

AM I NOT JAPANESE ENOUGH? SOCIALIZATION OF HAFU PEOPLE IN JAPAN AND
THEIR MENTAL HEALTH

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

“ハーフの子を産みたい方に” (wear a kimono so that you can find a foreign husband for your mixed baby), is a quote found in a 2016 advertisement in Japan that promoted the kimono—a traditional Japanese garment—as a tool to lure ‘foreign’ men into marrying a Japanese wife. This advertisement went viral on Twitter, as people criticized the way the company saw mixed individuals (*Hafu*; Japanese term for bi-ethnic individual). The criticism included those mentioning the objectification of *Hafu* people. The community reacted that *Hafu* individuals are not dolls or accessories, but human beings.

The Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2019) reported that 18,124 *Hafu* newborns were birthed in 2017, Tanaka (2016) stated in Yahoo News that the increase in population of foreign rooted individuals is shifting Japan into a less mono-ethnic society. This research and data collection will seek to investigate the Japanese *Hafu* individuals, where bi-ethnic research in the communication field is scarce. Being a bi-ethnic (*Hafu*) woman myself, I have constantly struggled with my racial/ethnic identity. I chose this population because the experiences of *Hafu* people would add knowledge on how these individuals understand their own identity and negotiate through the ambiguity in belonging to two starkly different communities.

This research seeks to investigate the socialization messages communicated to *Hafu* individuals, specifically Japanese and white mix, and how these messages impact the person’s *Hafu* identity and mental health. Race is a social construct created to justify slavery, therefore looking at issues of race/ethnicity in Japan, I will be focusing on ethnicity, which includes race and cultural influences on a person’s identity. Race in Japan is important, but only one aspect of ethnicity since Japanese is the dominant ethnicity and includes language, traditions, culture, race, etc. Multi-ethnic individuals have two or multiple culture/race/ethnic backgrounds that they can

refer to. Multiethnic people have ethnic fluidity in identifying with different races depending on how they would like to be acknowledged. Still the matter is more complicated. From a very young age, children receive ethnic socialization; defined by Hughes et al. (2006) as how adults teach children what it means to be of a specific ethnicity, to situate themselves into the society. Jackson et al. (2019) listed nine ways that parents socialize a child; (1) minority socialization (i.e., preparation for discrimination), (2) monoracial or single-race minority identity (i.e., limited to one racial socialization), (3) cultural socialization (i.e., learning about one's culture), (4) blended multiracial identity (i.e., learning what it means to be multiracial and embracing it), (5) no ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., no socialization about race or ethnicity), (6) transcendent or non-racial identity (i.e., lack of racial and ethnic socialization causing feelings of isolation), (7) egalitarian socialization (i.e., do not see race and ethnicity important, color blindness), (8) transcendent identity (i.e., identity as something other than race), (9) white majority socialization (i.e., desiring whiteness). Just like biracial children, parents of *Hafu* individuals also communicate about the child's own racial/ethnic identity. The impact racial-ethnic socialization has on *Hafu* individuals are unknown and is important to investigate the effects to expand the understanding of ethnicity that goes beyond the lens of U.S. Americas.

With the complexity of whiteness in Asia, and desire for a mixed child, it is important to investigate the effect of these messages and how this effects the *Hafu* individual mentally. The present thesis investigated strategies, ambiguity, and inconsistent socialization by parents, society, and culture's effect on the *Hafu* person's perception of their ethnicity, especially pertaining to what ethnicity forms their *Hafu* identity and its effect on one's mental health

Mental Health of a multi-ethnic individual has been researched by scholars on how coming from a background of multi-ethnicity confuses the individual. This confusion could lead

to a lack in a sense of belongingness and difficulty in ways to identify themselves. According to Ng et al. (2017), 40.3% of the multi-ethnic participants, and 36.2% of the multi-racial participants received diagnoses of depression with their racial/ethnic ambiguity being a contributing factor. Kalibatseva and Leong (2014) concur with a meta-analysis highlighting racial/ethnic ambiguity and access to culturally sensitive healthcare being root causes of higher depression rates among racial/ethnic minorities. This data demonstrates the significance in racial/ethnic ambiguity and its ties to mental wellbeing.

Of primary importance to this thesis is the white majority socialization strategy due to how in Japan, where white is not the majority, whiteness greatly affects the *Hafu* person's identity as well as how parents define the child's ethnicity. The desire for a child to be white is apparent in Japan (Kimura, 2020) and the complex nature of whiteness and nationalism in Japan is a focus that needs to be assessed. Conducting research on how racial/ethnic socialization messages communicated by parents and society influences a person's identity could have multiple benefits. First, with scarce research on racial/ethnic socialization in the communication literature, this research addressed this need, with a lens on Japanese nationalism and a non-western view of communicating about ethnicity. In analyzing ethnic identity and messages communicated about it, this thesis would bring awareness of how racial/ethnic socialization messages impacts the mental health of people with bi-ethnic backgrounds. One would also be able to conduct a training, to assess parents and consult about effective and noneffective methods of talking about race/ethnicity to the child. By identifying these experiences and focusing on the unique issues that a *Hafu* person faces, this project will add to the literature intercultural communication, family communication, and interpersonal communication.

With this notion, the thesis would go over previous literature on history and current discussions on *Hafu* in Japan, Japanese exceptionalism, then socialization strategies that has been identified for parents/extended kin/media, discussion on identity incongruent discrimination, racial awakening, and mental health among multi-ethnic persons. Then the thesis will move to how the *Hafu* individuals were interviewed, and what methods were used to analyze the lived experiences of Japanese and white *Hafu* individuals. The research looked at Japanese white *Hafu* individuals who were all from Japan, but currently living in places all around the world. This allowed for a diverse sample to be collected and enriched the data in my thesis.

This research will open a conversation about *Hafu*, a non-Eurocentric population, and their ways of communicating and being communicated about their own identity. *Hafu* individuals are taught their identity. This could be communicated through smaller conversations, through discourse, with parents communicating about what it means or does not mean to be a *Hafu* and Japanese citizen. This conversation on a Japanese population would widen the research that has been done on race and ethnicity, which has been mainly focused on the U.S.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In the literature review I will be going over how the Hafu individuals are treated. Then I will go over socialization theory, using Jackson et al. (2019)'s article to mention how parents' socialization, as well as extended family's conversations, affect a Hafu person's identity. Following I will review socialization mapping, which has been used in this thesis as a conversation starter, for participants to start thinking about how they were socialized. I will then move to social identity theory, which gives this thesis another layer of theorizing, in which this theory looks into who are ingroup and an outgroup members. Next, identity incongruent discrimination and bullying is discussed since it is a common experience for Hafu individuals, followed by how these experiences affect a Hafu person's mental health. The goal of this literature review is to provide the relevant studies and arguments to better understand the Hafu experience.

***Hafu* in Japan**

The term *Hafu* is commonly used among Japanese society where many multi-ethnic individuals use this as an identification of themselves. Glorified with the foreignness of an individual, *Hafu* individuals experience a unique positionality in Japan. Foreignness in Japan is the non-Japanese physical features, cultural mindset, and/or citizenship status, that separates a person from the normative idea of what Japanese is. Being a *Hafu* individual, the media portrayal in Japan includes those of fascination and stereotypes of beauty. The kimono advertisement introduced earlier, persuading Japanese woman to wear kimono so that they can find a foreign husband, which ties to the objectification of *Hafu* people. The fascination of *Hafu* people can be seen in makeup trends as well, where some magazines used *Hafu* makeup or hair styles that resemble foreignness (CanCam, 2014). The difference between a typical Japanese makeup and a

Hafu makeup is that the latter attends to European features. Specifically, lighter colored contacts, more emphasis on contouring the face (@Cosme, 2017), and grey or blond highlights on the hair (Hotpepper Beauty, n.d.). On the contrary Japanese makeup focuses using more of the brown softer colors and textures (Hadalove, 2021), with black or brown hair with heavy bangs (Hotpepper Beauty, n.d.). The stereotypes are not just through makeup but, according to Sakurada (2019), the stereotypes surrounding *Hafu* individuals were that they are beautiful, can speak English, and are smart. Sakurada (2019) continues by noting that the typical image of *Hafu* person is those who have white features mixed with Japanese.

In Japan, where majority of the people are “pure-Japanese”, that is, analyzed by Kimura (2021), that Japanese consider being Japanese as a race rather than an ethnicity. In Korea, as analyzed by Ahn (2015) on the desirability of being a familiar white person, being Korean but mixed is a way for the actors to become famous, such as looking Korean or speaking the Korean language fluently. On the contrary, not only in the U.S., but also in East Asia, there is a desire for the biracial/multiracial child to be white rather than any other mix (Jackson et al., 2019), which comes from the societal expectation as well. Seeing the tension among, the majority race/ethnicity in East Asian countries, for this thesis Japan, and the desire of whiteness is also an important topic to note (Ahn, 2015; Kimura, 2021).

***Sakoku* and Diversifying Japan**

The glorification of *Hafu* individuals may seem as though it is benefitting the *Hafu* community, but who is glorified and who is not is problematic. Japan’s avoidance of foreign influence dates back to the 1600s where *Sakoku* (鎖国), the closure of its borders happened with the leadership of the Tokugawa Bakufu. *Sakoku* happened during 1603 – 1867, with the idea of not spreading Christianity which was gaining influence in the Asian region (Kanemitsu, 2006).

Tokugawa feared that the influence of Christianity would endanger their own influence over the Japanese people. China and Netherlands, who did not deem Christianity as their common religion, were the only two countries that were allowed to import goods to Japan, and Japanese people were banned from leaving the country during this time. After 250 years of keeping the borders shut, American military came in demanding the opening of Japanese borders which led to the end of Sakoku-era in Japan.

The modern Japan has its doors open for foreign nationals to enter and work in the country. There are programs such as ‘technical internships’ that allows for foreign nationals, such as those from Philippines and Vietnam to come to Japan for 3 years, then if allowed extension, up to 5 years of internship is permitted (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2016). This is programmed to benefit both the technical interns and Japanese, as the society is aging, and Japan is struggling to find people who can do physical labor. For the interns it is said to allow them to gain knowledge and experience of Japanese technology. In 2020, according to Ministry of Justice, there were 2,885,904 foreign residents in Japan, with Chinese, Koreans and Vietnamese being the top three nationalities. With the increase in population and programs that welcome international residents, Japan seems to be following the globalization that is happening in many other countries.

Sakoku-mentality is still apparent in Japan, argues Itoh (1996). Foreign individuals in Japan are called *Gaikoujin* (外国人) shortened *Gaijin* (外人), which uses the labels ‘outside’ and ‘human’. Being a foreigner, one is automatically given the label of outsider, due to their language use and are excluded from being Japanese. The blood principal which will be explained in the next section shows the othering and exclusiveness of what it means to be Japanese and the Sakoku-mentality that is still present.

The *Konketsuji* (混血児) problem also reflects the Japanese Sakoku mentality that was influenced by the World War 2 and Japan's defeat. *Konketsuji* (now called *Hafu*) were those children who were born between the American/British troops who stayed in Japan after WW2 and a Japanese woman (Mineyama, 2011). These children were not accepted into the family, due to the troop returning to their country, the mother became pregnant with *Konketsuji* due to rape, and/or because of poverty (Taguchi, 2017). Taguchi (2017) continues by noting that right after WW2 American/British did not have a good reputation in Japan, since it made them feel inferior due to the defeat, and *Konketsuji* reminded the parents and society of that. Sankei-News (2020) reported on an orphanage that allowed *Konketsuji* to be raised, which had over 2000 children living there after the world war. With the exclusion of anything foreign (e.g., language, religion, etc.), the Sakoku-mentality still influences the Japanese society to this day.

Nowadays, these *Koketsuji* individuals are called *Hafu*, as the society has shifted the way they see these individuals. *Hafu* individuals gain fame as they started to show up on TV. They started to be admired rather than be seen as a representation of loss of WW2. Even with this, *Hafu* individuals are still seen as someone other than a Japanese, which could be seen in the use of the word *Hafu*. These *Hafu* individuals not only experience and learn their identity through social structures as mentioned but learn it from parents. In the next section I will be discussing socialization theory.

Socialization Theory

How the society identifies a person, through the lens of socialization theory is important to seek, but also the way a person is taught their identity, socialization, is interesting as well. Socialization is a topic that has been discussed by scholars of many different fields as it centers its argument on how people develop their understanding of the identity that they have or will

take on. One will be socialized into a culture, race/ethnicity, or even organizations as they start to identify themselves to the group. In organizational communication, scholars study socialization through the lens of newcomer orientation and communication surrounding organizational identity construction (Barge & Schlueter, 2004). Socialization is not only studied through organizational contexts but also in familial settings as well, where parents teach children about society and creates or talks about racial prejudice (Odenweller & Harris, 2018).

The identity of a person is not constructed only through their experience but also by how parents raised the child, and how the parents perceived the multi-ethnic child. Children receive ethnic and racial socialization; defined by Hughes et al. (2006) as how adults teach children what it means to be of a specific race/ethnicity, to situate themselves into the society. Research on intergroup socialization found that children of parents who were more protective tended to hide their racial prejudice (Odenweller & Harris, 2018). In addition, Odenweller & Harris (2018) also noted that parents who enforced dominance, the children favored ingroups more and tried to show dominance over outgroup members. Communication approach's affect on racial awareness has been studied, among white families and their talk on race (Eberline & Shue, 2022), international adoption and one's identity (Galvin, 2003), and political belief and its connection to racial talk during the 2016 election (Eveland & Nathanson, 2020). The ways parents teach children about ethnicity effects how the child defines themselves greatly, as Umana-Taylor & Fine (2004) notes the Mexican adolescents experience of ethnic identity achievement being higher for those who were ethnically socialized by familial members. Socialization often happens between the child and the caregiver, which in the next section I will be referencing Jackson et al. (2019) to discuss more in depth about current literature on socialization in the U.S.

Socialization by Parents (Research in the U.S.)

The child's caregivers often are the ones that inform the child about their race and how to live as the race they are presenting. Jackson et al. (2019) compared the socialization process for biracial children and their minority or white mothers. They found that for a white mixed child, the minority mothers socialized the child to be whiter and the white mothers brought the child to cultural events and activities to inform them about their minority side of the racial mix (Jackson et al., 2019). The tensions between the parent's racial identity in what to teach the child can be seen, in how a child should be raised and to identify themselves. Previous studies investigated how mothers manage socialization (Jackson et al., 2019; Young, 2009), but there has not been much research on how this could be utilized into the Japanese *Hafu* socialization process.

When the two parents are from different racial backgrounds, they may come from different cultural norms, on how to raise a child. Individualism—focusing on oneself and achievement of their own, as well as freedom— and Collectivism—focusing on the whole, how one is connected to family, culture, society, and values overall harmony within a group— (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007) is one of the ways that social scientists distinguished the differences among cultures. Although these two are a way to separate different tendencies within cultures, recent studies have also investigated the merging of the two cultural identities within society. Tamis-LeMonda et al. (2007) addressed how parents try to socialize their child as both individualistic and collectivistic depending on the context, which allows for a conflicting association between the two cultural values. Rollins & Hunter (2013) noted that cultural socialization is expected by the society due to it being more difficult to be taught through books and classes than being passed down through lineage.

Parents of biracial children are socialized themselves from their own parents, to act or perform and live by the race that they are born in to. Black parents for example teach their children about discrimination, how society is constructed around whiteness and disadvantages they face for being Black (Manning, 2021). On the contrary, some parents of biracial children bring in colorblindness to their parenting in order to avoid the topic of race, which can be seen more in white parents (Hamm, 2001). When being taught different sets of social expectations, as well as ways that society sees race, children of multiracial couples receive conflicting messages, unless internationally and carefully taught to understand both sides of the racial positionality.

Learning about one's identity, in terms of race/ethnicity and culture, is often times through parents or their caregivers. The ways this learning process, or more so how the parents communicate about racial/ethnic and cultural matters influence the child's understanding of their own identity. Jackson et al. (2019) listed nine ways that parents socialize a child; minority socialization (i.e., preparation for discrimination), monoracial or single-race minority identity (i.e., limited to one racial socialization), cultural socialization (i.e., learning about one's culture), blended multiracial identity (i.e., learning what it means to be multiracial and embracing it), no ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., no socialization about race or ethnicity), transcendent or non-racial identity (i.e., lack of racial and ethnic socialization causing feelings of isolation), egalitarian socialization (i.e., do not see race and ethnicity important, color blindness), transcendent identity (i.e., identity as something other than race), white majority socialization (i.e., desiring whiteness). The following paragraphs will explain each socialization messages with examples from previous literatures.

Minority socialization. Socializing a child as a minority is where the parents teach the child about the discrimination one may face due to their race or ethnicity and how one should

manage these experiences. Huges et al. (2006) notes this as preparation for the bias, and letting the child know how racism exists in the U.S. Jackson et al. (2019) mentioned some messages from their research on minority socialization as ways to ‘fight back’ or ‘deal with’ the discrimination they face (p.174). In my research no studies were found that studied the minority socialization of *Hafu* in Japan. In this research, the minority socialization messages are those messages that prepares a *Hafu* person for discrimination towards their own *Hafu* identity or the ‘other ethnicity’ one is mixed with.

Monoracial. Monoracial or single-race minority identity is where the caregiver teaches what it means to be one race but not the other racial mix that the child has. This has a significant effect on the child’s understanding of race and their identity. How fluent one was in the culture was emphasized in the belongingness to a community, which many multiracial people felt that they lacked due to them being racially/ethnically mixed (Wallace, 2004). In addition, many multi-ethnic individuals in Jackson et al. (2019) study showed they identified with the socially lower-status parents, which reinforced the social hierarchy that is present. Jackson et al. (2019) continues to describe one reason for monoracial socialization as the inaccessibility to one side of the parent, due to separation of parents.

Cultural Socialization. This socialization strategy is where the parents teach children about their culture and engage in understanding and experiencing cultural events. Jackson et al. (2019) includes an example of white mothers taking their multi-ethnic child to a cultural landmark to teach them about their background. This could tie into the benefits that parents may experience on having a *Hafu* child in Japan where the dominant parent gets to experience the culture that without a mixed child, they would not be a part in. Not just landmarks but food, language spoken by the parent, and religion also factors into cultural socialization as it enforces

pride in the native culture that the multi-ethnic child would belong to (Jackson et al., 2019).

Cultural socialization may be one method that a *Hafu* individual experience the non-Japanese side of the ethnic identity through a covert familial ethnic socialization: non-purposeful way of socializing an adolescent (Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Blended Multiracial Identity. The difference between cultural socialization and blended multicultural identity is the prevalence of the multicultural exposure. Blended multicultural identity is defined by Jackson et al. (2019) as where parents socialize the child with their mixed backgrounds on a consistent basis (e.g., speaking both languages in the house). This socialization strategy focused more on the ‘mixed’ aspect of the individual rather than the socialization of two different ethnicity. There is an emphasis on being mixed and is embraced by parents, such as having a bilingual household, and traditions from numerous cultures (Jackson et al., 2019). In this research of *Hafu* individuals in Japan, the socialization process would focus again more on the ethnicity, therefore be termed blended multiethnic identity.

No Ethnic-Racial Socialization. is where there is no socialization into the ethnicity and does not prepare a person for the experiences of discrimination. This strategy actively avoids talk about race and ethnicity rather than not intentionally talking about it. In the U.S. for Asian Americans, Yong et al. (2021) found that many did not have a talk about their race and the discrimination they may face due to being Asian American. This led them to feel left out in the debate of race in the U.S.

Transcendent or Non-Racial Identity. A large difference between no *ethnic-racial socialization* and *transcendent or non-racial identity* is the aspect of isolation. Asian American individuals also felt isolated from their community due to there being no racial discussions initiated by parents which led to a more bottom-up approach where children taught their parents

about racial issues in the U.S. (Young et al., 2021). This stems from the parent themselves not being aware of their own ethnic background (Jackson et al., 2019). In this study as mentioned, the focus is on Japanese *Hafu*, nonethnic identity would be substituted from non-racial identity. The transcendent socialization is colorblindness, where the multi-ethnic child is not seen through their race or ethnicity but as something else. Jackson et al. (2019) notes as an example Mexican grandmother calling the multi-ethnic child ‘special’ which did not help the multi-ethnic person to come to terms with their mixed identity.

Egalitarian Socialization. This socialization strategy is where parents teach children with a colorblind perspective. Some examples can be seen from Hagerman (2014) research on participants socializing the child with messages such as, “it doesn’t matter what color you are, it’s really just what your goals are and how hard you work” (p.2604). This approach tries to see something other than color of a person’s skin and avoids talks about race and discrimination (Jackson et al., 2019).

White majority Socialization. Jackson et al. (2019) defines this socialization strategy as focusing on “the superiority of White American culture, White appearance, and/or White identity” (p.180). This may be different and is interesting to see in Japanese *Hafu* contexts. In Japan, where majority of the people are “pure-Japanese”, that is, analyzed by Kimura (2021), that Japanese consider being Japanese ethnically as a race. On the contrary, not only in the U.S. (Jackson et al., 2019), but also in East Asia, there is a desire for the biracial/multiracial child to be white rather than any other (Ahn, 2015), which comes from the societal expectation of European features over other ‘foreign’ features. Seeing the tension among, the majority race/ethnicity in East Asian countries and the desire of whiteness is also an important topic to note about (Ahn, 2015; Kimura, 2021).

These socialization strategies would be used in this thesis to see how parents teach a child of their identity, the influence of whiteness in a non-white dominant country, and how this affects a *Hafu* person's mental health. Such research would add to the current literature of ethnic-racial socialization to a non-western country, where research is scarce. It also would add a global layer to the research on socialization, which would help step out of the normative lens that communication study has (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007).

In discussing about socialization, Minnearn & Soliz (2019) used socialization mapping as a tool to allow participants to discuss socialization beyond just parents. I used this socialization mapping in my research, and will be discussing more about this in the following section.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Mapping

The ethnic-racial socialization mapping comes from research by Minnearn & Soliz (2019), furthered by Minnear (2020) on their dissertation. This model of socialization mapping's goal is to identify who is involved in ethnic-racial socialization and how people develop their ethnic-racial identities. According to Minnear (2020), the participants were asked to write their familial member on the edge of the paper, which could be their parent, but also caretaker who is not related by blood, or extended kin was included. Next participants were asked to draw a circle with self in the middle, then lines with different colors that represented ways people in their familial other talked about, "cultural pride, egalitarianism, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust ... perceived discrimination at work or school" (Minnear, 2020, p.35). The participants were also asked to draw lines about who they would talk to on empowerment, mental health issues, and news. Figure 1 describes how the mapping was done by participants in Minnear (2020) study.

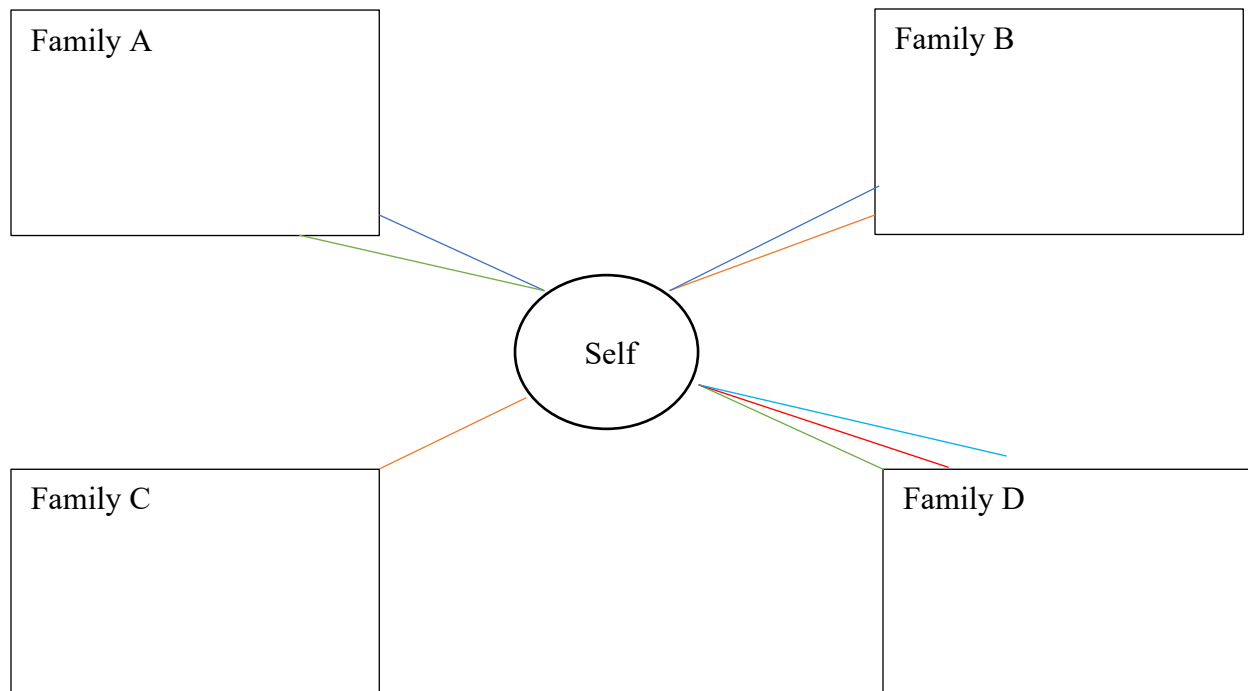


Figure 1. *Minnear's Socialization Mapping*

Note: Each color of the line stemming from the self represents different types of conversations.

The visualization of who a person talks to about a certain ethnic-racial topic allowed the participants to see who influences their experiences of developing their racial/ethnic identity (Minnear, 2020). Figure 1 shows the Hafu person in the center, and the four squares in the corner of the map show specific family members (i.e., Family A, Family B, Family C, and Family D). This could be their parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, and uncles. The lines describe what kind of conversation they have with each family member. The red line shows the person that the mixed individual talk to about perceived discrimination at work or school. The green line is connected to the people a mixed person talks to when they have concerns about their own mental health. The blue line is tied to those people the mixed person talks to when they want to discuss about the native language that they do or don't speak.

This study was based on mixed race Black-white-individuals and how they situate themselves with their own identity, and who they talk to or who taught them about a certain topic

that defines their race. In my research on multi-ethnic individuals this model was not applied yet to see how they navigate through their understanding of ethnicity. It is important to not only understand the effects of socialization by parents but through extended kin, as well as media on *Hafu* people socialize into being who they are. The socialization mapping allows one to see beyond parents as socializers. In the next section I will be discussing more about how extended family member affects a mixed person's socialization.

Socialization Outside of Parents

Research on multi-ethnic children's socialization has focused extensively on mothers and immediate parents, but not much has focused on how extended family members affect the identities of a biracial child. Extended family: "kinship group beyond the immediate family" (Schmeeckle & Sprecher, 2021, p.349) has been studied in the concept of how families identify themselves together (Schmeeckle & Sprecher, 2021; Solitz, 2017).

Johnson (2000) compared extended families of white and Black families, specifically the older generation within the household, and how connected they are. The Black families had more connection due to the involvement they had within the household. In living with familial members, who expects different involvement styles within a household, may bring different racial and cultural expectations to the biracial child. That is, if the child is talking to the white side of the family, it could seem different from their minority side of the family. When socializing language, Smith-Christmas (2014) noted the importance of extended family members and social norms playing a role in acquiring a minority language. Kimura (2021) analyzed a film featuring interviews of mixed-raced individuals, where those who did not speak the predominant language, were given the burden of being expected to know that language for being a biracial person. Language as one form that detachment occurs, could bring struggles and no

belongingness towards the culture and race. Franco et al. (2016) analyzed that invalidation from society in belongingness to a culture causes multi-racial individuals to feel not fitting into a race/culture/ ethnicity termed as cultural homelessness. The importance of socialization through extended family members are apparent, though not much research has been conducted, especially in biracial and multi-racial households.

Mixed race individuals also understand their own race through media and their representation by consuming products targeted towards them. Park et al. (2015) analyzed the racial representations in MTV's reality TV shows where they found that multi-racial women were portrayed as most desired, popular, and was represented more than the populational percentage that live in the U.S. Multi-racial women may be represented as favored due to the stereotype of them being "exotic" (Park et al., 2015). A unique approach to multi-racial population's representation was done by Nishime (2005) where she compared sci-fi movies with cyborgs and how multi-racial individuals see the representation of themselves through them. She continues by arguing how multi-racial people are the representation of humans and others, as current sci-fi movies portray those hybrid bodies. To hide the colorblindness that Hollywood has, they use cyborgs to avoid such issue. Cyborgs look for their belongingness in humanity and robot, where they do not belong in either one, just like biracial and multiracial bodies do. Edy & Austin (2022) notes about ways that media portray history and collective understanding of an even from only the powerful dominant side of the story. This ties into the more glorification on media and commercials for *Hafu*, but less knowledge being shared about the history of *Konketsuji* which was introduced in the earlier section.

In addition to media representations and how *Hafu* people are used to promote items, but the multi-ethnic person's consumption of products influences the way multi-ethnic individuals

perform their identities. Harrison et al. (2015) noted that multi-racial population, specifically white/black mixed people's hair products allowed them to see their uniqueness, not quite white or black in the way that the products were sold. The hair products are usually racialized and sold distinctively for Black or white consumers, which forced the child to choose one race over another in some contexts (Harrison et al., 2015). Still, because the multi-racial bodies do not belong in just one race, they felt that a need to act in a way that is expected by the retailer, and how they perceived this person's race to be. In addition, objects, as a symbolic mean plays a role in identifying the self and seeing the extension of the culture that one belongs to (Oswald, 1999). Objects and consumption of those in the marketplace determines one's identity as multi-racial body.

In addition to socialization by parents, *Hafu* and bi-racial individuals learn about their racial identities via society. Extended familial member with language usage, media and ways multi-ethnic individuals are represented, and how consumer goods are targeted in a specific way to show or not show belongingness impacts an individual greatly. These messages that *Hafu* people are surrounded with guides them in identity formation and affects their mental health greatly.

How parents and extended family member guide a mixed child through society could be seen in socialization theory, but how the social structure sees a mixed child is not explained. By using social identity theory, I will be diving deeper into how the Japanese ideology on heterogeneity suffocates a *Hafu* person in fully expressing their *Hafu* identity.

Heterogeneous Ideology and Social Identity Theory

The exclusion of 'anything other than Japanese' could even be seen from how Japanese ideology of homogeneous country is portrayed in law. According to Ministry of Justice (n.d.) in

order to earn a citizenship of Japan by birth, Japan follows the law of whether one of the parents are Japanese or not, which is phrased *血統主義*, directly translated into blood line principals. In addition, if one obtains dual citizenship, they are required by law to either chose Japanese or the other citizenship before they turn 22 years old (Ministry of Justice, n.d.). According to Mineyama (2012) Japan only allowed children with the maternity line, a Japanese mother and a ‘foreign’ father, to gain Japanese citizenship in 1989. There is no mention of same sex marriage, since to it not permitted by the Japanese law at this moment. Due to this strict policy of who is included as Japanese and the forceful nature in choosing one’s identity, Sakurada (2019) notes that many students do not want to show their foreign identity as they learn the necessity to assimilate to the Japanese society through school. In Japan, assimilating into the Japanese society is important as it emphasized homogeneous ideology.

The homogeneous ideology could be seen in the previous politician’s communication as well. Aso, then deputy prime minister, stated in 2020 during a public gathering that “[n]o country but this one has lasted 2,000 years with one language, one ethnic group and one dynasty” (Japan Times, 2020). This brought controversy as there are many minority groups such as Ainu, Ryukyu, Zainichi-Koreans, as well as *Hafu* individuals who have lives in Japan. A study on the minority groups in Japan, conducted by Htun (2012) notes about the times that individuals who are in the minority group decides to assimilate, deny, or further emphasize their minority identity depends on the socio-historical connection to the majority group. That is for Zainichi-Koreans, since Japan has a conflicting relationship with South Korea, some parents decide not to reveal or socialize the child into their Korean identity but rather raise them as Japanese.

In looking at the Japanese view of who is the in-group, ‘full-blooded’ Japanese, and who is the out-group, *Hafu* and many other minority groups living in Japan, it is essential to look at it

through the lens of social identity theory. Social identity theory established by Tajfel et al. (1979) is about how people categorize some into in-groups and some others into out-groups based on social categories. People favor those who are within their own group taking actions that benefit the in-group (Tajfel, 1974). People want to gain better image of themselves, therefore, to boost one's self-esteem a person sees their own group as more favorable. Communication plays a role in this categorization, as how people see a person as a in/out group, and what makes people belong to such groups are communicated through messages. Identity is shaped and conceptualized through communication.

People categorize themselves into groups based on social status, such as color of one's skin, religion, and not just limited to class. This categorization occurs due to the competition of resources that are necessary for human survival. Not just for resources but maintaining or making the image of the ingroup better in society, so that the group gains "intergroup permeability, status stability, and legitimacy" (Hogg & Ridgeway, 2003, p.97). Notably, expanding from the research in the west on social identity theory, scholars in Asia have expanded on this theory through the lens of cultural difference. Within societies, either grouped as more individualistic or collectivistic, people categorize each other into groups, and work to balance out the collective whole. Still, Yuki (2003) argues that in East Asian countries, the focus of social identity is not with the intergroup relationships, comparison of in-group and out-group, but an emphasis on intragroup relationship, comparison and balancing the tension within a group. This lens of East Asian social identity theory, intragroup comparison would be furthered in this thesis through the lens of favored outgroup and not favored outgroup.

The consideration of who is the unfavored out-group and who is the more favored out-group could also add another layer to the dynamic of 'othering' of *Hafu* and social identity

theory. Sakurada (2019) interviewed Japanese Chinese *Hafu* individuals and found that the stereotypes surrounding Chinese in Japan are about them being rude and loud. Due to these stereotypes, the *Hafu* individuals preferred not to mention their mixed identities. On the contrary those who are not mixed and are ‘fully’ Japanese noted that they did not like being ‘fully’ Japanese because they are just a Japanese and not pretty (Sakurada, 2019). Although Japanese-ness is valued in the country, the glorification of *Hafu*, and what one sees as a *Hafu* through media, a European mix, creates a tension between the in-group favoritism and out-group prejudice, but also out-group favoritism with the influence of whiteness.

Social identity theory has been studied with mixed-race/ethnic individuals (Oware, 2008; Smith & Stratton, 2008), and also with Japanese minority groups (Htun, 2012; Oshima, 2014). Indigenous Japanese minority groups (e.g., Ainu; indigenous people of Hokkaido) physical features look similar to the majority Japanese group, which makes it their choice to blend into the majority group or to embrace the minority identity they have (Htun, 2012). From this analogy, Htun (2012) concludes that the minority groups do not act towards gaining a positive image, but how much significance the minority identity has on an individual leads to the positive image of their own social identity. In terms of the *Hafu* population in Japan, depending on what the ‘other’ ethnicity that they are mixed with, one could look foreign, which makes it harder for *Hafu* individuals to blend into the majority Japanese population. In the U.S., studies on bi-racial individuals show that multiracial people identifying themselves with a monoracial identity was seen to be untrustworthy by the administration when done in college application because it felt as if the individual was hiding some information (Albuja et al., 2018). On the contrary, Franco et al. (2016) identified the effect of invalidation, in which biracial individuals were not seen to be fitting into the racial group because of the way they act or presented not matching the racial

heritage they are from. In Japan, as Oshima (2014) argues social identity of *Hafu* people are an ongoing process of making terms with their minority-ness.

Mixed white minority is confusing for an individual as well, as it allows for white privilege and minority issues to be faced by a multiracial person. A study on biracial (Asian-white) population found that they were seen as more white than Asian, and that Asian Americans showed less ingroup belongingness towards these mixed individuals (Chen et al., 2019).

Depending on how society perceives an individual and how the group show or does not show the belongingness of the mixed individual effects a person's decision to show their racial identity. Social identity theory and how people see someone as an in-group, favor and take actions that gives advantage to the in-groups, and how whiteness is communicated through societal expectations and norms in Japan would add another layer to the theorizing. Although studies on mixed-ethnic individuals have used the lens of social identity theory, there has not been a study that looked at the use of whiteness, and the tensions that *Hafu* individuals experience as they situate their own social identities in Japan. Parents benefit a lot from educating the *Hafu* child about their culture, having a white-mixed *Hafu* due to the social image, and layers the group status and understanding a *Hafu* person has on their identity even more.

Japan expects a person to be fitting into the ingroup, and would eliminate those who does not fit in. A way that is done is through bullying and discrimination/microaggression. In the next section I will be noting about how *Hafu* individuals face such microaggression in Japan.

Identity Incongruent Discrimination and Microaggressions

A person may be socialized by parents, and extended family members as some ethnicity, but how society sees the multi-ethnic person and the acceptance/non-acceptance into the community effects a multi-ethnic person's perceptions of themselves as well. Albuja et al. (2019)

identified that when a person is rejected from their racial/ethnic membership the multi-ethnic individuals feel some psychological stress. For *Hafu* individuals forms of microaggression such as being questioned their parent's ethnicity, where they met, and a guessing game of their mixedness is a common among Japanese *Hafu* person's experiences, may affect their sense of belongingness. Eger (2018) argues with her study on transgender job seeking processes to expand the 'closeting communication' from a container to a more communication-based approach of concealing an identity from being revealed, which encompasses more than their gender identity. With this analogy of 'closet' *Hafu* individuals are forced to get out of their closet of ethnic identity, in answering questions pertaining to their ethnic identity and familial status through various questioning done in daily life.

Researchers argue that traditional discrimination done towards monoracial people is different in its effect compared to identity incongruent discrimination towards a multi-ethnic individual (Franco et al., 2019). Identity incongruent discrimination is "the denial of an individual's self-identified race" (Franco et al., 2021, p.90). Within the literature on racial/ethnic identity of multi-ethnic individuals, Kimura (2021) analyzed a Japanese documentary that portrayed the experiences of *Hafu* individuals in Japan. In his analysis he argued that a Japanese and Ghanaian *Hafu* individual felt the experience of not belonging to either culture or made their identity fluid to blend into both (Kimura, 2021). This could be seen in the U.S. literature as well, such as Morman (2011) noted that the Mexican and white bi-ethnic individual in the U.S. showed the negotiation of whiteness and Latinx identity, sometimes accepted and sometimes rejected in being either one, which led to the feeling of not being fully accepted in either side of the ethnicity.

Although identity incongruent discrimination and microaggression is painful and cruel, some studies have looked into how these painful experiences allowed individuals to learn more about their identity. The following section will discuss about how ethnic/racial awakening moments can be caused by microaggression/discrimination.

Ethnic/Racial Awakening

Although there are dark sides of identity incongruent discrimination, research that looks at racial awakening moments for multi-racial individuals shows the positive effects of identity incongruent discrimination as well. Ethnic/racial awakening is the increased awareness of the race or ethnicity that the person belongs to, such as awareness of their Black identity that increases due to personal and societal experiences (Neville & Cross, 2016). For example, biracial women who are raised by their parents into a monoracial identity or understood themselves as biracial, but had a stronger connection to one race, may encounter defining moments that make them recon with the other ethnic part of their identity. Clayton (2020) found in their study that students who identified themselves as non-Black has shifted their identity to Black during their time at a Historically Black College or University. This transfers to the *Hafu* individuals' identity with how their whiteness and/or Japanese-ness are taught through experiences in school, social events, and festivals. Franco et al. (2016) noted some identified view themselves as more multi-ethnic than monoracial due to a previous incident of denial in their identity. This experience of identity incongruent discrimination as an awakening moment for some has not been discussed in the *Hafu* literature.

Hafu individuals who are bullied for being different and non-Japanese recognize their identity of *Hafu* that are not 'fully' Japanese through a negative experience. Miss Universe representing Japan in 2015 Miyamoto Ariana, Miss World representative of Japan in 2016

Yoshikawa Priyanka, as well as models and talents in Japan came out about their experiences of being bullied growing up for being a *Hafu* person (Tanaka, 2016). Franco et al. (2016) mention the denial into the racial community could affect the monoracial identity that one may have had, leading to one recognizing their mixedness. This experience of not belonging to any community or culture is termed ‘cultural homelessness’ (Albuja et al., 2019; Franco et al., 2016; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). One’s recognition of belonging or not belonging to a certain ethnicity could impact one’s sense of identity, which then affect one’s mental state.

Social Identity and Socialization’s Effect on Mental Health

For multi-ethnic individuals, identity incongruent discrimination affects a person’s mental wellbeing greatly. Albuja et al. (2019) argues that those who struggle with their mixedness, having two ethnicities, were more likely to experience symptoms of depression. In the same study, their mental health outcomes were associated with the identity changes in a biracial person, and how they feel belongingness to the society (Albuja et al., 2019). Cultural homelessness was also identified to make a multi-ethnic individual feel isolated as well (Franco et al., 2016) which this sense of not belonging could cause harm to a person’s mental health. How one talks about mental health to the family member may also be another factor to discuss as Pokharel et al. (2019) found in their study of minority health communication that Pacific Islander and Latinx families analyzed health information more holistically than Caucasians. Although Pokharel et al. (2019) did not find significant differences within Caucasian, Pacific Islander, and Latinx households in health information behaviors, the slightest difference among parents may confuse the *Hafu* participants when talking about their mental health struggles.

Not just depressive symptoms and isolation, but also lack of autonomy and dehumanization affects a person’s mental wellbeing. Albuja et al. (2019) argues that multi-ethnic

individuals experiences of being denied of one's identity, makes them feel they did not have much say in how they identified themselves, ethnically. Morman (2011) furthers the argument of identity for multi-ethnic individuals where multi-ethnic person loses their self-definition of their ethnic identity, and rather give agency to others to identify who they are ethnically. Franco et al. (2021) found that the more identity incongruent discrimination one experiences the more one would feel detached to the racial identity they were previously feeling attached to. They continued by noting that traditional forms of discrimination did not predict detachment nor attachment towards their racial identity (Franco et al., 2021).

Sense of belongingness is important for multiracial individual's mental health as they feel not-belonging to either of the community as times (Albuja et al., 2019). This tension may create confusion for a multi-ethnic individual. With the high number of 'full' Japanese in Japan, it would be interesting to see what messages surround identity incongruent discrimination and if the U.S. research on mental wellbeing that is caused by the sense of not-belongingness could be applied in Japanese context as well. Therefore, I pose the following research questions:

Research Questions:

RQ1: What are the different types of ethnic/racial socialization messages *Hafu* individuals report receiving throughout their lives?

RQ2: What impacts the *Hafu* person's perception/formation of their ethnic identity?

RQ3: Are certain racial awakening experiences indicative of a *Hafu* person's mental health?

III. METHODS

Being a *Hafu* myself, Japanese Bengali British, I have struggled myself in finding my own identity. Throughout my life, I have been asked if I am a *Hafu*, that I speak Japanese well, and where and how my parents met. This has often been a stressor for me as I felt that I am not Japanese enough to not be asked my identity that are foreign. I have been socialized by my mother as a Japanese, and do not have much tie to my father's side of origin, the Bengali side. This research is structured because of my experiences, and ethnic background. Growing up, I somehow knew that if I said I was mixed with Bengali, someone would bully me. Therefore, instead of talking about all my ethnic/racial background, I decided to tell people I am mixed with Japanese and British. This experience shaped this research to focus on Japanese white mixed individuals, because I knew from personal experience that life of a non-white *Hafu* individual is so different and cruel, that I would not be able to handle it mentally, and the data would show so much more than a thesis could handle. Therefore, based on my experiences, I chose to focus on white-*Hafu* individuals and their potential experiences with their racial identity development and racial awakening moments. In doing so, I will be researching with the following method.

To learn more about a person's socialization experiences with their *Hafu* identity and the effects on their mental health, I interviewed *Hafu* individuals. All participants were 18 years or older and *Hafu* participants shared a racial identity of white and Japanese. Japan has historical context surrounding many Asian countries, such as China with Nanjin massacre, although it is necessary to study the *Hafu* population for all races and ethnicity, for the time and funding given for this project, I only focused on the white Japanese *Hafu*. In the future, it is important and needed to study the *Hafu* population that are not just white and Japanese.

The data collection utilized snowball sampling, stemming from the investigators' personal networks. Snowball sampling is where a person who is participating in the research will help the researcher find more participants for the research. That person, in return, provided a few names of other bi-ethnic people or parent/guardian of bi-ethnic people. Snowball sampling was the best approach as *Hafu* population is at 2% of the Japanese population (Tokyo Shinbun, 2019). In order to reach such minority population, and that there are gatherings for *Hafu* individuals (ハーフ会イベント, 2022), it is likely that a *Hafu* person may know someone with a similar ethnic background. Tracy (2013) states that “snowball samples are often well poised for investigating organic social networks and marginalized populations” (p. 136). Additional participants were recruited via a flyer, emails, and social media advertising.

I recruited white and Japanese *Hafu* individuals who were all from Japan that currently live all around the world. I interviewed 17 participants, who were all mixed with Japanese and white. Fourteen of the participants were women, and 3 were men, where 2 were mixed with Australian, 3 were Spanish, 2 were mixed with Dutch, 1 mixed with Italian, and 9 were mixed with white U.S. American. These participants all grew up in Japan, but as adults they are currently living in places all around the world, including Japan, Australia, Netherlands, and the U.S. The research was funded by Organization of Research on Women and Communication's (ORWAC) Research Development Grant, for funding. I paid the participants \$20 USD (¥2500 with the exchange rate on 4/24/2022) with an Amazon gift card.

Procedures

Following recruitment, the participants received a Qualtrics link that consists of the content form. Then, following the content form, once signed, I sent the creative project prompt, socialization mapping, to ask participants to color-code specific conversations they have with

specific family members. This mapping activity allowed participants to start thinking about their conversations with parents and family members, which enriched the interview which occurred after the creative project prompt.

Following the creative project prompt, I contacted each eligible participant to schedule a 60-minute face-to-face interview within Japan. Due to COVID-19 and the severity of this pandemic, I gave a virtual option for the participants where they were interviewed via Zoom. For security and confidentiality purposes there were waiting rooms for the next participant to wait. The interviews followed a semi-structured format, where the researcher goes into the interview with a list of questions that guided the interview but allow for the participants to direct the conversations. The benefit of such structure is that it allows the researcher to focus on more natural conversations that does not get restricted by scripts (Tracy, 2013). This method allowed me to conduct the interviews freely and adjust questions that fits each *Hafu* person's experience.

The interviews were conducted in Japanese and English, which they were recorded and then I transcribed them manually. The interview guide was translated into Japanese and was checked by a native Japanese speaker for accuracy. Following transcription, I translated the Japanese interviews into English and then had each transcript checked by another native Japanese speaker for accuracy.

Interview Protocol

The interviews took place face-to-face or via zoom depending on the preference of the participant. Prior to the start of the interview, I provided an IRB approved consent form to the participant and with their consent, the research was conducted. Additionally, I asked the participant to choose a pseudonym.

In order to answer RQ1, questions surrounding *Hafu* person's personal experiences were asked that bases the conversation around socialization mapping activity. Some examples of interview guide questions are "I notice you have a lot of nodes with X person. Can you tell me about your relationship?"

To answer RQ2 which aimed to see *Hafu* person's identification of themselves with the following questions, which helped guide the conversation; "What exposure helped you feel more connected to your racial identity?" "Do you feel you missed out on experiences that could have connected you more to your racial identity?" Lastly, to assess RQ3 on racial awakening experiences of an individual, the following are some example interview questions, "Did your parents talk about whiteness?", "Did your parents talk about Japanese-ness?", "What kind of conversations about race/ethnicity with your family affected your emotions and well-being the most?" "Could you tell me a story of a time when you felt and/or recognize yourself as *Hafu*?" For detailed interview questions see Appendix A.

Analysis

To analyze the interview data, the pragmatic iterative approach was used to conduct a thematic analysis, where common themes were identified throughout the interviews and categorized. The common patterns within the interviews were identified then categorized to see the socialization messages and its impact on individuals.

First step of the analysis is to organize and prepare the data. In order to see the accuracy of the interview question, I met with Dr. Austin, my thesis advisor after three interviews to conduct the open coding process, in which I see the data without a code in mind. The open coding process happened by hand as we discussed potential codes and wrote them on a sheet of paper in a brainstorming fashion. This allowed me to see that the interview questions were

capturing the essence of the research questions and were accurate. Next, in order to prepare the data, I organized the participant answers based on Research Questions and specific interview questions, and then copied and pasted each response into that document. The responses were distributed to whatever questions was asked, as well as to which ever additional questions the response belonged to, even if it was multiple places. This ensured all responses were accounted for whenever they were applicable to the research questions. The Japanese native speaker checked my translations for the first 3 interviews to ensure my translations were correct, then I proceeded to use the same translation method for the following interviews. Then, the data was stored in a secure location on a password protected computer. The data was stored by the pseudo names that the participants provided.

Then the next step to the analysis was coding, which Tracy (2013) defines this as the “labeling and systemizing of data” (p.186). Coding includes five steps, first primary-cycle coding where I saw the data for the first round and reduce data and examine data to “capture the essence.” (Tracy, 2013). I met with Dr. Austin after 3 interviews to see if the interview guide was answering the research questions. Then following this, once all the interviews finished, I read the interview transcripts and then removed questions that did not pertain to the data collection. For example, I removed the introductory pleasantries at the start of the interview. Next, I identified the RQ and specific interview question and then copied and pasted each response into a word document, for the response that belonged into multiple places, they were noted in all locations. First level coding occurred during the primary cycle to see the “what” in the data. This allows for a summarizing of the interview. Throughout this process I used a constant codebook method; “compare the data applicable to each code, and they modify code definitions to fit new data” (Tracy, 2013, p.190). This method allowed for flexibility in coding

and defining the voices of the interviewees. Then I copied and pasted specific quotes and keywords into an excel file to begin creating codes. The excel included the research question on the first row, followed by interview question, categories, definition, then the responses that belong to the specific category. This allowed for flexibility in moving responses and keywords into clusters of similarities. Once the first cycle coding has been conducted, a codebook was created to navigate the further analysis in answering the research questions from the thesis. Codebook includes the codes, definitions, and the examples from the interview. (See appendix C)

The purpose of the codebook is to help myself stay on track with the analysis but also to have a similar understanding between me and Dr. Austin on the coding that I have created. To do so me and Dr. Austin met every week to discuss the codes I made. Each week we discussed one RQ and finalized the codes. We discussed specific examples from the interviews to ensure I had multiple examples for each code. Then secondary-cycle coding, which involves the researcher critically determining if the codes created in the primary cycle organized and reflected well on the data collected. Then followed was axial coding, organizing the codes into a bigger category and seeing how there are terms that goes under certain ones. In conversation and collaboration with Dr. Austin as my thesis advisor we discussed the codes and their relation to the research questions. We also discussed appropriate names of the categories. Lastly the data analysis approached the data through finding exemplars “significant and multi-faceted examples researchers identify in the data through coding” (Tracy, 2013, p.208). By looking for exemplars it organized the analysis well with voices of the participants. To find exemplars, I referred back to the excel (see appendix C) and used key examples from those responses.

Once the analysis is conducted there is a potential for follow-up interviews. Follow up interviews could occur in this research to get clarification or elaboration from interviewees. Additionally, follow up interviews are an important qualitative strategy for member checking. In the case of this thesis, I did not conduct follow up interviews because the responses reached saturation. Without me asking, participants voluntarily provided feedback about the thoughtfulness and thoroughness of the interview guide questions. They were also encouraged to reach out to me following the interview if they wanted to elaborate on their answers.

IV. FINDINGS

The research was conducted in Japanese and English, therefore some of the participant voices are in Japanese, which is followed by a translation in English. The participants of the interview were all from and raised in Japan, but they currently, as adults, resided in places all around the world. As a Hafu person myself, I understood the confusion, frustration, and some hope that the Hafu participants were experiencing. This allowed the interviews to capture unique voices of Hafu lives.

RQ1: Ethnic/Racial Socialization Messages

RQ1 asked about ethnic racial socialization messages that the Hafu individuals received in their lives. This RQ is categorized into: No talk, Microaggression, Feeling not understood, Living on the margins, Admiration of Hafu, and Cultural presentation.

No Talk

No Talk is where there are no conversations about ethnic/racial socialization. This category emerged as I asked questions about topics of conversation about race and ethnicity, and examples of things that the participants talked about. I noticed that some participants did not mention any conversations about race/ethnicity, or they had a hard time trying to think of any.

For Yuka (Japanese, U.S. white mix) when it came to my questions pertaining to their conversations about race/ethnicity or what it means for one to be mixed, Yuka mentioned “I don’t think it was ever like a conversation.” Yuka’s experience of not having a specific conversation and not being able to recall talks on race reflect the normalcy of Japanese being the primary ethnicity in Japan, and not needing a talk about race and ethnicity because it is integrated in the culture. Similar to Yuka, Tomoka (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted that for conversations about race/ethnicity it was never a sit-down talk about this matter but something

that was ingrained in daily conversations: “You know if they kind of are integrated in you know.” Tomoka’s quote also reflects the normalcy of Japanese ethnicity and the idea of conversations on race not integrated into Japanese socialization strategy.

Microaggression

In my analysis, the second category I noticed was microaggression, which is an indirect or subtle discrimination in the form of a statement, action, or behavior against a marginalized group member based on their ethnicity/race. This includes alien in own land and second-class citizen. This category emerged as I asked questions about the conversations pertaining to race/ethnicity as well as the kind of conversations they had. Participants noted how they struggled in feeling belongingness when people around them discriminated against them based on their Hafu-ness. Sue et al. (2007) noted that alien in own land is where an Asian person is assumed to be foreign born, and second-class citizen as a white person experiencing preferential treatment compared to Asian individual. Based on studies like Sue et al. (2007) in this thesis alien in own land appeared in the study as participants mentioned they felt like they are a foreigner in the land they were born in. Second class citizen emerged as participants remembered their experiences of being degraded in their own identity.

Alien in Own Land. Alien in own land based on participant voices was defined as when a person feels they are seen as a foreign individual in their own country/region. This could be being asked where they are from, even when they were born and raised in the region. To get at specific instances of feeling like an alien in their own land, I asked participants for specific examples of when they felt out of place. For Yumeka (Japanese, Italian mix) she experienced being bullied because of her last name sounding foreign, which they mention:

ただ 小学校の時日本でやっぱり結構いじめられることが多くて、で外国の苗字だったんで、その当時はなんでだから結構その苗字でいじられることとかも多くてそれが、精神的につてほどはいかないんですけどなんかもう疲れちゃって嫌だなみたいな。(When I was in elementary school, I was bullied a lot, and having a foreign last name, back then my last name was one thing that people picked on, and not mentally per se. But I was tired of it and didn't like it happening).

Yumeka experienced bullying because of her foreign sounding last name, which made her feel exhausted, because she did not have control over what her last name was. I connected to this experience as when I was a child, and my parents were still married, I had a foreign last name. Growing up I imagined if my last name was still foreign and was somewhat glad it changed to a Japanese sounding name. I feared of bullying that could happen if my last name was still foreign. While Yumeka experienced bullying due to their last name, Ayane (Japanese, U.S. white mix) experienced being treated differently, because of how she looked. Ayane said, "It's different for me going to school, and all these people treating you differently." In this example, Ayane mentioned how she felt microaggression as she didn't like going to school and was treated as something different from a 'pure' Japanese person. Having a foreign facial feature made Ayane stand out. Standing out in Japan is not a good sign as there is a phrase “出る釘は打たれる (The needle that sticks out gets hammered down).” Just like this saying people in Japan like to blend in to the group, and having a feature that does not blend in well, such as foreignness, makes school life much difficult.

Second Class Citizen. For a person who experienced feeling like a second-class citizen, they experienced being degraded in their humanity as a form of microaggression. Chie

(Japanese, Dutch mix) mentioned how she was told by her mother that her being excluded and ignored at school was inevitable because of her Hafu identity, where Chie mentioned:

その毎日学校でハブられたりとかしててなんかこう嫌だ嫌な思いをしていた時に母に慰められる ですけどあなたはハーフだからしょうがない (I was ignored in school every day, and when I told my mom about these experiences that I did not enjoy, my mom would say it was inevitable because I was Hafu).

Chie experienced being ignored by her peers and was told her foreignness makes her stand out by her teacher. When talking about this experience asking for help from her mother, she received such message instead. This made her feel betrayed by her mother because she could not get the support she needed. While Chie mentioned how her identity was degraded by her mother, Naomi (Japanese, Spanish mix) mentioned how her mother told her to hide her identity so that she can have an easier life: “なんだろうミックスっていうところを隠した方が良いつて (How should I say this...I was told to hide that I am mixed).” Because she looks more like a Japanese person, her mother expected her to not tell people that she is mixed. Her mother made this request so Chie would have an easier time not dealing with comments and having to explain her identity, upbringing, and family. The underlying reason behind this is that her mother valued Japanese-ness over her Hafu identity and saw Hafu and foreignness as something that would not be consumed well in society.

Feeling Not Understood

In my analysis, the third category I noticed was feeling not understood, where a person feels that they themselves are not recognized by someone they are close to. This showed up as participants noted about their experiences of conversations about race/ethnicity, and what kind of conversations they were having. The following response stemmed from a question I asked about

a time they felt and/or recognized themselves as different than those around them. An example of this was mentioned by Yumeka where she talked about how her mother would not let Yumeka (Japanese, Italian mix) change into her maiden name although Yumeka felt she stood out due to her foreign last name:

うんその旧姓にできないかなっていう相談だけはしたことあります...ちっちゃい時は特にそうですね、恥ずかしがり屋だったんでなおさらちょっと目立ちたくなかったです。でもどうしても目立っちゃうから仕方ないんですけど。(I asked if I can change to her maiden name... When I was young I was a shy kid and hated standing out, but it was inevitable because I do stand out).

Yumeka felt like her mother did not understand why she wanted to change her last name and was not allowed to change it. Yumeka did not specify the reasons why her mother did not want to change her last name, but in Japan changing last names affects a person in business settings, as we refer to each other using last names. If one changes their last name, there would be rumors about divorce, which damages the reliability on a person in a business setting. While Yumeka noted about their last name, Ryo (Japanese, Australian mix) mentioned how his dad noted that he as a white man would not understand a person's feelings and experiences of being mixed:

父がこう自分はミックスじゃないからというか二つのルーツがないから考え方がわからない (My dad noted that since he is not mixed, he does not understand how I think).

Although this sounds like a cruel statement, Ryo noted how thankful he was for saying such thing. This came as a surprise to me, but hearing Ryo's statement on how this acknowledgement allowed him to explore his identity beyond parents' socialization, made me understand how this could be helpful to a Hafu child. I will discuss this more in Chapter 5, but

parents knowing how much they don't know of a Hafu child's struggles is crucial to a Hafu child. As Ryo described in the socialization map, attached in Appendix B, he connected the most lines to his father. Although at first his statement sounds cruel, the map shows how this honesty made Ryo trust him more.

Living on The Margins

In my analysis, the fourth category I noticed was living on the margins where a person move/moved around and felt they need to adjust to different cultures, a person is defined to be living on the margins. I will discuss more about how Hafu people are living on the margins in the following chapter, pertaining to Social Identity Theory. This category emerged as I asked participants about their conversations on race/ethnicity, and who they talked to. Some examples of this are where Kumi (Japanese, Dutch mix) noted that she had to move back to Japan as a child and felt that she did not understand why she had to leave her friends:

急に友達とさよならして日本語もちゃんとしゃべれない日本語も書けない日本の文化も 育ってきたわけじゃないからで急に小学校にこうなんかポイって、すごいそうお母さん凄いい嫌い (I had to suddenly say bye to my friends, and come back to Japan, where I did not write or speak Japanese and was not raised in the Japanese culture, then being thrown into an elementary school all the sudden... I hated my mom).

While Kumi experienced feeling pushed into a different culture, Fuka (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted how her white mother was strict about speaking Japanese in the correct form as they lived in an English dominant country and attended international school: “[S]peaking to us in Japanese and making sure that we spoke in correct form” Being able to speak proper Japanese, Fuka was able to be more like a full Japanese and could gain respect in schools.

Admiration of Hafu

In my analysis, the fifth category I noticed was admiration of Hafu, where a person feels they want to be/seen as a Hafu. This category was mentioned by participants as they answered the questions about conversations about race/ethnicity. Some participants noted how they wanted to look more Hafu because they look like a Japanese person, and that they adore the foreignness in Hafu people. Naomi (Japanese, Spanish mix) noted her sister who looked more ‘like a Japanese person’ wanted to look more foreign like herself: “もっとなんか外国人みたいな顔が良かったみたい (I wished my face looked more like a foreigner).”

While Naomi noted about her sister, Mie (Japanese, Spanish mix) noted about herself wanting to look more foreign/Hafu, as she felt jealous that some Hafu looked like a foreign individual:

その一般的な日本人のハーフでいいよねっていうのも私の中で多分あるんだと思いますそれが自分の外見ではないからそれでなんかそうやって見られるの羨ましいなーっていうのはあって (I think even within myself I admire Hafu people and since I do not look that way, I feel jealous to those who look like a Hafu person).

Cultural Presentation

In my analysis, the sixth category I noticed was cultural presentation, defined as a person who sees cultural connection to where they are related to. This category emerged as participants discussed their experiences about what they talked about with their family members when it comes to race/ethnicity. Participants mentioned how they felt ties to their cultural background that connected them to their racial/ethnic identity. Shiori (Japanese, U.S. white mix) mentioned an example of this where she cooked miso soup, a Japanese traditional soup for her friend and how she received positive feedback: “Oh, I made my sister a miso soup today, it tasted so good

she's like wow.” The feedback that Shiori received gave her confidence in her own identity as she was able to create a Japanese dish that made her friend recognize her Japanese-ness.

For Chie (Japanese, Dutch mix), she felt connection to a foreign student as a child because she and they were the only ones who were related to a country other than Japan, where she mentioned: “And the conversation level versus Japanese might not be and so. Her and I were probably able to relate from a cultural standpoint.” Chie connected with this student because she was able to show her non-Japanese side of her identity through conversations on culture, that allowed her to recognize her mixed-ness.

RQ1 answered racial socialization messages that participants receive in their lives, that consisted of: No talk, Microaggression, Feeling not understood, Living on the margins, Admiration of Hafu, and Cultural Presentation. The interviews answered the research question through what connected the participants to their racial/ethnic identity, and what lacked for them in feeling confidence in who they are. Moving onto RQ2 it asked about what messages changed or helped an individual to recognize their Hafu identity. These questions asked about racial awakening moments for the Hafu individual.

RQ2: Perception/Formation of Ethnic Identity

This research question asked about how a Hafu person form their ethnic identity and the way they perceive their ethnic identity. RQ2 consisted of 6 categories: Culturally different, No difference in culture, Called a certain way, Having foreign feature, Cultural exposure, and Travel.

Culturally Different

In my analysis, the first category I noticed was culturally different, where the participant felt difference in the culture that they experienced compared to their peers. This category reflects

the voices of participants who noted their cultural experience based on questions such as cultural background, exposure that helped them feel connected to their racial identity. Chie (Japanese, Dutch mix) spoke about how she feels that she and her peers have a different mindset due to where they spent time in their life.

ずっと日本国内で過ごしてきた人とはまあ何かしらマインドセットが違うところはあるな と思つて (Compared to people who spent time in Japan, I think there is a difference in the mindset that we have).

Although Chie was born in Japan, she had exposure to the non-Japanese culture which made her feel like she had a world view that was different from a person who was only exposed to the Japanese culture. Chie noted about how people think, but Kana (Japanese, Spanish mix) mentioned how because of their Spanish, Pilipino background church was closer to them than the traditional Japanese culture:

一時期その教会行つてた時にやっぱ教会いくっていうことがこっちにはやっぱ文化としてはもう無いので、え、教会いくの？ なんてみたい (For some time I went to church and there is no culture of going to church here [in Japan] so people asked me why do you go to church)

In Japan, not many people openly practice religion as they do not regularly go to church, temple, or shrine, but in Spanish Pilipino culture they often go to church, which is different from Japanese way of living. Going to church is seen as something that is done by a person who has a strong belief in a certain religion, which makes them stand out from the rest.

No Difference in Culture

In my analysis, the second category I noticed was no difference in culture, where the participant felt no difference in the culture that they experienced compared to their peers. This

category emerged from participants' voices based on interview questions pertaining to their cultural experience compared to their peers and what exposure connected them to their racial/ethnic identity. Kumi (Japanese, Dutch mix) answered by mentioning how she grew up and was around many mixed individuals, which made her feel similarity with her peers:

アメリカと日本のハーフとかが結構多かったのになんか一人ぼっち っていう感覚はなかったです。(There were a lot of Japanese mixed with U.S. American, so I never felt alone).

Fuka (Japanese, U.S. white mix) also noted about her experience at the international school she attended where there were many people who had a similar background: "There were a lot of mixed race people from different countries." Feeling no difference in cultural background from their peers allowed the participants to feel comfortable in their own identity and made them feel like they are not alone.

Called a Certain Way

In my analysis, the third category I noticed was Called a certain way where the participant being called a certain way making them recognize their difference from peers. Called a certain way reflects the voices of participants who described their experiences of name calling, that made them feel either tied to or ashamed of their Hafu identity based on the question of ways that made them see their ethnic identity in the way they described (Hafu). Naomi (Japanese, Spanish mix) noted how she was called an Ainoko, an old slur used in Japan to describe Hafu individuals:

愛の子だろうみたいなこと言われたんですよ でその時ちょっと全然意味が分からなくて無視してたんですけど でうちに帰ってなんか近くにおばあちゃんが住んでたんですね日本人の おばあちゃんにこんな事言われたんだけどどういう意味みたいなことを言った (I was asked if I was an Ainoko, and at that time I did not

understand what it means, so I ignored it. But once I went home I asked my Japanese grandmother, who lived close).

Naomi experienced being called an Ainoko which is a slur that made her understand her ethnic identity as Hafu. Sachi (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about her first time when she learned that she is a person who is called a Hafu:

私たちの事ってハーフっていうらしいよって言われてああうちなんか名前ってあるんだと思ってなんかそっからなんか名前を与えられたんでハーフなんだって意識するようになりました (I was told [by my sister] that we are called a Hafu, and I learned that we have a name. I felt like I was given a name, which made me recognize myself as a Hafu).

For Sachi, her recognition to her identity came from being told that she was a Hafu, but unlike Naomi and her negative experience, Sachi was able to gain confidence in herself through her talk with her sister.

Having Foreign Feature

In my analysis, the fourth category I noticed was Having a foreign feature, defined as the participant having a foreign feature such as facial element, language they spoke or personality trait that was associated with the foreignness. Participants who noted their experience of feeling foreignness in themselves noted how they felt different from their peers, based on interview questions that asked about the participants cultural experience compared to their peers. Ryo (Japanese, Australian mix) noted about this kind of ethnic identification as he was mixing Japanese and English when growing up and recognized his difference from his peers:

なるほどまあほかの人と違うんだな違う言語を話すんだなあと思ってそれが一番意識し始めた最初の出来事ですね (I learned that I was different, and spoke a different language than others, which is when I first started to recognize [my Hafuness].)

While language affected Ryo, the way music and the personality type that is associated with Spanish individuals affected Kana (Japanese, Spanish mix) , as she would dance to songs and have a more relaxing personality:

結構陽気な人が多いので やっぱけっこう曲とか流れたりするとやっぱ踊ったりとか、なんかいろいろこう なんでも楽しめるなあっていう (There are lots of cheerful people, and when a song plays I dance and can enjoy everything)

In her stance, her ethnic identity comes from her blood, that because she is Spanish mixed, she dances to songs and are more cheerful. This personality trait makes her feel more connected to her ethnic identity.

Cultural Exposure

In my analysis, the fifth category I noticed was Cultural exposure, which includes food and language, where a person connects to their identity through these cultural items. Interview questions such as “what exposure helped you feel more connected to your racial identity?” reflected participant voices of how cultural experience connected them more to their ethnic/racial identity.

Food. Yumeka (Japanese, Italian mix) mentioned her love for pasta, which is related to her father who is Italian, and connects to her identity through food:

なんかもうパスタなんかまあなんなら毎日食べれるしっていう感じぐらい大好きで、もうそういうのはやっぱりイタリアの血に入ってるからなのかなと思っ

やいますね (I can eat pasta almost every day, I like it that much, which is when I feel I have Italian blood).

For Yumeka, her father passed away when she was young, so food was a way for her to connect to her Italian identity as well as her father. I connected to this experience as I have not been with my father since I was in primary school, therefore, food from Bangladesh and the U.K. connected me to my identity.

Chie (Japanese, Dutch mix) noted how she appreciated Japanese food and feels her Japanese-ness from the food that she enjoys:

お味噌汁とかうんお餅とかそういう本当に日本らしいもの 新潟だからお米おいしいですよ だから結構なんかそういう ああ日本人でよかったって (Like miso soup and mochi, those very Japanese stuff, and I live in Nigata where rice is very tasty, which is when I feel like I am glad I am Japanese).

Language. Nana (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about her use of English and Japanese at her workplace which makes her feel useful as an Hafu person.

日本語も英語も使ってまあ会社の 助けにもなっている部分もあるのでそういう ところではいいのかなと思います。 (Using Japanese and English at my work, which is helping the company to some extent, so I feel good).

Ayane (Japanese, U.S. white mix) also mentioned about her use of English at workplace and allows her to feel included into the culture: “I was working in an English environment. It's quite comfortable. So maybe the language.” Her use of English at workplace in Japan, allowed her to express her white U.S. American side of her identity in Japan. We connected in the interview through this experience as I have also felt the use of English growing up as my tie to Britain, when I am in Japan.

Travel

In my analysis, the sixth category I noticed was Travel as a form of identity recognition where a person traveling to another country allows them to feel their identity. Participants who traveled to places that they have ancestral roots in felt more connection to their ethnic identity. Mie (Japanese, Spanish mix) mentioned about her motivation to travel outside of Japan, and how easy it come to her.

やっぱりその海外に興味を持つっていうところがやっぱり大きいかなと思います

(I think being interested in an outside nation is a big aspect).

While Mie mentioned their interest, Yuka (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about traveling to the US, where she was able to talk about Japanese culture, and re-recognized her Japanese-ness:

“Coming to the States and being able to tell people about Japanese culture really helped for me.”

For Yuka being able to talk about her Japanese identity and teaching others about the culture made her feel confident that she knows about Japan enough to talk about it. Me writing this thesis and explaining Japanese concepts makes me confident too about my Japanese identity, which I shared during this interview.

RQ2 asked about perceptions of Hafu individuals racial/ethnic identity and how they came to terms with it. The answers that participants gave answered the research question as it reflects the experiences and exposure to culture that connected them to their Hafu identity. While RQ2 noted about perceptions of Hafu individuals, RQ3 consisted of how these racial awakening messages affect a person’s mental health.

RQ3: Racial Awakening and Mental Health

This research question asked about how a Hafu person comes to identify their own race, and the effects it has on their mental health. RQ3 consisted of 2 categories, positive and negative.

Positive in this context is where the participants felt confidence and connection to their Hafu identity through experiences that made the participants recognize their racial/ethnic identity. Negative in this context is when the participant felt uncomfortable and felt ashamed of their Hafu identity based on the experience that made them see themselves as Hafu.

Positive

Participants noted how their exposure to their racial identity positively affected their mental state, where they accepted their Hafu identity without struggling to find a way to come to terms with it. Questions such as “what kind of conversations about race/ethnicity with your family affected your emotions and well-being the most?” captured the participants experiences.

Siblings as Buffers/Bubbles. Siblings as buffers is when sibling makes you recognize your Hafu-ness. A buffer is where the sibling helps ease the introduction phase into the person’s new identity. Sachi (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about how she first heard the phrase Hafu from her sister and thought of a half-and-half (a pizza that is split in half with different topping on each half) pizza:

ハーフって聞いて私はなんかすぐ思い浮かんだのがなんかピザのハーフアンドハーフだったんでうちら最高やんって思って (When I first heard of Hafu, I thought of half-and-half pizza, so I thought we are awesome!)

Sachi experienced being told that she is Hafu from her sister, which made her see a benefit in being a Hafu person. Shiori (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about being able to share the mixed experience with their sibling and how comforting that is for her:

Talking to my siblings about it too. it's nice that we get to experience both parts of our race, I guess, you could say our culture being Japanese and American.

Shirori was able to connect to her sibling through the Hafu experience they both had, and was able to feel not alone while growing up.

Exposure to Both Cultures. Being exposed to both countries one belongs to allowed them to see both sides that they identify as. Ayaka (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about how she felt connection to both sides of her identity growing up:

I connected with both sides. made me have to have a really positive experience like I don't feel like a more Japanese or more American like I know. I'm like I'm both. I think that's really good, because I think a lot of people will like struggle to connect with one side.

Ayaka was able to feel both of her identities growing up, and she acknowledged how significant it was for her growing up. Yuka (Japanese, U.S. white mix) also noted about exposure to both cultures, as she felt she was more than just a Hafu as she was exposed to more Hafu individuals in high school:

I think it like going into high school, and then realizing that there are a lot of other like half Japanese like have white or like have anything other kids. Um and peers. I think that was like really comforting for me, because I was able to be more than just Hafu.

Yuka mentioned how her Hafu identity was not the only factor of her personality. In Japan, us Hafu get asked a lot about our Hafu identity, and it feels as though that is the only personality trait one has. Yuka being able to be more than just a Hafu affected Yuka mentally.

Flexible Identification. Being able to change their identity flexibly due to being mixed, is the definition of flexible identification. One example of this is where Kumi, (Japanese, Dutch mix) noted about her exposure to mixed cultures:

日本のお正月風土じゃなくて例えば韓国のトックとかそういうの食べてて。なんかそれが普通と思ったらやっぱりちょっと違くて。なんか私なんか文化いろんな

のが混ざってるなって。(Not like Japanese new years, I had Korean tok. I thought it was normal but it was different from others. I learned that I have different cultures mixed within me.)

For Kumi she was able to connect to her mixed-ness through multi ethnic experiences, and this made her feel more confident in her identifying as a Hafu person. While Kumi noted about how food and culture made them feel cultural mixture, Fuka (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about how she defends the ‘other’ side when they hear about a criticism of their own ethnicity:

I would always want to defend the other side. So if I’m talking to a Japanese person, and they’re criticizing the US...I always constantly feel like I’m just trying to say the opposite side or something.

Fuka’s experience shows how Hafu individuals feel connection to both their identity and feels the need to be on both of the sides to protect their identity. By defending both sides Fuka was able to identify herself to both of her identity.

Early Recognition. Some noted their experiences of recognizing their Hafu identity before they could remember, or always knew that they were Hafu. These responses stemmed from my questions about their first memory or realizing they were Hafu. Sachi (Japanese, U.S. white mix) mentioned how she always knew she was a Hafu:

いやもうなんか多分 ずっとハーフって思ってたから、もうちっちゃい頃から多分もう言われてたのかもしれないですね、あとはあの もう二歳三歳とかではもうあのお母さんの国とかに帰ったりとかしてたので、なんかえ?! 私ハーフだったんだみたいな感じの事はなかったです。(I think I always thought that I am Hafu, and maybe I was told I am a Hafu as a child. Also, I did go back to my mother’s

country when I was 2 or 3 years old. So there was no experience of realizing that I am a Hafu.)

Being able to recognize one's own identity early on in the life allows them to feel more connected and secure in one's own skin, compared to recognizing one's identity later on where they have to adjust to how they see themselves.

Negative

Some participants noted their experience having negative mental effects because of how they came to recognize their racial/ethnic identity. Participants discussed experiences that affected their mental health, as well as what made them recognize their racial/ethnic identity, which reflects the negative experiences that they had.

Name Calling. Name calling is when a person is called a certain way that made them see themselves as a Hafu. Chie (Japanese, Dutch mix) noted about being told she was from the balcony not Netherlands, which in Japanese Netherlands and balcony sounds similar (オランダ/ベランダ):

保育園にえっどこから来たのってお前ベランダで生まれたのクスクスみたいななんか なんかあってなんか結構多分それが初めて (When I was in kindergarten people asked me if I was born in the balcony and was laughed at. I think that was my first experience).

Chie mentioned her frustration and anger, as well as her feeling sad that her mixed-ness was used to call her out as someone who is different from others. As seen in the map attached in Appendix B, Chie shares these types of discriminatory experiences with her mother. Chie lived with her mother and sister growing up, and as a primary socializer, Chie was able to connect with her mother often. Naomi (Japanese, Spanish mix) also noted about how whenever she gets in

trouble at school, for being bullied her teacher would tell her it was because she is different from everyone:

あなたはみんなと違うからの的なフレーズをめちゃくちゃこの人生で聴くなみたい
な感じでそれが絶対なんか何か 起きた時にそのせいにされるみたいな なんか本
当にそうなのとか思っちゃうし っていうのはありましたね (I think I hear the
phrase I am different from everyone very often, and when something happens they make
that into the reason why that occurred. Sometimes I start believing that it is the case).

Naomi's sentiment speaks loud to me as people tell Hafu children how it is because we are different, special, or are foreign that we are treated this way. People who comment such thing may mean no harm but as a Hafu person who has also lived through this experience I felt Naomi's struggles.

Parent/Grandparents as Negative. When parents/grandparents affect you negatively making the Hafu person question their own identity, I categorized them as parent/grandparents as negative. Kumi (Japanese, Dutch mix) noted about her grandparents in Netherlands seeing a mixed soccer player on TV and saying, "they need to leave the country". This made her wonder what she is as she is also a mixed individual:

文化的背景が違ふとやっぱそういう外国人ってみなされてなんかやっぱ資格がないのかなみたいな。でもまたその時はやっぱすごい悲しく って、 私はなんだってなりました？ (If a person has a different cultural background they are seen as a foreigner, and do not have the qualification. I felt sad and wondered what I am).

For Kumi's grandparents who lives in Netherlands, their comment was not meant to Kumi, but for her, it made her questions her ethnic identity, as well her belongingness to her country. While Kumi noted about her grandparents Ayane (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about how her

father, who remarried and has a son saw foreigners, and mentioned why there are so many in Japan. This made her question how he sees her and felt not understood:

Why is he saying those kinds of things? And how is he saying rising his son? And I guess he has no idea what it was like for me growing up.

Ayane is Hafu, which made her question her father's words towards his son. These types of discriminatory words exist daily in Japan, as tourists and immigrants increased in Japan. Japanese individuals mention how they do not like seeing foreigners all over the place. But for Ayane, her own father who should understand that Ayane is mixed with U.S. American, mentioning this to her son broke her heart.

Feeling Like an Outsider. Feeling like an outsider is where one feels like they are a foreign individual in the place they are from. Nana (Japanese, U.S. white mix) noted about her Japanese ability and how she does not feel fully Japanese because of the nuances she uses are different to a 'pure' Japanese speaker:

日本人っぽくても話し方を話全然普通に日本語で話してるよだけどでもちょっと違うちょっとなんか 日本語のニュアンスが違うと言われるんでそういう面が 100%日本人ではないのかなって感じがしますね (Although I speak Japanese, the I am told that the nuances are different, which makes me feel like I am not a 100% Japanese).

Nana noted about how she grew up and have been using Japanese but because of the nuance difference she felt like an outsider in her own country. Yumeka (Japanese, Italian mix) noted about how although she lived in Japan for a very long time, she often gets asked where she is from and how long she has been living there, which makes her feel exhausted:

ただ日本に居るとずっと長いからこう ええどこの国の人？何年日本に住んでるのとか？なんかそれはちょっといやだなって思っちゃいますね。もうもう疲れち

やうっていうか、もう仕方なく答えてるけどもう日本で生まれましたとかもうな
んか。(I lived in Japan for very long so when I am asked where I am from or how long
I've lived in Japan I feel bad. I am so tired of the question, though I do answer it because I
have to).

Yumeka has been in Japan for all her life, but being asked about her origins, and how long
she has been living in Japan, she feels like she is not seen as a Japanese person. These comments
degrade the Hafu individual's belongingness to Japan and makes them questions where they
actually belong.

Based on 17 interviews, 25 categories emerged for all three of the RQs. In the next section
I will discuss more of the theoretical implications, practical applications, concluding with
limitations and future research directions.

V. DISCUSSION

In this final chapter, I will be making connections between the literature and data that I have collected. I will also be discussing theoretical extension that this thesis is making, then concluding with limitations, practical applications, and future research ideas. The practical application gives advice to Hafu children, their parents, and schools.

Homogenous Ideology and Social Identity Theory

Japan emphasizes the bloodline principal, whether one's bloodline is only Japanese or not, as they focus on how they are fully Japanese or not. Social identity theory favors those within the ingroup and seeks difference within those in the outgroup (Tajfel et al., 1979). With this theory in mind name calling that Hafu individuals experienced ties to the idea that outsiders are emphasized by their difference from the insider. In case of the Japanese society, with the blood-line principal, fully Japanese blooded individuals are seen as insiders, and Hafu individuals are seen as an outsider, therefore are excluded in schools.

Being Hafu caused the participants to go through bullying experiences. Shin et al. (2011) noted about Korean American immigrant children's experiences on bullying and how those included discriminatory messages. Just like Shin and colleagues research Hafu individuals in Japan experienced discriminatory, name calling as a form of bullying. Yumeka, as well as Chie, Kumi and many others experienced being bullied for being Hafu. Kumi noted about how she was called to be born on the balcony because Netherlands sounds like balcony in Japanese which she is mixed with. Not just in schools but as Chie mentioned her mother told Chie that it was inevitable for Chie to be bullied because she was Hafu. Being different ties greatly to why one is bullied in Japan, which connects to the heterogeneous ideology that Japan holds. Being different and the emphasis on these differences shows how Hafu individuals are categorized as

an outgroup, within Social Identity Theory. People assimilate into being the “true” Japanese by denying their differences and acculturating to what is expected in the society. Htun (2012) noted about how minority groups assimilate into the majority culture depending on how they are socio-historically connected to the majority group. By denying their foreign-ness through last names and their foreign features, they assimilate into the Japanese-ness by changing last names and trying to look more Japanese. This ties to social identity theory where people seek for differences in outgroups, and similarities within the ingroups.

In the interviews, I saw many participants struggling because of this principal. Yumeka, as noted in the findings, mentioned how her foreign last name caused her to be different from others in school. She mentioned how she wanted to change her last name to her mother’s maiden name, which sounded more Japanese. Yabuki (2005) researched about Japanese women who married someone of a different nationality and how last names are selected, which she notes the importance of social positioning that last names hold, when it comes to how they are categorized within the society. This thesis extends Yabuki (2005) work by seeing where the agency stands, from the person who chose the last name (parents) to someone who has to live with the last name (child) given to them. With this, Japanese women made decisions to choose either last names in Japanese or English depending on their status and where they planned to live in order to bring the most benefit from the marriage (Yabuki, 2005).

Living in Japan having a Japanese last name would benefit their social positioning as they could fit in better to the homogeneous ideology. Having a Japanese last name allows people to be in the ingroup within the social identity theory and allows them to live more comfortably. Homogenous ideology, Japan as a 単一民族国家(Homogenous nation) strengthens the ideology that Japan only has one ethnicity; the Japanese, and does not allow for diversity to be seen.

On the other hand, others felt denied of their identity. Those who had experience of name calling, or bullying experiences had a negative image of being Hafu that affected their mental state. Naomi was told it is because she is Hafu she gets bullied by her teacher, which made her lose confidence in her own identity, and affected her mental health. When asked where she is from, Nana felt as if she does not belong to Japan, although she has lived in Japan her whole life. These experiences of refusal of their ethnic identity, and bullying makes the participant feel loss in their identity and affected their mental health negatively.

In studying about immigrant migration in Japan, Komisarof and colleague (2020) noted that Japanese put importance in Japanese ethnicity and ancestry is required for one to be considered a Japanese. Hafu individuals, although they have Japanese blood and ancestry, they are not fully Japanese, therefore are labeled as Hafu/Half. When looking at famous sport players who are Hafu such as Rui Hachimura a professional basketball player, or Naomi Osaka a professional tennis player, they are considered Japanese when they play a good game and are praised as Japanese, but when they were not famous or are not in a good condition, they are Hafu or even a foreigner to the Japanese society. The tension between wanting to be Japanese and wanting to be Hafu, extends social identity theory as it places the individuals into a border between an ingroup and an outgroup. With this in mind, social identity theory supports the outgroup label that Hafu individual received and shows how this is the causation of bullying that they are going through. This thesis is extending social identity theory by noting where the agency stands when choosing if the Hafu person is an ingroup or an outgroup. For Hafu individuals it is not if the person wants to be an ingroup or an outgroup, but rather the social structure is selecting their ingroup/outgroup status. The thesis dived deeper into how social identity theory could be

extended into people who exist on the borders of ingroup/outgroup. What is interesting is that some who is mainly in the ingroup status wants to be an outgroup, admiring to be a Hafu.

Tension Between Wanting to be Foreign and Wanting to be Japanese

The findings led to an interesting discovery—a tension between Hafu people who look foreign and those who look more Japanese. One feels that being Hafu is a special thing and wants to be admired like those who look more foreign do. On the contrary, those who look more foreign experience being isolated from society because of their difference. As Naomi, a participant, mentioned about how she admires the Hafu appearance that she does not have, some Hafu participants noted that they would want to look more foreign. While some noted that they wanted to look more foreign, those who looked or had a foreign feature struggled from exclusion, name calling, and bullying. Yumeka, another participant, mentioned her experience of being asked where she is from although she lived in Japan her whole life. These tensions explain how Hafu individuals sit on the border of ingroup/outgroup of social identity theory. They can shift between these groups as they are half Japanese and half foreign. Still, their shift is not done so flexibly by the individual, but rather the society shifts them from ingroup to outgroup or vice versa.

Participants reported on having either a positive or negative racial awakening moments, where some felt that their Hafu identity was recognized and accepted. For those who had a positive experience, it seemed that those who had a sibling that helped the Hafu person learn their own identity. Sachi noted how, when hearing about herself being a Hafu from her sister, she thought to half-and-half pizza, which she thought was awesome. Having a sibling who is also a Hafu teach the Hafu child about being Hafu helps eliminate discriminatory first impressions of being Hafu, and allows the person to embrace their Hafu-ness. In addition, children of parents

who exposed them to both cultures had a positive mental state when it came to their own identity. One of the participants Ayaka noted that she can connect to both sides of her identity, not just one, which helped her feel comfortable in her own ethnic identity. Being able to experience two sides of the identity helps the person feel confidence in being themselves, which ties to the stability in their mental state.

Still, I think there is more to this than wanting to look foreign —the admiration of Hafuness in Japan. Russell (2017) observed the Japanese white gaze, how popular culture naturalized white beauty standards into its culture. With historical markers of the West politicizing Japan with kurofune (the U.S. power for Japan to open borders in 1853) and the U.S. defeating Japan in WW2, Japan saw dominance and power in the white culture. With so much in the media, Japanese traditional beauty standard has decreased and now the white beauty, such as having fair skin, bigger eyes are being valued (Russell, 2017). Hafu individuals in this interview were all mixed with white, which some who did not inherit the white features from their parents sought the white features that are valued in the modern Japanese society. As much as non-Hafu Japanese admire the Hafu-ness in Hafu individuals, non-foreign looking Hafu individuals admired their peers who looked more Hafu. This tension between wanting to assimilate into the ingroup versus wanting to not be just a Japanese is complex, with many layers of social-historical influence. Such influence like Sakoku, shutting down Japanese borders (Kanemitsu, 2006), show the Japanese's will to keep Japan "pure" through Sakoku as noted in the literature review, homogeneous ideology, has been shaken by globalization and domination of the western countries. Social identity theory theorizes how ingroup gains advantage and are favored, in the case of this thesis the Japanese, and the actions that are made gives advantage to the ingroup. Through this thesis I have explored how whiteness is communicated through social expectation

and the norms in Japan, such as blending into the group, added another layer to the theory. The social structure is important in looking at Hafu individual's experience in Japan, but how parents and extended family socialize the child is also important to look at.

Socialization

Participants received different types of socialization messages identified by Jackson et al. (2019). Some experienced **monoracial socialization** (socialization focusing on one race) as they only received messages of them being one of the ethnicities. Examples of this would be Kumi noted about how they wished they had experienced cultural experiences and language fluency of the other nation that they are mixed with instead of being thrown into a Japanese school when she was young. Some, like Ryo and Kana experienced **blended multiracial identity** (socialization focusing on multiple race/ethnicity), as they constantly talked in Japanese and English within their household or went to church as a cultural experience. Some experienced **cultural socialization** (socialization of culture such as food and language) as they were taught and ate cultural dishes from their foreign/white side of the family. **Transcendent socialization** (focusing on more than a racial category) also appeared in this thesis as some individuals were told they were more than just Japanese, that they are special. None of the participants experienced **minority socialization** (socialization focus on minority identity), **no ethnic-racial socialization** (no socialization about race/ethnicity), **egalitarian socialization** (socialization focused on achievement and not race/ethnicity), and **white-majority socialization** (socialization of only whiteness). White majority socialization did not appear in this thesis because whiteness is not the majority race in Japan, thus socialization based on whiteness is rare. Same goes for minority socialization, whiteness is the minority in Japan, thus socialization based on whiteness is not very common. No ethnic-racial socialization did not appear because Japanese have pride

and dignity in their culture, as it has a long and rich history, which makes sense on how the parents teach their child Japanese identity if not both white culture and Japanese culture. Egalitarian socialization did not appear in this thesis because colorblindness cannot happen in Japan, as already stated teaching about Japanese ways of life is crucial to the Japanese way of living, it is almost impossible not to teach the culture. Jackson et al. (2019) is applicable to the Hafu participants, but not all categories can be extended. Some socialization methods that do not focus on whiteness as majority, but instead Japanese as majority is necessary in studying about Japanese population. In looking at global perspective socialization strategies that focus beyond whiteness, but more on majority race or ethnicity as a whole is needed in future research. Socialization strategies that consider whiteness as the majority race, culture/ethnic identity as something not to be taught, is not applicable in Japan.

As much as mothers were the primary socializer, participants answered that their siblings were the ones that taught them what it is like to be a Hafu person. This was possible due to the use of Minnear's socialization mapping which extended the socializer from just parents to siblings, grandmother, grandfather, wife, husband, and friends. Some samples of participant maps are attached to appendix B. The socialization mapping activity was a great conversation starter, as it gave time for participants to think about conversations they had regarding race/ethnicity. Still, it did not do much to the data, as conversation swayed from the map to more detailed information about the participants experiences. Noted by Sachi and Shiori they learned the word *Hafu* from their siblings making them aware of who they are in this labeling-based society. I propose that this type of socialization is different and unique from socialization strategies listed by Jackson et al. (2019). Hafu socialization is similar to blended multiracial identity as it teaches the child what it means to be Hafu in the Japanese society. Being Hafu is

similar to being mixed as one is constantly labeled a Hafu and are socialized into society as such. Being Hafu sees the individual as neither Japanese nor foreign in the Japanese society as a biracial person in American society is seen as neither white nor fully Black. One receives socialization to being ambiguous and is told they are different from others. This type of socialization happened for the participants within parent-child relationship, but also from siblings and society, especially in schools. This can be seen in Jackson et al. (2019) study in socialization methods such as blended multiracial identity, cultural socialization, transcendent socialization that the participants in this thesis experienced.

Constant labeling of Hafu as a Hafu made some individuals recognize themselves as a Hafu even before they were aware. As Sachi noted she was told a Hafu before she could remember causing her to know who she is in Japan before she was even aware. Being Hafu is unique in the Japanese society as they are constantly reminded of their non-Japanese-ness through mistakes they make in Japanese language, noted by Nana, and asked where they are from, noted by Yumeka. Socialization within the household effects the individual, but for Hafu, socialization at a social/school level effects their self-esteem as it reminds them how non-Japanese they are even when they do not need another round of distancing from the majority culture.

I have discussed about theoretical implications of how the thesis has extended current literature. In the interview I asked participants about what advice they have for their younger self, parents, which I turned into practical advice this thesis would like to give to Hafu child, parents, and school.

Practical Application

Throughout the interviews participants gave practical advice for children, parents and school education. These pieces of advice are developed from the thesis findings and discussion. The data was not analyzed in the findings or discussion, but the vivid voices of Hafu people created advice that is useful and strong. The hope is to help future Hafu generations not to experience what we had to go through and recognize their identity being a Hafu person earlier.

Advice for Children

Being Oneself. During the investigation I asked the participants give advice for their younger self, which would give voice to struggles and lived experiences. No matter how hard and harsh the bullying is, as some participants lost hope and was confused on who they are, they noted at the end the message that they would like their younger self to receive is a word of confidence, that their struggles are real, and to not give up. Of those one that particularly would be helpful was mentioned by participants: “I would say you don't have to fit in you could just be yourself. Just be myself.” I hope this section transfers that message to those who are struggling in identifying themselves.

Talking About Ancestors. Regarding how and what kinds of talks about ethnicity/race would be beneficial, participants answered the following: “やっぱりその自分の 今までのその先祖の話とかを聞いて紐解いていく (Talking about my ancestors and connecting the dots).” It is beneficial for solidifying the Hafu child’s identity to talk about ancestral background. By knowing their ancestral background, participants noted how they felt connection to their ethnicity and helped solidify their identity. A piece of advice from the participants is that asking parents and extended family about ancestral background, by including them in daily conversations, to help connecting the dots for the individual in solidifying their identity.

Advice for Parents

Mixed Cultural/Linguistic Experiences. Throughout this investigation Hafu individuals gave similar advice for those who are raising a Hafu child, in which they had wished or thanked their parents for their mixed cultural/linguistic experiences. In order for the child to learn their heritage it is essential for parents to teach the child both side of their linguistic/cultural heritage. It seemed as though those who spoke bilingually within the household benefitted from such experience and was able to expand their identity from just being one ethnicity or trapped in the label of Hafu and experienced both sides of the nationality. Another aspect that was brought up often was food, and how including cultural dishes from both their ethnicity helped the Hafu child recognize their ethnic identity. Allowing the child to have these experiences would help the child understand and be proud of the ethnicities that they are mixed with.

Role Model. In addition, hearing from the participants they noted:
“自分の経験とその自分の子供の経験は違うから なんか完全に理解してあげることは残酷だけど出来ないだからその分なんか本当にハーフとして育った大人の人とかなんかお手本になる人を身近に見つけてあげたらいいのかな” (Your experience and the child’s experiences are different, and it may be brutal, but you cannot fully understand what they are going through. So having a Hafu adult consult them and growing up close to them as a role model would be helpful). In addition, when the participants had a Hafu sibling who was experiencing something similar, they seem to have felt strong connection to their brother/sister. They can also become a great role model for the Hafu child.

Not just Chie but Mie also noted something similar. A Hafu persons experience can only be understood by someone who is going through something similar. Finding a role model for the child would allow them to grow with a guidance. A role model could be someone who is

also Hafu that lives in the neighborhood, but as many participants noted they were the only non-Japanese individual in their hometown. Since social media is active, it would be a loss not to use social media to connect a Hafu person to their Hafu child. There are Hafu meet-up events and groups online, for the Hafu child to find their own role model and help guide them in recognizing their identity. Noticing that there is someone like themselves that live in Japan allows the child to feel secure in their identity, therefore it would be beneficial.

I think the responsibility in finding the role model and knowing if the child needs a role model lies on the parent. It may be difficult for the parent to accept that they cannot provide enough to the child, but by being supportive and understanding, it would allow the Hafu child to explore their own identity with guidance.

Advice for School Education

Bullying in schools is a difficult issue in Japan, as Hafu adjustment into the society is a must, and being different in appearance and last name for a Hafu person makes it difficult for them to “fit in”. I recommend schools in Japan to start implementing diversity discussions for their students starting at a younger age. As I, a Hafu person, went through public school education in Japan, there is no talk about diversity in Japan, but focus more on globalization at economic and political levels. For example, Japanese elementary schools have a class on morals (道徳), in which during one of these class times, talking about the differences and similarities between individuals would bridge the gap between Hafu children and Japanese children, as well as children who immigrated. It is necessary for schools to start conversations on diversification of Japan, as more and more immigrants and Hafu children are born and are in the school system. Another recommendation is for the school to provide campus climate surveys asking about

safety and belonging. The results of this survey can help identify what discussions are needed in their conversations on diversification.

These voices from Hafu participants are real and strong. Hopefully this advice would make lives better for Hafu individuals. Although the research found many unique perspectives, it also had its flaws. In the following section, I will be discussing the limitation to this thesis, followed by future research ideas to continue this conversation.

Limitations

This thesis sought to learn of the lived experiences of Hafu individuals, specifically white mixed Japanese Hafu individuals. Because of the time restraint, 17 participants were interviewed, which may not represent all of the Hafu experience. In addition, the research focused on white mixed Hafu, but did not include people who are mixed with other race/ethnicity. In this case, I chose white Hafu individuals to see how whiteness translates into Japanese culture. Also, I chose to frame my thesis around Jackson's (2019) ethnic/racial socialization research which has a focus on whiteness. However, due to the historical and sociological background of Japanese society it is essential to interview those who are mixed with Asian nations, Black, Hispanic, indigenous cultures.

The translation of Japanese to English may have changed the nuances of the participant voices. There were words that means one thing in Japanese that cannot quite be translated into English due to cultural differences. In addition, interviews were conducted both in Japanese and English. Language is important in doing research as plenty of communication studies have been conducted in English. It lacks in perspective and diversity of research, therefore using Japanese in my research was necessary. Yet there are many barriers as stated, in conducting a bilingual study.

In addition, those who had exposure to visiting other countries may have skewed the data. As one learns more about race/ethnicity in a U.S. college a person would be able to start thinking more about this matter. Living outside of Japan, such as in college would change the perspective of the Hafu person to think deeper about issues on race/ethnicity. As my participants were born in Japan but some lived outside of Japan as adults, they may have had a different world view on their Hafu identity.

Future Research Directions

In the future the research could take a route in interviewing those who are mixed with not just white but all race/ethnicity to see the larger view of Hafu experiences in Japan. Since Japan has more historical ties and prejudice towards China, Korea and other Asian nations it would be beneficial to see how treatment of Hafu differs to further the discussion on Japanese view of whiteness and stereotypes that restrain those who are not white mixed. As noted in the discussion section, Japan's beauty standards have shifted because of the popular culture showing whiteness as beautiful. With that being said, future research can interview Hafu participants that are non-white mixed to enrich the discussion on Hafu socialization, whiteness in Japan, and the favored/unfavored treatment of outgroup members.

Another research idea for the future is hearing the voices of parents who raised Hafu. It would be beneficial to hear their side of the story, what they went through in raising a Hafu child and what efforts seemed to help the children. As Japan gets more and more diverse, more parents would decide to have an interracial/international marriage, therefore studying socialization methods they used to prepare the child, would be an interesting study to continue this conversation.

A theoretical extension that could follow this thesis is looking more in depth about how socialization strategies used in Japan is different from a U.S. centric study. I did address some in this thesis as mentioned in the discussion, but a more in-depth study on how Japanese centric socialization, which Japan has a long history and cultural influence throughout society, influence a Hafu person's understanding of themselves. It is impossible not to teach a child about Japanese culture if you live in Japan, but how that affects the other identity of a Hafu person needs to be studied. With more participants, it would be interesting to see how minority socialization is occurring in Japan, compared to the Japanese majority socialization.

Lastly, in the research, parents benefit regarding having a Hafu child never really came up in the findings, but a deeper dive into why parents chose foreign last names and kept them even with the child wanting to change is an interesting future research idea.

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to expand the understanding of Hafu individual's experiences, through social identity theory and socialization theory. In the literature review I looked over heterogeneous ideology in Japan through *Sakoku* and blood-line principal and applied them to social identity theory and socialization theory, which made me wonder about how Hafu individuals are being socialized, how they come to understand their identity, and affects to their mental health. This thesis gave a better understanding of Hafu individuals experiences in getting socialized into the Japanese society, and what being Japanese means to the Japanese society.

This thesis made me reflect on my own experiences on being a Hafu. The struggles, the pride I take in the Japanese culture, as well as my lack of knowledge on the British, Bengali side of my identity became apparent. I hope to use my time after graduation to start looking for information on Bengali side of my identity and become more confident in my Hafu-ness. No matter what people call us, a Hafu, half-breed, or too foreign to be Japanese, us Hafu are all Japanese.

APPENDIX SECTION

Appendix A: Interview Guide

1. How do you introduce yourself to others? (e.g., Hafu, Japanese, Daburu, mixed, etc)
 - a. Do you intentionally bring your Hafu identity or try to disguise it?
 - b. Could you tell me a story about what made you see your ethnic identity in the way you described?
 - c. Did you share the same cultural background as your peers?
2. Who was your primary caregiver? (Refer to map)
 - a. How do they identify themselves as ethnically?
 - b. Could you tell me a story about what made you see your primary caregiver(s) ethnicity in the way you described?
3. What stands out to you when you were looking at the map?
4. I notice you have a lot of nodes with X person. Can you tell me about your relationship?
 - a. What are some examples of things you have talked about?
 - b. Did your parents/caretaker focus on one of your /ethnic identity when talking about race/ethnicity?
 - c. Did your parents/caretaker talk about you being *Hafu*?
 - i. If so, how did they talk about it?
5. Overall, how would you describe your communication/conversations with family?
 - a. Which members do you feel most comfortable talking about race and ethnicity with?
 - b. Which members do you feel least comfortable talking about race and ethnicity with?

- c. What topics of conversations do you have about ethnicity and race? (e.g., discrimination, bullying, representation, pride).
 - d. What topics of conversations do you *not* have about ethnicity and race?
- 6. What kind of conversations about race/ethnicity with your family affected your emotions and well-being the most?
- 7. Could you tell me a story of a time when you felt and/or recognize yourself as Hafu?
 - a. How did that make you feel?
 - b. Discrimination/bullying/included/excluded
 - i. Did anyone prepare you for that experience?
- 8. What exposure helped you feel more connected to your racial identity? (e.g., language, food, objects etc.)
- 9. Do you feel you missed out on experiences that could have connected you more to your racial identity?
- 10. What advice would you give a parent for talking about and introducing a child to their hafu identity?
- 11. Do you think your parents having you as a hafu child, was an intentional decision?
 - a. To access international benefits, to have a pretty hafu baby, or something else?
- 12. Have you felt tension between you and your parent when it comes to how you identify yourself?
- 13. What would you tell your younger self?

Appendix B: Socialization Map

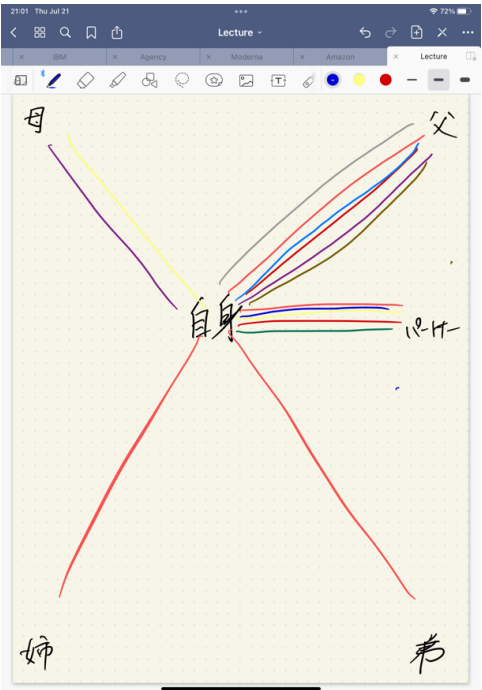


Figure 2: Ryo’s Socialization Map

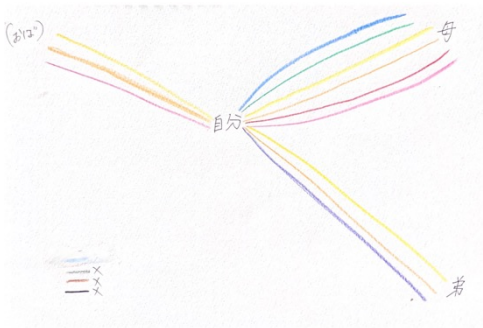


Figure 3: Chie’s Socialization Map

Appendix C: Code Book

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