytelling. This illustrates their meeting points and dilemmas in everyday life. Such meeting points and dilemmas are differently examined based on the lenses we choose to see through.

Psychological approaches allow us to look into individuals’ cognitive processes while the haafus make sense of their identities. Côté and Levine’s (2016) three analytical levels of identity - social, personal and ego identities - and their mutually influential relationships are helpful guides to investigate the haafus’ identity processes. Ichiro’s bullying experiences indicate the

damage to the sense of his ego identity (sense of sameness and continuity). He did not attribute a possible cause of bullying to either his look or his character. This indicates his personal identity (differentiation) was “marred by stigmatization” (Côté & Levine, 2016, p. 48) because of the bullying experience. Another case that all the participants have in common is the term of *haafu*. As discussed, there are several terms, namely *mix*, *haafu*, *daburu* and *AmerAsian* for *haafus* in Japan. Even though the term *haafu* connotes only a half self (Taguchi, 2017, pp. 221-222), all the participants preferred to be called *haafu*. This highlights the participants’ sense of continuity, in other words, formation of ego identity. They have been not only conditioned as *haafus* but also found ways to integrate into their communities and differentiate themselves as a unique individual by living as a *haafu* in Okinawan society. Ichiro assertively told me: “*the term haafu has never bothered me, so I think I am fine to be called haafu*”. Such *haafus*’ cognitive processes highlight the reciprocity between identity and society.

Some participants’ stories described the gaps between how they saw themselves and how society conditioned them. Hana’s wondering about her look - “*do I look American?*” - implies Cooley’s Looking-Glass Self Theory (1902) applied in Oikawa and Yoshida’s (2007, p. 640) study. It is to explain that people make sense about themselves by looking through others’ eyes. Hana’s strong sense of being Japanese is often challenged by racial norms and ideologies in Okinawa. Along the same line, Renn (2008, pp. 17-18) further emphasized this susceptibility of *haafus*’ identity to the context and identified how supportive or hostile environments could differently influence the *haafus*’ identity patterns. Yurika, for a long time, had struggled to find a place where she could belong. Her restless effort to maintain both languages implies her trying to meet the idealized images of *haafus* being bi-cultural and bilingual. Analyzing such Okinawan *haafus*’ experiences that sometimes help and sometimes hinder them from forming their identities, can be combined with sociological lenses. This can highlight more macro level issues in Okinawa in relation to the *haafus*’ identities.

The Okinawan *haafus*’ sense of being in-between reminds us of Cuninghame’s (2008) implication of borders “constantly shifting and re-forming” (p. 25). Crossing and reinforcing borders mean that they are *becoming* hybridized subjects. Hybridity can often be seen in colonial contexts (Smith, 2008, p. 4), and it is a creative state of *becoming* in such a context by mixing and merging differing and sometimes conflicting values. The *haafus*’ stories depicted an Okinawan colonial state; especially, pertaining to the American military bases and the political discourse of anti/pro-base. These are physical and non-physical borders that seem to divide American/Okinawan and anti/pro-base people. In such circumstances, the Okinawan *haafus*’ own

ways of becoming a hybrid was not to express their opinions about the US base but to be emotionally attentive to their surroundings. Yurika's empathy for her American father and Ichiro's understanding of anti-base people's feelings are an important reminder of the politically and emotionally complicated picture of the US base issues in Okinawa. Such a moment reflects their engaging with their identity processes. Simultaneously, their identity processes fracture the political boundary in Okinawa by their active border-crossing in storytelling. As such, the simply divided picture of Okinawan politics does not include those who have been living and negotiating their identities in-between. Despite such subtleness in their identity processes, sometimes, it involves steps to strengthen the borders.

Cunningham (2008) employed an expression, "border-reinforcing" as an indication of existing borders that can be fixated by people crossing them with "hostility, fragmentation, and division" (2008, p. 22). As such, he called attention to "such idealized, essentialized, and epistemologically privileged hybrid identities" (p. 14). During my research process, I realized that I did *essentialize* haafus' hybrid identities. Familiarizing myself with hybrid identity theory and reading postcolonial studies, gradually enchanted me to believe haafus' hybridity was the only key to deconstruct the prevalent political discourse in Okinawa. Therefore, I was eager to understand the Okinawan haafus' perceptions while treating their hardships as extraordinarily important. Thankfully, Bob's words woke me up, "*you should not be interviewing me, because I don't have such experiences that you want to hear*". From that point, I worked on re-orienting my theoretical framework. I brought psychological theories of identity in order to expand the scope of the investigation. These theories include tools to place greater value on individuals' cognitive processes. In the same vein with Cunningham, Shigematsu (2008) also highlighted "the danger of creating a whole new set of boundaries" between bi- and mono-racial experiences (p. 300). Although I do not mean sociological approach neglects individuals' accounts, combining these two lenses made a helpful tool to more attentively and subtly approach the haafus' identities in Okinawa as a colonial context.

By analyzing haafus' hybridity, the Okinawan political and cultural dichotomies manifested, such as pro/anti-base, successful/unsuccessful haafu (borrowing Hana's expression), and Japanese/non-Japanese look, character, nationality. In line with previous studies (Takeda, 2017, p. 77; Shigematsu, 2008, p. 295; Shigematsu, 2004, p. 309; Tsukida, 2004, p. 17), all the participants accounted the Japanese nationality law as a topic that made them think, which nationality they belonged to more, Japanese or American. While Hana seemed to have a clear mind on this issue, the other participants illustrated their state of dipping their two feet in the both or neither

side as Noiri (2005, p. 54) figuratively described. In addition, the idealized image of haafu's having a western look and being bi-cultural was embedded in their storytelling. Despite its indication of having both languages and cultures, fitting in this idealized image does not necessarily imply border-crossing but rather border-reinforcing. It can contribute to fixating the border between successful and unsuccessful haafu as Hana incorporated it into her identity claim. Cuninghame (2008, p. 16) argued both border-crossing and border-reinforcing could be done by hybridized subjects. What this underscores is that hybridity is more of a process of living in and negotiating "the collision between differing points of view on the world" (Bhabha, 1996, p. 58). Yurika's life story of her trying to keep both languages, Ichiro's pro-base claim yet showing understanding of anti-base people's feeling, Hana's sense of being in-between, and Bob's attentiveness to other people's feelings illustrate their own ways of becoming hybrid in their storytelling.

By reforming my theoretical framework after the interviews, I believe I could embrace the stories of my participants as deep, wide and much as possible. In concert with the identity theories and narrative analysis, it has allowed this research to perceive the different ways of forming identities, in other words, different ways of becoming who they are. This process of identity is very difficult to grasp and even more difficult to present through one dimensional tool, which is writing. Therefore, I have decided to paint in order to illustrate the process of research inspired by the identities of Ichiro, Hana, Yurika and Bob in a piece of paper. Smith and Sparkes (2009) introduced "creative analytic practices... [as] alternative kinds of research practices" (p. 285). Lyon (2020, p. 14) expounded painting as a tool in research by referring to several researchers who have applied painting in their studies. To emphasize Lyon's (2020) argument, visual ways can be a critical tool to analyze, think and reflect on one's research process. Thus, it can be "applied to one's own perceptual experience as a researcher"(p. 14). I am not an art expert in any way, but drawing and painting have been a means of expressing myself. My friends and family often associate me with drawing/painting, thus, it is a part of my identity. Initially, I painted two pictures and asked the participants for their interpretations of them. As a consequence of this contemplation, I decided to choose the one below as a finding, and included the other in Appendix 3. This painting presented below was inspired by a TV series "This is us". When a character named Kevin presented his painting and talked about *life* to his nieces, his words strongly resonated with me and connected with my understanding of identities. I will leave some parts of the character's lines alongside with my painting.



Figure 4. The author's painting: Identity and life.

[Kevin's talking to his nieces]

So, um...

Yeah, I painted this because I felt like the play was about life, you know?

And life is full of color.

And we each get to come along

and we add our own color to the painting.

You know? And even though it's not very big, the painting, you sort of have to figure that it goes on forever, you know, in each direction.

So, like, to infinity, you know?

'Cause that's kind of like life, right?

And it's really crazy if you think about it, isn't it, that, a hundred years ago, some guy that I never met came to this country with a suitcase.

He has a son,

who has a son,

who has me.

So at first, when I was painting,

I was thinking, you know, maybe up here,

that was that guy's part of the painting

and then, you know, down here,

that's my part of the painting.

And then I started to think, well, what if...

*we're all in the painting, everywhere?
And-and what if we are in the painting before we're born?
What if we're in it after we die?
And these colors that we keep adding,
what if they just keep getting added on top of one another,
until eventually we're not even different colors anymore?
We're just... one thing.
One painting.*

*[...]
I mean, it's kind of beautiful, right,
if you think about it, the fact that just because
someone dies, just because you can't see them
or talk to them anymore,
it doesn't mean they're not still in the painting.
I think maybe that's the point of the whole thing.
There's no dying.
There's no you or me or them.
It's just us.*

*And this... sloppy...
...wild, colorful, magical thing
that has no beginning, it has no end...
... this right here...
I think it's us.*

(Tillman Jr., 2016)

5 Did I do this study right?

As any study comes to the end, the researchers' common question, *did I do this study right?*, has to be asked by the author himself and also by the readers (Cresswell, 2007, p. 201). Creswell (2007) argued that "there are many types of qualitative validation and that authors need to choose the types and terms in which they are comfortable" (p. 207). In this section, I will evaluate this study by following Tracy's (2010) "key markers of quality in qualitative research" (p. 837). Tracy's work does not exclusively refer to narrative studies but qualitative research in general. That being stated, she mindfully delineated criteria for qualitative quality so that a qualitative researcher can creatively apply her evaluative tools to their own research in accordance with their methodological paradigm. I will not incorporate all of her "conceptualization[s] of qualitative quality" (p. 837) as it is, but rather critically reflect on each chosen term and combine these with other resources to build the evaluative framework in order to assess this study.

5.1 Credibility of the study

Tracy (2010, pp. 840-841) termed her first criterion for good qualitative studies *worthy topic*. According to her, a qualitative study is "relevant, timely, significant, interesting, or evocative" when it is personally meaningful to the author and addresses "taken-for-granted assumptions" (p. 840). This study is significantly personal. I am from Okinawa yet had not engaged with the US military issue until I started this study. Conducting the study on this topic allowed me to extensively devote my time and care not only to designing the research but also reflecting on the connections between myself and the topic. In addition, as stated in the beginning, this study aims to deconstruct the widely accepted political discourse of Okinawa as if it is simply divided into pro/anti-base groups. In concert with narrative approach, this study has highlighted the Okinawan haafus' identity processes under this political discourse. Their stories of identities shed light on in-betweenness, in other words, a sense of living in the boundary between the pro/anti-base groups in Okinawa. Consequently, this indicates that the pro/anti-base division does not represent the Okinawan political situation.

This denotes *meaningful coherence* of the study. *Meaningful coherence* is another concept termed by Tracy (2010, p. 848) to evaluate qualitative studies. The quality can be enhanced when set goals are achieved by applying relevant theories and methods. The discussion in the

previous paragraph illustrates how this study has reached the goal by addressing the unsoundness of the Okinawan political image. Another aim of the study was to describe the haafus' identity processes. To that end, this study employed the theories of identity from sociological and psychological fields to discuss the haafus' intricate identity negotiations at both micro and macro levels. This was facilitated by the use of narrative approach and methodology that enabled me to attentively listen to and describe the Okinawan haafus' stories. As a result, the study was coherent as each aspect was interconnected to each other and to the goals.

Tracy (2010) argued that *credibility* of a qualitative study could be enhanced by achieving these practices; "thick description, triangulation or crystallization, and multivocality and partiality" (p. 843). First, *thick description* requires the researcher to show "culturally situated meanings" and "abundant concrete detail" (p. 843). Writing the haafus' stories not only helped me to illustrate what they said but also to describe the scenes of how certain meanings were constructed by their telling in the spatial relationship between me and the participants. Moreover, this study provided thorough overviews of the Okinawan cultural and political circumstances as settings of the haafus' stories of their identity experiences. This provides the readers to interpret and "come to their own conclusion about the scene" (Tracy, 2010, p. 843).

Secondly, even though Tracy (2010, pp. 843-844) stated that *triangulation* or *crystallization* was a helpful practice to increase the credibility, I did not employ these terms due to the methodological and paradigmatic gaps between the indications of these terms and my study. These practices encourage researchers "to gather multiple types of data and employ various methods, multiple researchers, and numerous theoretical frameworks" (Tracy, 2010, p. 844). Although these could help my study to provide more holistic and deeper understandings of the haafus' identities, this is a master's thesis, which needs focus on the specific type of data according to the choice of methodology. Further, *triangulation* aims to reduce the researcher's subjectivity through testing if the findings are replicated in the same setting (p. 843). However, this study rather tries to describe the haafus' diverse experiences and identity processes in the specific context of Okinawa, so it does not meet the study purposes.

Tracy's (2010) third practice to increase the credibility of the study is *multivocality*. *Multivocality* suggests the reflection on social and cultural differences between a researcher and the participants. My positioning as a mono-racial, male, approximately the same age and class as the participants, and a master's student in Finland was discussed in relation with narrative in-

interviews in Chapter 3. My differences and similarities in the position with the participants indicated both successes and limitations in the data collection (see pages 47-48). Another encouraged practice in *multivocality* is “intense collaboration with participants” (Tracy, 2010, p. 844). After the interview, on one hand, I kept in contact with all the participants and asked them to read my transcriptions of the interviews and the stories I wrote in order to make sure that my interpretation and representation were acceptable. On the other hand, I acknowledge such *intense collaboration* can be too intrusive and “might entail the risk of refusal” (Duncombe & Jessop’s, 2014, p. 112). That is, researchers sometimes can harm the researcher-participant relationship as a result of not being respectful for participants’ personal spaces. What I could do regarding this issue was to respect their private lives, put myself in their shoes, and think about how I would want a researcher to build a rapport with me.

Further, as indicated earlier, two participants namely Bob and Hana have been my friends since junior high school. Friendship in narrative research probably impacts on what and how the participants tell their stories and how a researcher interprets their experiences. As such, it can be significant for a relationship to acquire another relational dimension, the researcher-participant aspect. Needless to say, a researcher has to be reflexive on if the friendship impacted on what and how the participants say. For instance, both Bob and Han might have said something to satisfy my research curiosity in order to help me. That being stated, as a narrative researcher, I most importantly have to be aware of what has been brought to our relationships as a result of conducting this study. Duncombe & Jessop (2014, pp. 109-110) shared their concerns and criticized that some qualitative researchers faked friendship with their participants. The researcher-participant fake friendship implies the relationship “being instrumental, hierarchical and non-reciprocal” (p. 109). Being self-reflexive on one’s own position and acknowledging interdependence between the researcher-participant can be to avoid such fake friendship. This will be explored further later in the chapter while discussing ethical considerations of the study.

The last point to enhance the credibility is *partiality* which was not thoroughly discussed in Tracy’s (2010, p. 843) paper, but the term partiality in qualitative research implies the importance of revisiting one’s own epistemological and ontological standing point. In this study, I “believe that people are capable of coming to know things in their own way [and] affirm that knowledge exists in many different forms” (Bold, 2013, p. 59). Therefore, the haafus’ stories of their lived experiences are their truths and represent the *partial* reality of the Okinawan cultural, social and political contexts. In addition, I, as a researcher, who has his own lived expe-

riences, have to put myself “in the picture that I am “describing’, thereby revealing the partiality of [my] own perspective” (Gillies & Alldred, 2014, p. 49). This implies that it is essential for a qualitative researcher to be self-reflexive upon their perspectives on the research topic. Tracy called it sincerity which included “honesty and transparency” (p. 841) about the research process, a researcher’s position and study intention, which will be described in the following section.

5.2 Being self-reflexive and transparent to be a sincere researcher

Sincerity is a significant concept in conducting a qualitative study, which, according to Tracy (2010), is “an end goal” (p. 841) and indicates the researcher’s consideration of “their participants, readers, coauthors and potential audiences” (p. 842). Therefore, I employ this term and delineate the self-reflexivity and transparency about the decisions I made and my intentions and position. First, one of the most crucial choices that I made during the research process was to include, to a large extent, the Okinawan haafus’ stories that did not entirely correspond to the first purpose of my study. The first purpose is to describe haafus’ experiences pertaining to their identity process; particularly, *in school*. When I interviewed the participants, the stories of the haafus’ identities undoubtedly went beyond their experiences in Japanese education and were extended to the relationships with their family members and the events that happened outside and after their school years. As such, it was a dilemma between whether I should have only considered their school experiences as data for the analysis or included their other relevant experiences and events. At the end, I followed the principle of doing narrative research, which regards the participants as co-authors and their stories as significant aspects of their lives (Bold, 2013, p. 60). Consequently, even though my study might lack the elements to meet the first purpose of the study, it values the Okinawan haafus’ experiences that they think were significant to their identities.

Being further sincere also requires a researcher to ask self-reflexive questions: ““Why am I doing this study?’ ‘Why now?’ ‘Am I ready for this?’” (Tracy, 2010, p. 842). These questions lead me to look back at the intentions of the study and my position as a master’s student in Finland. As stated a few times, my perceptions on the issues of the US military bases and its relation to Okinawan society has palpably been reshaping since I started to study in the international master’s program at the University of Oulu. Particularly, postcolonial theories have given me critical tools to pinpoint the colonized-colonizer relationship between Okinawa and the American military. Gradually, this made me feel that I wanted to approach these sensitive

and subtle topics that have been often absent from the Okinawan political and cultural narratives. This reflection on my cognitive journey to this point corresponds to the questions, *why am I doing this study?* and *why now?*. I felt it was significant to conduct a study that was personal and meaningful to myself and to where I grew up.

That being stated, the next question I have to ask myself is, *was I ready for this?* Honestly, I do not know. The answers to the question might have manifested in different ways during the research process. I am a novice researcher who has been learning how to conduct research while doing this study. For instance, during the interview with Bob, I finally recognized my naive assumption on haafus' experiences in Okinawa as being converged in *hardships*. In addition, the gaps between the perceptions and experiences between me and the Okinawan haafus figured as an internal tension while engaging in data collection, analysis and presentation. This tension was mitigated by following the principle of narrative approach, which encourages researchers to take "an essential reflexive response to the research process" (Bold, 2013, pp. 59-60). I tried to be aware of my perceptions and intentions, and I endeavored, in the process of interviews, analysis and writing their stories, to respect, listen to, and understand my participants' ways of seeing the world. Coming back to the question, *was I ready for this?*, I still do not know. However, conducting this study was a special experience and the beginning of a learning trip which "open[s] up a more complex, in-depth, but still thoroughly partial understanding of the issue" (Tracy, 2010, p. 844). Specifically, it is the issue of the haafus' experiences that shape their identities in Okinawa.

5.3 Caring for the community and the participants

Finally, the ethics of the study has to be reflected. The notions of ethics are intertwined with the principles of evaluation and reflexivity of research, which were thoroughly discussed above. Therefore, in this section, I will only focus on the two essential ethical aspects of qualitative studies. These are ethical relationships and interdependence between a researcher and a community and a researcher and the participants.

Researchers have to be aware of what kind of and how much impact the study might give to society. Tracy (2010, p. 847) called such ethical consideration *exiting ethics*. Once a research is published, the researchers do not have "full control over how their work will read, be understood, and used" (p. 847). Consequently, it might bring harm to the research participants or certain social groups even if the researcher does not intend such a result. For example, in this

study case, my study might be misread and misused to essentialize the Okinawan haafus' experiences and identities. Thus, it is necessary, for especially qualitative researchers, to articulate why this qualitative study is conducted. This study particularly is conducted to listen to and understand the haafu individuals' diverse experiences and identity processes, which is further interpreted and presented by me. Therefore, the participants' experiences and identity processes cannot be attributed to a general Okinawan haafus' experiences.

The last and probably most important element of ethics in qualitative research is relational ethics. This concept is to emphasize "the notion of interdependence between researcher and participants" (Tracy, 2010, p. 847). As briefly mentioned earlier, the Okinawan haafus and I are the co-authors of the study, but it is actually more than the relationship of co-authors. We have become a part of each other's lives by sharing our stories. This was highlighted by Clandinin, Caine, and Lessard (2018) who stated that "we need to understand the ways that stories function in people's day-to-day living, that is, stories can care for the teller of stories and can also care for those who listen to the stories told" (p. 2). These caring relationships, shaped through the sharing of stories with each participant, will respectively be described in the following sections.

The way each participant's storytelling cares for our relational spaces is different but equally significant. As stated earlier, I have known Bob and Hana since junior high school. However, because Bob and I went to the same high school, we have been closer than I was with any other participants, especially prior to the interviews. It was new for us to converse about his identity. Thus, at the beginning, we (at least I) struggled to engage with a topic more serious than we had ever discussed before. This symbolizes that this experience brought a new dimension to our friendship: the researcher-participant. I wonder how asking about, listening to and writing about his identity were (not) ethical to our friendship. He was the only participant who (I assume) did not read my transcription and the story that I wrote about him even though I sent them to him. He said he did not care to be written about and revealed some parts of his life. He seemed a little annoyed by me acting like a "researcher" who cared about the things that I, as his friend, usually do not. As such, I did not force him to read but came to a decision to present my writing about him as it is.

Since Hana and I parted ways and went to different high schools, we had not talked much until I contacted and asked her if she was interested in participating in this study. My junior high school memories about her still reflected in the way she told her experiences during the interview: joyful, funny, cheerful and kind. For a moment, I thought she had not changed at all, but

as we kept talking about her identity, I witnessed a different side of her. Hana's contemplation of her identity through reflecting upon the relationships with her parents revealed an aspect of her which I had never known. Through Hana's storytelling, the relationship that once paused, resumed to grow as we know more about each other.

As mentioned earlier, I met Yurika for the first time when we had the interview. Therefore, our relationship started off as the researcher-participant relationship. After the interview, as I kept in touch with her, I feel that our relationship has been shifting from the researcher-participant to more like a friendship. More specifically, it has become a relationship to care for one another, which initiated since Yurika told me her stories of her identity. For instance, we currently talked about not only the study and her identity but also each others' current situations and future plans. Ellis (2007, p. 23) highlighted that researchers had to be reflective on how ethical considerations could change and should be adjusted according to the development of relationship with participants. Understandably, there are no clear guidelines for ethical considerations in such a situation. Thus, I have and will continue to nurture our friendship to grow by valuing and caring for the on-going process of our relationship.

Similar to Yurika's case, I did not know Ichiro prior to the interview. Thus, the researcher-participant relationship was our beginning point. Subsequently, the researcher-participant relationship has reformed through discovery of the commonalities between us. During our conversation, Ichiro found out that I had worked on base, and we spent some time talking about our experiences. We also found that we had quite a few friends and acquaintances in common. This signifies the closer connections within the community where Ichiro and I reside. This also implies the greater responsibility for me to protect him from being harmed as a result of participating in this study. Nevertheless, throughout our conversations after the interview, Ichiro also showed his sense of care and responsibility for me and this study. He informed me that he might have given a false information about the Japanese nationality law in the interview. Ichiro fact-checked and provided me with an article which clarified the issue. He tried to prevent me from getting in a trouble by submitting the thesis with information that he thought it was incorrect.

These reflections on my relationship with each participant combined with the understanding of the functions of stories described by Clandinin, et al. (2018, p.2) reminded me of an Okinawan word *chimu-gukuru* (チムグクル). There is no direct translation found in Japanese language for this word. *Chimu-gukuru* means "one's genuine emotions and compassion toward others" (Miyahira & Petrucci, 2011, p. 289). It is evident when one's kindness and willingness to help

people appear. To that end, it requires a person to put her/himself in other people's positions and to think, act and stay together. Therefore, sharing stories can embody one's *chimu-guruku*. As Clandinin et al. (2018, p. 2) stated, storytelling is to care for the teller and the listener. Through stories, we try to understand and see the world in the ways that friends, family, students, teachers and the study participants do. It is an essential endeavor to nurture relationships with others. When truly listening, telling, and sharing stories, we can witness one's *chimu-gukuru*.

6 Closing the study, continuing the discussion and opening new dialogue

I started this study with the question that I often get asked: “are you Okinawan or Japanese?”. The reason I posed this question at the beginning of the study is to signify the fundamental idea of identity. That is, *who am I?*. Such a question often triggers one’s confusions, interests, reflections, discovery and further wonderings about one’s identity. The Okinawan haafus’ stories implied their susceptibility to such questions as they live in Okinawa: “Are you American or Japanese?”, “do you speak English?”, and “do I look more American or Japanese?”. In such situations, they negotiate and pick one or both given options. Sometimes, they unintentionally choose not to be on any side, as it is their creative way to live in Okinawan society. Perhaps, this kind of creative living state has become more common under the circumstances of globalization. People move faster across different continents, countries, cultures, norms and values. This indicates frequent chances to meet differences which can make you question your *identity* as noted by Hall (1996). Identity is “the meeting point, the point of suture” (p. 5).

This contemplation of identities in this globalized era underscores the limitations and implications of this study. First, the small age range of the participants might have an influence on their experiences and identity processes. Yurika actually told me after the interview: “*Maybe it will be very different if you ask the same questions to older haafus in Okinawa*”. Also, Bob’s younger sister’s complaining about being called haafu in school implies their different take on the terms of haafu. As such, a future study might be able to compare and contrast how the social discourses pertaining to haafu in Okinawa have been changing by including and analyzing stories from different generations. The second limitation of this study is the theoretical aspect of identity. Côté and Levine (2016), in their book, stated there were three major approaches in identity studies; these are *scientific (psychological)*, *political (sociological)* and *philosophical* approaches (p. 5). In this study, I only opted to apply psychological and sociological approaches to look into the haafu’s identity processes largely due to the lack of my familiarity with the philosophical domain. Combining this last identity approach with psychological and sociological approaches can broaden the scope of the investigation of haafu’s identity. That being stated, conducting this study with the haafus as one of the minority groups in Japan can continue or begin the conversation of identity topics in Okinawa and Japan.

If identity is “the meeting point” in differences as Hall (1996, p. 5) mentioned, the discussion on identity will never close, and it has to continue. In Japan, differences are not often the central topic in school and society due to “the myths and ideologies of the homogeneity of the nations”

(Shigematsu, 2008, p. 301). As opposed to this ideology, my study delineated the Okinawan haafus' various identity processes. This implies that there are meeting points where identity emerges by suturing, negotiating or just recognizing the differences in Japanese society. In this study, because the participants are haafu, the differences which were thoroughly depicted were limited in cultural, racial, and political differences. However, there are more differences present in Japan, such as gender, sexuality, class and age. As such, I hope this study will not conclude the topic discussion of identity in Japan and Okinawa. Rather, I hope it will be the beginning or the continuation of the dialogue about diverse ways of becoming Japanese.

Even though I stated earlier that this study might not have directly addressed the educational issues in Japan, it can be read, interpreted and used by Japanese teachers and educators in several ways. Ichiro, Hana and Yurika's hardships in school can raise awareness of how students with differences are targeted for certain types of discrimination. Particularly, Yurika experienced being left behind in classes because of her lack of Japanese language skill and moving between different school curricula. This highlights the conditions where the large amount of effort to compensate for academic and linguistic gaps are left on individual students. This is not to blame the teachers who could not help Yurika at the time. Rather, it is to inform the Japanese school and education system that they are not equipped enough to accommodate certain needs for students and teachers. This study especially has underlined the spatial need for students to negotiate their identities.

It is to open a new dialogue in the intersection of identity and Japanese education. To that end, we need to revisit the taken-for-granted identity question; who is (not) Japanese? Schools can be a place where the criteria for being Japanese are transmitted both implicitly and explicitly. For example, Bob and Ichiro identified being humble, kind and attentive as Japanese characteristics. Despite the positive connotations these adjectives have, they simultaneously become criteria for being Japanese and set and reinforce borders between Japanese and non-Japanese people. Such border-reinforcements can unintentionally be done through everyday teacher-student interactions, as well as enhanced by school regulations and systems. Education should not pressure students to fit in or discriminate certain identity categories. Instead, education should provide students with a space where they can explore and negotiate their own creative ways of becoming who they are in accordance with the environment that individual lives in. Do we have such a space in current Japanese education? This question is what this study can ask to open a new dialogue in Japanese education.

By conducting this research, am I now better equipped to answer the question that I stated at the beginning?: “Are you Okinawan or Japanese?”. Maybe not, but now I feel that not being able to answer such a conclusive question regarding who I am might be a common concern among many people. By carefully listening to, engagingly interpreting, and mindfully describing the Okinawan haafus’ stories, I have realized that we all struggle to find ourselves and our identities, regardless of the differences we have. When we meet differences, we try to identify ourselves based on our past experiences and future purposes, as well as emotional connections to the people around us. My past experiences in meeting differences and relationships with people in Okinawa, Japan and foreign countries help me to give a temporal answer to the question. I am (not) Okinawan and Japanese (inspired by Ojala and Karjalainen, 2019), and it is okay (not) to be Okinawan and Japanese.

7 References

- Alexander Jr., C. N. & Wiley, M. G. (1981). Situated activity and identity formation. In M. Rosenberg, & R. H. Turner (Eds.), *Social psychology: Sociological perspectives*, (pp. 269-289). New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Andreotti, V. (2011). (Towards) decoloniality and diversality in global citizenship education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 9(3-4), 381-397.
- Ayres, L. (2012). Narrative interview. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 545-546). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Barclay, K. (2006). Between modernity and primitivity: Okinawan identity in relation to Japan and the South Pacific. *Nations and Nationalism*, 12(1), 117-13.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1996). Culture's in-between. In S. Hall, & P. D. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity*, (pp. 53-60). London: Sage Publications.
- Bold, C. (2013). *Using narrative in research*. London: Sage Publications
- Bush, R. (2008). The internal colony hybrid: Reformulating structure, culture, and agency. In K. E. I. Smith & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Hybrid identities: Theoretical and empirical examinations* (pp. 129-164). The Netherlands: Brill.
- Cartwright, D. (1979). Contemporary social psychology in historical perspective. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 42, 82-93.
- Choi, J. (2003). Mapping Japanese imperialism onto postcolonial criticism. *Social Identities*, 9(3), 325-339.
- Clandinin, D. J., Caine, V. & Lessard, S. (2018). *The relational ethics of narrative inquiry*. New York: Routledge.
- Cooley, C. H. (1902). *Human nature and social order*. New York: Scribner's.
- Côté, J. E. & Levine, C. G. (2016). *Identity formation, youth, and development: A simplified approach*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Cunninghame, P. G. (2008). Hybridity, transnationalism, and identity in the US-Mexican borderlands. In K. E. I. Smith & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Hybrid identities: Theoretical and empirical examinations* (pp. 13-40). The Netherlands: Brill.
- Duncombe, J. & Jessop, J. (2014). 'Doing rapport' and the ethics of 'faking friendship'. In T. Miller, M. Birch, M. Mauthner, & J. Jessop (Eds.), *Ethics in qualitative research* (pp. 108-121). London: Sage Publications.

- Elliott, J. (2005). *Using narrative in social research: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ellis, C. (2007). Telling secrets, revealing lives: Relational ethics in research with intimate others. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13(1), 3-29.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity youth and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Esin, C., Fathi, M. & Squire, C. (2013). Narrative analysis: The constructionist approach. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 203-216). London: Sage Publications.
- Gillies, V. & Alldred, P. (2014). The ethics of intention: Research as a political tool. In T. Miller, M. Birch, M. Mauthner, & J. Jessop (Eds.), *Ethics in qualitative research*. (pp. 43-60). London: Sage Publications.
- Ginoza, A. (2007). The American Village in Okinawa; Redefining security in a “militourist” landscape. *International Christian University publications. II-B, the journal of social science*, 60, 135-155.
- Grossberg, L. (1996). Identity and cultural studies - is that all there is?. In S. Hall, & P. D. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity*, (pp. 87-107). London: Sage Publications.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2009). *Analyzing narrative reality*. California: Sage Publications.
- Gupta, A. & Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond “culture”: Space, identity, and politics of difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 6-23.
- Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who needs ‘identity’?. In S. Hall, & P. D. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity*, (pp. 1-19). London: Sage Publications.
- Inoue, M. S. (2007). *Okinawa and the U.S. military: Identity making in the age of globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Inoue, M. S. (2011). Cocco's musical intervention in the US base problems: Traversing a realm of everyday cultural sensibilities in Okinawa. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 12(3), 321-340.
- Johnson, C. (1996). Go-banken-sama, go home!. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 52(4), 22-29.
- Kearney, C. (2013). Southern Celts: Narrative as method and text. *Reo, Te*, 56, 127-144.
- Koshiro, Y. (1999). *Trans-pacific racisms and the U.S. occupation of Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kouno, K. (2017). Okinawa beigunkichi wo meguru ishiki Okinawa to zenkoku: 2017 nen 4 gatsu “hukki 45 nen no Okinawa” cho-sa (*The consciousness of the US bases in Okinawa*

- and Japan: The poll about “Okinawa after 45 years of reversion” in April, 2017). [Data set]. https://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/research/yoron/pdf/20170801_7.pdf
- Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city: Studies in the black English vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lyon, P. (2020). Using drawing in visual research: Materializing the invisible. In L. Pauwels, & D. Mannay (Eds.), *Visual research methods*, (pp. 297-308). London: Sage Publications.
- Macleod, C., Bhatia, S. & Kessi, S. (2017). Postcolonialism and psychology: Growing interest and promising potential. In Willig, C., & Rogers, W. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 306-317). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Ministry of Justice of Japan. (2014). Kokuseki no sentaku ni tsuite (*About the choice of nationality*) <http://www.moj.go.jp/MINJI/minji06.html>, Accessed date: 22 March 2020.
- Ministry of Justice of Japan. (2019). Reiwa 1 nen 6 gatsumatsu genzai ni okeru zairyu gaikokujin suu ni tsuite (*On the number of foreign residents as of end of June 2019*). http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/nyuukokukanri04_00083.html, Accessed date: 17 May 2020.
- Miyahira, K. & Petrucci, P. R. (2011). Reaching out with Chimugukuru: Positioning Okinawan identity at the fourth worldwide Uchinanchu festival and beyond. In J. Edmond, H. Johnson, & J. Leckie (Eds.), *Recentring Asia: Histories, Encounters, Identities* (pp. 285-309). The Netherlands: Global Oriental.
- Murakami, T. (2012). Okinawa no heiwa gakusyu ni tsuite no kousatsu: Syochu gakusei no heiwa ishiki chosa kara (*A study of Okinawan peace education: From a survey of elementary and junior high school students*). *Hiroshima Peace Science*, 34, 33-59.
- Nishiyama, H. (2019). Geopolitics of disregard: Living a colonial life in Okinawa. *Political Geography*, 74, 1-9.
- Noiri, N. (2005). An Amerasian in the camp: Case study of an Amerasian young adult in the U.S. military base in Okinawa. *Okinawa Journal of law and political science*, 8, 39-58.
- Noiri, N. (2016). Has Okinawa been included in “the Japanese-style multicultural society”? Focusing on the context of the “mix-race children” research in Okinawa under the U.S. military rule. *Intercultural Education*, (44), 47-64.
- Ojala, H. & Karjalainen, M. (2019, September 22). *Magda's Peace* [Video]. YouTube. <https://youtu.be/ONGqCVoM3xQ>
- Ogura, T. (2003). Military base culture and Oinawan rock 'n' roll. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 4(3), 466-470.

- Oikawa, S., & Yoshida, T. (2007). An identity based on being different: A focus on biethnic individuals in Japan. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 31(6), 633-653.
- Oishi, S., Kesebir, S. & Sunder, B. H. (2009). Sociology: A lost connection in social psychology. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 13, 334-353.
- Oshima, K. (2014). Perception of hafu or mixed-race people in Japan: Group-session studies among hafu students at a Japanese university. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 23(3), 22-34.
- Patterson, W. (2008). Narratives of events: Labovian narrative analysis and its limitations. In M. Andrew, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research* (pp. 27-46). London: Sage Publications.
- Parcell, E. S. & Baker, B. M. A. (2017). Narrative analysis. In M. Allen (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of communication research methods* (pp. 1069-1072). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Phoenix, A. (2008). Analyzing narrative contexts. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research* (pp. 64-77). London: Sage Publications.
- Poston, W. S. C. (1990). The biracial identity development model: A needed addition. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 69(2), 152-155.
- Renn, A. K. (2008). Research on biracial and multiracial identity development: Overview and synthesis. *New Directions for Student Services*, 2008(123), 13-21.
- Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Riessman, C. K. (2012). Narrative analysis. In M. G. Lisa (Ed.) *The sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 566-540). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Shigematsu, M. S. (2004). Expanding the borders of the nation: Ethnic diversity and citizenship education in Japan. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives* (pp. 303-332). San Francisco: Jossey Bass/Wiley.
- Shigematsu, M. S. (2008). "The invisible man" and other narratives of living in the borderlands of race and nation. In D. B. Willis & S. M. Shigematsu (Eds.), *Transcultural Japan: At the borderlands of race, gender and society* (pp. 282-302). London: Routledge.
- Smith, B. & Sparkes, A. C. (2009). Narrative analysis and sport and exercise psychology: Understanding lives in diverse ways. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 10, 279-288.
- Squire, C. (2008). From experience-centered to socioculturally oriented approaches to narrative. In M. Andrew, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research* (pp. 47-71). London: Sage Publications.

- Squire, C., Andrew, M. & Tamboukou, M. (2017). Introduction what is narrative research?. In M. Andrew, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research* (pp. 1-26). London: Sage Publications.
- Taguchi, L. Y. (2017). Sengo nihon syakai no “konketsu” “hafu” wo meguru gensetsu hensei to syakaiteki kiketsu: Jinshu henseiron to setsugo gainen no hihanteki enyo (*The formation of discourses regarding “konketsu”/“hafu” and the social consequences: Critical use of “racial formation” and “articulation” theories*). *Japanese Sociological Review*, 68(2), 213-229.
- Takeda, S. (2017). Fukusu kokuseki no nihon ru-tsu no kodomotachi no sonzai kara tou “kuni no arikata” (*“The state of the nation” questioned based on the existence of children with Japanese roots who possess multiple nationalities*). *Journal of Regional Development Studies*, 20, 67-82.
- Tillman Jr., G. (Director). (2016, October 25). The game plan. [Television series episode] In D. Fogelman. (Producer), *This is us*. Los Angeles, California: Nation Broadcasting Corporation.
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight “big-tent” criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851.
- Tsukida, M. (2004). Mukokuseki ji no aidentiti keisei ni okeru kokuseki syutoku no imi ni tsuite: Fukusu no bunka wo tayo ni hatten saseru kanousei no hosyo to iu siten kara (*The meaning of nationality acquisition of stateless children’s identity formation: From the perspectives of securing the possibilities of diversely developing multiple cultures*). *Gakuen*, 10(768), 12-23.
- Wirth, C. (2015). Securing Japan in the ‘West’: The US-Japan alliance and identity politics in the Asian century. *Geopolitics*, 20, 287-307
- Yazaki, C. (2016). Narrative bunseki wo saikou suru: Kouzou he no chumoku (*Rethinking of narrative analysis: Focus on narrative structures*). *Kwansei Gakuin University School of Sociology Journal*, 125, 47-57.

Appendix 1: Consent Agreement (Japanese)

研究参加への同意書

本同意書はこの研究への参加者に対して、研究の目的と参加者（協力者）としての権利等の情報を提供するものです。

一般的な情報

私は現在オウル大学大学院、Education and Globalisationプログラムで修士過程に所属しています。修士論文のテーマとして沖縄における「ハーフ」の人のアイデンティティ形成について研究しております。この研究の目的は、沖縄で働く教師を中心に沖縄のマイノリティーであるアメリカ人と日本人の間に生まれた人々への知識や意識を上げることです。この度は、参加者へインタビューを通して情報を収集することへの同意をお求めいたします。

参加者への配慮としてすべての情報は匿名で扱われます。参加者の個人情報が特定されるような情報は分析、報告の過程で排除されます。大学を通して組織的に情報を管理し、参加者へ危害を与えることがないようにいたします。全ての個人情報が特定されうる情報を排除した上で The Finnish Social Sciences Data Archive のガイドラインに従い、データは保管されます。

参加への自由意志

研究への参加は任意です。協力者はいつでも研究への参加を停止することができます。参加者は研究に関する情報を得る権利があり、質問ございましたら私にいつでも連絡することができます。

- 研究への同意
- 私はこの研究への参加に同意します
- 私はインタビューデータがこの研究で使われることに同意します
- 私はこのデータが将来の研究のために使用、保管されることに同意します。

日付： 年 月 日

名前と署名：

研究者：

署名：

名前、メールアドレス、電話番号：

研究倫理と参加同意に関するさらなる情報はこちらからアクセスできます。

Finnish Board on Research Integrity

<http://www.tenk.fi/en/ethical-review-in-human-sciences>

Social Sciences Data Archive

<http://www.fsd.uta.fi/aineistohallinta/en/informing-research-participants.html#partIV-examples-ofinforming-research-participants>

<http://www.fsd.uta.fi/aineistohallinta/en/anonymisation-and-identifiers.html>

Informed Consent for Participating in Research

This informed consent form provides you as a research participant general information about the research, its purpose and your rights as a participant.

General information

I am a master's student in the Education and Globalisation programme, at the Faculty of Education, University of Oulu. As a part of my studies, I am conducting a research on identity of haafus in Okinawa. The purpose of my research is to raise awareness of people primarily teachers in Okinawa. I kindly request your consent for collecting information from you for the research purpose by listening to and describing your stories.

All information will be used anonymously, respecting your dignity. No personal details that enable identifying you will be included in the analyses and reporting. Systematic care in handling and storing the information will be ensured to avoid any kind of harm to you. After all the information leading to identification of a person has been removed, the information will be archived electronically, following the guidelines of the Finnish Social Sciences Data Archive.

Voluntary participation

Your participation is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without any consequences. Observe that information collected before your withdrawal may be used. You have the right to get information about the research and may contact me/us, if you have questions.

Confirming informed consent (USE BOXES THAT ARE RELEVANT, DELETE OTHERS)

- I am willing to participate in the research.
- I allow the use of (INSERT HERE: type of data to be collected) for research purposes.
- I allow the information that I have provided to be stored and archived for further research use.
- I do not allow the information that I have provided to be stored and archived for further research use.

Date ___/___/20___

Signature and name (in capital letters)

Researcher

Signature

Name, email, phone

More information about research ethics and informed consent

Finnish Board on Research Integrity

<http://www.tenk.fi/en/ethical-review-in-human-sciences>

Social Sciences Data Archive

<http://www.fsd.uta.fi/aineistonhallinta/en/informing-research-participants.html#partIV-examples-of-informing-research-participants>

<http://www.fsd.uta.fi/aineistonhallinta/en/anonymisation-and-identifiers.html>

Appendix 2: Questions for semi-structured narrative interviews (Japanese)

インタビューに用いられた質問

1. 学校生活（小学校から高校）の中で特に覚えている経験はありますか
 - その中で自分のアイデンティティーに特に影響を与えたと思われる人・出来事・経験について話してくれますか

2. 自分とは誰（何）だろうと考えることはよくありますか
 - どんな時に考えるか話してくれますか

3. ハーフだからという理由で自分に起こったと思われる経験などはありますか
 - それについて詳しく話してくれますか

4. 自分をどう認識していますか。沖縄人・アメリカ人・日本人の中から選ばないといけないと感じたことはありますか
 - どのような状況下でそのような自分に対しての認識を行いますか
 - 自分がどうである（ありたい）ということをサポートしてくれる人・出来事・経験等は今までにありましたか

5. ハーフと呼ばれることに対してどう思いますか（どのような気持ちになりますか）

6. 自分と沖縄社会との関係について考えたことがありますか
 - それについて詳しく話してくれますか

7. 沖縄戦や基地問題についての話題に居合わせた時どのような気持ちや意見を持ちますか

8. 自分の考えや視点を変えた人・出来事・経験等がありますか
 - それについて詳しく話してくれますか

Questions for semi-structured narrative interviews

1. Can you tell me about your experiences in school (from elementary to high school)?

- Do you have some people/events/experiences that were especially important/significant/relevant for your identity during your school years?

2. Do you/ have you often think (thought) about who (what) you are?

- In what kind of situations do you think about that?

3. Were there particular experiences that happened that you think it is because you are haafu?

- Can you tell me/describe the experiences more?

4. How do you identify yourself? Have you ever felt that you had to choose between Okinawan, American or Japanese?

- In what kind of situations did you feel that?
- Did you find any support for being who they are/want to be?

5. How do you feel when you are called “haafu”?

6. Have you ever thought about the relationship between you and Okinawan society?

- Can you tell me more about it?

7. Can you tell me your feelings when you happened to be in situations where people talk about the issues of the US military bases in Okinawan and the World War II?

8. Do you have any events/experiences that have changed your perceptions about yourself throughout your life?

- Can you tell me/describe more?

Appendix 3: Alternative painting of identity

This is another picture that I painted to present one of the findings of identity. I negotiated which painting to put in Chapter 4 with the participants. Some said that they liked this one because it shows a sense of struggle. However, I came to the decision to pick the other one (see page 52) because I wanted to show the warmth and complexity that I felt from the participants' stories of their identities.

