THE PLACE THAT WAS PROMISED:
JAPANESE RETURNEES AT A FOREIGN LANGUAGE UNIVERSITY IN JAPAN

A Dissertation
Submitted
to the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

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May, 2017

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ABSTRACT

Japanese who travel outside Japan in their childhood or adolescence, and then return to the Japanese educational system, are referred to in Japan as *kikokushijo* [帰国子女] or returnee students. In this year-long narrative analysis study I focus on three such students in their first year at a *gaikokugo daigaku* [(外国語大学) foreign language university] in Japan. My purpose is to explore their life stories, including their experiences abroad as children, their returns, and their choices and experiences in their university education. Data gathering includes multiple, in-depth, semi-structured interviews, field notes based on my own post interview reflections, classroom experiences and interviews, and written texts in the form of participants' emails and online social networking posts. Using sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1992) primary *thinking tools* (p. 160) of *field, capital*, and *habitus*, I examine to what degree the participants' perceptions of their lives and life trajectories fit into what they see as possible or appropriate. I consider participants' views on the promise of realizing themselves as "global citizens" at the foreign language university, their attitudes toward Japan and Japaneseness, and the prospect of going abroad again. I attempt to help fill the gaps of the lack of studies of returnees at foreign language universities, the lack of studies focusing on emergent international studies programs in Japanese universities, as well as a lack of studies examining the perspectives of individual returnees. Employing narrative re-storying, I present the participants' stories chronologically in consecutive chapters, covering their early youth through their first times abroad, then into their first year in university, following this with a thematic analysis of the stories using Bourdieu's sociological lens. I found that the participants possessed different social, cultural, and

economic capital at each stage, including in their host situations when abroad, and this affected both how they experienced their sojourns, and their re-acclimation after they returned. On enrollment to the foreign language university, they felt the institution served as a sanctuary of sorts from the wider social field of Japan, and a staging ground for a longed-for return to living overseas. The desire to exit the social and wider fields of Japan was common among the three participants.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisory chair, Dr. Eton Churchill, for his invaluable advice on draft after draft after draft, exploring winks upon winks upon winks. Both his comments in the writing of this study and his class on qualitative studies revealed to me how much I still needed to learn, and set for me a very high bar of professionalism and the kind of encyclopedic knowledge that I can only aspire to obtain someday. His long-suffering support shepherded me through many a dark valley.

I would also like to thank my committee members who patiently counseled me and gave me invaluable advice. Dr. David Beglar was a considerate mentor on style and form issues, continually pushing me to higher and higher standards. Dr. Christine Casanave, even across nearly 9,000 miles of ocean, provided me with insight into the rich possibilities of narrative analysis, and stood me up and brushed me off when I sometimes felt defeated. Dr. Hanako Okada inspired me with her own research, politely corrected my mistakes in Japanese, and provided me much-needed moral support. Dr. Tamara Swenson offered keen and literate insight into the labyrinth of the works of Bourdieu, and was a helpful and thorough source of information on *Nihonjinron* scholarship.

I would like to thank my wife, Maiko, for her patience during the long process of my writing this, both the early days when I was fumbling for an idea, and the even more tedious days after I found the idea—and more ideas—and sequestered myself for long hours in the upstairs office barring the door from our two children, both of whom arrived on the scene well after I began this journey.

I am also indebted beyond words to my Temple University Japan cohort of 15 other students, in particular, though in no particular order, Rick Derrah, John Rylander,

Brett Collins, and Scott Shinall. Their friendship and encouragement pushed me and kept me moving forward. Without them, I would never have finished. In this same vein I gratefully acknowledge my close friend from afar, Dr. Jason Lueg, who paved a path before me in scholarship.

I offer my heartfelt thanks to my three participants, Kyoko, Kohei, and Ai, who were courageous, good-natured, and stayed with me until the very end. In this same vein I would like to thank the young woman who, in this study, I call Haruka, who was my start and finish point, my inspiration and my unwitting muse, and who I wish the very best in life.

Finally, I dedicate this study to my parents, in particular my mother, Patricia, who sadly and unfairly did not live to see me complete it, but who long ago gave me a love of stories, and inspired and continues to inspire me to be a better person.

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GLOSSARY OF SELECTED JAPANESE TERMS

gakubu:	A university department
gurōbarujin:	Literally, *global person*, the popular term as of this paper's writing; compare with *kokusaijin*
honne:	A person's true feelings and desires (contrast with *tatemae*)
hoshūkō:	A Japanese Saturday school for Japanese children studying abroad
kanji	Chinese characters used in Japanese writing.
kikokushijo:	A Japanese person returned from abroad/returnee; the criteria for time spent abroad is ambiguous and I argue that the term has taken on political overtones (contrast with the neutral English term *returnee*).
kikokuseito/kikokusei:	Same as above, though specific to students
kokusaijin:	An international person, coined in the mid-20th century and popularized by the media and policies of Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in the 1980s
kokusaika:	Internationalization
Nihonjingakko:	A Japanese school in a country outside Japan that follows the Japanese curriculum, with all classes administered in Japanese
Nihonjinron:	Theories of Japanese people/theories of Japaneseness
tatemae:	The behavior and opinions one displays in public (contrast with *honne*)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> I feel like grew up in America so I consider [it] my home. I am often told by my friends that I'm not Japanese and that I'm an American. I guess the way I think, speak, and act doesn't really match the "Japanese Style". . . .
>
> —from Haruka's self introduction card (2008)

Haruka

Haruka[1] was a first-year student in my freshman writing class. I begin this introduction with her words and her name, with the only part of her story that I know, though the study itself is not, and logistically cannot be, about her. In this study I consider those similar to her, *returnees* attending their first year at a foreign language university in Japan—for this was what she was. By the time Haruka reached 18, she had lived more than half her life abroad. She grew up not in the country of her birth, but in the midwestern United States, in a small town of seven square miles and 13,000 souls. She was 6 years old when the family began their sojourn, and in the United States she went through four years of elementary school, three years of junior high, and three years at a high school of 300 students. She was conscientious in her work, and earned high marks in all her courses. She signed up for cheerleading, was popular among her wide circle of local friends, and enjoyed her family and school. With her older sister and her younger brother she lived in many ways a rather typical American teenage rural

[1] Haruka is a pseudonym.

community life with her parents, though her entire family was by both nationality and ethnicity Japanese—and the children the only Japanese pupils at their schools. Her father's employment had required that they uproot from Japan and live abroad for what was to be 10 years. Then they all returned to Japan.

Back in Japan at age 16, Haruka entered her final year of high school in a city of over 700,000. She studied with other Japanese students, in classes taught by Japanese teachers, following the prescribed Japanese government curriculum, the same curriculum followed by students her age all over Japan. Having left behind the familiar sweatshirts and jeans of the United States, she donned the white blouse, blue blazer and plaid skirt of her Japanese high school uniform. She transferred to her school in the same fashion as any anonymous new girl who had moved from another city—yet the city from which Haruka had moved was very far away indeed. She arrived, as it were, right in the middle of things—the third and final year of Japanese high school when clubs had long been joined, friendships formed and solidified, hallways memorized, and routines internalized, at least by everyone else. Her status then changed from the only Japanese girl in class whom everyone had known as long as they had known anyone else, to the new girl returned to Japan from abroad, whose only initial distinguishing feature was that no one knew her at all. What awaited her, however, was not integration, but the eventual realization that she did not fit in. She remembered that time in her life with a one-word epithet, describing it to me in her first-year class journal as "hell."

Anxious to return overseas, on graduation from the Japanese high school Haruka enrolled in a foreign language university with extensive study abroad programs, hoping

to return abroad to a life she felt she had left behind. She never made it overseas, never made it into the study abroad program, or even past her first year. Within 10 months, contrary to the expectations of her family and her teachers, Haruka dropped out of university.

Haruka's experience acutely brings to light questions facing Japan and many other nations, in what has been called an age of globalization. Who and what are returnees? Where do they belong, and how can their educational needs be met? How can returnee students be incorporated into school systems in ways that develop their talents and experience and enhance the outlook of other students who have never been abroad? How has Japan's definition and view of *returnees* evolved as the country transforms its policy of *internationalization*—an internal, conscious policy of combining nationalism with "Western" characteristics—into one of *globalization* —a movement toward an inevitable interconnectedness to countries outside Japan? Indeed, if employers value adults with extensive transnational experience, what can be done to better foster the transition of such transcultural youth to a nation's workforce? Finally, how do these individuals see themselves in light of these larger pictures?

Though definitive answers to these questions are perhaps beyond the scope of this study, I nevertheless have attempted to examine perspectives and reflections of returnee students, their sense of their own education, progress, and academic trajectory, including where they feel they might fit in the microcosms and macrocosms of Japanese education. I set my study in a school whose goals include creating internationally minded students:

Ekimae Foreign Studies University, a middle sized 外国語大学 *gaikokugo daigaku* [foreign language university] in western Japan.[2]

In this study I explore qualitatively the experience of three students who attended this school and had already lived overseas—identifying as *returnees* by their own set of criteria, as opposed to that set by other entities, be they governmental or academic. My intention in this study has been to learn about such returnees, their motivations, their purposes, and their adjustment, within the context of the foreign language university. I utilized qualitative methods such as multiple, extended interviews, student email correspondence and follow-up, participants' online public communications such as Twitter posts, and my own pre and post interview notes, to bring the storied experiences of these students into clarity. I have applied to these materials the framework of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977), exploring how his ideas regarding social reproduction might be applied to Japanese returnee experiences in the education system. In the context of the school where I conducted the study, students who attend and participate in study abroad programs there—both returnees who are going back abroad and students who might have never been outside Japan—typically took classes in Japan until the end of their sophomore year, and because of this I focused in this study on students in their first year. What follows in this part of the introduction is a fuller, though still brief, account of Haruka's experience, and how my acquaintance with her led me to this narrative study.

[2] EFSU is a pseudonym.

Rising Out of Hell: From High School to University

Haruka entered my freshman intensive English writing class in the spring of 2007. She was uniquely extroverted, with a frank, informal, yet tough bearing. Most of her fellow Japanese classmates were subdued and quiet. Haruka's voice was louder, her dress—trainers, jeans, and sweatshirt, eventually flip flops and shorts, pony tail and baseball cap—more informal in comparison to the heels and skirts of the other girls in her class, her questions more abrupt ("Why are we studying this?"), her enthusiasm more palpable, her occasional boredom both more apparent and contagious. Her unhesitant spoken English was brindled with American slang, her vowels bending in an unmistakable regional American accent. Her stated goal was to study abroad. With her high English proficiency and declaration that she was "really looking forward to the class," (on her introductory card) her progress seemed assured.

Within a month, she stopped speaking out in class. Her asides to her classmates, her impromptu commentary, and her attempts at humor—all vanished. Within two months, she had begun to bristle during pair work and groups, either sitting in silence or delivering herself of one lengthy comment then shutting down. "Sometimes," she wrote in her class journal, "I feel like I'm the only one in the class not afraid to say something." She began to refer to her classmates as *them.* She began missing lessons.

I asked her what I could do to help her situation, and more than once. I too began to see the rest of the class as deficient. I wondered if the other students sensed a personality divide between themselves and Haruka, a cultural divide between East and

West, between Japaneseness and Americanization, or something else—or if they noticed anything at all.

The summer holiday came and went. As the second semester began, Haruka wrote in her journal that she was going to try harder to recapture some of the élan of the beginning of the term. Months passed and nothing changed. Her progress declined and her absences mounted. When she did resurface, it was quietly, with no splash or explanation. She stopped making suggestions in class, and her homework dwindled to only a few poorly rendered assignments, then nothing. Eventually she simply stopped coming to school or writing at all.

Haruka's case was considered by some of the highest authorities at the school. The administration decided that her English ability was too high for her class—albeit her class was the highest English proficiency first year class at the school. They suggested she should be re-enrolled in a separate program of the university comprising non-Japanese exchange students, where the language of instruction for all classes was English, and the subject matter was entirely content-based. The classes would have all native English-speaking (mostly American) professors, student desks set separately and not pushed together into pairs, lecture topics unrelated to English comprehension, and students who would presumably speak with the easy freedom thought common among pupils in other countries. In effect, Haruka's classroom experience would be made as close as possible to that of a non-Japanese university. Lessons would take place in Japan, but largely without Japanese students or Japanese language.

Haruka promised that if she could be placed in these new courses, she would not disappoint. The administration then gave her an academic *tabula rasa*. Her grades from the first and second terms would remain low, but would not be considered part of her average in determining her suitability for the study abroad program.

Due to the different school calendars, the exchange student program had a separate academic schedule from that of the Japanese students. Haruka was hurriedly enrolled in mid January, long after the registration deadline, and placed in three courses. However, her momentum away from university had become too great. She attended only two class meetings, and by early February, she was gone. She did not return.

Haruka's story, for her part, did not begin or end on that first day of my class. For me, however, her experience created a blank space, a riddle, and eventually a question, which then led to a series of questions—not only about her, but about the environment into which she entered and into which she did not fit, about the university itself, about expectations and academic tracks and goals and what is "best" for students, about me. These questions have led to this study.

If it were possible, I would have focused on Haruka's experiences, and attempted to identify and decipher the instruments of her academic decline and fall and how it was dealt with on all sides, including how my own actions affected the outcome. With her departure from school, however, came a vacuum of silence and unreturned emails. I no longer had access to her self-reflection or revised goals, could no longer speak to teachers or administrators about her case—a case that quickly became a closed matter—and could

learn nothing beyond my own rumination of what drove her from university, or what made her abandon her once stated dream: “All I want to do is get back to America.”

What is a Returnee?

I have used, in the previous paragraphs, the term *returnee*, but the term itself warrants some scrutiny. Students who return to Japan in their teenage years from extended sojourns abroad are classified in different ways, and from my own perspective this classification is not a simple matter. In Japanese, the term 帰国子女 *kikokushijo* is commonly used, though different groups define this word differently. Researchers have extensively discussed the word’s many nuances elsewhere (e.g., Kobayashi, T.,1983; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984; Suzuki, T. 1984; Yoshida, Matsumoto, Akiyama, Moriyoshi, Furuiye, Ishii, & Franklin, 2002). For the purposes of clarifying who I consider in this study, as well as acknowledging past and current historical contexts of *kikokushijo* in Japanese education and society, I provide a brief review here of the term.

The term *kikokushijo* was first coined in the late 1960s by the Japanese government (see Goodman, 1990b, pp. 10-15 for a more detailed discussion), acknowledging the large numbers of children who were returning from periods abroad and entering or re-entering the Japanese school system. The Chinese characters of the word, 帰国子女, can be separated into parts, beginning with the first 帰 *ki*- [return], 国 *koku* [country], and the last 子女 *shijo* where 子 *shi* can mean [child] or, as is usually supposed in this case, [male], and 女 *jo* [female]. It has been previously argued by some that the term is somewhat derogatory in its categorization of some Japanese as *not normal*

(Furuiye, 1995). The more recently prevailing term 帰国生徒 *kikokuseito* [returned student] is a variant of the word with the suffix 生徒 *seito* [student] indicating the persons in question are students, and eliminates the ambiguity of *shijo*, though kikokuseito does not account for those individuals who are not enrolled in school or who, like Haruka, enroll and subsequently drop out. In some contexts, those who return are referred to as Third Culture Kids (TCK), a term coined by American sociologists John and Ruth Useem in the 1960s (Useem & Downie, 1976). A TCK refers to a child who has lived outside the country of his or her birth due to parents' employment, without any specific age or length of time applied (a few months qualifies.) By this definition, many who return to their home country would qualify as TCK, though even that term has evolved from the Useems' original use, which referred particularly to middle class Americans (Kano Podolsky, 2004).[3] In other studies (Langford, 2012; McClellan, 2011; Wisecarver, 2014) the term ATCKs (Adult Third Culture Kids) is used, to describe such individuals who grew up as TCKs and have entered adulthood.

In 1977, when the term *kikokushijo* was first used by the Japan Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) (Kano Podolsky, 2008) special dispensations were made for students who were so identified, attempting to assist them in their reintegration into the Japanese school system. Some have argued that this government involvement distinguishes TCK from *kikokushijo* (Kano Podolsky, 2004) and/or that TCK, upon return home, are more accurately described as expatriated, rather than returned (Szkudlarek, 2008; Wise, 2000). Others, such as Suzuki, M. (1984) have

[3] For more on TCK, see Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009.

distinguished *kikokushijo*, whom he identified as having been born in Japan, left, and returned, from *hikiagesha* [(引揚者) repatriates] who are immigrants or ethnically non-Japanese dependents of Japanese returning from abroad (the term was used mainly for those families of soldiers returning from continental Asia after WWII). In this vein, some have specified that *kikokushijo* must have full Japanese ethnicity (as opposed to *konketsuji* [(混血児) children of mixed blood], or in the popular parlance *hāfu* [(ハーフ) half], which refers to those with one Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent).

Kanno (2000a), in one of her many publications on *kikokushijo*, defined the term even more narrowly:

> *Kikokushijo* are children of Japanese expatriate corporate and government personnel. They go abroad because of their parents' (usually their fathers') job transfer and return to Japan either when the parents are called back home or when they come to a logical dividing point in their schooling. (p. 4)

Using this definition the individuals concerned have Japanese parentage on both sides, were born in Japan, left, returned, did so due to their parents' decisions and not their own, and/or returned to Japan as a result of choices involving their schooling, which implies that education is the primary element in their return. This distinction of Japanese parentage begs the question of the parents' own status as Japanese, and whether this is meant as Japanese ethnicity or nationality, or, presumably, both.

Yoshida et al. (2002) included age as another factor in determining who qualifies as *kikokushijo*, and set the criteria as somewhere between the ages of 5 and 18. Duration of sojourn is another factor many authors have used. Enloe and Lewin's (1987) study on

family readjustment limited the classification to individuals who lived abroad over two years, reasoning that families who had lived abroad for shorter periods of time might have "[hidden] behind the knowledge that they would soon return to Japan" (p. 227), whereas Tamura and Furnham (1993a; 1993b) set the limit as "no less than one year" (1993a, p. 12). Kidder (1992) did not explicitly state how her participants qualified as *kikokushijo* (her term of choice), though in one case she mentioned a participant having lived in Puerto Rico for eight years (p. 383). Ford (2009) stated simply that his participants spent "a significant part of their lives abroad" (p. 63). Koga's (2009) elementary school participants stayed in the United States for anywhere from 11 months to five years (p. 70). Beyond the definition of researchers, the nonprofit organization Japan Overseas Educational Services (JOES) does not apply *kikokushijo* status to students who were abroad, for any length of time, for purposes other than their parents' employment. JOES, formed in 1971 and funded by Japanese corporations, was created to cater to the educational and adjustment needs of families and children who travel abroad due to the father's employment—both before, during, and after sojourn (http://www.joes.or.jp/info/introduction.html). JOES provides *gaikokugo hoji kyoshitsu* [(外国語保持教室) foreign language maintenance classes] for the purpose of maintaining whatever second language fluency the students maintained when abroad. *Kikokushijo* status is not applied by JOES to those who sojourned in other countries in early life "by choice," for the express purpose of studying. In determining the *kikokushijo* designation, both public and private universities in Japan also typically apply an upper age limit of 18 for the time the student returned to Japan (Minami, 2003).

MEXT, as of this writing, has not provided explicit guidelines for schools on which students are considered *kikokushijo*, leaving this decision up to individual institutions, and in some cases, individual departments within schools. Although some universities require students to have spent a specific number of years abroad, others require the student to have attended high school outside Japan, and still others, in the same way as JOES, disqualify any student who went abroad by choice or design as opposed to having been taken abroad as a matter of their parents' employment.

In investigating these different definitions what struck me as remarkable is the degree to which institutions and even researchers have found it necessary to classify a priori who fits the criteria of being *kikokushijo*, when the criteria themselves are so clouded. From my perspective, although Haruka's experience mirrored that of the classic *kikokushijo* swept away from Japan at a young age due to parental employment, only to be swept back in adolescence, many returnee students I have taught over the years have not had such an experience. Many went abroad alone, through their own choice or the educational philosophies of their parents who wished them to have a helpful life experience. Such students, upon return to Japan, often find themselves unclassified as *kikokushijo*, and therefore unable to access the free resources that otherwise might be available. Many schools consider them *ryūgakusei* [(留学生) international exchange students], and thus ineligible for *kikokushijo* status.

In this study, I allowed participants to join with the only qualifier that they had lived abroad at least a year prior to attending university, though I did not specify how or why they may have lived abroad. In my announcement and invitation (Appendix A), I

wrote *kaigai taizai reki no gakusei nomi nasa, ichinen sei* [海外滞在歴の学生のみなさん, 1年生], which I translated as [students who have lived outside Japan at least one year]. Likewise, to steer clear of the political and historical association of the term *kikokushijo*, I refer to the participants in this study as *returnees.*

What Do We Do With Them? Are They a Problem or a Solution?

Historically Japan has appeared to deal with returnees in different ways, dependent largely upon the social climate of the times and prevalent/official attitudes in Japan regarding its position as a country in the world. I discuss the concept of *kokusaika* [(国際化) internationalization] and its metamorphosis into globalization in the next section, suggesting how this might have historically influenced policies and practice involving returnee students. As a preface, I would like to consider how Japan currently provides resources for students living abroad while they are still sojourning and then when they return.

Options for Japanese Education Abroad

According to MEXT statistics, as of 2006 over 58,000 Japanese students of compulsory education age were living abroad (http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/clarinet/004/001/001/002.pdf). These *kaigaishijo* [(海外子女) abroad students], depending on where they live, can attend *Nihonjingakko* [(日本人学校) Japanese schools] that are complete, self-contained schools for Japanese children with all courses taught by Japanese teachers in Japanese, following MEXT guidelines, with ostensibly the same

curriculum and textbooks as schools within Japan. These schools—as of 2014 there were 96 in operation (http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/clarinet/002/002/001.htm)—were traditionally established in locations where the Japanese government considers the educational resources for students of compulsory school age to be less rigorous relative to those of Japan. Currently such Japanese schools can be found in cities from New Delhi to New York. When Japanese parents abroad have chosen to enroll their children in local schools, Japanese schools called *hoshūkō* [(補習校) supplementary schools] exist. These schools typically have sessions on Saturdays, allowing students to attend local schools the rest of the week. There are, as of 2012, 204 such Saturday schools throughout the world (http://www.joes.or.jp/info/introduction.html). *Hoshūkō* are schools meant in part to maintain and increase knowledge of Chinese characters, mathematics, and awareness of Japanese culture, and are subsidized by MEXT. For those students who are unable to access *hoshūkō*, distance learning is possible (Fry, 2007). Some studies (Sasagawa, Toyoda, & Sakano, 2006; Yoshida, et al., 2002) have considered whether attendance at either type of overseas Japanese school, or local schools, might have a predictive influence on returnee adjustment when back in Japan. The website of MEXT (2003) states that the ministry is "responsible for the enhancement of student guidance and career guidance, [and] *the promotion of education of Japanese children living overseas* [emphasis added]…" (p. 66). This does not, however, mean that all Japanese students abroad attend such schools, as they are not mandatory. Kanno (2000a, 2000b), in her longitudinal narrative study of four returnees, began with students already abroad

attending a *hoshūkō*. For a fuller discussion of *Nihonjingakko, hoshūkō* and Japanese students abroad see (Danjo, 2014; Goodman, 1990b, pp. 34-50).

Options for Reacclimation upon Return

MEXT provides not only for students who sojourn abroad but also those who repatriate, and releases statistics every year detailing how many returnees enter the school system and at what level, suggesting some specific criteria must be applied to determine who qualifies, though this criterion is not stated explicitly. According to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) the number of Japanese children (from elementary to upper secondary school) returning from schooling abroad and entering the school system has climbed from around 6,000 in the late 1970s to, in 2012, nearly 10,000 (MEXT, 2013). Although it is not clear whether these numbers are based on immigration records or school rosters, the numbers do reflect individuals who are re-entering or entering the Japanese school system—thus schooling becomes the way in which these young people are defined, discussed, and socialized.

In 2016, the English language version of the MEXT website stated that the ministry was still aware of the unique needs of returnees, who were grouped in the same category as foreign students:

> We should also review Japanese teaching methods in accordance with individual situations, secure enough teachers and support assistants, and improve the quality of their skills, in order to provide fine teaching and supports for returnee and

> foreign students. Furthermore, we should understand the situation of these students' acceptance in upper secondary schools and increase their opportunities for enrollment. (Japan, 2016)

Since the year 2000, the Japanese central government does not provide universities with subsidies to provide for returnee education, and much of the special treatment within schools for returnees of the late 1980s, during a time when returnees were seen as special needs children with difficulties, has largely dissipated, though as of 2013 over 300 universities still retained quotas for returnee admission (Sueda, 2014, p. 59). The administration of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi (who served as prime minister from April 2001 to September 2006) merged the section of MEXT that dealt with returnees into one that now deals with education for both returnees and non-Japanese children. Nevertheless, some 400 schools within Japan have a classification of *ukeireko* [(受け入れ校) receiving schools] and are meant to facilitate reintegration into Japan and Japanese language and culture (Goodman, 1990b; Sueda, 2014; Yashiro, 1995). These schools often mix returnee students with non-returnee students.

Some high school programs offer classes where students who have returned from abroad are placed together, separated for at least part of the day from *ippansei* [(一般生) regular/non-returnee students.] One such school, Doshisha International Junior/Senior High School[4] in Kyoto, which is affiliated directly with Doshisha University, stated in a pamphlet available from its English website:

[4] Doshisha is not a pseudonym.

> Our school was set up to accept returnees (student who have spent some of their lives abroad with their parents), and, utilizing the wide range of experiences they have accumulated abroad, yet respecting their cosmopolitan minds, we train them in the Japanese language, to assist them to become academically stronger and to become familiar with Japanese culture and customs, while preparing them academically to fit into the educational and employment framework of Japan. (Doshisha, 2008)

Elsewhere the same pamphlet stated: "Our curriculum has been designed so that returnees and non-returnees can study together, drawing on each others' talents and experiences for a heightening of mutual understanding so that each student may become a truly cosmopolitan individual" (p. 2).

These conceptualizations of returnee students seem to view them as resources to draw upon, potential valued contributors to education, society, and national growth. Indeed, the "cosmopolitan individuals" embodied in returnees should represent a new group of students, those whom Willis, Onoda, and Enloe (1993) have dubbed "cultural brokers" (p. 105), able slide into an international Japan as harmoniously as toes into a *tabi*[5]. For decades, however, researchers and school administrators have cast these very types of students as problematic, and considered returnees not in the light of promise and potential, but of trauma and adjustment difficulty.

[5] A *tabi* is a thick-soled Japanese ankle sock with a separate section for the big toe.

To What Degree Are Returnees A Problem?

The literature on returnees is vast, in whatever ways the group is defined. A common element in many studies over the past decades is the notion that Japanese returnee students have a unique experience in their attempts to reintegrate into Japanese society, with researchers focusing on students within the Japanese secondary school system (e.g., Lewin, 1987; Tamura & Furnham, 1993a, 1993b; Tomiyama, 1994), university system (e.g., Fry, 2009; Imahori & Matsumoto, 2001; Kanno, 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Sullivan & Schatz, 2009) or both (e.g., Ikeguchi, 1996; Sasagawa et al. 2006; Yoshida, et al., 2002). Returnee suffering has been chronicled in one way or another in publications from journal articles written in Japanese about the *kikokushijo mondai* [(帰国子女問題) returnee problem] in the 1970s and 80s to Satoru Asai's (1984) alleged autobiography (he later admitted to never having been abroad) in which he wrote of his "firsthand" trials as a returnee, *Sasha no Funtoki* [(サーシャの奮闘記) Sasha's Hard Struggle]. This best seller widely perpetuated among the general citizenry the ethos that going abroad and returning was a path destined for tribulation. Returnees, however defined, have frequently been painted in somber tones as if their plight were dire and consisted of a constant struggle to acclimate. Books in the popular press, scholarly articles, and even television dramas have highlighted what has been seen as their plight (see Goodman, 1990b, pp. 51-73 for a more detailed discussion of these).

Since the early 1990s some authors have argued against this tide of woeful hand-wringing (e.g., Cave, 2001; De Mejia, 2002; Goodman, 1990a, 2012; McVeigh, 2002), and suggested instead the possibility that returnee students have become elite

beneficiaries of numerous boons in society, both in terms of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Goodman (1990b) has argued that the assumption on the part of many earlier researchers that all returnees suffer from adjustment problems amounts to a significant methodological fault (pp. 161-165). Goodman (1990a) argued that many researchers have assumed returnees have problems, without considering any control group, nor considering whether the problems posited have existed because the returnees are returnees, or because of other issues, such as the school system of Japan, adolescence, "or Japan itself" (p. 125). Nevertheless, into the 21st century authors have continued to detail returnee student issues with social readjustment (Yoshida et al., 2002; Yoshida et al., 2003), first and second language attrition (Matsuda, 2000), cultural values (Sasagawa, et al., 2006; Takeuchi, Imahori, & Matsumoto, 2001), and identity (e.g., Ceginkas, 2010; Kanno 2000a, 2003; Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007; Taura, 2005, 2008).

In this study, I did not set out to examine returnee students who are without life difficulties or academic ennui of any kind, yet neither did I posit that the returnees who were drawn to the project were of necessity fraught with angst and crises of identity regarding their place in Japan and the world, at least not as a function of their status as returnees (Even Haruka's eventual departure from school remains, to me, a mystery). The students in this study have been individuals who lived outside Japan for a portion of their lives, returned, and chosen to attend a foreign language university in an age where terms such as internationalization and globalization have gained considerable symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2006). I consider these concepts in turn in the following sections.

Becoming "International" and the Foreign Language University

The term *kokusaika* [(国際化) internationalization] is not new, and first became fashionable, if never clearly defined, in the 1970s (Befu, 1983; Goodman, 1990b; Kato, 1992) as Japan became an increasingly active force in world politics and the world economy. Typical historical interpretations of the term/phenomenon relate it to national reforms that arrived on the heels of Japan's post war rise to and attainment of global economic success. Coupled with the term *kokusaika* is the Japanese term *kokusaijin* [(国際人) international person], which some have suggested has a nonsensical, or at best muddled meaning in English (Yoneoka, 2000, p. 1). Other Japanese authors have suggested that the term *kokusaika* does not precisely translate as the English word *internationalization*, as the English term suggests an altering of one's condition to subsume oneself or group within an international context, or bring oneself or one's group within the shelter of an international umbrella, whereas the Japanese term suggests extending oneself in order to become accepted by the international community (Ehara, 1992, p. 272). Kubota (1998b) explained this as follows:

> A strategy that Japan employed in order to [ensure its economic prosperity]…was neither to subjugate the nation to the West nor to seek a counter-hegemony against the West; it was to accommodate the hegemony of the West by becoming one of the equal members of the West and to convince the West and other nations [*sic*] of its position based on a distinct cultural heritage. (p. 300)

In this study I do not intend to assume this polar distinction of *Japan* and *the West*, though I note the widespread use of such terms in my discussion of theories of Japan and

Japanese culture (*Nihonjinron*) in the next chapter, as well as how these might play into my conceptual framework and returnees' experiences within Japan.

In education, the concept of *kokusaika* influenced national policy in the proposed reforms of the *rinji kyōiku shingikai* [(臨時教育審議会) Ad Hoc Council on Education] of Prime Minister Nakasone in the mid-1980s (Okada, 2005). These policies included a resolution to increase, among other things, the number of international students in Japan and provide some response to globalization. In practice, *kokusaika* policies have resulted in increases in the forms and amount of teaching of English language, including the creation of the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program (Goodman, 2007; Kubota 1998a, 2002; McConnell, 1996, 2000). They have also resulted in a push to send more Japanese students abroad, for years at a time or even brief, weeklong periods, as well as serve as incentive for more high schools to enroll more students as the number of high school students decreases. The term *kokusaijin* itself has given way to the now more commonly used *gurōbarujin* [(グローバル人) global person] with the emergence even of at least one *gurōbarujin prep school* (http://www.japans-globalization.org/prep/). In tandem with this the term *globalization* has taken hold in Japanese, in katakana form: グロバリゼーション.

The attempts by various bodies in Japan to "globalize" the country's educational institutions take many forms. The process can begin quite early, even as early as preschool (Imoto, 2011). As of 2009 MEXT's Global 30 project, in an attempt globalize the higher education system, formulated a plan to bring in 300,000 international students into the country by 2020, while sending the same number abroad. As a strategy to meet

this goal, MEXT provided 13 schools (Appendix B) with millions of yen in subsidies and encouraged these schools to expand programs where degrees can be obtained using only English, this both to increase the opportunities of international students to study Japanese language and culture, and to boost the number of Japanese students studying in other countries. In October 2012, several major Japanese newspapers reported that a number of Japanese universities, including the prestigious Tokyo University, had begun entertaining the possibility of altering their academic calendars, so that students begin classes not in April, as has been historically observed in Japan, but in September, in order to be more "internationally solvent." The Global 30 Project came to an end in 2014, and was replaced by the Super Global University project with similar goals, which comprised a total of 37 universities throughout Japan (see Appendix C).

Japan's *gaikokugo daigaku* (外国語大学), translated literally as *foreign language universities* or in some cases *schools of international studies*, or *schools of foreign studies*, are four-year tertiary schools that primarily offer language study. Foreign language universities are arguably a type of middle ground between Japan and abroad, a type of predeparture area for Japanese students, as well as a reception area for international students visiting and studying in Japan. There are currently eight universities throughout Japan with such a designation (see Appendix D) though there are many other Japanese tertiary institutions that have the terms *international* in some way in their titles, and that also have study abroad and/or exchange programs. Although these foreign language universities are in part designed to foster international exchange, none were included in the Global 30 project, leading some to assert the Global 30 Project itself

was based on elitism (McNeil, 2010). As for the Super Global Project, only Tokyo University of Foreign Studies was included. Regardless, foreign language universities have not traditionally been the focus of returnee research, partially perhaps because the students who attend such schools might have studied outside Japan prior to university for personal, academic reasons rather than simply traveling with parents, and therefore have not fallen under researchers' classification(s) of *kikokushijo*, or partially perhaps because such schools have not been considered first-tier schools due to their relatively lower rankings on the Japanese *hensachi* [(偏差値) standard score] system. (For a discussion of the hensachi system and its contribution to the perceived rank of Japanese universities, see McVeigh, 2002, pp. 32-35; Shimano, 2012.)

EFSU, the location of the present study, has as its stated goal the cultivation and formation of "global persons" through its curriculum of language education, area studies, and extensive study abroad programs—which, again, are common goals for universities within Japan's Super Global Project and for universities around the world (cf., Asaoka & Yano, 2009; Deem, Mok, & Lucas, 2008; Kuwamura, 2009; Ninomiya, Knight, & Watanabe 2009). EFSU, which has both a four-year university and a two-year junior college, has attracted many returnees over its 45-year existence, suggesting it might have something to offer such students that they do not, for whatever reason, find in many Japanese universities.

Significance of this Study

I return to the term *globalization* and the idea that in many ways, for a certain population (and not only the very wealthy) the world is becoming smaller. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) statistics suggest this international mobility of students is on the increase in many countries in the world (http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/). Not only are students traveling abroad in primary, secondary, and tertiary levels, but families travel as a unit to other countries temporarily for the purposes of employment (Dickmann, Dougherty, Mills, & Brewster, 2008), and in some cases for the express purpose of giving their children exposure to foreign languages (Song, 2011). For many of these children, life as a returned sojourner and the associated challenges await in their home countries. In this study I propose to add to what will become an ever widening field of studies on such individuals.

The returnee presence in the Japanese educational system shows no sign of dissipating. According to the MOFA website (http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000018782.pdf) as of April 2013, there were over 70,000 school-age Japanese children living as long-term residents outside Japan, an increase in the decade since 1993 of over 15,000 (http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/toko/tokei/hojin_sj/pdfs/16.pdf). Though the MEXT *gakkou kihon chousa* [(学校基本調査) school basic survey] using short-term estimations suggested in 2003 (MEXT, 2011) that the number of school-age children returning from abroad into the school system had begun a short-term decrease, since that time, according to the Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (http://www.stat.go.jp/english/), the number of returnee students has remained at or above

10,000, despite population decreases. Throughout Japan, universities have competed for the status of Super Global institutions dealing in the exchange of students with universities abroad. There are numerous programs on many university campuses with titles such as Global Human Resource Development (http://www.iphe.kobe-u.ac.jp/global/en/) and *global person* as a term is pervasive in both social and educational discourse. Returnees, almost by nature of their experience, have the potential to embody this ideal. During this period of cultural opening to the world and when Japan's population shows signs of considerable shrinking, returnees are an important group to be considered.

Although returnee research in both English and Japanese is extensive, much of it is centered on dealing with the problems of returnees in the secondary school environment as seen "from above," from the perspective of administrators and educators, rather than exploring returnees' viewpoints as individuals with individual goals and motivations, interacting within different social spheres. Kanno's (2000a, 2000b, 2003) narrative inquiry is a notable exception, and is the only in-depth study where the researcher has attempted to give voice to university returnees through narrative. In this study I also try to center the focus on student perspectives.

In this study I have adopted a learner centered approach following Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of learning as an "inseparable part of ongoing activities, situated in social practice and social interaction" (p. 807). The stories of students at different points in their academic lives and in different learning and social situations reveal them in new ways. Connected to this, a unique aspect of this study is that I consider students who

self identify as returnees, rather than students who have been given the designation *kikokushijo* by other parties. To illustrate, consider how two Japanese students who go abroad at the same age, for the same number years, and who return to Japan at the same time, might nevertheless find themselves classified distinct from one another by institutions, researchers, and teachers—one student as *kikokushijo*, the other not—simply because one student lived abroad as a result of his father's job, but the other was sent abroad with her mother purposefully to develop her English when still a child. Their own life experiences, that might in many ways be the same, are judged according to the criteria of others, rather than from their own goals, sense of self, or even language proficiency. Also, I consider in this study students who attend a foreign language university, a school environment that has as its focus the development of second language skills and the international exchange of young people with other countries, yet has received very little attention in research, either being ignored or considered in the same category as a regular university. Many students in such institutions are in a phase of their lives when they have been abroad, have returned to Japan, and are possibly on the verge of going abroad again, and have chosen to come to a type of university whose very identity as an institution is a signifier of something extra-Japanese.

Though the study focuses on the participants' experiences prior to attending EFSU and their first year there, I conducted interviews from May 2011 to February 2016, reconnecting with participants after some of them had graduated, considering how the students evolved over time. In applying a limited Bourdieusian framework to the experiences of returnees, I consider how their lives were shaped and influenced by their

habitus, fields, and acquisition and loss of various forms of capital. Bourdieu's ideas on social reproduction seem well-suited to consider *Nihonjinron*'s possible influences on returnees, who, by virtue of their time outside Japanese culture, might possess what Bourdieu would refer to as a *metaliteracy* whereby they can consider cultural expectations and decide how and when to adjust their own otherwise unconscious habitus to suit these. I provide insight into the experiences of these students and challenge current notions of the dichotomous view of returnee behavior, motivation, and experience in the EFL classroom.

Audience for this Study

My experiences in this study have first and foremost benefitted myself, but beyond this selfish desire to understand more fully a demographic in my classrooms that has always interested me, I hope the study also adds to researchers' growing body of knowledge of the different kinds of returnee experience. In the United States, "military brats" (Ender, 2002) has long been a term associated with children who spend their childhoods in various locations, and although Japan's returnees have historically been the focus of perhaps more national attention and more literature than such young people in other countries, their situations are nevertheless similar to that of young people anywhere who find themselves moved through the world, only to come back home. My use of Bourdieu's (1977) terms as a framework within narrative analysis is unique in returnee studies, and I hope researchers may find the analysis of interview and other data using these terms enlightening and instructive. In my consideration of the narratives, I examine

closely the experiences and perspectives of returnees at a micro level, and not only potentially negative returnee issues as *reverse culture shock* (Gaw, 2000), but also self-awareness and growth (Haines, 2012).

I also hope that language teachers both in Japan and elsewhere who might find themselves in situations teaching returnee students can consider the study transferable to their own experiences. I hope that this study can shed light on the complexity of the experiences of such students. My own first impulse guess before beginning this study was that returnees, by the very nature of their experiences abroad and their language proficiency, should be highly motivated and high achieving, and if they were not, the problem was with my class or the lessons. As I have learned and I hope teachers reading this can learn, the issue is not so easy.

I hope that this study can also speak to administrators and curriculum designers at foreign language universities or schools with international programs. EFSU has a large number of returnee students every year who are placed, often without consultation, in advanced, content-based English language courses outside the regular fare offered to students who do not apply for the intensive program. This is a symptom of a certain hesitation the administration seems to have toward returnees, a certain befuddlement as to what to do with students who often speak more fluent English than some administrators or even Japanese professors who are to teach them. If I have illuminated any difficulties or identify any trends in the returnee experiences at such an institution, this has the potential to lead to other research regarding curriculum design or policy where such difficulties of placement could be circumvented at the admissions or placement level.

I also hope through this study the students who are involved in it have found some benefit. I attempted to create a platform where they were given a voice in their experiences. As Kanno (2003) has pointed out, often in studies where researchers focus on students the primary voice heard is that of administrators, teachers, or researchers themselves. Ford, in his (2009) journal/recording study of five returnees, noted in his conclusion that one participant states that the act of reflection itself during the research was an experience that helped her not only as a student, but also as a person.

Organization of this Study

In subsequent chapters I outline the plan for the study and the realization of the student narratives. In Chapter 2 I explain how framed the study and the terms I use in discussing the participant data. I introduce the primary *thinking tools* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 160) of capital, field, and habitus of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and how I apply these terms to discussion of returnee's reported reflections. I then briefly discuss how recurring accounts of *Japaneseness* or (*Nihonjinron* [(日本人論) theories of the Japanese]) have shaped both popular notions of Japanese ethnicity and ESL/EFL research, outlining how I have considered these influences both in interviews and in the data. In Chapter 3 I discuss my understanding of narrative analysis and how I have applied this as a strategy in data analysis, then give a detailed outline of the foreign language university setting where the participant students were enrolled. I then explain my path through focus groups and into individual interviews as a method, and outline the participants who showed interest in the study. I discuss my approach to transcription, my positionality in the study, and how I dealt with ethical considerations. I end Chapter 3

with a section on how I kept the collected data secure. In Chapters 4 through 6 I detail each participant's story via narrative analysis, chronicling their lives as youngsters abroad, then following them in their choices to come to the foreign language university, and considering their experiences in classrooms and dealing with teachers and their peers, ending with a postscript on where each student is at the time of this study's completion. In Chapter 7 I revisit each participant in the closer focus of narrative analysis, synthesizing their experiences utilizing Bourdieu's terminology. Finally, in Chapter 8, I discuss implications of this study for parents, administrators and curriculum designers, teachers, and researchers, ending with my own reflections.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

> There is every reason to think that the factors that are most influential in the formation of the habitus are transmitted without passing through language or consciousness, but through suggestions inscribed in the most apparently insignificant aspects of the things, situations and practices of everyday life.
>
> —(Bourdieu, 1991a, p. 51)

> I think lately I've been trying to change myself just to feel "IN" with everyone and everything.
>
> —Haruka, personal email communication, 2007

> . . . A *sense of limits*, which inclines some people to maintain their rank and distance and others to know their place and be happy with what they are, to be what they have to be…depriv[es] them of the very sense of deprivation.
>
> —(Bourdieu, 1991a, p. 123.)

The conceptual framework I use for this study is primarily based upon the poststructuralist work on social reproduction of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1988; 1996a), in particular his notions of *capital, field,* and *habitus*. In this chapter, first I briefly present these concepts and how their application to the experience of returnees as social agents can be enlightening. I then briefly consider certain returnee studies and how

Bourdieu's concepts might be applicable, situating the discussion in light of the common theme of "East" and "West" terminology common to returnee studies. I then outline my general research questions.

Bourdieu's Concepts: An Overview

Although some have claimed that Bourdieu's sociology of education should be confined to and contextualized within the French sociology of his time (Archer, 1970; Jenkins, 1992) others have argued (as Bourdieu himself did) that his framework might be transferable to other cultures (Bourdieu, 1988, introduction; Bourdieu, 1991b; Robbins, 2004). Second language education has seen many studies where researchers make use of Bourdieusian terms (e.g., Albright, 2007; De Costa, 2010; Heller, 2006; Norton Peirce, 1995). Researchers on Japanese returnees who incorporate Bourdieu have inevitably utilized the notion of *social capital* in discussing returnees' experiences (cf. Kanno, 2000a, 2003; Minami, 2003). I suggest that going further and more fully incorporating Bourdieusian concepts in considering the experiences of returnees might be useful. As a means of clarifying how I conceptualize the terms I borrow from Bourdieu, I now lay out my understanding of Bourdieu's main thinking tools of capital, field, and habitus.

Capital

Bourdieu's notion of capital has, of all of his work, received the most attention in studies where researchers focus on or make reference to returnees (cf. Kanno, 2003; Minami, 2003; Simon-Maeda, 2010). Capital itself refers to value, and Bourdieu defined

three main forms: *economic*, *social*, and *cultural* (Bourdieu, 1986). As a prelude to my discussion of these, I next introduce a general concept involved in all forms of capital, *symbolic* capital.

Symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is a general framework for all types of capital but its value is intangible, residing in its perception; it can be present, like a trophy or degree, but unlike those representations of *consecration* (Bourdieu, 1984) it is invisible, in line with a particular field's *doxa,* or arbitrary value system, that nevertheless appears to those within the field "self-evident" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 164). Beyond the examples I have given above, other instances could be an acquired social prestige, or a good reputation—abstract attributes that exist only insofar as they are perceived to exist. For a returnee like Haruka, fluent use of English or a "native-like accent" might have been considered "cool" by her peers (cf. DeMejia, 2002, pp. 184-192; Kawano, 1987) or considered "commonsense" evidence of much greater language proficiency than her peers, who might have had comparable standardized scores (Chiba, Matsuura, & Yamamoto, 1995; Kanno, 2003, p. 84; Major, Fitzmaurice, Bunta, & Balasubramanian, 2002). Returnee students' second language ability—and in particular, English—has, at least in the last century in Japan, been a coveted skill in employees or potential employees—a type of symbolic capital related to what Bourdieu referred to as a larger linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991a). On the other hand, Haruka's directness of speech and manner might have been seen as undesirable and evidence of her having been "Americanized", a characterization that is not without stigma in the Japanese context.

A so-called international perspective has also often been assumed to be one of the characteristics of returnees, who have lived outside Japan and experienced first-hand other cultures (cf. Begg, 2012; DeMejia, 2002; Ishikida, 2005; Yashima, 2009). They might possess knowledge of social interactions with non-Japanese (e.g., how to seamlessly interact with a non-Japanese professor) that their peers have never learned or internalized (see Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008, for a discussion of what they termed *symbolic competence*). On the other hand, returnees are often at a disadvantage in knowledge of what are considered in Japan everyday skills, such as the correct reading (or authorized style of writing) of *kanji* [(漢字) Chinese characters used in the Japanese writing system] (Yashiro, 1995). This skill might have been long unused abroad, and even considered irrelevant, yet on return to Japan gains sudden, in some cases critical importance.

Economic capital. Economic capital is, in short, currency. As Bourdieu (1986) said, "it is immediately and directly convertible into money and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (p. 241). Economic capital is the financial means to acquire goods or pay for services. As a fluid entity it can, then, be gained over time through effort, or acquired suddenly via good fortune. It can also of course be present from birth, conferred via one's family resources. Although some authors (De Mejia, 2002; Goodman, 1990b) have not explicitly evoked Bourdieu's notion of capital, they have nevertheless suggested that (at least, historically) returnee students in Japan have come from a privileged sector of society, scions of families with significant, or at least

not modest, financial reserves. Goodman (1990b) in particular argued that the Japanese government's eventual diversion of national monetary resources in the 1970s and 80s to accommodate returnees (via receiving schools and re-entry programs within Japan, and *hoshūkō* and Japanese schools abroad) was a capitulation to concerned families who had sufficient economic (and social) capital to sway national policy. In this paper I do not make the assumption that all returnees are products of wealth; nevertheless, I acknowledge that simply going abroad costs more than some families could afford, and in this way returnee students, or their families, might be said to come from a socioeconomic level with income levels higher than many. Generally the greater the economic capital, the greater the social capital.

Social capital. I understand social capital as a person's social influence, "made up of social obligations ('connections')" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241) within a particular field, or in simple terms, whom one knows. Social capital, in the same way as economic capital, can be gained either through effort (as in an increase in a particular type of social activity due to some talent or action) or lengthy practice within a given field (as in the relationships one might acquire over 30 years of employment in a certain company or sector). It too can be a function of one's family, as the child of parents who have relatively high social capital within a certain field might inherit, to a certain extent, these contacts simply by their presence in such a family. Social capital for the returnee can be either noticeably absent or rapidly lost; possibly in the case of Haruka, popularity in one field, high school in the United States, was suddenly replaced by anonymity in Japan.

Attempts then to regain this capital, if it is lost as a result of a sudden change of field, are dependent upon a person's skill at navigating the new field, bound up, of necessity, in the person's habitus and other forms of capital, such as *cultural capital.*

Cultural capital. Cultural capital consists of knowledge of or skill in an endeavor both relevant to any given field and authorized as desirable within that field. According to Bourdieu (1986) this type of capital cannot be inherited, but "costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor. Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done…second hand" (p. 242). Examples might be a recognized skill (recognized through a certificate, or license) at playing piano, an academic degree, or a relatively high score on a standardized test such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). Cultural capital can be related to the idea of refinement or "taste," for if a particular field values mathematical acuity, musical talent, advanced degrees, or English proficiency, the possessors of such have their status consecrated or even elevated in the context of that field. Whereas the above examples are nearly universally accepted as desirable in mainstream culture, consider other examples of capital perhaps more specific to teenagers and university age youth in Japan, such as the ability to dance Hip-hop; to paint fingernails; to imitate, in a karaoke box, the singing voice of a famous recording artist; or to seamlessly incorporate into one's speech the latest Japanese slang. Haruka, having lived such a large part of her life in the United States, might have been aware of these trappings of Japanese youth culture, but until returning to Japan would have relatively little firsthand experience of them. She might, rather, have adopted

unconsciously dispositions that were suited to her environment in the United States. She might have been able to recognize and invoke phrases used in American media, including films and televised sitcoms but also more esoteric media such as television commercials. She would adopt the casual, jeans and T-shirt dress of her middle-American peers. Might these dispositions (or this *habitus*, that I discuss in further detail below), that she would not necessarily be aware of, have allowed her to fit in as a knower and member? As in all forms of capital, the relative value of cultural capital is dependent upon the field in which it materializes. Bourdieu also stressed that all types of capital are subject to conversion into other types of capital. Notably, in Bourdieu's understanding, all kinds of capital have value only within the context of specific *fields*.

Field

Field or *fields* refer to the setting in which a social agent acts or resides, and within which certain presuppositions, rules both written and unwritten, hierarchies, values (in the form of capital), modes of behavior, and, in particular, power struggles exist. Bourdieu posited a wide *field of power* he defined as:

> the relations of force that obtain between social positions which guarantee their occupants a quantum of social force, or of capital, such that they are able to enter into the struggles over the monopoly of power, of which struggles over the definition of the legitimate form of power are a crucial dimension. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 230)

This wider field of power is a meta field or macro concept (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002) encompassing smaller, more specific fields (Bourdieu, 1984) such as law, economy, and politics, whereas each subfield is, in Bourdieu's (1991a) words, "an autonomous universe, a kind of arena in which people play a game which has certain rules, rules which are different from those of the game that is played in the adjacent space" (p. 215). Bourdieu set out two aspects of field, namely that individuals who entered a certain field would have its dispositions (habitus) imposed upon them, and that any field, the same way as a game playing field, was an area of struggle, "through which agents and institutions attempt to preserve or overturn the existing distribution of capital" (Wacquant, 2008, p. 268).

Consider, as an example of what might be the specific field relevant to this study, the Japanese foreign language university. Such a university would be its own "autonomous universe," though also be in its own way heterogeneous in that it would contain, for the new student, a variety of contexts—academic classrooms, physical education classes, extracurricular clubs and circles, school cafeterias, lounges, libraries, even hallways and elevators—in which certain unwritten norms and expectations (dispositions/habitus) would come into play: style and formality of dress, physical stance and body language, ways of walking and talking (and what language or languages to use with whom and when), social hierarchies, assumptions about gender. One example particular to Japan might be that university students must adhere to (as in high school) the *senpai/kōhai* [(先輩/後輩) senior/junior] hierarchical relationship, determined, in the case of students, by chronological entrance into the school system (where a second-year

student and above would be considered senior/senpai to first-year students, who would be junior/kōhai) and/or age. Ignorance of this perceived hierarchy, or a failure to acknowledge it, negatively affects one's experience within this field (Arai, 2005; Kariya, Okitsu, Yoshihara, Nakamura, & Kondo, 1993).

Another field could be the workplace, or specifically in the case of students, part-time employment. The work environment would possess its own set of norms—including ways of writing (e.g., textbook grammatical forms, threaded with a work specific vocabulary as opposed to, for example, abbreviated Internet slang or casual writing styles) and speaking (e.g., *hyōjungo* [(標準語) standard Japanese] or use of *keigo* [(敬語) honorific language]), but also employment leveling and progression through these levels (e.g., promotion and what constitutes promotability), modes of dress and stance (e.g., dress casual attire—and a shared understanding of what constitutes this; what color clothing and how often one wears it), and proxemics (e.g., how close or far one stands to one's colleagues when engaged in a shared task, in an employee meeting, in an elevator). A degree of awareness of these field norms is vital to a smooth working experience, not to mention the initial screening process when one sits for employment interviews. Violators of these standards will be recognized as such by colleagues, who most likely, even if unconsciously, consider the norms legitimate and self-evident. The violations form a basis of how the violator is judged an insider or outsider, and reveal to what degree the individual knows or abides by the rules of the game. What norms one might encounter in a workplace can of course vary from job to job, and indeed country to country—the dark suits of a Japanese salaryman working at a "traditional" Japanese

company (cf. Dasgupta, 2000; McVeigh, 2000) for example, might not appear in offices of smaller or less traditional companies, even within Japan, or in offices in Silicon Valley. The office dress, behavior, and standards in companies of Silicon Valley might differ markedly from those of offices on Wall Street. Different fields—in this case, fields of work, of professional business—have different norms, different rules of the game. Field, then, is the social arena in which dispositions toward "correct" or accepted practice are formed. The dispositions themselves, that can vary greatly even within a field, Bourdieu refers to as *habitus.*

Habitus

Bourdieu's version of habitus has been cited previously in educational research, not without skepticism (cf. Nash, 1990, 1999; Reay, 2004). Briefly, habitus in Bourdieu's sense is both a process and an unconscious state, a "system of acquired dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 10) such as deportment, taste, insecurities, cognitive structures, and biases, that are a product of social structure (Griller, 1996, p. 5). Habitus includes activities (or lack of activities) and dispositions based on an individual's life circumstances, family background, prior experience or lack of experience, social class, and familiarity with a particular field. Habitus encompasses both the ways in which a person develops certain characteristics as well as how one engages in certain practices. In Bourdieu's words, habitus is "a durably installed principle of regulated improvisations. . .[which] produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.

78). Historically and culturally constituted values that influence practice, but are invisible or unconscious to the person holding these values, are parts of habitus. To illustrate, continuing the context above of the foreign language university, consider the tendency of many university students (in Japan, as elsewhere) to adhere to the doxa that a university education is a requirement for what is termed in Japan *shakai sanka* [(社会参加) joining society] as an adult (For a discussion of the movement from student to *shakaijin* [(社会人) salaried worker] among working class Japanese see Roberson, 1995). For these students, this assumption is part of their habitus, part of a system of dispositions woven so finely into their life experience that it might only rarely, if ever, be questioned—and even then, the propensity to question might itself be a result of a particular habitus, for example, whether one was raised in a household where such reflective questions were encouraged or modeled. Expanding on the example of the part-time job environment, in addition to the assumptions about dress in the specific field, the very notion of a future career or job as a feasible or desirable life aim is a result of a person's habitus. Contrast the salaried office worker with a worker who builds apartment complexes for a living, or works on a coastal fishing boat, or plays bassoon in an urban symphony orchestra. How each person embraces (or discards as unsuitable) these professions or jobs, and the various career trajectories within them is related to the presuppositions and "self-evident" truths ingrained in each person's life experience. This set of dispositions is not permanent and unalterable, however. For Bourdieu, habitus is, as the other concepts mentioned here, fluid, subject to transformation, and durable but not unchangeable (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133).

One aspect of habitus I discuss in later chapters is the notion of *bodily hexis* (Bourdieu, 1984), which is the outward appearance of a person shaped by habitus as it interacts with capital and field. Bourdieu (1991a) referred to a certain articulatory style (p. 86) of upper class French who pursed their mouths in certain ways when speaking certain sounds, quite distinct from the ways members of other social classes spoke the same sounds. An example of bodily hexis that is relevant to the context of Japan might be a sumo wrestler, who, when active as a fighting wrestler, has a certain hairstyle, which as it grows out is styled into a traditional black *chonmage* [丁髷 (topknot)]. Unlike an American football player who sheds his shoulder pads outside the timespan of an active game, the sumo wrestler will wear a certain style kimono, *tabi*, and wooden or silk sandals, whenever appearing in any official capacity, and keep his hair in the same topknot style. In any press interview, he will be laconic, speaking brief replies, in a deep, unemotional voice (the exception of course is if he wins a match). In the ring, he will wear a traditional *mawashi* [廻し (loincloth)] of a limited variety of colors, and of course physically his body will have a great girth. However, once this wrestler retires, even if he wishes to stay in the sport and, say, become a commentator, he will abandon the kimono of his wrestling days, cut his hair short, restrict his diet so that he loses the great bulk that has marked him as a sumo wrestler, and don a suit, dress shirt, and necktie. His entire outward appearance will alter based on this change of employment. The "rules of the game" of the fields we reside in require all of us to establish and maintain a certain appearance, whether that be a baseball cap turned backwards, chinos, a muscular physique, or a certain style of eyeglasses.

Bourdieu's (1984) resultant formula has been stated as [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice] (p. 101). My deciphering of this formula is that a person's structured dispositions, supported and fueled by various forms of capital and situated in a given structured environment, determine their degree of his or her reproduction of the norms and expectations within that environment. The formula is often cited and as often debated (cf. Carrington & Luke, 1997; Reay, 2004; Wacquant, 2014) but for my purposes it succinctly posits Bourdieu's thinking tools, that must be understood not independently, but in relation to one another (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). These terms are what I propose to employ in illuminating the reported journeys of returnee students in their lives leading to and studying at a foreign language university in Japan.

In the next section I review a number of English language studies on returnees that relate to my own study. I begin with a study of what has been called the "crisis of return," which suggests Japanese returnees face certain systematic difficulties in their attempt to reintegrate to Japan. I then discuss a number of studies where researchers suggest such difficulties might not be the same for all returnees, and how some returnees have reported having an easier time of readjusting to Japanese life than others. Next I introduce studies where researchers posit that returnees, since the late 20th century, are no longer as stigmatized as they have been historically presented, and that they represent a new elite class of student and are given special privileges. I then note a study where the researcher has moved away from returnees as a monolithic group, and approaches the returnee experience as an issue of bilinguality and identity, following via narrative inquiry a small group of returnee students from Canada to Japan. Next I discuss how

researchers in many studies highlight the notion of a duality between "East" and "West" in returnees. I will consider studies where researchers have posited that returnees are, as a result of such a divide, in some ways un-Japanese, either in their own feelings or in the perceived feelings of their peers and teachers. I will also suggest how these perceptions are symptomatic of the influence of *Nihonjinron* theories, which have attempted to define what constitutes Japaneseness. In the case of each of these studies, I highlight the implicit connection to Bourdieu's ideas of capital, field, and habitus. I then present my research questions.

The "Crisis of Return"

Among studies in English that have depicted the returnee experience as traumatic is White's (1988) book on returnee families, *The Japanese Overseas: Can They Go Home Again?* White invoked early in the book the phrase *iki wa yoi yoi, kaeri wa kowai* [(行きはよいよい、帰りはこわい) going is easy but returning is scary/difficult], from the Japanese children's playground song *Tōryanse* [(通りゃんせ) you can go in]. This chant served as her overarching motif—namely that returnee participants were swept up by the national urge of Japan towards internationalization, but as they came back to Japan they faced what White, drawing on the Japanese notions of *uchi,* roughly [(内) insider] and *soto,* roughly [(外) outsider], characterized as a "crisis of return" (p. 1). She worked with 50 Japanese families living in the Tokyo area who had sojourned to various countries and returned to Japan, and other business workers and academics who had been abroad for similar lengths of time. She also held group interviews with returned students in different

high schools that she visited in Tokyo. In the main part of her book, White limited her focus to case studies of three returnee families. Though the appendices listed her larger participant sample's average educational background, type of work abroad, length of sojourn, overseas posting, age and status, White stated that she did not follow any strict social science methodology, instead referring to her work as an "impressionistic map of the terrain" (p. 9). She nevertheless collected extensive data, including numerous in-depth interviews between two and four hours long, with all of her participants. She also utilized mailed questionnaires in both English and Japanese, covering topics such as children's experiences at school, parents' experiences at work, and the family dynamics framing their home lives. She described these families as having undergone a "paradoxical culture warp—agents of Japanese international economic growth [who] derived little domestic benefit from their sojourn away from Japan" (p. 1), in essence losing in large part upon return whatever cultural capital they might have had before leaving Japan. When considered using Bourdieu's, the families' habitus that germinated in the social and professional fields abroad was not compatible with those found on return to Japan. This resulted in a *hysteresis* effect, or a disruption in the habitus and the field conditions to which it is no longer suited. Hysteresis, as Bourdieu defines it, is a disconnect between a person's subjective dispositions and external objective conditions, a state where what one has learned and internalized in one field proves nearly useless in a new, different field (see Bourdieu, 1977, p. 83 for his discussion of this term). White ultimately characterized the returnees of her study in mixed terms:

> While essential to Japan's prosperity, the returnee must remain a stigmatized deviant—one who shoulders the burden of Japan's paradoxical identity as an international and yet uniquely isolated nation. The overseas Japanese is perhaps an unwitting existential hero. (p. 122)

White's notion of *stigmatized* here suggests a markedness, be it linguistic, behavioral, or something else. Other researchers have attempted to identify whether the adjustment issues in returnee experiences are uniform and consistent among all returnees, or if there are different factors influencing their ease of return.

Differences in Returnee Experiences

There are many researchers in English who consider whether returnees have systematic adjustment issues, whether some adjust more readily than others, and, where returnees have reported successful adjustment, why this might have been. As larger numbers of returnees began to flow into Japan in the late 1980s and early 1990s, researchers began to explore the issue of readjustment. Tamura and Furnham (1993a, 1993b) attempted to compare feelings of returnees and non-returnees regarding the home Japanese culture. They administered a Japanese language questionnaire based on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory to returnees from ages 6 to 18, comparing these with responses of a sample of non-returnee Japanese participants of similar ages. Based on their findings, the authors suggested differences in the returnee group and the control group were smaller in younger children, though the returnee children between the ages of 10 and 15 seemed to have actually had an easier time getting along in friendships

than their non-returnee counterparts. Returnees who spent more time overseas tended to report more positive attitudes toward their sojourn than those who had spent less time, and more negative attitudes about living in Japanese culture than either other returnees or those who had never been abroad. Moriyoshi (2001) also looked for what factors might be involved in returnee adjustment, conducting a multi-method study involving interviews, questionnaires, and case studies. She identified nine factors: empathy, cognitive shift, attitude toward conflict, communicative competence, coping strategies, pull-factors, preparedness to return, the experience of visiting home, and identity as Japanese (p. v). Yoshida et al. (2002) used some of Moriyoshi's findings to identify what might contribute to positive adjustment outcomes. Their results indicated that communication with parents, recency of return, and special provisions, such as *hoshūkō* Saturday schools abroad, that had been made for the returnees either abroad or in Japan seemed to make readjustment to Japan easier. Yoshida et al. (2009) compared what they termed *bumpies*—returnees experiencing difficulty in Japan—to *smoothies*—those who had relatively less difficulty—to analyze why some returnees seemed to reacclimate more easily than others. They administered questionnaires containing both Likert-scale and open-ended questions to returnees of aged 12 to 71, utilizing Ward, Bochner and Furnham's (2001) adjustment model as a framework. After allotting their sample into either the bumpie or smoothie group, they noted participants in both groups reported the experience of their Japanese peers viewing them as a stereotype (a *returnee* as opposed to an individual) whereas those returnees who had been to non English speaking countries reported relatively even more alienation than returnees from English speaking countries.

Also, both bumpie and smoothie groups reported difficulties involving language. They stated they were expected to be fluent in English or expected to have achieved their second language proficiency without effort, and did not feel as competent in Japanese as their non-returnee peers (Yoshida et al., 2009, p. 273). The researchers concluded that interaction between personal and societal variables affected both groups and varied from person to person. Although the study was not longitudinal, the fact that the returnee participants who had been back from sojourn longer reported fewer adjustment difficulties suggests that both the smoothies and the bumpies were able to adjust better to their return over time. One can apply Bourdieu's thinking tools to each of these studies, noting in each case how changes in field result in changes in habitus, and how the consecration of English as a second language in relation to the learning of other languages without the same degree of cultural capital can affect the symbolic and linguistic capital of those who return.

Goodman and the "New Class of Schoolchildren"

In the face of this research into how returnees of different stripes try to deal with their adjustment, Goodman (1990a, 1990b) has been foremost in asserting that the days of the troubled returnee have passed, with the modern era returnee perhaps still different from his or her non-returnee Japanese peers, but now different in mainly in positive ways. In this view, the returnee is of a new elite class, and not only unburdened, but advantaged. Differences are seen as positive. Goodman's (1990b) study viewed returnees as possessors of what would be called, in Bourdieu's terms, unique cultural, symbolic, and

linguistic capital. Goodman's extensive works on returnees (1990a, 1990b, 2008, 2012) followed their treatment historically, including the history of the term *kikokushijo*, returnees' emergence into Japan's mainstream and political consciousness, and the evolution of returnees' perceived cultural and educational issues into the 1980s. In 1984 Goodman (1990b) conducted fieldwork for one year at a private junior-senior high school in northern Japan that was known for admitting returnee students, and constructed a lengthy study incorporating participant observation, interviews, surveys, and questionnaires. Though his longest compiled work on returnees is now over 20 years old, Goodman's findings suggested that returnees even at that time no longer experienced the difficulties of the "returnee problem" of the past, and had become what he termed an international elite group (1990b, p. 211) whose issues had been overblown and misperceived by mainstream society. Goodman pointed out this view had its roots in a misunderstanding of the realities of many returnees, reasoning:

> The fact is that all *kikokushijo* tend to be perceived in Japan as if they had spent fifteen years in the United States and know only a few words of Japanese on their return. *Kikokushijo* are categorized as a unified group with shared identifiable qualities often associated with western values, such as individualism and directness. Discussions about *kikokushijo* are clearly concerned with much wider issues than simply the welfare of the children themselves. What is significant about these debates is the value ascribed to the perceived qualities of *kikokushijo* by different interest groups in the context of Japan's overall political rhetoric.

> Indeed, the children themselves could even be described as peripheral to these debates. (p. 212)

The politicization of returnee issues, whether that has come in the form of official policy changes or declaring who is classified as a *kikokushijo* tends to blur what I consider the focus of this study, namely the stories and concerns of individual students.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism Among Returnees

Kanno (2000a, 2000b, 2003) addressed this issue of the unheard returnee, changing the focus from macroanalysis on the part of institutions, and the view of returnees as a monolithic group, to singular case studies of four Japanese students, from their high school years onward, in their journeys between Canada and Japan. One point that distinguishes Kanno's approach from previously mentioned studies is its longitudinal nature, whereby her participants did not give one account of themselves and then fade into statistical documentation, but continued to reflect on themselves and their lives for years. Kanno utilized narrative inquiry framed by Communities of Practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) to examine issues of identity in these returnees' experiences, focusing primarily, if not exclusively, on biculturality, bilinguality, and bilingualism. Drawing on Norton Peirce's (1995) idea of multiple identities within any L2 learner, as well as Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of negotiating membership in different communities, Kanno expressed via narrative inquiry how each participant integrated his or her own differing identity into a life "story." Her data consisted of multiple interviews both in Canada in Japan, extensive phone, mail, and email

communication with her participants, and a common journal she maintained with every participant in the study.

All of Kanno's participants lived in a country where the local language was English. They were also what I would call classically defined *kikokushijo* in that they were all taken abroad as children by their parents, and did not go abroad of their own volition. Although this did not necessarily affect their time abroad, it did allow them, as recognized *kikokushijo*, certain academic tracks on entrance into Japanese universities that would have been unavailable to returnees not so classified. Also, all of Kanno's participants were initially her *hoshūkō* students while in Canada, and therefore all had the supplementary academic instruction and linguistic and social exposure to Japanese that *hoshūkō* provide. Kanno (2003) found this allowed the students a chance to develop both a social and public identity as Japanese. The *hoshūkō,* she says, served the purpose of:

> raising the status of the Japanese language by giving it a public and academic function and prevented the student's bilingualism from turning into a diglossia whereby English was the public and status language and Japanese was merely the language of the kitchen. (p. 138)

Although Kanno (2000b) noted that returnee experiences in modern times might differ from those of the past (p. 363), and acknowledged Goodman (1990a, 1990b) and other researchers' (e.g., Fry, 2007; Yashiro, 1995) critique that modern-day returnees might not suffer the same educational or psychological difficulties as their predecessors, she did find her participant narratives expressed discomfort and alienation. Her returnee participants had the impression that institutions in both Canada (the host country) and

Japan (their home country) appeared to emphasize their perceived deficiencies rather than consider their possible strengths, this despite their proficiencies in Japanese and English. In Canada, for example, high school ESL programs tended to segregate second-language speakers rather than integrate them into the mainstream student body. Kanno suggested this was beneficial to the system at the expense of the students, who recounted stories of how this separation seemed to accentuate their otherness, removing them from the very social settings in which, Kanno observed, social identity could be realized, for in Kanno's (2003) words "identity emerges out of social interaction" (p. 141). Kanno's (2000b) participants also reported that back in Japan, although universities acknowledged their different educational backgrounds by admitting them using different criteria than non-returnees, these institutions nevertheless seemed to assume the students would, once enrolled, have extensive knowledge of content that had been taught in Japanese high schools (p. 376). For some participants, the Japanese university system itself was initially surprisingly alien, where their fellow students did not take notes and seemed able to pass a course even after missing a half a term of school. As one participant who had only recently returned to Japan stated: "in Japan, universities pretend to educate while students pretend to learn" (Kanno, 2003, p. 93). I should note here that Kanno recounted how this same participant ultimately found a space to thrive in his Japanese university, discovering both social and academic contexts in which to feel inspired. Psychologically, Kanno's (2003) participants found themselves "betwixt two worlds" (p. 8), often feeling no particular affinity with any cultural group, either Canadian or Japanese. In one case, a student attending an "international" university in Japan found that although there were

many non-Japanese exchange students, interaction between these students and Japanese students was nearly nonexistent (p. 94).

The longitudinal nature of Kanno's study allowed her to illuminate the differing temporal contexts whereby each student attempted to realize his or her identities in different fields—abroad in the Canadian ESL and *hoshūkō* environment, when in university back in Japan, and, in the case of one participant, years after the study had begun and the participant had ultimately returned to Canada. The development of her participants amidst the changes of time and their life contexts (in Bourdieu's terms, their changing fields and habitus) illustrated Kanno's (2003) idea that educators (and researchers) have tended to make assumptions about student identities in specific points in time without considering that, in her words, "as students become older, they become more capable of exerting their agency and negotiating their identities as they engage in community practices" (p. 142). She focused also on what she termed bilingualism and bilinguality, observing the dichotomy of returnee identities between their Japanese and Canadian selves.

In my own study I have taken great inspiration from Kanno's (1996, 2000a, 2000b, 2003) studies and methods, including using a narrative framework and a longitudinal timeline. I also am interested in the idea that returnees are often at the mercy of institutional decision-making regarding their access to resources and their placement in programs. I do not, however, approach the participants with the notion of a dichotomous identity, as if each person in the study has two natures, namely one that is Japanese and one that is of another country. I rather approach agreeing with the notion of *hybridity*

(Okada, 2009) and the notion that there might be a more granular richness in each participant's experience, where their selves inhabit not just two different fields, but many, and embody different habitus at different times. In this way I depart from researchers who begin with a supposed divide between East and West.

East and West in Cross-Cultural and ESL Research

In social science research in English, numerous researchers have addressed the perceived divide between Japanese and "Western" learners. Historically, instruments such as the "Asian Values Scale" or AVS (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999) and later the AVS-Revised (Kim & Hong, 2004) have been developed to quantify the cultural values of the "East" as juxtaposed with the "West." Such instruments are often paired with others meant to measure dispositions toward "individualism" (considered Western) and/or "collectivism" (considered Eastern) and determine how closely the person conforms to supposed expectations of someone of his or her culture. The term *Asian values* has typically been taken to mean Confucian values (Dallmayr, 2002, p. 178), a very wide net indeed. In cross-cultural communication and ESL studies, a significant body of what could be considered influential research posits *Nihonjinron* views, such as Japanese characteristics of indirectness, vagueness of communication style, politeness, and an absence of critical thinking (cf. Fox, 1994; Hall, E. & Hall, M., 1987; Ishii & Bruneu, 1994). Many researchers have focused on possible systematic differences in Japanese and, in particular, English speaking students, including analyses of contrastive rhetoric (Hinds, 1982; Hirose & Sasaki, 1994; Kubota, 1998a; Ramanathan & Kaplan,

1998), attitudes toward language learning (Sakuragi, 2008), nonverbal communication and body language (Haugh, 2003; Yuki, Maddux, & Masuda, 2007; Masuda & Kitayama, 2004), linguistic and cognitive development (Kawasaki, 2002; Linowes, Mroczkowski, Uchida, & Komatsu, 2000; White, 1989; Yoshida, et al., 2010), self criticism (Kitayama & Uchida, 2003) and even tendencies toward academic plagiarism (Wheeler, 2009). Some current researchers have polarized from the outset Japanese and Westerners (cf. Dalsky, 2010; Gill, 2004; Ishiwata, 2011). Others have rejected such broad stroke assumptions about culture and questioned the utility of too quickly resorting to such stereotypes (cf. Bailey, 2002; Burgess, 2004, 2007, 2008; Cave, 2001; Rundle, 2007). Still other researchers have suggested, in the EFL context, that the *othering* of Japan and Japanese and the tenacity of *Nihonjinron* sensibilities persist partly as a result of the way English language has been taught in Japan (Kobayashi, Y., 2011; Kubota, 1998b, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004; Susser, 1998; Tai, 2003).

Kubota (1998b) reviewed the ways in which *Nihonjinron* discourse has appeared in research literature, often privileging what have been termed English communication patterns in favor of Japanese (p. 299). Kubota (2004) suggested *Nihonjinron* in the social and political arena as well as in the classroom represents struggles for power:

> Cultural dichotomies between the West and the East, as seen in applied linguistics scholarship which often contrasts individualism with collectivism, directness with indirectness, logic with emotion, linearity with circularity, creativity versus

> memorization, and so on, indeed parallel colonial dichotomies. . .used to support assimilationalist and segregationalist ideologies which actually complement one another. (p. 34)

Kubota (2004) asserted that Western researchers who posit polar difference between East and West modes of thought and behavior either suggest the students in question assimilate into more Western norms of discourse, or romanticize Japanese characteristics (as often is the case in *Nihonjinron*), thereby "denying them access to the dominant norm" (p. 35). She further noted: "second language learners cannot be viewed as members of a homogeneous cultural group without agency, but rather they are active agents who assume their subject positions in the competing discourses and negotiate them" (p. 35).

In this study I attempt to follow this course of avoiding stereotype of the participants as possessing inherently Japanese traits, purposefully sidestepping the temptation to frame questions or discussions along the lines of East or West. I discuss this further in the section on interviews in Chapter 3.

Returnees as "Un-Japanese"

In line with the idea of a Japaneseness that one might either adhere to or diverge from to whatever degree, Kidder's (1992) study painted a bleak picture of returnees as unlike other Japanese. Her data included interviews with 33 returnee Japanese students studying at a U.S. university in Tokyo, as well as focus groups with 12 Japanese student returnees at a Japanese university. She focused her paper on markedness and how her

returnee participants felt they were marked "physically, behaviorally, and interpersonally" (p. 385). Kidder associated this markedness with an internalizing of what she called the *autostereotype* of Japanese, whereby Japanese people have fixed assumptions based on some criteria of the "requirements for being Japanese" (p. 383), which I understood as essentially a vague internalization of *Nihonjinron* precepts. Citing Dale's (1986) critique of Japanese uniqueness as a myth, and building on White's (1988) claim of returnees as "stigmatized," Kidder (1992) asserted that:

> Japan is a relatively homogeneous and tight society, marked by beliefs about Japanese uniqueness that place people from other cultures on the outside. The experiences of returnees do not reveal whether the theories of "Japaneseness" are true or false [*sic*], but reveal instead what are the markers for being Japanese. (p. 384)

With this as a starting point, she addressed each form of markedness in turn. In terms of physical markedness, Kidder's participants observed the tendency in Japanese school systems to penalize students who did not keep their hair color the proper, dark shade of black, noting in some school districts students were required to go so far as to actually dye their hair darker if their natural hair appeared too light, even if the student had never lived abroad (p. 385). Some of her returnee participants also noted their skin color seemed in general darker than that of their paler skinned non-returnee peers. This aspect of habitus is again Bourdieu's (1991a) bodily hexis, "in which one's whole relation to the social world, and one's whole socially informed relation to the world, are expressed" (p. 86). In terms of behavior, Kidder's participants reported differences in their own sense of

how they walked, differences in their sense of appropriate eye contact, which they felt was perceived by other Japanese as aggressive, and differences even in their own faces, which they characterized as "markedly expressive" in relation to other Japanese (p. 386). Kidder suggested that whereas one's hair color or style of walking might be consciously changed to suit any environment, some of her returnee participants had what might be "irreversible" changes occur in their time abroad. These were what she termed "interpersonal styles" (p. 387) though she mainly focused on "directness" and her participants' claim that they felt no ability to control their tendency to be less circumspect than their Japanese peers in their communication styles. Still, Kidder observed her participants' tendency to "exaggerate and even idealize U.S. directness; they do not seem to be aware of the costs of being too direct even in the United States" (p. 388). Kidder also wrote of her participants' difficulty in the natural use of Japanese honorifics in writing and speech, their tendency to inappropriately gesture spontaneously when speaking, and their strategies of trying to "consciously forget" English to seem more part of their Japanese environment. These difficulties of playing by the proper "rules of the game" suggest further consideration of how returnee's perceptions not only of their own habitus at a given point, but how, and if, it might change over time, can be useful in studying their readjustment experiences.

Researchers of other empirical studies have supported the claim that returnees' communication patterns might differ from those of Japanese who have not spent time abroad. Takeuchi et al. (2001) utilized a 10-item section of Nomura and Barnlund's (1983) Interpersonal Criticism Questionnaire dealing with disappointment, on a sample

of Americans, Japanese non-returnees, and Japanese returnees. Their goal was to examine the adjustment of returnees' criticism styles. Their findings indicated significant differences in the three groups' styles, with returnees unexpectedly adopting more indirect styles than even their non-returnee Japanese counterparts, though the returnee students did not tend alter their styles based on their interlocutor's status, whereas non-returnee Japanese did.

Pang (2002) began with the thesis that returnees have always been perceived as different than Japanese who have never been abroad, but suggested these differences have been viewed, by both researchers who study returnees as well as institutions that deal with them, from ultimately three theoretical perspectives: (a) that returnees are completely deficient as Japanese, (b) that they are half-Japanese, or (c) that they are a new kind of Japanese. Using an anthropology of ethnicity approach, Pang considered the returnee experience following Barth's (1994) macro, median, and micro lenses (Pang, 2002, p. 1), where her macro lens included *Nihonjinron* theory, outward migration from Japan in the form of business people, the influx of migrant workers in Japan, and what she termed the "Japanese ethno-national identity" (p. 3). Her median lens included the social construction of returnees by Japanese society, including within the Japanese education system and the resources made available to returnees. Her micro lens was her study of individual returnees, both abroad and when they returned to Japan, including an ethnography of one family, interviews with returnees who had lived in Belgium, and interviews with returnee students enrolled in a Japanese university.

In her discussion of the macro and median levels, Pang asserted that theories of *Nihonjinron*, far from relics of the 20th century, persist and even inform the very concept of the returnee:

> . . .[the] primordial view of a monolithic and distinctive Japanese ethnonational identity…has created the "issue" of *kikokushijo*. In this context, s/he is seen as a Japanese of a lesser degree or even worse as a non-Japanese as the result of having lived abroad and therefore disrupted from [*sic*] Japanese society and culture (Introduction, p. 3)

Pang introduced what she termed a *handicap theory* where returnees, having lived abroad, might be seen to have irrevocably lost the traits that would make them retain their Japaneseness. This category would view returnees in what Pang named *nonjapa* [non-Japanese]. Next she posited a singularity theory, where the returnees might be seen more charitably, in the sense that the returnees might have lost something in their sojourn of their Japaneseness, but also gained new and admirable qualities. These she claimed would be viewed as what she called *hanjapa* [half-Japanese]. Finally she posited what she called a *metacultural theory*, in which returnees are viewed as having developed a new, cosmopolitan outlook and self-awareness from their experiences abroad. These returnees would be what Goodman (1990b) imagined when he coined the term *new class of schoolchildren*, and these Pang called the *shinjapa* [new Japanese]. She posited these three conceptualizations of returnees as a "framework, which attempts to analyze and interpret the manifold of publications conducted by academics, journalists and opinion leaders" (p. 174). She wrote:

> An increasing number of voices support the idea of a new type of Japanese, who displays a cosmopolitan attitude towards the other. In the first handicap school, returnees are seen as complete outsiders or strangers. In the singularity theory they are "part-Japanese." The final analysis of the new type propagates a new generation of Japanese, who are open and self-confident. (p. 314)

In my own experience these "theories of Japaneseness" tend to be applied differently by different people depending on what purpose serves them. Often in situations where I have, as an American, found myself doing any small act (holding a pair of chopsticks, offering my opinion, or even entering a room in which others are working) I have been confronted with the idea that my own habitus is comparatively idiosyncratic, that there is a way to do each of these things that is distinctly Japanese. Many times I have heard the confident remark: "That's not the Japanese way." Often this admonition is given as censure from above—from a teacher to a student, a parent to a child, or an institution to its workers. The very fact, however, that such an admonition is necessary suggests such "Japanese behavior" is not innate even in Japanese, but learned or imposed—a conclusion that seems obvious, yet I have also heard people say, without irony, that a person's behavior in a given situation can be attributed to his or her "Japanese blood." Some writers whose works are categorized *Nihonjinron* have used the uniqueness of Japanese to account for biological phenomena, as in Tsunoda's (1985) well-known study where he asserted Japanese brain structures were different from those of Westerners, and concluded therefore Japanese children should not attempt to learn foreign languages prior

to the age of 12 (see Befu, 2001; Dale, 1986 for a summary of criticisms; see Gill, 2004 for a less harsh appraisal).

In whatever guise *Nihonjinron* appears, in studies or in the perceptions of my participants, I echo Kidder's (1992) assessment that my purpose is not to determine whether its precepts are in some way the proper way to understand Japan or the Japanese people, whether returnees or non-returnees. Nor do I wish to enter the quagmire of the "turtles all the way down" (Geertz, 1973, p. 29) debate on an ontological idea of culture. In reading the proposal for this study, I wrote that I hoped to explore whether the influences of *Nihonjinron* ideas, whether via the media (Fukuda, 2016) or elsewhere were making their mark upon the participants of this study, either through their perception of how others see them, or how they see themselves. Later, however, considering and reconsidering the data, I did not find substantial evidence of students' awareness of an overarching set of principles that define their Japaneseness—at least not with any degree of specificity. The participants in the study mentioned at times their Japanese and English "selves" or "brains" at times, but when pressed for any definition of this, were not able to explain very specifically (at least in English) what they felt these terms mean. I tried, in interviews and interactions with the participants, to maintain a reflexivity whereby I remained aware of, and even challenged, my own assumptions about Japan and Japanese students. My goal has been to examine my returnee participants as they exercised their own agency over their first year in finding their places in the field of the Japanese foreign language university. My suspicion is not that all Japanese adhere—consciously or otherwise—to *Nihonjinron* precepts, but rather that the discourse is widely recognized as

being operative in a significant amount of research on Japan, in Japanese media and society, and most importantly for this study, at least at some levels in the educational institutions within Japan that are on receiving end of students as they return from abroad.

Feeling "In" and the Tug of "Japaneseness"

I wondered if Haruka's troubles in my classroom and in the foreign language university were truly due to some East/West, or perhaps more specifically, Japan/U.S, duality, or some struggle of a great number of sensibilities inside her psyche. She did not attend class in a vacuum; she sat, as everyone in the EFSU classrooms sat, with her chair/desk slid so close to its adjacent partner desk (and partner student) that they touched. Haruka lived as we all live, talking to people around her or choosing not to talk, immersed in a specific world in a specific place at a specific time, influenced by everything around her. She stood before a mirror in the morning choosing what to wear. She spoke to shop clerks when she bought her breakfast, worked a part-time job with coworkers, ate lunch on campus either alone or with someone else, had to decide what to do with her down time between classes, attended meetings of her tennis circle. Did she also feel the tug of Japaneseness in these interactions? Do the returnee participants in my study feel this tug in the same way, or in ways similar to one another? Do they imagine they are expected to "act Japanese"? Or, as in the case of Kidder's (1992) participants, to "act like a returnee"? If so, by whom, and why? Do they see their struggle as "betwixt two worlds" only, or as a player in and upon many different fields? These questions led me to formulating my research questions that I discuss in the next section.

Research Questions

My research questions were less a set of answerable survey points that would put an epistemological lid on my curiosity regarding returnee students, than an inquiry that might cause students to consciously reflect (with me) on themselves and their experiences and choices. First, based on previous studies where researchers distinguish *kikokushijo* from others who had lived overseas, I wanted to ask what were the circumstances leading to each participant's journey abroad? How did they function, cope with, or experiences their lives overseas before returning to Japan? How did they experience life upon their return? What prompted them to want to attend a foreign language university, and once there, how did they deal with classes, with teachers, and with other students? What were their goals for the future and how did these goals change as they progressed through their initial years of university? Also, to what degree did they see themselves as part of a larger or smaller world, and to what degree did they feel obligated to follow paths that might be set out for them in Japan?

I have not, however, intended to simply address these questions directly, as if a set of answers spoken into a recording device or written on a piece of paper at a specific point in time would be a final representation. Instead, I listened, asking general questions and follow-up questions over the first year of the students' time at the university. I did not work at the university for the entire period of any of these students' time there, but left after they were finishing their first academic years. I kept in touch with all of them through emails, SMS texts, and in some cases following them on the social networking

site Twitter. I also met with each of them more than once after my last interview in my university office. I include a section for each participant on where they are as of this writing.

Summary

In this chapter I have outlined Bourdieu's arguably primary thinking tools of capital, field, and habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). I have noted various empirical studies on returnees and observed how these thinking tools might be applied to each study, notably the idea of different types of field, the various forms of capital, and habitus, but also the notion of bodily hexis, consecration and hysteresis. I have also noted how researchers in returnee studies have moved from the idea of returnees as a "problem" for Japan, to the idea that they are an elite group, to then the examination of returnees not as a monolithic entity but as individuals with individual differences. Finally I note the tendency of many English language researchers on returnees to settle on a comfortable division between Japan and Japaneseness and the West and Westernization, typically defining these in terms of groupism and a unique identity as Japanese (defined in nebulous *Nihonjinron* tenets), and a markedness evident in more individualistic choices in behavior and appearance. It is upon this base that I approach my research questions, which are an attempt to explore my participants' life experiences and query to what degree their sense of their past, their feelings about their first year of university, and their goals for the future, are influenced by the idea that they should act in certain ways.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

日々旅にして、旅を栖とす
(hibi tabi ni shite, tabi wo sumika tosu)

Each day is a journey, and the journey itself home.
—Basho, excerpt from おくのほそ道 (*Oku no hosomichi*)
(trans. Cid Corman and Susumu Kamaike)

In this chapter I present the type of study I have conducted, and the context in which I have conducted it. First I discuss the idea of how I employ the method of narrative analysis via the main data gathering tool of interviewing. Then I explain in some detail the setting of the study and why this setting was favorable to exploring the experiences of returnee students. I explain the rationale for what kind of students I chose to interview and the why and how of my selection process, then briefly profile the participants who chose to take part in the study. I then discuss my initial effort at pilot interviews in the form of focus groups, and how this led to the decision to create an individual interview study. Next, I explain the processes leading to my decisions regarding the transcription of these interviews. In the final sections of the chapter I discuss reflexivity and my positionality as a researcher, and follow this with ethical considerations and how I maintained security of the data I collected. I end the chapter with a discussion of data analysis.

The Pathway to Narrative Analysis

Even before meeting Haruka, as a teacher at EFSU I encountered numerous returnee students in my classes over the course of my teaching there. From my early days in Japan I felt I could fairly accurately guess, from almost the first day of classes, who of my students had spent time either abroad or in an international school, and who had little or no experience outside Japan. If asked exactly how I could tell, I might initially not have been able to give much of an answer. Socially, the returnee students had often seemed more receptive to casual banter with the teacher (me) before class, more comprehending of my sometimes fast speech, and, though I never found returnee students more or less likely to visit during office hours, I did find their written journals, which I assigned weekly, more forthcoming regarding their attitudes toward school or even pop culture than students less fluent in English or less experienced abroad. I often wanted to sit down and talk to these returnees, to find out their stories, find out how they felt about the university, when, to me, they often seemed so different from their classmates. When I sometimes encountered returnees who seemed, in terms of whatever ineffable quality I was sensing, almost indistinguishable from their peers who had never been abroad, I had even more questions. Had they been sociable abroad? Did they fondly remember their time away? Why had any of them left Japan to begin with? Why had they come back? What shared cultural experiences did they have with me—or with other returnees—that their non-returnee peers might not share? When they reacted to my jokes—usually with a smile or subdued laugh—were they being polite or did they really *get* the humor I had intended?

One clear memory I have is of a first day of class during a brief self introduction period. One first-year student, in her self introduction in front of her classmates, spoke to everyone about her hobbies and interests, but in markedly fluent English, with what I took to be a clearly American accent. I presumptuously asked her, there in front of her new peers: "Where did you study abroad?" Her answer was surprising. She said simply: "I didn't. I never have." Rather than press her about this, I simply smiled, nodded, and let the matter drop, but later, when I collected her information card, I noticed she had written in blue, perfectly formed cursive that she had spent several years in Canada as a child. In parentheses beside this statement was a note that this time abroad was to be a secret: She didn't want "them" (her peers) to know. Could it be that fear of "standing out" from the crowd is the sole reason for such embarrassment? Is the old saw 出る杭は打たれる *deru kui wa utareru* [the peg that sticks out gets hammered down] still a part of university life in Japan? Also, what of returnee students who do not have such reticence about their experiences? Is it necessary for a peg to "come out all the way" (Morimoto, 1996) to escape such scrutiny?

My interest in the returnee's stories led me to narrative studies, notably Kanno's (2000a; 2000b; 2003) narrative inquiry. Unlike researchers in many previous studies on returnees, Kanno focused on the perspectives and stories of the individual participants, rather than how schools, parents, the government, or prior research viewed them. This seemed to me an intriguing approach, particularly as it attempted to examine each participant in his or her own words, allowing each person the space to understand, via

narrative, his or her experiences individually, allowing for, as Pavlenko (2002) noted, "learner's voices to be heard on a par with those of the researchers" (p. 214).

As Polkinghorne (2007) has pointed out, in narrative research one must clarify the nature of the data one has collected (p. 9). In other words, once the participants have sat through numerous interviews and the data has been assembled, what then? There is the potential for a finished research product consisting of what Pavlenko (2007) has dismissed as "a summary of participants' observations, interspersed with quotes, presented as analysis" (p. 163).

I assert that I was not searching for autobiographical reportage that could be cross-referenced with other people's testimony or recorded accounts, and then verified as an accurate historical record of the participants' lives. I am, rather, interested in the "account" or "performance" of the participants' stories (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006), in other words how the participant made sense of his or her experiences or reflections at the time of reflecting, and how these might have changed, including the re- (and co-) construction (Duranti, 1986; Jacoby & Ochs, 1995) of their feelings and experiences.

Polkinghorne (2007) laid out four sources of disjunction between what people actually live through and how they might recount these experiences:

1. the limits of language
2. the limits of reflection to bring notice to the layers of meaning that are present outside of awareness
3. the resistance of people because of social desirability to reveal fully the entire complexities of the felt meanings of which they are aware

4. the complexity caused by the fact that texts are often a co-creation of the interviewer and participant (p. 10).

In this study, it is entirely possible that each of these at different times informed the data from the participants, particularly the third point of social desirability, as students might have been hesitant to express negative views, particularly of the school experience of which I was a part, as instructor.

I approached the data then as subjective accounts of the participants' lives, not factual, immutable reportage of events. As Polkinghorne (2007) asserted: "Storied evidence is gathered not to determine if events actually happened but about the meaning experienced by people whether or not the events are accurately described" (p. 9). Taking this further, Pavlenko (2007) suggested that:

> (Autobiographical narratives) should be treated as discursive constructions, and as such be subject to analysis that considers their linguistic, rhetorical, and interactional properties, as well as the cultural, historic, political, and social contexts in which they were produced and that shape both the tellings and the omissions. (p. 181)

Students in this study were largely speaking or writing in a second language, and particularly in the early months of interviews they might have felt vulnerable as students still in the early months of their academic careers, readying themselves for various possible futures they might not even yet have imagined. In their reflections and responses they considered both consciously and unconsciously what to tell me and what to leave out, what to offer without being asked and what to hold back unless prompted.

Researchers in narrative studies do not all take the same approach to the term *narrative* (cf. Bamberg, 2012; Barkhuizen, 2011; Byrne, 2003; Riessman, 2008), though generally researchers who attempt narrative studies begin with the idea that humans "make sense" of our lives via some type of narrative structure, or story/stories, both those we tell and those we are told (Andrews, Squire, & Tambokou, 2008; Duff & Bell, 2002). This can mean that the participants themselves give accounts of episodes in their lives via a systematic "story" structure (cf. Labov, 1997, 2003), which is "an extended answer by a research participant to a single question, topically centered and temporally organized" (Riessman, 2008, p. 5). Compiling and analyzing these stories, which Polkinghorne (1995) referred to as *analysis of narrative* is done in studies where the data are already in narrative or story format, and their analysis produces categories (p. 6). This type of research report might be what one expects from something called a *narrative study*. However, as noted by Seidman (2006), not everyone is comfortable being asked to simply tell a story (p. 87). Certainly this has been the case in my own interviews with my returnee participants. Researchers in narrative studies, however, are not confined to an analysis of specific, monological as opposed to co-constructed stories, related in single interviews. They can, according to Riessman (2008), cover an "evolving series of stories" over the course of several interviews (p. 6) (see also Prior, 2011, for a discussion of narrative tellings and retellings). *Narrative* as I use it here means the tool with which I analyze the data, not necessarily the way in which the data are configured from the outset. I have then analyzed interviews in the way that Polkinghorne (1995) has

termed *narrative analysis* whereby the data consist of "actions, events, and happenings…whose analysis produces stories" (p. 6).

Narrative inquiry consists of not only listening to participants, but living "alongside them" (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994) and maintaining a reciprocal relationship (Kanno, 1997). In my case, as a teacher of some of the participants in their first year of studies, I could see firsthand their classroom personas, at least as viewed from the teacher's podium, but this worked both ways as those participants who were my students could view me in my own position in the school and my job at the time. Whereas for various reasons I could not presume to be a peer of these returnees (indeed, they occasionally expressed keen awareness of me as a teacher, researcher, and someone older) I could provide as much as possible a neutral and open atmosphere for them to speak their views and share their thoughts. As Seidman (2006) stated, "interviewers and participants are never equal" (p. 109). Caine and Estefan (2011) have suggested that narrative research is collaborative (p. 967) and might include long-term obligations to study participants, as researchers themselves become part of the ongoing story. As a teacher, I am often asked by students who have never been abroad and returnees, and not just those within the scope of this study, what their options are in studying abroad, what kinds of things they should do to have a good study abroad experience, and even whether I think they should be trying to study abroad at all. In my discussions with the participants of this study, I have not dampened or quelled these discussions simply because I sit in the chair of the researcher—part of my job as an instructor at EFSU was to counsel students on just such matters. I did, try, however, to give balanced answers,

stressing as many sides of a choice as I could imagine, allowing students the space to make their own decisions, attempting to fulfill my role as an instructor who had dealt with such issues before, serving as counselor but avoiding the role of therapist (Pitfalls of this have been discussed in Kvale & Brinkman, 2009, pp. 39-46; Seidman, 2006, p. 108).

A pressing issue for me as regards narrative was the reticence I have sometimes found on the part of my own Japanese students to speak at length about themselves or their own lives. Students often bounce ideas off their peers in group or pair settings (such as when in a classroom environment), but when confronted one-on-one with a question about an individual experience, in my experience they have tended to silently demure, or say, simply, "I don't know." In group settings, students tend to be more likely to seek, through talk, a point of agreement, and when this point is reached, move to another topic. I was concerned that consensus seeking in this way, particularly when the reflections of interest are personal, might have altered or limit participants' responses in a way that individual interviews could avoid. This is not to say that I thought consensus seeking discussions trivial or less likely to arrive at a "truth" of any one person's or groups' viewpoint. I did think that students might have more relaxed, reflective viewpoints and personal accounts without the influence of others (Prior, 2011, pp. 61-62). In that regard, my goal was to get as unselfconscious answers as I could from my participants, without the influence of other interlocutors, though I also tried to be aware that my questions, presence, body language, relationship with the interviewees, as well as analysis of the interview data unavoidably colored participants responses and shaped the study. In this

way I adopted what has been called a constructionist concept of the interview, which have been outlined by Roulston (2010) as follows:

- The data generated provide talk-in-interaction produced within the social setting of the research interview as but one cultural event within the life-world of the participant.
- Data are not seen as reports—that is as directly reflective of either "interior" states of mind, or "exterior" states in the world. Instead, data are viewed as "accounts,"—or practical displays of the local organization of social order by the speakers.
- The data are co-constructed by the interviewer and interviewee, and any of the interviewer's contributions are subject to the same kind of analytic focus as that of the interviewee.
- In this approach "it's all data." Interviewers use ordinary conversational skills to elicit data and do not necessarily need specialized skills or training.
- Data might be analyzed through inspection of both structural and topical features. That is, "how" talk is co-constructed (indexical features) is just as important as "what" is said (referential features).
- Analytic methods may be drawn from conversational analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, and sociolinguistics (p. 60).

After I discuss the setting of this study and a brief profile of each participant, I go into further detail regarding the interview process.

The School that was Promised: The Setting for this Study

In order to make clear the academic and social environment of the proposed participants, I here outline the structure of the programs within the university. Ekimae Foreign Studies University has a student population of approximately 15,000 Japanese students. Only a small number of these students are returnees (reported to me, and listed in the official admissions documents delivered to high school students, as *jyakkan mei* [(若干名) a small number of people]), some having lived abroad for 10 years or more prior to enrollment. Of EFSU's student population, nearly 1,000 every term are exchange students visiting from other countries, creating what might be an attractive environment for the Japanese returnee yearning for a social environment more unconventional than that of a typical Japanese school. This does not mean that all students who apply to the university and continue in either the intensive or regular programs eventually apply to the study abroad programs; many never do. EFSU is primarily a school where students study language and various subjects in the humanities, with a strong focus on English. The school offers somewhat diverse courses in everything from area studies to sociology and art history, and, in what was at the time the new n (GS) program[6], international business. The school is known less for its academic rigor than its ability to place students in study abroad programs, thus it has historically attracted students who have some interest in, if not always familiarity with, countries other than Japan. There are several scholarship programs in place for Japanese students to sojourn, for as many as three years in some

[6] All program names are pseudonyms.

cases, in over a dozen countries as varied as Canada, Bulgaria, and Morocco, in schools that also send their own exchange students to sojourn in Japan and attend EFSU.

Students at the school can study a large range of foreign languages, though only two foreign language majors are offered: English and Spanish. English majors are by far the majority, and the school employs more than 50 native-speaking English instructors—in practice at the school this meant teachers from North America, England, New Zealand, and Australia—full-time, and approximately a dozen part-time. The study abroad programs at the school send students to countries of various language groups, including Bulgaria, China, France, Germany, Korea, and South Africa, though abroad English is always the medium of instruction. EFSU currently has just over 300 affiliated institutions spread over 50 countries.

This study abroad exchange, then, is a pillar of student recruitment. The DVDs sent out to middle schools and high schools contain video clips of students reflecting on their university overseas experiences. A major national Japanese periodical, in a special issue on EFSU, devoted many pages to photographs and writeups of EFSU students in universities outside Japan—walking tree lined sidewalks of a type nonexistent on the university's own campus, posed sitting thoughtfully on grass lawns beside smiling Caucasian students, or alone browsing the stacks of vast libraries of English-language books.[7] Far from only a recruitment tool, EFSU's focus on study abroad continues after enrollment, and a significant portion of the entrance ceremony is related to study abroad options available to students. In recent years, this has consisted of letters from affiliated

[7] The magazine published such special issues on more than one university. The issue devoted to EFSU is distinctive in its focus on international study.

institutions in both English and Spanish as well as speeches from students who, while enrolled at EFSU, have studied abroad and returned.

Thus EFSU attempts to attract students who are interested in either foreign language or foreign cultures. This interest, however, is not uniform among students in its strength, focus, or nature. Some students arrive with a vague desire to be "better at English," others with a firm goal to reach a high enough proficiency to study abroad in another country. Some, as in the case of returnees, might arrive for other reasons.

Although the university offers majors in both English and Spanish, only English majors were part of this study, due my language limitations. There are two schools within the university that allow students to major in English: the School of Overseas Studies' English major program, founded in the 1990s, and the Global Studies (GS) program (English), a relatively new program. Both schools require core classes in English in the first two years, and from these classes I solicited the participant sample.

The Focused English Studies (FES) program, a subprogram within the School of Overseas Studies, and the GS program, are the flagship schools of the university. In the current climate of decreased university enrollment (Ishikida, 2005) these are envisioned as unique programs that distinguish the university from other schools, even other foreign language universities, and thus attract prospective students. The FES program is marketed to students as a way to increase their English skills via intensive studies. Students receive a large number of contact hours with teachers who are classified as native speakers of English, and this is considered a step toward study abroad. The GS program is marketed as a way for students to study English as well, but within content

classes meant to prepare them specifically for careers in business, international relations, or education. Students in this program are compelled to study abroad, as the program has an overseas studies component built into to its curriculum. In other words, students in the GS program are not just given the opportunity to study abroad, they are required to study abroad in order to graduate (Figure 1).

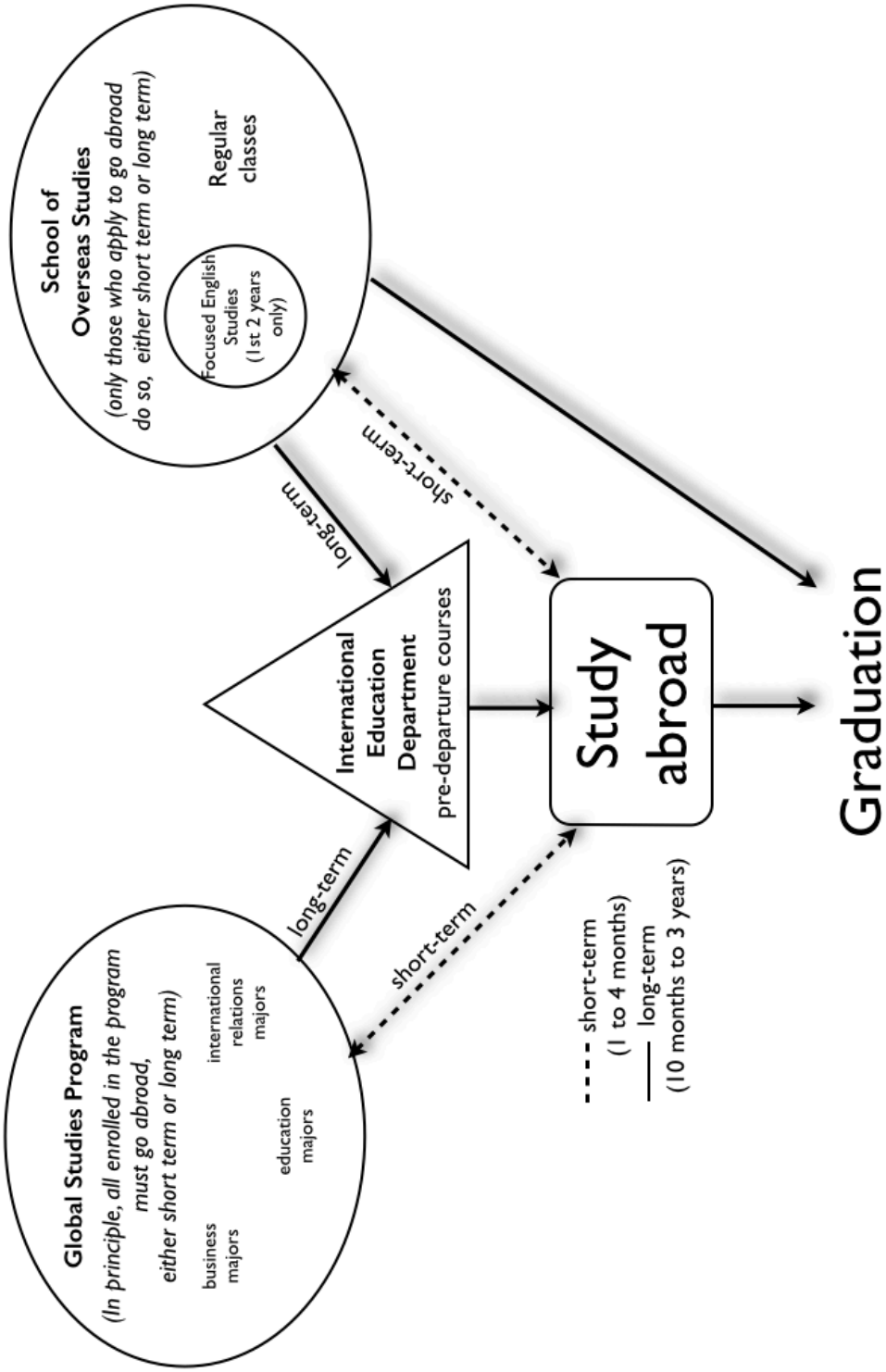

Figure 1: Study abroad path at EFSU.

School of Overseas Studies

For English majors, the School of Overseas Studies is divided into two programs: the regular classes and the FES program. The difference in these two programs is mainly the amount of contact hours students have with native-speaking English instructors. If English majors are enrolled in the regular program classes, they have two native speakers with whom they meet twice per week, and other English courses taught by Japanese faculty. If such students are enrolled in the FES program, they also have two native speakers as instructors but meet with each instructor four days per week. Students in both courses have classes besides English language, as there are several required content courses students must take in years one and two. In both the regular and FES programs students are streamed upon admission by English proficiency, which is measured by the Benesse Corporation's Global Test of English Communication (GTEC), specifically the listening, reading, and writing portions (http://www.benesse.co.jp/gtec/global/). The speaking aspect of the test is not used. Students must decide to sign up for the FES program upon enrollment, and this program is often billed as a way to increase one's chances of obtaining the 10- to 20-month study abroad scholarships in students' junior and/or senior years. Those students who apply and then are admitted to the FES program, but then in later semesters do not maintain an average of 80% in both English classes, are administratively moved (often considered a demotion) into the regular program. These percentile grades are calculated by the individual teachers based on their own grading criteria. Administrative moves to the regular program can happen either between semesters or at the end of the freshman year. The FES program does not continue beyond

the sophomore year. What is relevant here is that students in this program must obtain grades above this 80% threshold to remain in the program, where this grade is an average of the two grades received by their intensive class instructors. FES is thus considered somewhat elite by the administration, where only the most motivated students will be able to sustain the level of achievement required. Haruka, by way of illustration, was a member of the FES program, enrolled in the highest streamed class.

Global Studies Program

Students in the GS program are separated from regular and FES students in the Overseas Studies program—GS students apply to the university via a different faculty or *gakubu* (学部) and take classes populated only with students within this department. The only time, in the first two years of enrollment, that it is possible for students admitted as GS students to "mix" in classes with students in the regular or FES programs in the School of Overseas Studies is if/when they enroll in classes in the International Education Department—yet another school at the university, where the student body consists of international students and sophomore or higher Japanese students (in the regular or FES programs) preparing for study abroad. The GS students, too, are initially streamed into classes according to their GTEC score. Like students in FES, GS students must apply for entry. What further distinguishes the GS students is that although they are also expected to maintain scores of at least 80%, the program is still in the nascent stages and at the time of this study there was currently no level to which they could be moved if they fail to maintain this average. The GS students thus are also compelled to maintain high scores

in all of their classes. For the GS students, as well, the class load consists of not only English classes, but also courses taught in Japanese in fields as diverse as microeconomics, international relations, and math. The GS students sometimes take eleven or more courses in a semester (more typical to other Japanese universities, with each class meeting once per week), compared to the FES students who typically take four to five courses per semester with each course meeting as many as four times per week. The GS students are expected to exhibit high motivation and initiative, and very early on they are encouraged to state their future goals and major fields of study. For a breakdown of the student population and faculty in these programs, see Table 1.

Table 1. *Faculty and Enrollment in EFSU's Main Programs*[a]

Program	Faculty[b]	Student enrollment (approx.)
School of Overseas Studies	253	10,000
Global Studies	17	200
International Education Dept.	34	700 (annually)

[a]as of May, 2012
[b] Numbers represent faculty, both Japanese and non-Japanese, full-time and part-time (source: university official website).

Advanced English Program

Within the FES and GS programs, a new program entitled the Advanced English (AE) track, consisted of classes of students who had scored near or above a 500 on the paper based TOEFL or a 700 on the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC). In order to enter this program, students are required to interview with Japanese faculty and nativeEnglish instructors, and submit written essays stating their purposes in wanting to join a high proficiency program. All of the participants in this study were part of this AE track.

Participants

Overview

I recruited the participants from students in their first year of enrollment at EFSU. Students who go abroad in the EFSU system typically do so either in their second year or later. I therefore selected first year students before they had the chance to go abroad again. I also, at my time at EFSU, interacted with students who came to university and then dropped out (as did Haruka, and as at least one of the participants has done as of January 2013). These students who made the decision to leave school were as interesting to me as the students who stayed in school and did well both socially and academically. Based on my knowledge of Haruka's experience, I was particularly interested to see if a student left school whether they felt their decision or academic failure was related to their experiences as returnees.

The age of the participants is between 18 to 20. Because the group self identified as returnees I expected their degree of homogeneity to vary considerably, not only in the typical differences of personality and temperament, but also with their host countries, how and why they lived abroad, their lengths of time spent abroad, and other practical variables.

Selection, Recruitment, and Reciprocity

I selected students for this study via an English/Japanese language invitation form, which was an open call for any student who had lived abroad to come and find out further information regarding the study (see Appendix A). As returnee students could be

found in classes of any level, I distributed forms to all first year instructors and asked them to make a brief announcement in their classes and give the forms to any interested students. I also made the announcement in my own classes. On arrangement with first year instructors of higher level classes (Appendix E), I personally visited lessons at the beginning of the class period to briefly explain the project in English and distribute the forms to students. By way of reciprocity as well as an incentive, to students who came to my office to talk about the research project I offered free coupons valued at ¥500, redeemable at a coffee shop within the campus of the university. I distributed the coupons to students regardless of whether they chose to continue with the study.

I originally had nine students visit my office expressing interest, three from the classes I had visited, four from my own classes, and two who had been given forms by their teachers. I asked them such questions as how long they lived abroad and where, and I explained to them orally what they had read in the written description of the project, and offered them the opportunity to ask me any specific questions about the purpose, length, or nature of the research. From this point I gave interested students a consent form in English describing their right to anonymity (See Appendix F), and their option to withdraw from the project at any time without penalty or censure. I also gave them a schedule of times and days that they could choose to meet with me for interviews, which I followed according to Appendix G. Students from this period forward received compensation of ¥1,000 for each one hour interview that I conducted (approximately US$11 at the time), which I gave them in a closed envelope at the conclusion of each one hour interview session. This amount was a bit more than a student would receive per hour

of work at a typical part-time job in Japan (the part-time wage in this area of Japan at the time was ¥800 per hour, or around 7 U.S. dollars). I conducted all initial interviews in my office at a large table where the student sat across from me, with the video camera over my left shoulder pointed at the student and an Olympus Voice-Trek V-13 digital IC recorder on the table between us. I instructed students there was no dress requirement or any other requirement during the interview—that they need not rest on formality and if they wanted to eat or drink or arrange another place to interview they were free to do so. I also explained I would later give them the chance to view, edit, or delete the videotaped material, or to opt out of videotaping in favor of only audio taping.

On the basis of my experience with students at the university enrolled in my courses and who have lived abroad, I initially expected participants' English level to be somewhere in the 500-600 TOEFL PBT range, though I was aware of the possibility that some of the students who took an interest in the study had never taken the TOEFL or had scores lower than 500 or above 600 for various reasons. The participants who eventually remained in the study fell within this range.

Participants by the time they entered this study had experienced approximately 12 years of formal education, at least six of these including some English (as a foreign language) instruction depending on what degree they entered the Japanese education system. This could vary slightly according to student, of course. Although I limited the study to English majors, I did not have any requirements that students be "returned from" any particular country, and was willing accept students who have lived in non-English

speaking countries as well. I am aware that this, to some degree, privileged English, though this was unavoidable considering my limited Japanese language proficiency.

Table 2 profiles each participant who expressed an interest in (and remained willing to continue) the study. Note this list of three participants does not include five of the original eight students who were interested and interviewed. Of these, two were from one of the classes I had visited. They gave an initial interview but felt they would be too busy to continue. A third met for only the initial description of the study but never responded to my follow-up email. A fourth student continued through six full interviews but for personal reasons asked to be deleted from the study. A fifth student had studied abroad for one year in Indonesia in a *Nihonjingakko*, but I felt I did not interview him enough times or in enough detail to reliably present his story, and I was unable to successfully track him down for follow-up interviews. I will now provide brief profiles for each participant who remained in the study until its completion.

Table 2. *Participants*

Name	Age[a]/Gender	Years abroad	Location abroad	School	TOEFL(PBT)[b]
Kyoko	18/F	5.0	HK/US	Global Studies	553
Kohei	19/M	10.0	England/US	Global Studies	497
Ai	18/F	2.0	NZ	Overseas Studies	480

[a] age at the beginning of the study
[b]TOEFL(PBT) score as of June, 2011, from university records

Kyoko

Kyoko was my student in the Global Studies program. She has a vibrant, confident voice, which could, but for occasional grammar lapses, pass for an American from the Pacific Northwest. When I first met her when she was applying to the GS program she exhibited no shyness and in fact herself asked questions to her interviewers (Kyoko was part of the Advanced English (AE) program in GS, equivalent in some ways to Focused English Studies. Her application interview consisted of questions in both English and Japanese. I was one of her English language interviewers.)

Though occasionally demure, Kyoko always more often seemed confident and even outspoken. She was born in 1992, in central Japan, in what she considered a town in the middle of nowhere and quite small, though the city has a population of nearly 300,000. Kyoko's first time abroad was in kindergarten, for sightseeing, to Hong Kong. When she went abroad for this first time, she said she felt like she was "going to Disneyland or something" (Kyoko interview 1; 6:06). She would later spend four years in Hong Kong at an international school, from ages 6 to 10, because of her father's work. She was taken rather kicking and screaming on this second extended trip, saying she had not wanted to leave her friends in Japan and did not then know much English. In Hong Kong she studied figure skating, and became, she says, quite a proficient skater. She was eventually returned to Japan with her parents and sister, again not wanting to be uprooted, but she had no choice. At this time, school institutions would have officially recognized her as a *kikokushijo*, because her living abroad had not been expressly for her own study. Later, she attended school in Washington State in the United States for her senior year of

high school, returning to Japan at age 16. During her stay in Washington she lived with a host family who provided her luxuries she had never experienced in Japan, including a large bedroom to herself and her own mobile device. She remembered her time in the United States very fondly, and explained, somewhat sadly, that once again on her return to Japan from this period she was torn away from an environment in which she had become quite comfortable, though this return was inevitable with the end of her year of study. Kyoko was enrolled at EFSU in the GS program as an accounting major. She was in the three-year abroad program in which students departed after their sophomore year and attended classes in a school in the eastern United States, and she eventually received a dual degree from EFSU and the university in America.

Kohei

Kohei, in the same class Kyoko, was born in the United States, or as he called it, simply, "America," and lived there until age 13. He also lived in England in his middle year of high school for 10 months. Kohei spoke with a noticeably American accent, not so much the vernacular of middle class Queens, New York, where he lived, but more of a standard dialect of the type you might hear from teenagers on American television. Since he returned to Japan he says he has lost much of his English, and he frequently pauses and says he does not know how to clearly say what it is he wants to say. Over the course of our first-year interviews from June 2011 to early 2012, his appearance changes somewhat. In the early days of our interaction he can be seen on the video with two

earrings in his left ear, letting his hair, one day black, another day dyed brown, fall down into his eyes. The glasses he wears in earlier interviews disappear later.

Kohei lived in Queens from birth until he turned 13. He says growing up that he spoke Japanese at home, but when he got "angry" he would speak English, because he says he could not, at that time, express himself clearly in Japanese. Now he says it is the opposite: He has trouble expressing himself to his own satisfaction in English. Kohei's father passed away from cancer when he was 15 after his family returned to Japan. He now lives with his mother. He says he liked his first year GS classmates and the environment of the class, which he describes as a "zoo," but does so with a mischievous smile. Throughout the first year Kohei attended my class intermittently, without large chunks of absences but with by no means perfect attendance. He did the same in many of his other courses. He found life more interesting in activities outside the school, in endeavors such as part-time jobs and practicing in his band. For the first year Kohei never decided on a major. In an online interaction in October 2012, he informed me he quit EFSU after the first semester of year two. He currently lives in Kyoto with his mother, and has opted to attend another foreign language university in that city, as a new student, assuming a blank slate of credits because he was unable to transfer substantial class credits from EFSU.

Ai

Ai was born and raised in a medium sized city in western Japan. At the time of the first interview Ai was 18 years old. She had been in one of the high English proficiency classrooms I visited when I had gone out to describe the study. She first arrived in my office in jeans, a patterned T-shirt, and bright pink sneakers, a choice of attire by no means unheard of but at the same time not entirely mainstream at EFSU, where female students regularly attend classes in skirts and heels. She had dyed her naturally black hair a very light brown when I first met her, and wore it just to her shoulders. She filled out her biographical information form and sat across from me listening to my description of the research project with apparent amusement and interest. Her English responses to my questions on that first day were accented in such a way that I immediately suspected she had studied with or been influenced by Australians or New Zealanders (I could not distinguish which).

Ai's mother had once been a tour guide overseas, and retained an interest in Australia and New Zealand. Ai had shared this interest, and from the age of 10 attended an international school in Japan in which the language of instruction for several classes was English, with native-speaking instructors. She listened, in those years, to what she called "white American" music and became more and more enthralled by the idea of study abroad. Ai considered attending a Japanese high school that would allow her to go abroad for one year of the three-year Japanese high school curriculum, but her mother, envisioning a different path, told her it would be better if she actually graduated from the overseas school. Ai's mother therefore spoke with a coordinator at a school in

Christchurch, New Zealand, and sent Ai there for the express purpose of studying English. Ai returned after graduating from the New Zealand high school, and said that when she came back she "wanted to enjoy university life." She says she did not do a lot of research into universities in Japan but realized her strong point would be her English skill, so when she noticed the EFSU programs had a TOEIC requirement as well as overseas study programs, she felt it would be "a good opportunity" for her, a chance to someday return overseas.

Because Ai had not been compelled to study abroad in high school due to unavoidable circumstances, but in fact chose to go abroad explicitly to study English, Japanese universities did not consider her a *kikokushijo* (帰国子女) upon her return to Japan. Ai would be classified by many schools as someone who had been an exchange student [(留学生 *ryūgakusei*)] instead of a *kikokuseito* (帰国生徒). She enrolled at EFSU in the School of Overseas Studies in the Focused English Studies program, in the same level and type of course that Haruka had once been enrolled. This track expects students to have an elite command of English, and to eventually go abroad, for at least one year and possibly up to three years. Despite her desire to go abroad again, Ai never did participate in EFSU's study abroad program due to various difficulties. She has now graduated EFSU and has obtained a job in Tokyo.

Data Collection: Behind Smiles and Subdued Laughs

The data consist of primarily face-to-face, semi-structured interviews during the students' first year at university. In addition, I have compiled interview notes taken both

during and after the interview sessions, classroom observations, a field-note journal, electronic communication between me and the participants, including, in some cases, their posts on Twitter and messages sent to me via email and SMS, and numerous memos taken on the project and participants during the span of time from the early pilot interviews. The interviews I set at a flexible length of about one hour each, whereby I could sit one-on-one with students and attempt to elicit from them their own accounts of their life experiences. I chose semi-structured interviews so that I could ask the same or similar questions to each participant, and therefore make an effort to cover similar ground, at times allowing my questions and participant responses to digress according to individual differences, then asking follow-up questions in the subsequent interview. What follows is a discussion of my pilot study with groups of more than one student, how this led to the decision to use individual interviews, as well as a consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of the chosen approach.

Overview

In the study itself I have held interviews according to the timeline in Appendix G, in English, as this is the language in which I am most comfortable conducting an interview—my Japanese proficiency was tested in 2007 at Level 3 on the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (http://www.jlpt.jp/e/) and I would be able to understand some responses given in Japanese, but deeper discussions would be beyond my ability. Although I acknowledge the various difficulties inherent in storytelling in a second language (Pavlenko, 2006), the participants' English language proficiency has been such

that they have been capable of holding conversations with me, answering and asking their own questions either for clarification or interest, and participating actively in the talk. As cases arose, I offered participants the opportunity to speak in Japanese in their responses if they felt unable or unwilling to respond in English. Depending on how comfortable students were with recording, I audiotaped, and, when possible, videotaped interviews. In later, follow-up interviews after I was no longer at EFSU, I only audiorecorded where feasible, and otherwise relied on my own handwritten interview notes.

Pilot Study: Setting Interview Protocols

Before I began the interview study, in order to get a sense of what it might be like to interview returnee students, but also to determine what kind of questions might work in initial interviews, I piloted some questions with focus groups of students I knew to be returnees. I separated these groups by gender. I audio recorded these talks in my office with an Olympus Voice-Trek V-13 digital IC recorder. The students for these interviews had been in my classes a year previously and were thus in their second year and no longer my students when I interviewed them. They had therefore already had a year of study and acclimation at EFSU (and to me). I asked as pilot questions those that appear in Appendix H, later rating them according to how successful I felt they were in terms of getting students to be forthcoming.

For this early pilot study, I recruited the students largely by word of mouth, stopping students I knew as returnees basically midstride in the hallways or in front of the library or wherever I saw them, asking them informally if they would be interested in

meeting with me and some other students. I ended up grouping students not only by gender but by class, so that the two female students had been in the same class, and the three male students had all been in the same class. The male group of three and the female pair met on separate days, after the fifth class period. At that time of the year (early fall of 2010) the sun had not yet completely gone down, but the sky was edging toward darkness, so I had two torchiere floor lamps blazing in the room and a small fluorescent light above the office sink. I avoided using the fluorescent overheads at any time, both out of my own idiosyncratic distaste for them as well as to avoid reproducing what I saw as the sanitized white light of the administrative offices, classrooms, and officialdom in general. Students sat around a large conference table, the same conference table around which I would eventually meet with individual students a year later. For these pilot interviews I did not use a video camera but only audio recorded. This digital audio recorder, about 10 centimeters long, sat unobtrusively in the middle of the table between the students and I, its small unblinking LED red light the only indication that the conversation was being recorded. I was reassured by this pilot study that students could be talkative in discussing their previous experiences and lives at EFSU, though I was not sure if this were because they were no longer my students and had been at the school for some time, and therefore had grown into themselves *as* students, or because they might have never experienced any particular academic crises, or some other reason. In the pilot study I decided to transcribe the sessions using a hybrid of transcription conventions of Gail Jefferson (cited in Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, pp. x-xii), including pauses and filler sounds (see Appendix I for an excerpt of a transcription of one of these sessions) as I was

still unsure in what way I wanted to analyze this initial data. In the transcription excerpts included for the three participants, I abandoned these in favor of a more reified, easy-to-read format that I will discuss later in this chapter.

I was concerned with this brief pilot study how the focus group setting would produce talk. I allowed the students to bounce their ideas off of one another, and was anxious to see what effect this created in light of my concerns about consensus seeking. At some points I went so far as to encourage students to interact, hoping they would feel engaged enough to address their thoughts to one another, not necessarily directly to me.

Focus groups are often used as a means of tapping conflicting viewpoints and creating an atmosphere where personal views can be expressed and challenged, while maintaining the ability of members to answer honestly and avoid merely giving socially desirable responses (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009, p. 150; Zeller, 1993, p. 167). I was envisioning these focus groups as a chance for participants to co-construct with other returnees their individual lived experiences. What occurred, as I listened to the recording and eventually looked at the transcriptions, was that the group actively worked together to generate answers to my questions. I was reminded, however, as I had expected to be, of group work in my English language classrooms of Japanese students. Students in the focus groups sometimes strived to find *an* answer to a question, rather than their individual answers, which might have each been different. They also sometimes tended —once they decided a question was answered— to stop speaking, as if their task were complete. Other students then proceeded with their own answer, so that a turn-taking environment ensued. In certain parts, reading the transcription, I realize I as much as

encouraged this, unwittingly continuing my teacherly pattern of giving everyone a chance to speak: "Okay, how about you, let's hear what *you* have to say." Although collecting such group data, even when the group insists on maintaining agreeability, can be instructive (Kitzinger, 1994), such an approach also has its critics (Agar & McDonald, 1995). I therefore felt if students could be as talkative as individuals as they were in groups, I might hear more honest and frank views of their personal experiences, without the pull toward general shared experiences or the feeling that their own answers should mirror or at least be similar to that of a previous or subsequent speaker. My own unfortunate tendency to act as arbiter or timekeeper of student responses would also be countered by one-on-one, rather than group interviews. I therefore settled on conducting individual interviews for this study.

Individual Interviews

For the individual interviews that constitute much of the data for this study, I decided the setting for almost all interviews would my EFSU office, with the exception of follow-up interviews after students had finished their first year, after I no longer occupied the university office. I always gave the participants the choice to meet elsewhere, at a place of their choosing, but no student ever offered an alternate location. I do not assume automatically that this was because the office was the most inviting or comfortable location—there could be a number of reasons why interviewees would not be proactive in terms of suggesting other places to meet (Elwood & Martin, 2000), but there was only so much I could do to push students to decide a location, which itself

seemed overly controlling of what I was, after all, hoping would be a relaxing, even enjoyable experience for them. Toward this goal of a relaxing interlude I tried various strategies, including providing snacks such as hard candies and cookies and hot tea. I also, inspired by a visit from one of my young sons and his desire to draw, taped a large white band of poster paper across the interview table, and on the table laid out an open metal box of colored pencils. Only Kyoko took advantage of these and sketched out many pictures and messages during our interview sessions.

I met with each student various times according to how convenient a meeting was been to their schedules (see Appendix G for a complete schedule). For each set of interviews I created a rough set of questions. The initial question outline for each set of interviews appears in Appendix J. I created the first round of questions from the pilot questions I had asked the year prior, and though I was hopeful, I was not sure whether the dynamic when asking an individual student would be similar to that of the focus groups. Though students in the focus groups had sought group accord, an advantage of this tendency had been if one person were silent when I asked a question, another would wait a few beats then answer. There had rarely been sustained silence (Amundrud, 2011; King, 2013). In a one-on-one interview there would be nowhere for the participant to turn when searching for how to respond, except the interviewer (me), or the middle distance. On the other hand, I would now face the challenge to put my interviewing skills to the test, as I would be on the other side of any potential lull, equally liable to try and fill it with my own talk, either rephrasing, elaborating, hedging, digressing, or even changing the topic (Seidman, 2006, pp. 92-93). Also, I was mindful of the possibility that I would push too

hard on specific issues of adjustment or, in light of my interest in the influence of *Nihonjinron*, insert deliberate questions on readjustment discomfort, or focus on problems—the very methodological step I did not wish to take. I therefore tried to avoid using certain terms at all, avoiding straightforward questions such as "How alienated do you feel from Japan?" I occasionally failed at letting go the reins, as can be seen from my interview notes after the first interview with Kyoko, which I wrote addressed to myself:

> …you must be very wary of guiding questions that lead her to answer in a way she might think is "appropriate" or desirable from your point of view. In other words you need to frame "questions" as more like open-ended scenarios where she is able to talk freely (which she is capable of doing) rather than answer specific, what-do-you-think-about-TOPIC A → you are the one who decides what Topic A is or that there is even a topic A at all (You have then framed it all for her to fill in, you have drawn a picture and are then asking her to color it in rather than giving her a piece of paper where she can draw her own picture. Or even more broadly you are telling her to draw or color rather than giving her tools where she can create her own work (pastiche, sculpture, painting, sketch, drawing, etc.) (post interview notes, June 8, 2011)

As an attempt to broach the topic of whether the participants felt any pull of Japaneseness or to explore their ideas regarding Japanese sensibilities while avoiding direct questions on the issue, in later interviews I asked each participant to provide answers to the questionnaire in Appendix K. I developed this questionnaire in two of my English language classes, where I had students in those classes examine some Japanese terms

from Wierzbicka's (1997) *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words*, a text that attempts, in Chapter 6, to explain or "understand" "Japanese culture" (I insert quotation marks here to highlight what I consider the vagueness and generalized nature of these terms) by utilizing seven specific Japanese words. The students in my class read the words (including words somewhat known outside of Japan such as *wa* (和), usually translated as [harmony]), then they created sentences describing scenarios rather than simply word-for-word translations into English that they felt illustrated these terms. I took example scenarios from this student-produced work and numbered them as sentences, with a blank space next to each, asking my study participants to fill in which Japanese term the scenario might represent. I did not ask these questions to get students to answer "correctly"—indeed students both in the classroom activity and participants in the study conceptualized the ideas sometimes differently from their peers—rather I intended to have my participants think aloud about the terms and perhaps explain what these terms meant to them. I received limited results in this effort, as mostly students said some of the terms were interchangeable or they felt stumped as to how to explain the words.

I have found most students ready enough to speak at length, though they have not always responded readily to requests to "Tell a story about ___," leading me to realize a narrative study with such participants would not be a simple process of piecing together story after story about their past or present lives. They did not tend to easily tell such stories, and certainly not consistently. Kohei in particular resisted such ways of talking about himself altogether. I have had to reconceptualize the process as more one of

piecing together fragments of the participants' perceptions and memories and assembling these, almost as if from a puzzle that had been taken apart. However, unlike a puzzle these pieces could be reassembled in more than just one way. Which way the pieces finally would come together, what kind of and which story or stories of their lives would ultimately be told and how, had to come from showing the participants' the result of my efforts, then taking this apart and putting it back together as many times as necessary until we both had a sense that we had made something representative of their lives.

Pre and Post Interview Notes and Research Memos

Before and after each interview I kept a notebook of the location, my own attitude, my sense of how much I remembered about previous interviews, and a set of tailored follow-up questions for each participant. During the interviews I kept a notepad with me but tried as much as possible not to make notes during the interview itself, rather focusing on each participant's responsiveness and allowing the interviews to in some cases take a conversational tone. After each interview I wrote a descriptive paragraph about the appearance and demeanor of each participant, including type of clothing, hairstyle, any change from previous appearance, and my general sense of whether or not the participant seemed receptive to questioning. Although I provided financial incentive via reimbursement for each participant's time, money cannot buy a person's mood, and in some cases I noticed students seemed for various reasons unreceptive to the interview process. None, however, were ever late, and none ever cancelled an interview.

I also kept memos of the research process, including questions and follow-up questions, aspects of the process that I found confusing, and doubts that I had about my management of the interview time period. I also wrote in detail occasional concerns about the interpersonal dynamic I had with certain participants.

Transcription Choices

Transcription is the process of translating oral speech into written text. Keeping in mind Kvale and Brinkman's (2009) admonition that "the rules of the game differ" (p. 178) in the two modes, in the process of moving the interviews from audio/video to transcribed text, I listened to all interviews multiple times. For the sake of portability, I transferred the .MOV video files to .MP3 audio files, which could be stored on my mobile phone, and the data then accessed using headphones. Listening to the interviews in this way I lost the nuances of the visual messages such as body language, though I also viewed the videos of each session separately. In my work commute I listened to the interviews for each student in blocks, in chronological order of their occurrence. In other words I listened to all of Kyoko's interviews in order over the course of a week, then Kohei's, then Ai's, then repeated this process. In this way, though I did not have access to the visual portion of the video interviews, I was able to listen and re-listen to our interview recordings. I then took from these recordings excerpts I found relevant and transcribed them using the free software program Audacity and Microsoft Excel for Mac. As the participants ideally had the opportunity and freedom to reveal their innermost thoughts, I chose for ethical reasons to do all transcriptions and repeated listening myself

(see Kvale & Brinkman, 2009, pp. 186-187 for a discussion of confidentiality and participants).

Transcription is a process laden with both ethical and political decisions, affecting not only the data, but also how interviewees are represented, and the very course of analysis (Ashmore, MacMillan, & Brown, 2004; Bucholtz, 2000, 2007; Davidson, 2009; Oliver, Serovich & Mason, 2005). Researchers have challenged the idea that a transcribed version of any interview or interaction can, in any format, be an accurate account of this interaction, and is rather a process informed by the choices of the transcriber (Coates & Thornborrow, 1999; Cook, 1990; Kvale & Brinkman, 2009; Mishler, 1991). In addition, how the interview speech is represented can inform how the speech of the interviewee is perceived (see Schostak, 2005 for more on representation).

My experience in the doctoral courses I have taken has been that transcribers listening to the same audio file occasionally hear different things, due to various factors, including selectivity of what is deemed important. I have been prone to this as much as anyone, of course, tending to trust (and privilege) my own perception over others: I recall discussions with my coresearchers and fellow students regarding what we heard in a recorded interaction, when our transcriptions were different, where I was insistent that my interpretation was correct. These were not necessarily differences of opinion over what words were said by the voices in the sound file, but differences in *how* things were said, including pause lengths and stress, as well as the possible intention or implication of the speaker. Occasionally my interpretation won out, though in the end my fellow students and I arrived at our final decision on the transcript through consensus among

ourselves, without consulting the participants or those who had been recorded. I did this for logistical reasons because I no longer had access to certain participants, but this nevertheless affected the reliability of the final transcription and therefore the data analysis, even when transcriptions were not our sole means of compiling data.

My strategy, then, in the present study, included member checking, not only during the questioning process in the form of restating questions and reaffirming responses, but also by giving the participants access to both the excerpted audio and video files, and all transcriptions. In order to prevent difficulties in later analysis (Carlson, 2010) I made it informally clear to participants that their data would be transcribed by me and that they needed not worry about their grammar correctness or formality of English. I also wanted to make the transcriptions accessible for them, with the material as easy to view and read as possible; therefore, I reified the material using the conventions found in Appendix L, striking somewhat of a balance between what Bucholtz (2000) terms *naturalized* and *denaturalized* transcription. I have excluded nearly all cases of fillers such as *uh* and *umm*, and eliminated cases of elision, false starts, and prosodic notation such as increases in speed or tone. Exceptions are where I have tried to maintain each speaker's idiolect (e.g., in her or his use of terms such as *like*). In only some cases did I include notation on paralinguistic features, and then only when verbal.

To give an example of how I have altered the transcriptions to make them more accessible to the participants in their revision of them, I provide below two passages from Kohei's first interview. The first excerpt is how I gave the section to Kohei to revise, and

also the form in which it appears in the body of this study, in Kohei's chapter. The second iteration is how I transcribed the same section using Jefferson conventions more akin to Conversation Analysis, including in this case my own remarks, questions, and considerably more detail regarding the participant responses. I realized early on that the more complex transcription style was less accessible to the participants' review, and therefore I transcribed in this more detailed way only for the first interviews.

As transcribed and presented to participant:

Well what made the differences was like, when I was taking class in Japanese school I was speaking English with my friends so I couldn't learn that much Japanese. I only had the chance to speak Japanese in my house. (1; 20:02)

Transcribed using CA conventions:

```
I: (Interviewer)
K: (Kohei)
I:   so where was the imbalance (.) and in what
     situations (.) was there a (.) difference
K:   well ((shrugs slightly, looks up at me, then down
     at the desk again)) what made the different was
     like (.) when I uz (.) like (.) takn classes nn
     (.) Japanese school (.) >>I uz like speaking
     English with friends an<< mm ((looks at me again,
     right hand waves forward, looks away)) in English
```

```
     so (.) ((smiles, looks at me)) I couldn't learn
     that much Japanese speaking
I:                                mhm
K:                                    °so° (.)
I:                                           [mhm
K:                                              I] only
     have a chance of speakin Japanese ((purses lips))
     in my house
I:                mhm
K:                   so ((mouth pinches together))
     that's what made ((very softly shrugs))
     °difference°
I:                yep
```

Although I sometimes recorded interviews with both audio and video, I must note that the video data records only the participant, not me, the interviewer, except in sections where I moved to turn on an air conditioner or opened a window and might have walked in front of the camera. This limited the utility of the video data significantly as I could not see what I myself was doing, and short of reading interview notes was not able to recall my own dress, posture, or mannerisms during the interviews. My own physical cues, then—which I only later realized were important if I were to approach the data scrupulously in this way—were conspicuously absent. For this reason I did not make notations of gestures or physicality of the participants in the transcriptions I provided them.

Making a transcription choice because it's "easy to read" might seem simplistic, but if the participants' stories and insights are to be considered as they choose to co-construct the stories with me, if I do not claim the transcripts themselves are an attempt to represent a true account of hard data, then my making the transcripts as easily readable—and therefore accessible and subject to deletion, revision, or reconstruction by the participants—seemed an important part of maintaining validity. Realistically no matter how readable I tried to present the material, I could not be certain that the participants, each in their own life situations, some working jobs and others studying abroad, would look at or read all sections thoroughly, but I nevertheless gave them this opportunity.

Journals and Online Communication

I provided a B5 notebook in which I offered the participants the opportunity to write reflective journals throughout this study. Ai took a journal but did not complete any entries. Both Kyoko and Kohei wrote journals in my class as part of their regular coursework, and they allowed me to utilize these as data in the final analysis, including my own comments in the journals. In addition, I was given permission from participants to use emails exchanged with them over the course of the study, and also messages sent via the SMS service LINE. Both Kohei and Kyoko gave me permission to access their tweets from the social networking site *Twitter*. I also had received permission to use email and other personal communication from Haruka, though she requested that I change her name.

Reflexivity/Positionality

I am at least 20 years older than the participants; I come from a different country, a different generation, a different language, a different world. I am a white male raised speaking English in the American South, and attended my undergraduate years of university in a time when the Internet was only fantasy, when computer disks were thin floppy squares with round holes in the center. I scarcely left my home state for the first 20 years of my life—I first left my home country just after the time when my participants, in the timeline of their own lives, began participation in this study. I do not have a personal point of reference for what it might be like to grow through any part of childhood in a country foreign to where I was born. My first experience abroad was brief, in Mexico, then later Canada, but these were the weeklong trips of my parents, whose two children—my brother and I—spent their hours staring from the car window, splashing in chlorine rectangles of Holiday Inn swimming pools, or wishing they were at home. I never had to face, as a youth, a group of classmates who spoke a different language, never had to learn, as a child or adolescent, a new tongue, never had anywhere to return to or from. My experiences living abroad long-term began in my early twenties when I left the United States for Botswana, Africa, where I lived for three years as a volunteer junior high school teacher. It is here, in the return I experienced to the United States, where my life experience can serve as a type of antecedent to that of the participants. My return lasted only a few years, after which I left my home country again, settling in Japan, where I have now lived for nearly two decades. I often think of my own "home" and then my own "home town" where the first one is Japan, and the second my

place of birth. When I fly between the two, I experience those feelings of separation and at the same time arrival, but this happens when going both directions.

I worked EFSU for nearly 12 years, and during that time I taught mostly what were considered the higher proficiency classes, of students whose TOEFL scores were in the 450-600 range. Many of these students I eventually learned were returnee students who had lived years of childhood in countries outside Japan. In my early years of teaching at EFSU I felt these students were markedly different from other students, though I was never sure if this were simply because I seemed to be able, as a non-Japanese instructor who was accustomed to a certain way of teaching, to interact with them in a way I considered more "natural" than when I interacted with many of their non-returnee counterparts, or if there were some other reason. This is not to say the returnees were necessarily better performers or higher achievers academically—often they were not. Yet in general their communicative abilities, by which I mean what seemed to be their near effortless ability to write to me in journal entries, or to speak with me directly, were often much higher than other students'. Their writing and speaking were not always perfectly native-like in terms of grammar, but were fluent enough to seem natural, unaffected. Though this is my perception, I do not wish to give the impression that returnee students have always been able to bond with me as their teacher in a more memorable way than students who never went abroad. On the contrary, at times, though returnee students might have been able to speak to me easily, might have had the capacity to do so, some of them simply have not. With non-returnees, I could always assume this was partly due to a language or culture barrier as they might not have been accustomed to

dealing with a teacher who was not Japanese. With returnee students, who could so easily communicate, I was unable to rely on this idea, and simply had to assume that for whatever reason some returnee students simply did not wish to have any interaction with me further than what the class required as the minimum. As Haruka once said to me regarding students not talking to teachers: "Isn't that just normal?"

Researchers have referred to reflexivity on the part of the qualitative interviewer as everything from mainstream (Canagarajah, 2005) to problematic (Finlay, 2002a; Seale, 1999), obfuscatory of power relations (Pillow, 2010), an "academic fad" (Patai, 1994, p. 64), and a dilemma where researchers must strive for a stance somewhere between "enhanced self-awareness" and "navel-gazing" (Finlay, 2002b, p. 541). Too, reviewers and researchers do not always agree on the degree or contribution of reflexivity in the reporting of research (Ramanathan, 2005). In narrative inquiry, Kanno (1997) points out the silliness of assuming interviewees are locked in a state of miscomprehension of their states, while researchers have a "God's eye view" (p. 8). I believe that self reflexivity will help me to analyze my own place in the research process; it will also inform how and why I approach and conceptualize the topic, form the questions, interact with the participants, make choices regarding how (and therefore what) to transcribe, and conceive of, frame, and interpret the data.

In Finlay's (2002b) words:

> At a minimum level, (reflexivity) means acknowledging the existence of researcher bias and explicitly locating the researcher within the research process. At a more active level, it involves a more wholesale embracing of subjectivity, for

> example, by exploiting researcher's/co-researcher's reflective insights and by engaging in explicit, self-aware meta-analysis throughout the research process. (p. 536)

I do not claim that any researcher given the topic of returnees at a foreign language university would approach this topic the same ways as I have, nor that my conclusions are accurate representations of the exact kernel of accessible truth present in the emotions or minds of the participants. However I have excerpted the interview notes, reflected on my own questions, my own biases and assumptions about Japan and Japanese students as someone who lived in Japan now for 15 years, and explicitly considered my possible influence on participants as their teacher and interviewer.

I initially hoped to recruit all participants from outside my own classes, though as I taught almost all of the highest proficiency students at the school, and because I made the announcement for the study in my own classes, as I have mentioned previously I began the project with several participants who were, at the time, my students. At the time the study began, I held a position of authority within the curriculum and acted as part of a screening committee for students admitted to the Advanced English (AE) program, which exists both within the School of Overseas Studies and the GS program, where students had to orally interview for a place in the program in addition to taking an examination. I therefore held some degree of authority not only as a teacher but as a gatekeeper into the program. This leads me to the next section on ethical considerations.

Ethical Issues

One-on-one interviews are shot through with issues of hierarchy and power relations (Seidman, 2006, pp. 103-104). In my case, as a teacher for part of this study, I had to maintain both a position of authority and an attempted role of impartial listener. I could not simply uncloak the mantle of my role as teacher by invoking the phrase: "Pretend I'm not your teacher"—though I did find myself saying this exact phrase from time to time. Usually the participants either smiled or said "Okay," when I offered this bland reassurance, and the atmosphere of the conversation then took the form of two people sharing a mutually understood fiction, much as if I had said "Pretend I'm a space alien."

Beyond, however, matters of hierarchy, I am aware, as a novice interviewer, of the delicate issues of gender (Byrne, 2003; DeVault,1990; Finch, 1993; Oakley, 2003; Seidman, 2006), ethnicity (Seidman, 2006, pp. 99-102), race (Stanfield, 2016), and language (Hubbell, 2003). Throughout the interview process, including the screening phase, I had to consider how the participants responded to me and the possible direction of the interview topics. In the case of one early potential participant who was female, I decided not to include her in the study as her initial interview led me to believe her study abroad experience had included a psychologically damaging episode that the interview process would undoubtedly unveil, and I was not confident in my ability as a novice researcher to deal with this properly. I have excluded, in a mutual decision, another participant who completed six interviews for similar reasons. Nevertheless, as the study continued, some participants confided in me very personal issues, sometimes remaining

in my office long after the video camera and IC recorder were shut off. Most of these personal issues I have not made a matter of record, either in transcribed data or post interview notes, unless specifically requested to do so.

The students in the study are Japanese and as such might have expectations of the interview process with which I am unfamiliar. Rather than assume what these are, I attempted to make clear what the interview process was and how their words would be used. I also explained in detail both formally in the description of the study and informally at the beginning of each interview that I would be asking them questions about their own points of view, and that they should have felt free to express themselves however they wished, this as a way of addressing the issue of *tatemae* [(建前) face, or public stance] and *honne* [(本音) real intention]. These are terms regularly used to describe Japanese interaction styles, and therefore also appear in *Nihonjinron* discourse. As an American, however, operating within my own habitus, I realized I was also bringing in assumptions about how the interview might proceed. I recalled one instance in my own teaching career where the Japanese dean of a department who was chairing a meeting made some delicate point to an audience of American instructors, and reiterated explicitly that what he was saying was "not *tatemae*, but *honne*," in other words he wanted to say that he was not standing on form, but was trying to articulate his honest, direct feeling. He felt the need to stress this so that he would not be misunderstood based on an assumption that his words carried an obscure implication that could not be taken at face value. I tried to be aware of this possible distinction in my participants' responses and word choices. Regarding language use, for each interview I reminded students that

they were free to insert Japanese at any point, either in the process of code-switching midsentence or in complete thoughts or expressed memories.

I informally and formally asked the students for their consent to include their words in this study. I reminded them orally at each meeting that they could amend or delete anything they wished. I have changed names and places to maintain anonymity, using this as the default unless students have asked explicitly that their names or information remain actual. I have also changed the name of the university and the department titles within it, though for clarity's sake the specific descriptions of the departments as they existed at the time of this study's writing remain accurate. Also, I searched for ways to make the participants more comfortable and make the environment nonthreatening, and as much as possible not intrusive into their lives as students. In cases where I asked students for their time, I occasionally sent emails, and in cases where an email went unanswered, I sent only one follow-up email after what I considered a reasonable number of days. Sometimes this resulted in a quick apologetic response from the participant, but sometimes there was no response, even for months at a time. This was particularly true once I left EFSU and was no longer easily accessible.

I have taken and passed the online IRB course affiliated with Temple University and have ensured that the information I gather conforms to guidelines outlined by Temple University.

Video/Audio Storage and Security

I used (when feasible and allowed by the participant) a Sony HD video camera with microphone on a tripod and an Olympus Voice-Trek V-13 digital IC recorder to capture the video and audio. The audio was therefore stored in two formats. After I transferred these files from the camera and IC recorder to the computer and external hard drive, I deleted the data from both the camera and IC recorder. No data then remained on these devices. While at EFSU, I stored video and audio recordings electronically in .MOV and .WMA files on a password-protected computer, and backed up this data on a *Western Digital for Mac Passport* one terabyte external hard drive, also password-protected. When I left EFSU I deleted all files from the Mac hard drive, though I retained the external hard drive. I store one copy of the audio and video data in the external hard drive, and then made redundant copies of each file in another identical drive, both of which I kept in a locked desk in my home office. When audio files were transferred for portability to my mobile phone, they were protected via the phone's built-in security including a pattern screen lock to access the phone and a four-digit code to open the software.

Methodological Limitations

Limitations of the study include the problems of interviewing in the participants' L2, issues of age, status, race, power imbalance and authority, and Polkinghorne's (2007) admonitions about the limits of narrative interviewing mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter. Although I told the participants they could use Japanese in their answers, my

questions were always framed in English, they all knew me as an English teacher, and none of them ever gave extended responses in Japanese. I was roughly twice the age of each participant when the study began, and their academic superior, and I had to accept the fact that they would be resistant to any sort of frank criticism of any aspect of their experience that might have reflected on me, as an instructor in the program. In terms of number of participants, I originally hoped to have nearly twice the number as I ended with, though as Pavlenko (2002) has noted, time constraints make narrative inquiry with a large number of participants logistically unfeasible (p. 210). One drawback of selecting interviewees in such a project is the possibility of participant attrition, and in the case of this study one individual who gave many interviews decided to withdraw before the study was completed, rendering data relevant to her unusable. Pavlenko (2002) further pointed out how, as the researcher has such a heavy hand in the restorying of the participants' narratives, and even though I might attempt to share the writing with my participants, they "can never be quite free of the researcher's interpretation of their lives" (p. 210). There is a large degree of subjectivity on my part that I have tried to account for throughout the process, from the selection stage to the interview stage into examination of the data, and I have tried to make clear my choices in the interest of transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I have also attempted to retain reflexivity and transparence in my explanations of my decisions in writing this study, and in *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) have provided as clear a picture as possible of the participants' stories. Though none of the three participants in the study ever failed to show for an interview or expressed directly a hesitation to continue being interviewed, I did sense at times a

certain boredom in the air as students sat across from me—perhaps in some degree because of the teacherly environment of my office—though I did not wish to breathe such a suspicion into reality by asking directly if students were bored. I had various strategies for keeping interest in the process—keeping coffee and snacks available and allowing students the freedom to digress and take breaks during interviews if they wished to do so. I tried to be as receptive and curious an interlocutor as I could without coming across as prying or judgmental, but it was not always easy to predict or respond to my participants' moods or frames of mind.

Data Analysis

Polkinghorne's (1995) term *narrative configuration* refers to the process of taking events from the interview process and bringing them together into a "temporally organized whole" (p. 5). In narrative analysis, the goal of the researcher then is to organize the data into a unified story or set of stories that give the data an organization toward an aim or end point. "The purpose of narrative analysis," Polkinghorne (1995) wrote, "is to produce stories as the outcome of the research" (p. 15). As I have listened to and read the data, considering both start points and end points, I realized the questions, answers, digressions, and stories do not follow a line through time, and often repeat or overlap. The narratives I present here are a result of poring through journals, emails, post interview notes, tweets, and listening and re-listening for many hours to each participant's interviews and in some cases their self recordings (See Appendix M for a list of all data sources).

Sometimes participant reflections came in the form of small stories (Bamberg & Georgakoupoulou, 1998), sometimes in the form of singular impressions of what was only a vague memory of an event or impression far in the past. We sat there in the office or, later, coffee shops, and I tried my best to just let the participants talk, though I succeeded much better in later interviews than in the early ones. In my B5 notebooks on these listening sections over the course of the years of this data collection and analysis, I wrote layer upon layer, in margins and between lines, my impressions both after the initial interviews and on each subsequent listening, arranging and rearranging events to fit the timeline as it revealed itself. As with all narratives there are gaps in time and in some cases inconsistencies of perspective, where what was remembered in one interview session was sometimes remembered slightly differently in another. Remembered motives also sometimes seemed to change. When I had questions—not so much about accuracy of events but of chronology, or details, such as the name of an organization or whether a participant had applied to a school herself or had her mother fill out an application—I wrote these down for either follow-up interviews or for an email that I would send to each participant. I tried to limit these emails as much as possible for the sake of efficiency and also because I did not want my participants to grow weary of constantly answering questions about things they had said months or even years previously.

Then the question arose of how to begin writing. Once a chronology emerged for each student, I wondered how to begin: at birth? at EFSU? Should I work my way back in time, start in the middle, or begin at the beginning? Which participant should I start with? I decided to begin with Kohei, though his story appears second, in Chapter 5. A point

came when I heard he had left EFSU where I feared he might fall off the grid as Haruka had done, and I wanted to have as much of a story pieced together as possible so that I could show it to him in some form beyond simply a mishmash of transcripts and my own thoughts. Fortunately, he was just as receptive to participating after having left the school as he had been from the beginning. From that point, as I wrote, quotations jumped out at me, and my coding process grew from there. Kohei's reflections on his life as a child and the particular memories he had—of speaking English at home, of interacting with friends in New York, of his return to Japan and his relationships—created a template in my head.

In Saldana's (2013) words, a code in qualitative research is "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (p. 3). Early codes emerged in my file along the lines of:

- Parents English ability
- Parental interactions
- Other family
- Interest in English (abroad)
- Interest in Japanese (abroad)

I then pasted quotes directly from the transcripts (and, later, directly from the recordings themselves) with time stamps, into the cells in the Excel file that matched the code (See Appendix N for an example of an excel spreadsheet with such coding). I initially kept one Excel file for all participants, and then as participants dropped out I narrowed the file down to the three who remained. This file quickly became unwieldy, and I separated each

file into separate workbooks, adding codes where necessary when participants spoke of topics that others did not, as in Kyoko's discussion of fast food. I then consolidated codes into chronological sections and these became subheadings for the chapters. The quotes of my participants had been the foundation for how I created the narrative structure, so I decided to use quotes, of both the participants and Pierre Bourdieu, to introduce each chapter and frame some of the subheadings.

I met with students both during and after writing the chapters, having them read and reread them to make suggestions where the story could be filled out or reworded to suit their own sense of their trajectory. Eventually I mailed participants the final draft written versions of their respective chapters, allowing them veto or editing power. In the email with the drafts attached, I adapted questions from Kanno's (1996) member checking in her dissertation on returnees:

1. Errors of fact (If I said something happened but didn't, or didn't say something that happened that you want me to say).
2. Interpretation (Am I interpreting your words or experience wrong? Is there any place I have it right?)
3. Is there some point you want me to make more strongly?
4. Is there some point I am making that you feel is too strong?
5. Is there any information here that you do not want revealed?
6. Is it okay for me to use your real name? (Just asking one last time!)
7. What are your feelings on this project now that it is coming to its end? Any feelings at all?

At no point did any participant ask me to delete a passage, though in several instances they added new reflections once they could see their stories written.

I begin each of the following participant chapters with our initial meetings, and my first impressions of them as students and people, and how I came to invite or accept each to take part in the study. I then provide brief accounts of their histories of studying abroad and returning to Japan, flashing back with them to their remembered experiences and impressions of living abroad, their return and first experiences as returnees, then exploring what made them decide to choose a foreign language university. I then give an account of their lives at EFSU during their first year and their changing impressions and expectations both of the school and of themselves. I end each story chapter with an account of how the students continued at EFSU after I left, and where they are as I complete this study. In Chapter 7, I bring the stories together using Bourdieu's thinking tools, in synthesis with selected other returnee literature.

CHAPTER 4

"I ALWAYS WONDER IF I SOUND WEIRD OR NOT": KYOKO'S STORY

> I don't wish to be a nerd. But I like studying. Studying doesn't kill me. I know I'm not smart or creative, so I think studying hard is the only thing that I can be spotted in the crowd and be special.
>
> —Kyoko's self-recording; March, 2012

First Impressions

In mid-July, 2010, I was one of five assigned to screen applicants into the two elite English programs at KSFU, the Focused English Studies (FES) program and the new Global Studies (GS) program. The interviewing committee consisted of administration and faculty: four males—the Japanese Dean of the School of Overseas Studies, a Japanese professor, the American director of English language programs, myself, and one female American teacher. The task of the three native English speakers was to assess the applicants' English language levels, but also their maturity and élan. Final say over which students would be admitted to the program was made later, behind closed doors, by administrators, but in the interview, teachers had the chance to make suggestions. Fifteen minutes were allotted for each candidate. One by one, over the course of several hours, each stepped in and sat in a desk three meters in front of us, facing our gauntlet for ten minutes of questioning, prying, scrutinizing, and judging.

Kyoko was one of the last to be interviewed, on a Saturday afternoon. She wore her long, dark hair bound in a ponytail and her smile in bright wire braces. She strode in, at 5' 8" a degree taller than most of the other students, dressed in her high school uniform, a white blouse and loose-fitting navy skirt and blazer. She made eye contact with each of us in turn, as if she had some experience displaying her worth in such situations. She greeted us loudly in Japanese before we greeted her, and stood waiting until she was told to sit down. I had noticed most of the students paused fixedly this way before sitting in what was obviously a chair meant for them. I assumed to stop in this way was expected by the Japanese faculty as a first manifestation of good manners. Kanno (1996) relates how one of her own participants was instructed in a *juku* [塾/cram school] how to conduct herself in an interview, up to which hand to use when opening the door (p. 171). To me the behavior seemed somewhat overly deferential, out of line with my own habitus—not precisely the pause but something about the rigidity and formality of the posture. All in all, it felt more like what I would expect at a military academy.

Few, however, had greeted us with such confidence as Kyoko. If enrollment in the program was thus first framed as an exercise in adherence to norms of the field of Japanese education, Kyoko immediately distinguished herself with this clear display of her cultural literacy, her awareness of what Bourdieu (1977) would term the *doxa* of a formal entrance interview—the expectation that interviewees should prepare beforehand, should answer clearly, succinctly and with confidence, but also with deference, making

use of the required honorifics, demonstrating not only Japanese ability and, in this particular case, also English ability, but maturity and studious poise. She understood the rules of the game.

The interviews all began identically, with the student invited to sit down, then a greeting and preliminary questions in Japanese from the dean of the program. Kyoko sat, folded her hands in her lap, and answered each question seriously and without pause. In following with the orthodoxy of the hierarchical order of speaking—for we as interviewers also had unwritten rules to follow—the next senior Japanese faculty member then asked follow-up questions, and Kyoko elaborated briefly on her initial answers. She did not digress or express confusion. In the last half of the interview, when the English questions came, first from the American director of programs, I both noted and was impressed by Kyoko's ability to switch languages seamlessly. She had a naturalness in her answers in English, delivered as unhesitatingly as her Japanese answers had been. She also switched her manner, becoming subtly less rigid, demonstrating not only literacy in how to act but at least some degree of what Webb et al. (2002) have termed Bourdieu's *metaliteracy*, or reflexivity, whereby Kyoko seemed aware of the different requirements of her role as interviewee in both two different languages and with different types of interviewers. In English she was almost a different person. She always seemed about to smile, as if she knew something funny that none of the rest of us had yet grasped. She leaned on her rhotic *r*s in the American fashion—"I *rr*eally liked it. I *r*emember going the*r*e"—as we asked her several questions about her times abroad. Her pronunciation of *Washington* was the Washington of an American speaker, with the -*ton* pronounced /tən/,

not the /ton/ of katakana pronunciation. I mostly listened, but toward the end I asked a few questions of my own, filling in gaps, though I had already made up my mind that she would suit the new program well. In my view, major points in her favor were that she had long-term goals, she had confidence, and she spoke English relatively better than many of the other candidates. I was not alone. When she excused herself after the dean dismissed her, the other American teacher leaned over to me and said: "I want that one in my class."

Kyoko was eventually placed in Group 1, the highest English proficiency, Advanced English (AE) stream of the GS class, where the upper half of the class had an average TOEFL PBT score of 504. Kyoko had begun the term with a TOEFL PBT score of 523. I was her academic reading and writing teacher. She occasionally came to visit my office and she seemed eager to discuss life abroad. She wanted to discuss not only her own experiences, but also my own perspective on life in the United States and life in Japan. In this way I sensed she would be a natural for the study, and when I announced the project to the class, she expressed interest. We began our interviews in June, 2011, the third month of her first semester at the university.

In the following sections I touch on the highlights of her early life as she reported them to me, leading to her first travels abroad, and allow her, in as much as possible her own voice, to explain some of her formative experiences outside Japan, in her early life and her high school life in the United States. I continue her story considering how our interactions both addressed and expanded my research questions. I show how she considered universities and settled on EFSU, then embarked upon her first year of study, letting her give an account of both her academic experiences and her personal views of

classes, teachers, and her social life at the foreign language university. Throughout the chapter I use reified quotations whereby I have redacted filler terms such as *uhh* or *umm*, though I have attempted to capture some essence of her own voice and affect, referring at times to her mannerisms in the video interviews. When I use "direct" quotes from interviews, I indicate which interview the excerpt is from, with a time stamp of the minute and second. I focus her narrative using a Bourdieu-influenced sociological lens, which I expand upon in details of each student's particular experiences in Chapter 7.

"I Want to be a River": Living in Hong Kong

Kyoko first went abroad as a 6-year-old. She lived with her parents and her younger sister when her father's job at a Japanese manufacturing company took him to an overseas post. Their home for four years was Hong Kong. "I was nervous," she says, "for having a new life. And I didn't want to say goodbye to my friends. At that time I could speak only Japanese" (1; 6:40). As a child with only the economic capital of her parents to carry her, and no social capital of her own outside her home country, her linguistic capital outside a Japanese context also seemed nil. In fact, she had more background in English than she imagined: Her mother had provided her an English tutor before moving to Hong Kong, a Hawaiian woman who came to Kyoko's house once a week, where together they would play games and watch television programs in English. This seemed to Kyoko a very meager attempt at learning the language, but it was enough of a linguistic basis for Kyoko's parents to disagree over what type of education she should have while living in Hong Kong. They discussed whether she should attend a Japanese

school, recommended by her mother because Kyoko was mainly a monolingual Japanese speaker, or a Canadian international school, recommended by her father who thought Kyoko's continued exposure to English would be a long-term benefit. Her father's choice prevailed, and would influence Kyoko's cultural trajectory through to her university years (see Bourdieu, 1996b, pp. 183-187; DeCosta, 2010 for a discussion of learner trajectory). The financial resources, or economic capital, to make such a choice thus in a very practical sense were the instrument that made possible Kyoko's later cultural and symbolic capital, as her fluency increased.

In Hong Kong, Kyoko, even at this young age of 6, began her tutelage in how to act in a school admissions interview. She was required to sit for a talk with the principal of the international school. In a room with Kyoko and her parents, he asked her simple English questions, and Kyoko, summoning words and phrases she had learned from her English tutoring, was able to answer at a basic level:

> I had an interview with the principal of that school and he checked if I could speak English. I don't know why, but we had an interview and I passed. Me and the principal and my mom and my dad, and my parents never talked. Just me and him we're basically talking, and he asked me like, "How do you like this city or what's your hobby?" and yeah I just said "Playing with dolls" and "It's big," and I think I said something like that. And he asked me to write some, not journal but, about myself. (1; 9:42)

Her performance in the interview and her written sentences proved sufficient, and she was enrolled in the international school. She mixed at first mainly with Japanese students, and was put into an ESL group, also attending a Japanese language class once a day.

Once thrust into the newness of this international school, Kyoko encountered the same difficulties of adjustment that all sojourners face when placed in an unfamiliar environment, a child's version of Bourdieu's (1984) hysteresis effect that she would also encounter in her future trips abroad. For Kyoko, the new challenges were not only learning her way around a different physical location from what she was used to, but also adjusting to new cultural norms, new languages, and the physical appearances of people around her:

> At first when I went to that elementary school I was kind of scared because I saw many people who aren't like me, like black people, white people, blonde-haired girls or people with blue eyes and they're speaking in like a language and I was like "What? What the hell is this?" (1; 8:30)

The "weird language" was English. The few phrases Kyoko had absorbed from her tutoring were little preparation for the inundation of unfamiliar words and tones in her daily life at the school. Kyoko had felt, at the time, her own abilities in English had become better little by little over her months of tutoring, yet she realized in her practical life now that many people could not understand her, including her teachers. To a child encouraged to express her imagination, this occasionally proved frustrating:

> In English class the teacher was asking, "What's your dream?" and my friend goes "I want to be a rabbit" and I was like "I want to be a beaver" but she thought

> I pronounced it "river" because in English we say *ribaah* [sic]. I don't know why but she thought it's river. And she drew three lines on the board[8] and I thought No! That's not a beaver! And people were asking me "Are you sure you want to be a river?" and I'm saying "No! I'm saying *beaver*." I really remember that moment because I told my mom and I was so upset: "Teacher told me I want to be a river." (1; 12:17)

During these early days, partially because of language difficulties and partially because of the everyday otherness of her surroundings, Kyoko was very resistant to her new situation: "I hated that I didn't live in Japan and I didn't have a usual life" (6; 3:08). She spent most of her time with her younger sister, playing with dolls and toys. Eventually the two sisters found another shared interest: figure skating. The skating coach conducted lessons mostly in Japanese, relieving the strain of having to listen to instructions in English. For both girls the sport was a welcome focus for their energies, but for Kyoko involvement in figure skating was a turning point:

> It was the first time I got into something. I won so many competitions ((laughter)). Really. I was good at it. I took lessons three times in a week. I was very into it and I stayed at the rink until midnight so I didn't really do homework and I didn't study English at all. (1; 8:30)

This endeavor was no simple pastime, but a kind of enrichment activity of some distinction as she practiced under the tutelage of well-known masters in the sport. Such a

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[8] 川 *kawa* is the *kanji* for *river* in Japanese, suggesting her British teacher had some knowledge of the language.

hobby might have served Kyoko as a significant cultural capital later if she had continued, however Kyoko's youth, as well as the expenses involved in the sport, limited her participation:

> I was taking lessons from like a champion, a figure skating champion and this guy from Japan. And I think he participated in the Olympics that was held in Nagano. I can't remember his name. And once a year we had like a special training thing, a course held in Japan, and you know Asada Mao and Ando Miki[9], they were also there. But I couldn't go there because I was so young and my mom worried about me going there alone and it cost a lot. (1; 11:50, 1; 22:48)

Assisted by this activity into which she could focus her efforts, Kyoko slowly overcame the various challenges of adjusting to life in Hong Kong, contending with the exotic in an unfamiliar field, finding a place for herself. "At first I struggled. Then I overcame the struggle. Then I found my new life. And it was going really good. And I never thought about going back (to Japan)" (1; 24:00).

This feeling of accomplishment and joy seemed to come to an end when she reached age 9 and Grade 4, for a very simple, but, for Kyoko, unexpected reason. Her father's assignment abroad ended, and the family was scheduled to move back home to Japan. Kyoko's father abruptly broke the news to her:

> My dad came up to me in the morning and I was still sleeping and he lay next to me in the bed and he was like "Do you want to go back to Japan? Do you feel like going back to Japan?" Yeah he said "Do you miss Japan?" and I was like "No.

[9] The two girls she mentions were competitive figure skaters who would eventually become Olympic medalists representing Japan.

> Why're you asking me that?" and he was like "You don't miss Japan?" and I was like "Nooo." "It's time for you to go home." "*Really*?" And I kicked him out of the room and I cried cried cried cried. (1; 23:00)

"I was shocked," she says, "and I felt really empty" (6; 3:46). Kyoko had finally found something to cling to in the form of figure skating in Hong Kong, but now this activity was over. This put a strain on her family relationships for a time, and her father took the brunt of her youthful anger. "There's no like figure skating rink in my hometown. And I didn't want to give it up. It felt to me like he's taking everything away from me. So I was like 'I hate you'" (1; 24:36).

She also recalls the complexity of the emotions that she felt, both torn at having to let go of what had become a focus in her life, yet in some way relieved that she would no longer have to compete:

> Me coming back from Hong Kong really hurt me. However I was also relieved that I don't have to continue to play ice-skating. People told me I was a good skater but I was feeling limitations inside of me. I couldn't do some jumps well, no matter how much I practiced. But it was so loser of me if I just quit. So I was glad I could escape from the reality of that environment. Everyone was so competitive and since I was holding a record I was in the position where I always had to be number one. (LINE SMS text commenting on manuscript, 2015)

"I Just Want a Normal Life": The First Return

The family returned to their hometown in Japan, and Kyoko was enrolled in a Japanese public elementary school with only Japanese students, with all her classes taught in Japanese. The timing of this return was unfortunate, because just as her family arrived the H5N1 "bird flu" virus was detected in Japan, and the Japanese media speculated in newspapers and special television reports that the virus had been borne to Japanese soil via international air travelers, possibly from Hong Kong. Kyoko found herself the recipient of unwanted attention: "The timing was right before the bird flu spread, so I remember getting bullied by kids at school which sucks. Because lots of people misunderstood when I came back (that) Hong Kong was infested with the virus" (comments on manuscript, July 1, 2015).

Even after this panic subsided, Kyoko had a difficult time adjusting to life in her hometown. "I always felt," she says, "like 'I just want a normal life.' Well, I had a normal life, but to me it wasn't normal" (1; 28:23). The idea of what was "normal" to her was, naturally, greatly influenced by what seemed to be the norm both of and for those around her. "Like, born in Japan, grew up in Japan. I still don't know what's normal. Like as normal as other kids around me" (1; 28:51). Her status as a returnee—and at this point in her life she qualified by any standard as a *kikokushijo*—seemed also, to her, to make her different in the eyes of her teacher and other adults.

> I was not a usual girl. Because of the way the teacher treated me. The way other adults treated me was different compared to other kids, and I felt I was a special kid in some way. I'm not sure if I liked it or not. (6; 4:26)

Ambivalent about this new special treatment, she resolved to negate it by trying to consciously alter her own habitus to fit the change of field. She decided to reset her life. Resigned that she would never go back to Hong Kong, at the age of 10 she decided to take a dramatic step and literally locked away all reminders of what her life had been outside Japan. She also, notably, abandoned her interest in English:

> I gave up listening to American songs or American music. I gave up watching figure skating TV shows. I put away all the pictures. I didn't look at it for like five years. I just didn't. I stopped taking contact with friends in Hong Kong. I put away all the stuff I brought back from Hong Kong. I stopped reading English books. I stopped speaking in English. (1; 27:01)

Her parents, however, urged her to re-evaluate her priorities. She was advised that her future should take precedent over her temporary happiness, and she recalls reasoning that

> in Japan the best thing is to go to the best university. So in order to go to the best university I have to study. And I asked my dad if like there was any like chance to go abroad again, and he said "Not for a while." So I thought I had to adjust here no matter how I feel. So I made myself adjust. (1; 26:12)

Adjust she did, primarily by following the lead of her peers and the advice of her mother, who steered her away from a life of social pursuits and urged her to focus on academics, with an eye to the future:

> I think my parents were really strict. Even though I promised my friend I would go to her house, for example, they were like "No, you shouldn't go." And I'm like "Why?" And especially my mom is the strict one and she's like "You've got to do

> work while other people are playing or hanging out." She thought that's how I can be better than others. So basically it's like: Do work while other people are taking breaks. And I still don't agree with it. Though that's how I did. I studied. I read books. (6; 6:43)

Though I can only assume Kyoko's mother's motivations, Kyoko herself interpreted this "strictness" as a way to further distinguish her from other students, implicitly allowing any otherness she already felt to be subsumed into a studious, forward-moving attitude set on a goal of future success beyond what most students would be capable of. Another mechanism of Kyoko's mother's influence was a mandate to not only focus on studying, but to continue studying specifically English. Kyoko resisted at first, as her own adjustment strategy had been to lock away everything from her previous life into a metaphorical box, including the use of English. Her mother would not allow Kyoko to quit, however, this time taking her to an English conversation school:

> I was taking English lessons once in a week. It's a native lesson, a private lesson. It was like a one-hour lesson. Basically what we did was talking. I'm not sure if I studied grammar a lot but she tried to teach me grammar but I just said no I'm not good at it. I continued even though I didn't like English. (6; 8:04)

Later, in junior high, she had come to understand that although as a returnee she was treated in a way as special, her attitude towards other students was important in whether this special treatment would be positive or negative. She witnessed firsthand the reception of the only other returnee girl at her school:

> There was this one girl, actually, she came back from Georgia in the U.S. Her father is a doctor, so the whole family is so smart. And she's so smart. And she acts like 'I'm a smart girl,' and everybody kind of didn't like her. But she didn't care, she was just there. She finished junior high and went to high school in my hometown. (1; 29:20)

Kyoko decided that one way of fitting in would be to become involved in an extracurricular activity in the same way other students at her school were doing. She no longer felt athletic, but she decided to join the handball club.

> I joined in the handball club because my best, best friend was joining it and because I didn't have any friends except her I decided to join it, so automatically I have to join. Not *have to*, but I *decided to* join the handball club in junior high, and it was not a disaster but I'm not really good at sports. Especially handball is almost like girls fighting. And I felt like I shouldn't have played or joined it, instead of that spending more time on studying. (6; 5:40)

Her stress here that she did not *have to* join but *decided to* join suggests a struggle to have control over her own situation, no matter how "automatic" the act might have been, no matter if it might have seemed that events were guiding her into an unconscious flow of inevitable behavior. Once part of the team, she did not feel comfortable or skilled, and did not at first have any sense that she was important as a team member, but she was reassured by her coach and teammates that she was good at the game. She was so good in fact that eventually she distinguished herself: "I was selected as one of the Junior

Olympic Members of (my home) prefecture, and this was one of my biggest goals since I started to play handball seriously at the beginning of junior high school" (Kyoko's manuscript notation, 2015).

In her account of her joining the handball team, the memory of apathy toward joining or playing on the team gives way to again a purposeful goal of high performance, a turning point where she had agency once she began to take the game "seriously." This changed, however, to a resignation that she did not want to follow the path of a handball player once she hit a wall of what seemed impenetrable difficulty:

> Again, same as figure skating, I felt my limit. Also practice was super intense, to the level I would always puke before I go to the practice. So I denied that offer (to join the Junior Olympics) which not many people do, which means I am not playing handball in the future. I felt I am such a weak person, always trying to run away from something. But that was who I am and people around me never noticed that because I always tried to find a new thing to do which can cover my feelings. (Kyoko's manuscript notation, 2015)

The sense of wanting to be valued above and beyond others or "special" in some way threads throughout Kyoko's reflections, though she also notes:

> In Japan being special isn't good. It's not like it's bad, but you know people tend to be together and be the same, and make groups. So you know because I was special and the way I act was different, I got *ijime* [(いじめ) bullied] a little bit. Yeah, and then anyways I'm not sure if I really have good memories in elementary school and also in junior high. (4; 4:10)

In the third and final year of junior high when Kyoko had to decide where to go to high school she was at last able to make an important life decision by herself without feeling influenced by others. Her friends on the handball club were deciding to attend high schools on the strength of their ability at the sport. Kyoko, too, was approached by at least one coach from a high school interested in drafting her to its team. As part of a deal he offered her, she would not have to take any exams to attend the school and would be able to enroll on the basis of her handball skills. However, Kyoko was tired of being buffeted by fate—she had followed her father when she left for Hong Kong as a young girl, had followed him then back to Japan when he returned. She had followed her mother's advice to take English lessons, she had followed her friend when she joined handball. Now, she felt, she had a clear chance at autonomy. There would be no more following. In wrestling with how to determine her future, she seized upon an ability, a bit of symbolic capital, that might seem incidental to her life if one did not consider the economic and cultural capital that had been required to relay it to her, and she found it was something that others around her did not have:

> I was 15 or 14 at that time but you know high school was a big choice. For me going to Hong Kong and coming back and going to public elementary school and Junior high was all my parents' choice, I wasn't the one who was choosing it. High school was the first time that I could actually choose by myself. And then it came up to me the question of what I really want to do in the future, what I want to be, and how I want to spend my life, and all these questions came up to me. I

> was really stuck. I didn't know what to do and I really sorted out everything and I thought "Yeah I'm not that good at studying, even like math or Japanese or science." Or "Yeah I can do them, because I studied it, that was my effort." So I was like something that I have that other people don't have was English ability. (6; 11:04)

Kyoko dismissed her academic success in classes such as math or Japanese or science as "effort," not something inherently inside her that separated her from others—and this conviction that she should be "special" had become part of her identity. Now it seemed that her skill at English, an ability that she had shunned as a painful reminder of a life she had been forced to abandon, could in fact be a tool for her, a rudder she could use to steer her into a future. Her father's prediction when she was a child that English would be "a benefit" seemed that it might be true after all.

In making the decision on which school to attend, Kyoko remembered her time abroad and what her life had been like, and with this, the promise of what life could be like again. By comparison, her current life in Japan seemed static:

> Japanese kids are so the same, like they do the same thing and they look the same and to me I didn't find any interest in going to Japanese school. And they just do lots of studying and a lot of homework. I couldn't see the point for doing all of these things. The international school I attended (in Hong Kong) was so different. (1; 25:26) I didn't want to spend my whole high school years doing like studying and doing the same exactly thing every day. I thought it was boring and I just wanted to change something. So I decided to go study abroad. (6; 13:40)

She set her eyes on another move, and Kyoko's second time abroad was, in her words, "The most awesome choice that I've ever made" (6; 13:58). She chose the United States.

"It Changed Everything": High School in The United States

Though the timing of the school year would require Kyoko to begin in April and complete a partial year in a local high school in her hometown, her family agreed to send her abroad that same August. She would therefore leave just before what would be the second freshman semester in Japan, though the United States she would start as a first semester sophomore. Kyoko's mother located a company that dealt in student study abroad exchange programs. Kyoko chose the United States, and the organization was then responsible for placing her in a school. She sat for an interview and was asked what her purpose or goal was in studying abroad. She gave an answer that ended up very different from her eventual goal of studying accounting that led her to the GS program at EFSU:

> I said the reason why I want to go study abroad is because I want to be a flight attendant, and in order to be a flight attendant is to speak English, and that's what I said in the interview to the company that hosts the exchange program. So accounting things and business things weren't on my mind at that time. (6; 17:10)

At the age of 15, she successfully passed now another application interview, and in this case also a written test, and was allowed to choose three states where she might want to study. She picked two locations in the Eastern part of the United States: Massachusetts

and Pennsylvania. Unable to think of a third state, she turned to her father, who happened to be watching the television news where a Japanese baseball player was featured successfully playing in the American League for the Seattle Mariners. “How about Washington state?” he suggested (1; 33:37). She wrote this down. The company eventually gave her this third choice, and Kyoko was assigned to a homestay with an elderly couple near Seattle. At the last moment however, the day before she left for Washington, she was informed the company had switched her host family, due to concerns that Kyoko’s youth and the assigned older couple’s advanced age would cause difficulties perhaps on both sides. She was then reassigned to a family with two daughters, one of whom was away at college, the other a high school senior in the same school Kyoko would attend.

The United States was for Kyoko was “completely different from Hong Kong” (1; 14:38), but in a way she felt was very positive. She speaks of an awareness of herself as changing, forming a new, dual habitus:

> Life in America was great. And I was stimulated in many ways. It kind of changed everything. Like my perspective, the way I see the world, the way I see people, even the way I talk, maybe even my characteristics. Yeah when I was there I felt like I’m not Kyoko. I felt like I’m a different person. And yeah and I acted like a different person. Life there was so new. Was fresh. (6; 14:04)

Nevertheless there was a brief adjustment period, and initially she felt self-conscious:

> Because Hong Kong is like a foreign country, but still like Japan, there's, I mean, Asians, but the place I went (Washington) I didn't see any Asians. Like, (I saw mostly) Caucasians. And the first thing I cared about was my appearance because we looked so different. (1; 31:03)

Kyoko found herself warmly welcomed by her host family into their household. Kyoko's obvious affection for the family can be felt in how she refers to them—as "mom" or "dad" or "my sister." She felt she was welcomed as part of the family, and this feeling persisted for the duration of her stay in the United States and beyond. "I've never had trouble with my host family," she says. "Like never. Like they treat me like a real daughter" (1; 36:20). She was also faced with a sudden abundance and openness of physical space that she had not known in Japan or Hong Kong:

> There was my sister, a dog, and a cat. It was a very big house. The dad is a bank vice president, and mom is an accountant. A big house near a lake, behind the house they have like a big balcony and hot tub. They have jet skis. *Wooooo* ((animatedly)), different world! Even the table and chairs and the bed, like I'd never slept in a queen size or king size bed before. (1; 35:00)

Her life surroundings had become relatively opulent and spacious to what she had known previously. However, when not with her host family, Kyoko felt somewhat isolated in her very first months. This was not, she says, because of the people around her, whom she felt were trying to make her feel welcome, but because of her own language difficulties. Her English still was not as good as she wanted or needed it to be to suit her situations.

She felt, away from her host family, that she was unable to converse in a way she felt was spontaneous and natural when meeting new people:

> They never really tried to talk to me. I mean people around me. Plus I didn't try to talk to them, either. Because I was kind of scared. When I say "Hi," I say "Hi how are you?" "I'm fine." "What did you do this weekend?" "Mmm." "I did this!" "Oh, okay." ((laughter)) That always happened to me. Like I didn't know what to talk. Like I couldn't find, yeah, what…*what should I talk*? (1; 40:00)

Kyoko's adjustment to life as a guest in a host family was less stressful and more relaxed than her social interactions outside the house, but not without occasional moments of surprise. Sometimes she felt embarrassed by the seeming openness of the family:

> I was so surprised when I first saw *Gossip Girl*. 'Cause there's too like, too much drama and first time I couldn't find it's interesting, because it's too. . . . And they have a lot, like, lots like (.) sexual part? And in Japan we don't have that kind of stuff and my parents, I don't think parents want us to see that kind of TV show. But my host parents were like "Oh you guys are going to watch Gossip Girl?" like "Oh Gossip Girl is on tonight!" Like "Yaaay!" Like that. And even though we're sitting in the living room together and watching ((laughing)) that kind of part, they're like "ha ha," they're like laughing! And I thought that's strange. They're so like, open. 'Cause my family wasn't like that and in, in Japan we don't have that kind of TV show that much. Maybe we do, but. (1; 55:00)

In the early months of her time abroad, she was also taken aback by the openly affectionate behavior of her peers in their romantic relationships: "At school boys and girls are kissing and making out in like every, every place. In the hallways. Not during class but like at the classroom or hallways. I was like "This? Guys, it's public" (1; 56:32)!

At other times she was surprised by the simplicity and relaxed approach to life her host family seemed to have, as contrasted with the more strenuous daily life she associated with Japan:

> I was surprised like my host parents go to bed a like 8 o'clock at night. They go—they went—to bed so early and I asked my friend like "Do your parents go to bed at that kind of time?" and they're like "Yeah." Not like eight but, before midnight, and I was so surprised. I was surprised about that 'cause the lifestyle in Japan, we work hard, and after work we still have to do housework, and yeah. (1; 53:09)

A great influence entered Kyoko's life in the form of her host sister Kendra, who, a senior, had attended the school for more than three years and had a large circle of friends. Eventually, in running in the same circles as Kendra, Kyoko developed confidence, and with it, gained a greater social capital than she might have had on her own. This also led to Kyoko's introduction to not only new people, but to various forms of symbolic capital in the form of an accumulation of legitimate or consecrated fashion sense, as well as the kinds of charm and poise considered acceptable by the affluent Washington teenage society she now found herself:

> She taught me everything. She taught me how to wear clothes, how to choose the clothes that suited me, and she took me to lots of parties. She gave me the opportunity to meet with many people. I was a very shy person at first but then I got used to meeting new people. (6; 15:28)

When dealing with her host sister, Kyoko did not feel any difficulties with language or what she considered a natural communication pattern. They could sit together at times without speaking, but also without discomfort. "Even though we were sometimes silent," she says, "I felt comfortable" (1; 41:00).

Kyoko and Kendra often ate lunch together, and Kendra enthusiastically showed Kyoko how an American high school student with a car can live her life:

> The first semester I was with Kendra and she could drive. So she took me all the way around town, and I went to McDonald's and Starbucks during lunchtime. Taco Bell and Wal-Mart sometimes (.) Yeah. I really like that because sophomore and freshmen, they can't drive, so they stay in the cafeteria—but I can go! ((animatedly)) Yaay! (1; 38:39)

Kyoko eventually relied heavily on this host sister relationship, and although her transition into the local lifestyle was made easier by her willingness to adapt, this willingness might have been nurtured by the creature comforts such a way of life offered: She was given a smartphone with her monthly charges paid by her host family; she was given the room that she considered giant, in a house that was, by her standards, exceedingly large; she ate fast food every day. Her behavior was reinforced when she

saw everyone else do the same thing. The Americans she knew told her she looked like "a skeleton" and that she should eat more (1; 59:50), so she did, though she still felt she ate less than her American peers. Although she ate dinner with her host family every night the same way she had done with her Japanese family, in Washington the dinner fare was quite different. "My favorite," she says, "was macaroni and cheese. I love it! And since I was eating it I got fatter and fatter. Like seven pounds" (1; 1:00:01). This was a surprise to her, as before going to the United States she had not eaten fast food at all:

> Before going to U.S., I was like vegetarian. Not because I like animals or anything like that. I don't really like animals but I hate eating fish and I didn't like fast food that much. I was like I won't eat fast food at all. But when I ate fast food there I was like "Oh my god this is so delicious." (1; 1:02:25)

With her trips to Taco Bell, McDonald's, Starbucks Coffee, her unfettered use of a mobile device, a wide room affording her privacy, and the assurance that she was part of a group of popular kids who were also older than her classroom peers, Kyoko assumed a habitus many high school students might envy. Her surrogate family life was stable and supportive, and Kyoko found herself playing the part of third daughter, following her host sister's lead:

> I was surprised because, like, Kendra, she does homework in front of her parents. Well when I was in Japan I did my homework in my room, never did homework in the dining room or like at the counter. So since she was doing that I started. I did homework and like talked at the same time. At first I thought it was weird. (1; 51:21).

Kyoko's social life took a new turn in her second semester. She had turned 15, and in her science class she met a sophomore boy, who became her boyfriend. She was aware of the possible impact having a boyfriend might have on her studies, and considered it:

> Before I went there, this company told me "Don't get below a C," or they were going to send me back. Or "Don't skip" or like, "Just be a good student, don't get in trouble," and yeah and "You go there to study." And not like having like dates or like meeting boyfriends. So, yeah. But in the book, in the rule book, they didn't say I can't have a boyfriend, so. ((laughter)) (1; 48:38)

Her boyfriend, like her host sister Kendra, became an influential part of her life in Washington, and became somewhat of a constant tutor in both social situations, school life, and language:

> I could meet many friends through them. Through him. And since I talked to him on the phone every night, like he always called me. We called till like 3 o'clock midnight. Yeah I learned so many things from him, like words and vocabulary, grammar. He always fixed me if I said something wrong. Yeah and he always helped me out with my homework, so yeah that was a really good part. White, blue-eyed and blonde. He was a basketball player, varsity, six-point-five, I don't remember, very tall. He always did like dunk shoot and he would do like this to me ((holding up her fist, laughing)). It's a sweet memory. (1; 41:45)

The relationship blossomed and the two got along very well. He became so close to her that he began to take an interest in Japanese language:

> He was like, he really liked me, I don't know why, but. And he liked what I liked, he liked everything that I liked. So, I like watching *Gossip Girl* and then he started to watch *Gossip Girl* and yeah, he was like "I want to learn the language you're speaking every day." (1; 43:00)

The halcyon abundance of this new lifestyle seemed complete, but the social trappings of running with a popular crowd and having a boyfriend did not come without a price. Kyoko's lifestyle pulled her off track of the path of studiousness she had, along with her parents back in Japan, envisioned. "I stopped…I gave up my time for studying. So like in first semester my semester my grade was straight As? Well maybe I had B in like Spanish. But in 2nd semester I had Cs, and only one B" (1; 47:00). She began to spend most of her time with her boyfriend, even time she would have normally spent studying or reading. This social diversion was not considered unusual by her peers, who did the same thing with their own boyfriends. Her grades began to plummet, even in math, a subject that she had felt was quite easy:

> I was really good at math and I got 100 percent in all tests but I didn't do any assignments. Because I didn't have time, because after school I had to hang out with him and when I went home I had to talk to him and text and call him on my cellphone. Even though I tried to study, he was like "Why are you studying? Studying's not fun!" And like I skipped some classes because he was like "I don't feel like studying and you want to come?" And I was like "Oh, not really" and he

> was like “Do you like me?” “Yeah.” And he’s like “If you like me you should come.” And yeah. I was like “Yeah.” I was *young*!” ((laughing)) (1; 47:28)

The second semester came to a close. Despite her creeping academic laxity Kyoko fortunately passed all of her courses. Her orientation then turned again toward Japan as she knew that she would have to return before the end of the American summer vacation. The date came sooner than she had expected. She was forced to return at the beginning of the summer because of yet another scare of internationally borne disease:

> During summer vacation I could just stay (in Washington) but because of the swine flu I had to come back earlier. The program, the company, because of safety, people were like freaking out, like “Someone might bring swine flu from abroad!” So like it’s better to come back earlier. So I came back. (2; 39:30)

She said goodbye to both her beloved host family and her boyfriend, though she says “He said he wanted to stay with me forever” (1; 44:40). They resigned themselves to a long-distance relationship.

“I was Crying Every Day”: The Second Return

Kyoko’s time in the United States came to an end, and as she pulled her luggage through the waxed corridors of Narita International Airport and what passed for native soil, home now for the first time in a year, she experienced her first lesson of many in misremembered habitus and expectation adjustment:

> Right after I arrived at the airport my mom was like “You have to get in this train! You have to hurry!” And I was like "What?" And my mom didn’t really hug me

> or anything, and I was like, like this ((holding arms out for a hug)). I mean my host mom hugged me and she was crying when I left, and I see my real mom and we haven't met for a year. I thought she would greet me and like hug me but she was like "The train's coming you gotta go! Hurry!" And I was like "What?" And she kind of went somewhere running, and she thought I was following her but I wasn't. I was kind of lost and I didn't know what to do and I was walking around and this lady working at the airport, she came up to me and talked to me in English like "Are you lost?2 I wanted to say something in Japanese, but I couldn't speak. Like I forgot how to speak. I was like "Ummmm. . . ." And so she took me to this place and she announced, "This girl wearing an orange T-shirt and jeans and she looks like an Asian girl is lost." Yeah seriously. "She's 17." And my mom came and was like "*How could you*?" Like (.) "Sorry." I felt so awkward and weird 'cause I haven't spoken any Japanese at all for a year. (2; 53:52)

On the heels of this sobering moment, she found that because of the fears of the swine flu epidemic she was briefly rebuffed—again—this time by her school itself, as a possible carrier of the disease:

> I was hoping to go visit my high school but the high school said I can't come. And I kind of got quarantined by adults. And couldn't go out for a week. It was like a disaster. I came back but no one was happy for me to come back, even the school. (2; 41:00)

This reception, which amounted in her mind to a kind of oblique rejection of who she felt she had become, left Kyoko reflective: "Japanese people don't like people who are

different. And I think I was the first person to go abroad from that school. Like I didn't use any high school program. I was kind of like different" (2; 40:46).

She nevertheless had to eventually enroll in her third and final year of high school in Japan[10], the same she had attended for one semester before leaving. Once again she found herself longing for a life she had left behind abroad:

> I was dying to go back there (to Washington). My mom thought like I would go alone, like by myself and she was like "You should give me your passport." Like she did say that. That's how much I wanted to go back. I was crying every day. (2; 36:30)

Kyoko began to develop an animosity toward things Japanese. "I was saying 'Japan sucks' many times" (2; 38:45). Her mother did not react sympathetically to this familiar scene of her daughter wanting to be elsewhere, and phoned Kyoko's high school for assistance. At least one teacher there took Kyoko's side, expressing the view that her parents should understand that their own actions had led to this situation:

> So my mother was like "Why are you being like a little kid?" Like "Don't be selfish." And then my homeroom teacher in high school he knew me since I was in elementary school grade five, because I was in a club and yeah he sometimes came to our club to teach us so he knew about me, and he knew all my experience in Hong Kong. So he told my parents, "You guys are the people who made her like this." Like, "If you didn't want Kyoko to go abroad why did you make her go

[10] Japanese high school lasts three years.

> abroad when she was little, and made her attend an international school?" We had a choice to go to a Japanese school but my parents made me go to an international school in Hong Kong. My homeroom teacher was like "You guys are the ones who made her like this, so you guys have a responsibility to take care of her." (2; 37:02)

This one voice of support from her teacher was rare, however, and for the most part her high school experience was a cause of stress. Although at home her worries were largely an internal struggle, at school, she faced various regulations on behavior and requirements for performance of a habitus she no longer possessed. There were expectations about appearance that she was not subjected to at her parents' house, and that she had not known in her more freewheeling life as an exchange student in Washington:

> They've got strict rules about hair and about how we dress. Like black hair. I had brown hair when I was in America, more brighter. (Back in Japan) I had to dye my hair. My hair was black but my teachers, not my homeroom teacher but other teachers, they said my hair wasn't completely black. So they made me to go to a hair salon twice in a day. And they were like "You have to come back right after you go to the salon, okay?" I was like, "Okay." I had to pay for the salon. (2; 42:40)

She followed these orders, but not without question: "I was like 'Why do I have to be in this kind of stupid school?' And they were like 'If you don't want to, you can quit.' I

didn't quit" (2;43:40). She knew, even dealing with what she considered injustice, that she was being made to follow the same rules that every other student had to follow. The invisible habitus of a past and now present self was suddenly made evident. She knew well that any future she hoped to have would be based on her actions now:

> In Japan like if we quit high school, our last education is junior high, and that's not good. Considered to be not good. So. Yeah. And the teacher said that quitting school only because you don't want to go is immature, like selfish, and if you're adult and sophisticated you have to challenge and do good. (2; 43:02)

She also faced difficulties socially, in how she was treated by her classmates, though she found that she was able to weather the difficulties somewhat better than she might have if she had not once lived in Hong Kong and experienced reintegration as younger girl:

> I think people treated me bad when I came back from Hong Kong, then when I came back from U.S.A. Like boys are like yeah "How was like your American life?" and they asked me about my boyfriend and that kind of stuff. But girls weren't that mean to me. Yeah. Boys are like that, they're stupid. Asking about my love life, and like rumors and yeah. If that was my first experience of being rumored by people I might have cried but it wasn't my first time and I knew people would do like that, so I didn't feel sad or anything like that. (2; 44:57)

However even in this midst of this turmoil Kyoko feels the experience was ultimately helpful:

> High school was just stress. But from this experience I learned to control myself, be steady and be cold. From this time I was always feeling this way: "Don't

> expect anything from anyone because if you expect something and didn't get that it kills you, but if you never expect anything you will simply be happy for getting whatever you get." This was a key for my happiness. I just wanted high school to be over really bad, but it was such a good time for me. Without those times, I couldn't have been determined and matured. At high school I was seeing everything and everyone through such a cold lens. (Kyoko's manuscript notes, 2015)

In classes, however, Kyoko found that because teachers considered her a returnee based on her experiences abroad, she was given leeway that other students might not receive:

> I'm not good at *kanji* because I didn't attend elementary school in Japan. So. Yeah but I kind of feel sad, I mean, like people say even though I couldn't write *kanji* or couldn't speak perfect Japanese so people say like you're a returnee so like that's natural, and they just forgive me. Like even though my Japanese teacher from high school—like I can't do *kobun no kanbun* [(古文の漢文) classical writing] it's like old Japanese stuff? And I got a really low score on the test—but they're like "Oh yeah you didn't attend school in Japan so I'll give you extra credit or something." Of course I did the work but people say "Oh you're a returnee so that's the way it is." (2; 47:16)

"I Am Still Japanese": Choosing a University and Settling In

As Kyoko worked her way through this final year of high school in Japan she was faced with what university to attend after graduation. Ekimae Foreign Studies University

was not the first school that Kyoko imagined attending. She looked at schools in Tokyo and Kyoto and even dreamed of going to schools in the United States, but was limited, she says, by the tuition fees:

> When I was in junior high before going to U.S.A. I thought about going to *Jochi* [(上智) Sophia University], and after I entered high school I wanted to get in a university in Kyoto because they have a new program, like (EFSU) but it was so expensive. They also had the course in which I can get a BA and go abroad to America. But it was so expensive and after coming back from U.S.A. I thought about going to University in America. My first choice was Pennsylvania. A year passed and I was in grade 3 in high school and I don't know why but I thought about getting an education in Japan. And I felt like I want to go to university in Japan and America too. And I found this university. I don't know why I found it, but the program was very good, what I wanted. Because we study two years here and two years abroad and can get a BA and it's not cheap, but it isn't that expensive, and my parents said we can afford it. (2; 5:12)

Historically the Japanese system of what is referred to as *juken jigoku* [(受験地獄) exam hell] has been framed as a strenuous, psychologically demanding time (Fararo, 1987; Mori, 2002). During this period prospective university students must study for rigorous gatekeeping entrance examinations that must be passed in order to be considered for enrollment. In addition to institution-specific tests at some universities, many high school students in Japan since 1990 have taken what is known as the *Daigaku Nyūshi Sentā Shiken* [(大学入試センター試験) National Center Test for University Admissions] or,

colloquially, “Center Test.” The score on this test serves as a kind of standardized measure that universities can use to rate applicants. The test is administered once a year, and has the reputation of expansive range and brutal difficulty, on such varied topics as civics, literature, foreign languages, biology and physics. However, neither Kyoko nor any of the other participants in this study were required to take any such exams to be admitted to EFSU, either for the Global Studies or the Focused English Studies programs. The only test score needed for admittance into either of these programs was the TOEFL PBT, and, for the AE programs, the interview and essay. Students were then streamed into their classes according to their score on the GTEC, a test that Kyoko says she completed online, but did not take seriously. Nevertheless like many students Kyoko was aware of the influence of the Center Test on high school students who hoped to get into a university:

> The reason why we gets lots of pressure from studying is because in Japan to go to a good university we have to take the Center Test and it’s all like memorizing tests and it’s like SAT. I’ve never taken the SAT so I can’t say it’s exactly the same. Yeah so I think the reason we get lots of pressure for studying is because to get a high score on the Center Test. (2; 3:10)

Still Kyoko herself said the reason she never took or considered taking the Center Test was “because my mom said it was meaningless” (2; 4:42).

Several months after interviewing for the GS Advanced English (AE) program in EFSU, Kyoko moved to Western Japan to begin classes in April at the beginning of the academic year in 2011. She was placed into the highest English proficiency AE class of

the GS program based on her GTEC score. She lived with her father and younger sister, as her father was working in the Kansai area and her sister was attending a high school based on her skills at handball. Kyoko had made her decision to stay in Japan but still kept in touch with her U.S. host family, and still felt the tug of her American life when her host mother from Washington told her in very concrete terms to come back and attend there:

> She even offered to pay my college fees. I am now planning to do the dual degree program and get a second degree at a university in the U.S., but my host parents wanted me to go to Washington State University. I told them "I can't go there because the school program, the whole school program is like this and this" and she was like "Oh just drop the school and come! I can afford you, and I can adopt you!" (1; 37:17)

This proved to be an enticement that Kyoko was able to resist, always aware of her parents' admonition that her future, even if it was to be in another country, was not simply dependent on her skills in English. Nor would her future be wholly secured by naïve sentimentality for living abroad, by affectionate host parents, or her own embracing of American culture. Her future, she reasoned, either in Japan or in the United States, would be best served by developing now her Japanese self: "I thought I want to get an education in Japan because no matter how much I can speak English and lived in, like, the U.S.A., I think I am still Japanese. And my identity is Japanese" (1;37:17). Even though she had little confidence in her *kanji* skills and felt she in some ways did not fit in

or have a "normal" Japanese life, she listened to her parents' advice regarding how her choices now would, again, shape the various futures that might await her:

> People, except my parents, adults around me, wouldn't really criticize my lack of Japanese skill. My parents did. They made me go to *Kumon*. Like *juku* [(塾) cram school.] And study Japanese. Yeah because my parents think Japanese is the most important thing. Because I'm Japanese and if I go abroad, if I can speak Japanese that will help. I think that's true; when I came back from the U.S.A. I thought if I could speak English fluently like a native speaker, I thought yeah, I just wanted to be like a native English speaker, but like my parents were like "You aren't like Americans, you're Japanese." I said I wanted to get a job in America, but I have to get a working visa. In America speaking English is like a must. And if I can speak English plus Japanese that is like my "ability." So the company is going to hire me because I can speak Japanese, and also can speak English and have a Japanese perspective and also see Americans' perspective. So without Japanese identity, like you can't get a good job in America. And that's what my parents told me. I didn't agree with that right after I came back from the U.S.A. But now I think like that. (2; 47:16)

University Life: Classes

Kyoko, in the same way as the other 120 students in the fledgling GS program that year, was given a set of required courses to take but also allowed to take extra classes. She registered for thirteen courses in her first term (see Table 3).

Table 3. *Kyoko's First Semester Courses*

Japanese title	English title
国際関係論	International Relations
経学	Business Administration
N/A	Reading and Writing[a]
N/A	Listening and Speaking[a]
言語基礎論	Language fundamentals
アカデミックリーディング	Academic Reading
エクステンション A	Extension A (Reading)[a]
エクステンション B	Extension B (Writing)[a]
N/A	Computer
ミクロ経済学	Microeconomics
N/A	Management
N/A	Business Math
英語学概論	Introduction to Linguistics[a]

[a]*Language of instruction was English.*

Her opinions of classwork and the program changed over the course of her freshman year, as she progressed through the first and second semesters. First semester interviews with Kyoko for this study suggest an energetic sense of busy-ness with homework and test-taking, with tests not only in her classes but also program administered English tests, meant to evaluate student progress at every step. These test scores did not affect students' academic standing or contribute to their grade point averages, but were placed in student files to note their language proficiency and readiness for the study abroad program. The tests were administered over the course of several days (one day reading, another day listening, another day multiple-choice grammar) and were created and administered by the Japanese administration. In one case Kyoko mentions having four tests in four separate classes, then after classes going to a lecture hall and taking a "reading test for 100 minutes" (1; 00:30). This intensive and near constant

evaluation did not seem to faze her, however, and for five days a week she took classes in nearly every available period, breaking only for the hour lunch at noon.

By June, her third month in university, her TOEFL PBT score had risen 30 points to 553, and her participation in most of her classes remained strong. She did, however, have doubts about maintaining her English ability in the university environment, when the only time she used English was in her English lessons. In the same way that she felt she had lost her use of Japanese while abroad, and again when she had stood mute in the Tokyo airport the day she returned, she began to view her use of her two languages in university as a zero-sum activity, where use of one might somehow negate fluency in the other:

> I don't know why but I think the more I study Japanese makes my English like, worse. Not worse but, like, the more I forget English. There was a midterm test and I have to think in Japanese, like I was I was doing all this difficult stuff in Japanese, so my brain was completely in Japanese. And then suddenly I forgot how to speak English. Not how to speak, but like English didn't come out from my mouth. I cried to my friends and they're like "Oh we can speak English during lunchtime or whenever." (2; 52:21)

She occasionally felt two selves were at odds within her as she navigated each day's classes, saying "I always get confused because in the morning I do difficult stuff in Japanese and I think difficult things in my Japanese brain. And in the afternoon I have to speak English so it makes me confused" (2; 1:09).

In some classes she felt the material was not interesting or worth studying, and despite her otherwise strong motivation to do well, she occasionally succumbed to boredom in one of her larger populated courses, International Relations. Her reasoning was that she was learning nothing new, and had in fact studied much of the material before, and that the class was not in line with the kind of courses she had expected to be taking:

> We have lectures. He just talks, *blah blah blah blah blah blah blah*. Yeah. It's time. Ninety minutes. *Blah blah blah blah.* It's always different because we got a textbook and we learn history by chronological order, yeah, and all we do is take notes but it's too, like, boring. And I sometimes fall asleep but like the stuff he is teaching is what I already knew. I like to read books so I read many history books, world history books, and I learned history in America too and my friend lets me look at her notes and yeah it's like meaningless. I thought I could have more English classes and English lessons but *No*. (2; 23:24)

In her English language classes, that is, the classes in which she was taught English (and these were occasionally taught by Japanese teachers speaking Japanese) she felt relatively unchallenged, though she got along with her classmates, who were streamed together with her. Although perhaps the stereotypical university first-year student might find classes boring at times, Kyoko sought reasons for her dissatisfaction, and decided one main reason was the disconnect between what she had expected when she applied to the university, and her experiences once there:

> When I first read the pamphlet of this school I heard you can learn academic subjects in English and in Japanese, too. But in class we, they, like the professor speaks Japanese. Of course, even if he spoke in English, no one, not no one but most people won't understand, so I don't know. But yeah, they speak Japanese. Yeah and according to the pamphlet it said we learn in English and Japanese too. It's not what I expected. (2; 20:35)

Although this state of affairs disheartened her, she tried to take control of the situation. She combed the schedule of classes to find a more fulfilling schedule, limited by the required courses and available electives. She decided the best way would be to take classes conducted not only entirely in English, but surrounded by English speakers. These classes were available to her in the second semester in the International Studies Department.

> I'm not in an intensive English program. The university experience is not really challenging to me. I feel like I have to do by myself, so I'm taking *ryūgakusei bekka* [(留学生別科) exchange student special course] like to take class with foreign exchange students, from second semester. I don't know which class we can take, not business preview but there's only two or three Japanese students and the rest of them will be foreign students (2; 32:29).

By the second semester she was taking fewer classes, but more classes that were to her liking, such as a required introductory accounting class, the first of two offered by the program. Her assignments were all paper-based, and in her large class no students used computers. She studied, outside of class, on her own, the *Kokusai Kaikei Kentei* [(国際会

計検定) Bookkeeping and Accounting Test for International Communication or BATIC], a four-tiered Japanese-based test for aspiring accountants (http://www.kentei.org/batic/shogo.html). She enrolled as planned in a predeparture course in the International Studies Department where she would sit in class with exchange students, though she was not allowed to choose which class she would take. She ended up in a course examining psychology of "East and West" with an American professor lecturing in English, in a classroom of predominantly North American or European students.

In Kyoko's business-oriented classes she felt she was getting useful experience that would help her in her accounting degree, which she had by now set upon as a definite goal for her life. In some of her English classes Kyoko enjoyed herself (she diplomatically never went into detail about my own class) but in other classes she felt she was far above the material that was taught:

> Accounting is easy and economics is okay because I'm majoring in kind of business, so. I have one more linguistics class but I don't like it, but it's okay, it's not that hard. It's called *eigo gaku gairon* [(英語学概論) Introduction to English Linguistics]. I don't know, it's like the stuff they're doing is like elementary school level. Maybe because it's the beginning of the class. "Like in Japanese we say, in English we say like 'foot'? We say like 'toe'? We don't say *oyayubi* [(お親指) thumb] or *nakayubi* [(中指) middle finger]? So, like don't you think that's interesting?" I'm like "Okay, I have to do homework." (3; 17:24)

University Life: Teachers

Kyoko found that in her classes at EFSU there were a fair number of other students with international experience. Even so, she felt she herself was treated with surprise by Japanese professors when they discovered she had lived abroad:

> Teachers they don't try to talk to me but they seem to be interested in me, because I used to live in America and Hong Kong, and I spent my childhood there and because I'm a returnee student? Yeah and they always ask me, like "What's your dream?" and I talk about my dream and they're like "Oh," and their faces change and they're like "What's your TOEFL score?" (5; 31:37)

She also noticed that she seemed to have a different rapport with her instructors than her classmates did, that she was able to catch their interest in a way she did not see happening with other students:

> Professors don't talk that much but I get along with them better than like, well, than other students, like most of students. I sometimes visit their office because they're like "Oh you should come to my office if you have time." Like every single teacher. I don't go their offices though. Not really. They say this kind of thing to only a few people. (5; 32:00)

She did come to my office, and not infrequently. She noted to me in those days that she found herself interacting differently with Japanese and non-Japanese instructors, and confided that she would not have felt comfortable talking to Japanese professors the way she spoke to me, illustrating again her metaliteracy, her ability to internalize and act upon expected degrees of formality and appropriate forms of interaction:

> There's so many types of teachers here. English teachers are more like, closer than Japanese teachers. You know how other students and I come to your office often? Like friendly. I can't do that to Japanese professors. I sometimes visit to Tanaka[11] *san*'s office, she's an accounting teacher. I don't go randomly to Japanese professors' office, like when I go I have some questions or something I want to say, or something about my future, or yeah. Not to…chat? (5; 38:20)

Despite her sense that Japanese professors were more distant compared to English teachers, she saw all teachers in the GS program on the whole as less formal in their interactions with students than she had expected:

> I thought when I was in high school that (university) professors were far. I thought they make more space between them and students? And they aren't friendly? But it seems like high school in EFSU. Maybe because in this department the number of students are lower compared to the other departments, and it's easy for teachers to remember their students' face and name. (5; 39:06)

Kyoko notably distinguished between Japanese and English teachers, referring to the English teachers as "English teachers" and the Japanese teachers as "professors":

> English teachers and professors are different for me. Professors are more casual than I thought. But not as casual as English teachers. English teachers are super hyper casual. And some Japanese professors are casual. I get along with teachers who teach business. And they seem as if they're interested in me. (5; 40:23)

[11] Teacher names, here and throughout, are pseudonyms.

Kyoko described how she reacted to both me, and her other first year teachers based on our personalities in the classroom. Some teachers for her were interesting as performers, but hard for her to take seriously. Here she talks about a teacher who she calls by his first name:

> Leonard, I don't know about Leonard because I think like he has like other faces, so. And stuff he says in class sounds really cool but in reality I don't know. Like the stuff he says is unrealistic, like ((animated voice)) "*You can do it*…." But it doesn't affect me because I'm like "You're just saying that." He says this kind of thing not just to me but to the whole class. (5; 29:30)

Equipped after years of navigating different fields with her own sense of what was possible, she did not easily take to the reassurances of teachers who, in her mind, were meant to teach her language, not offer life lessons. In some cases she felt her Japanese teachers, most of whom taught in the Japanese, were not as moored to English as she had expected when she had entered the program, and were themselves possibly not fluent or even proficient in English:

> The international relations teacher, like I don't think that he can even speak English. And last week he gave a handout to us and he said, "It's not required homework but if you want to read it you can read it." I thought like I can learn academic things in English in this program, but like in fact it's not like that. (2; 22:27)

Kyoko's occasional disappointment with teachers was balanced by her suspicion that although they might not have been meeting her expectations, she also might not be

meeting theirs, primarily due to her lack of cultural capital involving what she considered her poor ability in her first language:

> I think other people think, like Japanese teachers think, I'm really good at English, because obviously they hear my conversations with other students who are good in English, and you know Japanese people consider fluency is good. And other students, from like the lower English levels, think I'm really good at English. But when I write Japanese during tests or for homework, maybe they're like "Oh, I thought this girl would be smarter." ((laughs)) Yeah, I think they're always like "Oh, she's not as smart as we expected." (5; 31:00)

Kyoko also felt the expectations of her advisors in the GS administration, whom she, along with all other GS students, was required to meet individually multiple times a semester:

> The staff of Global Studies expect me to be good student. Like a student who has more than 80 percent, who has like a high TOEFL score, and comes to class, and has clear, like, goals in the future, and has motivations. (4; 20:30)

University Life: Relationships

Kyoko did not involve herself in any extracurricular activity such as a club or a circle, not even any of the groups involving handball. She instead decided to focus on her academics and spent her free time either doing homework or studying, though she occasionally mixed with certain other members of her GS class and for the majority of the second semester had a boyfriend who was also enrolled in her GS classes. Her

relationship with her boyfriend proved to be stressful, and she often came to my office toward the end of the term feeling haggard and drained, talking at length about her concerns that she was spending too much time worrying about how to deal with her "love life" instead of focusing on classwork. Her boyfriend was obsessive, she confided, and even dramatic and frightening in his demonstrations of his feelings, at one point threatening to jump from the window of the third floor of a university building if she left him. Later he began self harming, throwing himself on her pity and begging her to spend more time with him. The entirety of the exchanges discussing this part of her life at that time I have redacted from the recordings, and in some cases I simply turned the video camera off, feeling the subject peripheral to the study and personal for her. Kyoko, however, later said she felt including some mention of this stressful component to her second term should be part of her account, as the experience affected her deeply and was a significant part of her freshman year experience, which the research is meant to detail, at least in part. Her way of dealing with the situation also illustrated to some degree how she had evolved in managing romantic entanglements since her experiences in high school abroad, no longer willing to bend herself to the will of her partner. She eventually extracted herself from the relationship, to her great relief, at the end of her first year, and the former boyfriend in question left EFSU without completing the second term, moving to another university.

In terms of her classmates, Kyoko sometimes viewed other students critically. Based on her own experiences she did not think that many of the other students at the

university, including many of those in her own class, were motivated to the same degree that she felt she was:

> People around me came to university to have fun. Maybe some people have a dream, but I don't think that they are working hard. I still have fun but, like, have you ever been to the library in EFSU? They have a good library, I mean they don't have so many books but there's like no people in there. I've never seen people in there. On Sundays and Mondays in the summertime I came to this library like every day during the summertime, and I was like "Where are the people?" There's only three people. Once I felt like I was using the whole floor, like the whole floor is my place. I was like "Where the hell *are* people?" (3; 23:57)

At the same time, she was aware of how her own studiousness, this habitus of acting continually with a future goal in mind, could be judged by her peers:

> In my group there's like two other girls and we were in one group, and we were going to have presentation, and we haven't decided anything, like I always try but they seem like they're not like motivated on it, and so when another student said "Oh, Kyoko's not coming," one girl said "Yesss!" and she said "Oh it doesn't mean anything, it just means I don't have to work so hard." So maybe my classmates think I'm *majime* [(真面目) earnest]. Too *majime*. Not too, but *majime*, and maybe people think I'm trying to be good. And yeah, good to teachers, so that I can have good evaluations and get a good grade. (4; 22:01)

She felt that even students who had returned from programs abroad and had been brought in by the GS coordinators to speak to her class were uninspiring, and not as informative as she hoped, as if even those who fulfilled the requirements of EFSU and went abroad did not take the process as seriously as she herself did:

> Today in class this guy came, he had been abroad two years for like the program in EFSU, and he came to our class, to not explain, but to answer our questions for studying abroad. I asked some questions and he was like "I dunno. Sorry." I wanted to know like, amounts, like money. I wanted to prepare for that. And he was like "I dunno." It didn't help me out at all. (3; 20:15)

She was frank, however, about continuing her goal to study abroad, and to, ultimately, leave Japan and settle in the United States:

> Well this is my personal opinion but I don't think there's a bright future in Japan. Watching this whole thing like the government thing and like nuclear power plant things and radiation things, I think it's better living abroad. If I have enough money, and enough skill to go abroad, like I think that's the better way. (3; 33:10)

Beyond even this assessment on the economy of Japan, she projected into her future years ahead, to when she might begin a family of her own. She compared the education system in Japan unfavorably to her own experiences as a child: "I don't want my kid or child to grow up in Japan. I didn't like the whole education system. I really liked the elementary school I attended in Hong Kong and I really liked the environment (3; 34:01).

Despite her occasional lapses in staying awake in lecture classes and her lingering dissatisfaction with the finer points of the program, Kyoko's passed all her first year

courses, and achieved a TOEFL score above the required 550. She felt ready to face the sophomore year's battery of evaluations and new courses before pursuing her goals abroad. I left the campus for the last time one afternoon in the weeks before her sophomore year began. Upon hearing the news of my departure from the university, Kyoko and her close friend and classmate, another of my students, came to my office as I was boxing up my books and materials. "Why are you leaving?" Kyoko asked me bluntly. "Now who am I going to talk to?" I assured her that there was an entire staff who would be happy to talk to her, along with her classmates, and that, after all, I was not moving my house or disappearing. More to the point we still had to complete the study, so we would still be in touch. We said our goodbyes, but I saw her again as I was moving boxes to my car in the university parking lot. She did not seem placated by my statements about my accessibility, and I assured her again that although I was from that moment going to be more distant geographically, I was only an electronic communication away. We would stay in touch for four more years, and as of this writing remain so.

Passages: Fulfilling the Promise

Though I left the university to teach in another city, Kyoko would ultimately take a much farther journey. In the months after my departure she continued to struggle to find a place at EFSU where she could feel challenged. In the same way as in her first year, she found that most students around her did not feel as motivated or driven academically as she did, and as the term progressed she did not have any more company in the library on weekends or holidays. She strove to improve her chances at succeeding in her goal to be

a CPA by independently studying accounting texts. Buoyed by her high TOEFL score, which had reached near 600 by her second year, she left Japan to pursue the three-year study abroad dual degree program, in which she would receive both her BA from EFSU, a BA from a school in New York, and eventually a Master's in accounting. As of this writing she has achieved this goal, though not without a fair number of hurdles both in dealing with bureaucratic difficulties as a student and in her social and academic lives. She graduated, and has accepted a position as an auditor at one of the largest accounting firms in the United States, and lives in Manhattan. I have texted her from time to time, meeting her in coffee shops when she returns to Japan, and emailing her revisions of her chapter so that she could pore over them and give me comments. She has always been ready to do so, and periodically has let me know which tests she has been preparing to take, when EFSU has sent a new video crew to follow her around her campus, and her prospects on life in New York.

Not everyone in Kyoko's class had such a firm vision during that first year of university. I now turn to a participant who shared the classroom with Kyoko, but whose life experiences that brought him to EFSU and the GS program, and whose ultimate goals, and narrative arc, were quite different.

CHAPTER 5

"PEOPLE DON'T SAY I'M STRANGE, BUT THEY ACT LIKE THAT": KOHEI'S STORY

> I can't express my feeling. I used to do that. Yeah, I was able to express myself in English, but I can't right now.
>
> —Interview 5; March 7, 2012

First Impressions

My initial meeting with Kohei is not as clearly imprinted in my mind as my meeting with Kyoko, at least in the sense that I do not remember much about what he said that first day in the fluorescently lit interview for the Advanced English track of the GS program. I cannot bring to mind what style uniform he wore, and I did not get any sense of what I would later realize was his active, sometimes even manic personality, though I do remember his manner at the time. He mumbled, but mumbled in a way I recognized, an 18-year-old mumble, a fluent English murmur more marked for its lack of confidence or perhaps lack of familiarity in formal settings than any deficiency of fluency. In this sense he did not seem to share Kyoko's knowledge of (or willingness to adhere to) the "rules of the game." When asked reflective or abstract questions in Japanese, Kohei would pause, focusing his eyes in the middle distance, and then gently return to us with an answer. I have always assumed, in other cases when this has happened in interviews where the interviewee is an English learner, that such pauses

indicate a mental translation of the question into the first language, but with Kohei I sensed he had no trouble processing the meaning of the questions; he was, rather, thinking up extemporaneously what to say in response. He did the same when asked questions in English. It was as if he had not planned any answers, nor predicted what questions would be asked, and was all in all a very different interviewee than Kyoko. I do not remember what I asked him in English, though I remember he sat quiet and subdued, without overt confidence. At the end of Kohei's session there was no whispered enthusiasm from my fellow American teacher colleague who was part of the application interview, and Kohei left as inconspicuously as he had entered.

Regardless of this unmemorable performance in the interview, he was successful in his application, possibly because of his demonstrated easy fluency in English, which I felt everyone in the evaluation committee had noticed as much as I had. At the beginning of the term I would find Kohei's name on my roll as a pupil in the Level 1, Advanced English GS class. There, too, he was at first very quiet, sitting in back in one of the middle desks, often without a desk mate beside him. He made little splash in the early days of self introductions, writing diagnostics, and early vocabulary tests. His spoken English comments were punctuated with the fillers "um, like, uhh" in the same cadence as many Americans his age, and reminiscent of how Haruka had spoken in her first weeks of my class years before, though he seemed to lack her vivacity and volume.

Kohei shared the class with Kyoko and many other first year students who could navigate English conversation with fair competence, though what set Kohei apart from his peers was that he had not just spent a few years abroad, but had been born and raised

there—in Queens, New York—spending the first 13 of his 18 years of life in the United States. Within the high English proficiency class, this, perhaps naturally, seemed to give him a certain cachet, a symbolic/linguistic capital apart from any proficiency score. Not all of the students came to the university with extensive overseas experience, and a few had never been outside Japan at all. Even those who had been abroad could not say they had actually been *born* in another country, and grown up there. Many students would, when referring to their peers' English abilities, group Kohei in the elite, without knowing his classroom grades or standardized language test scores. He had a clout—a symbolic capital—he professed to be unaware of, though of course he might have simply been modest. When I asked him if he felt as if his English abilities were on par with or higher than the abilities of other students in his class he would simply say, "Everybody is really good" (2; 18:12). Of the 21 students in his class, all of whom had been required on entry to the program to take the TOEFL PBT, Kohei's score of 490 ranked eighth, just above the mean score of his class, though the seven students above him had scored in the 500s. Between April and July that year the university offered five chances for all GS students to take the TOEFL PBT (in addition to the required test on entrance), so students could monitor their score progress. Students in GS were expected to go abroad, and were required by overseas institutions to have a TOEFL PBT high score of 550 in order to be enrolled as exchange students, thus the stakes in taking the test were relatively high. There was, in turn, a certain air of pressure just before the TOEFL tests, where students would speak of studying in preparation, tilt their heads with doubt about their chances,

and ask teachers what the best way was to improve their scores. The average number of attempts for students in the GS level 1 class, between April and July in that first year, was three. Kohei, in his first semester, took the test only once.

Kohei took his free coffee coupon as many of the other early potential participants had, but instead of ending there and never coming back for follow up he continued in the study, and seemed interested in having his story told. In the sections that follow I outline this story, from his time growing up in the suburbs of Queens, New York, to his first days living Japan, his 10-month stay in the United Kingdom as a high school exchange student, and finally to his place in my classroom in his first year of the GS program at EFSU. I have tried to organize his story in a similar pattern to that of Kyoko, though of course their life arcs brought them from and through different territory. They nevertheless shared and struggled in that first year of university roughly the same terrain, the same busy fields.

In contrast to the detailed reflections of Kyoko, Kohei's specificity of memory of his life in the United States and England is indistinct, at least in his spoken reflections in our interviews. Where Kyoko was garrulous in many of her stories about life abroad, Kohei remained comparatively laconic. I was, after all, asking him to remember not his teenage years but his childhood, and perhaps because of this, much of his account remains impressionistic and sparse. I attempt also with Kohei to work through and examine his narrative using Bourdieu's thinking tools, and consider how his impressions and his telling (and my retelling) reflect my research questions. Once more, his quotations are direct, and reified for ease of revision, though I have, short of conversation

analysis transcription conventions, attempted to retain something of the rhythm and idiosyncrasies of his speech.

Climbing over the Fence: Life and School in Queens, New York

In the first interview with Kohei I simply wanted to get to know about his past, and how he grew up, what it might have been like for him as a boy in that part of the United States. Our first session shows him introducing himself as "KOH-hey," in an Americanized pronunciation of the vowels. He was to use this pronunciation not only with his name but whenever he spoke throughout our interviews, like Kyoko never straying into katakana-speak, though he occasionally used Japanese terms when his English failed him.

Kohei's mother and father, both Japanese, met when she was working in Japan but had decided to take a vacation abroad. She met him in the United States; they eventually married and settled in New York City. They had two children, first Kohei and then four years later his sister. At home, the family nearly always spoke Japanese to one another. Kohei spoke English to his sister sometimes in those days, though now that they are in Japan they converse in Japanese. As a boy, he said, at home, "when I was angry I spoke in English, but usually Japanese" (1; 11:38). His mother's English was "not that good but I think better than any other Japanese mother" (1;11:22). His father did not speak English at home but did so in business, working in New York City. In this sense the parents used Japanese in the home environment, though I did not get the sense from Kohei that the Japanese language became in his mind less prestigious or merely a

"language of the kitchen" (Kanno, 2003, p. 138). Kohei's early childhood was punctuated by brief vacations to Japan during the school summer holidays, though these ended when he turned eight. "Ever since that I didn't come back to Japan" (1; 1:08).

When I asked Kohei his earliest memory of his public schooling in the United States, he remarked matter-of-factly that nothing happened in school that he actually remembered. "I only have memories of playing," he says (1; 13:01). The only very early story of school he was able to recount is a story of running away:

> When I was in kindergarten, I escaped from kindergarten the first day. Because I was really bad at speaking when I was little, and I couldn't talk well until when I was in elementary school. So I was afraid of a lot of, like, foreign people. So I didn't like to be in kindergarten, so I escaped. There was a fence over two meters and I climbed over it. It was in the morning of the first day. I went back home. (1;4:24)

He clarified that this act and the reasons leading up to it were not a clear memory of his own, saying "This is what I heard from my mom" (1;5:40). His own earliest memory was of a moment outside of school: an afternoon in 4th grade when he was at school and all the children were sent home, the day of the fall of the World Trade Center:

> When I was in fourth grade, during class, there was the September 11th. The terror. That school day became a half day. And I went home and my mom was taking pictures. So I still have the picture at my house when it was falling. I lived on an apartment that was at the tenth floor. And we went to the roof and saw a lot of dust flying. (1; 6:01)

The public elementary school he attended as a boy was very near where he lived; he remembers it as only a five minute walk from home. He usually woke in the morning around 6:00 A.M. and lessons would begin at 8:30. The classes he remembers taking were English, Math, Computer Science, Social Studies, and P.E., though he says frankly "I didn't care about school when I was little" (1; 27:5). Seemingly unsure at how this answer might sound, he clarifies

> I liked school, but not the class. I was really bad at history so I didn't like social studies, but in Science there were experiments, so I really loved science and math, because I was really good at science and math. (1; 28:40)

Another part of school he liked was the interaction with his classmates. Most of the other students at this school were Hispanic, with a few Asians from Korea and China and the Philippines, but no other Japanese children; nor were there any Japanese children in the neighborhood where he lived. Notably while living in America, Kohei says he did not identify with any particular nationality: "I never felt like a Japanese. But never felt like an American. I never thought about religion or where people (were) from" (1; 15:50). His view of all his playmates was just as egalitarian. He did not feel any of the children were set off from one another by differences: "We were just kids. Like, we were all the same" (1;16:30).

Kohei was able to socialize with other Japanese children at a Saturday supplementary school, a *hoshūkō,* that he began at the same time he began his weekday school (cf. the participants from Kanno, 2003). This *hoshūkō* had all Japanese teachers and was in Long Island, considerably farther from his house than his regular school. At

the *hoshūkō,* he attended class with other Japanese students his age, did not have to wear a school uniform, and studied primarily math and Japanese. "It was really fun," he says, "but well, I was a really bad kid so, like during class, we were not supposed to speak English but me and my friend were like always speaking English" (1; 8:12). He says his language abilities were imbalanced at that time:

> Well what made the differences was like, when I was taking class in Japanese school I was speaking English with my friends so I couldn't learn that much Japanese. I only had the chance to speak Japanese in my house. (1; 20:02)

To reinforce Kohei's Japanese ability (and thus bolster his linguistic capital should he return to Japan), his mother not only spoke to him in Japanese but also tried to expose him to the same kind of Japanese media children in Japan would be watching, and utilized rental videos of Japanese animated television series such as *Doraemon* and the bawdy *Crayon Shinchan*, which Kohei viewed in Japanese. In this sense his experience with supplementary language learning was almost a mirror of Kyoko's, who had received not Japanese, but English tutoring as a child. Kohei also worked on his Japanese reading and writing by studying *kanji* at the *hoshūkō* with his fellow expatriate Japanese. Again unlike Kyoko, Kohei claimed in his first year at university: "I think I'm good at *kanji*" (1; 23:04). "I think that I'm improving my *kanji* because I read Japanese books, and there are some words I don't know, and I search for them in the dictionary and come to learn them" (3; 31:56).

Kohei did not seem to feel that his two schools in New York—the regular public school and the *hoshūkō*—were remarkably different, though to my surprise he suggested

an observation that seemed like a blanket stereotype: "Japanese kids are like really fast at math, like multiplication. So at the Saturday school where I went, it was really challenging" (1; 29: 35). Kohei said nevertheless that in terms of the instruction, the same kind of math was done at both schools (1; 30:00).

In terms of his school life, Kohei spoke of his status as a "bad kid" more than once, usually relating this to his choice to break the rules and speak English rather than Japanese in his *hoshūkō*. He also recounted another escape story, though he was running, this time, not *from* but *to* school, though to the school where his Japanese friends were waiting for him, the *hoshūkō*:

> When I was little I always had fights with my parents. The Japanese school was in Long Island. So to go there I had to take the highway. But I went to the highway with my roller skates, and a taxi picked me up and went to the police, and I went to school by police car. I think I was like 9 or 10. I had a fight with my parents. My friends were in *hoshūkō*, and we were living really far so only once a week we could meet and play after school. But that day we couldn't. I was really upset and got angry. (1; 8:45)

Kohei found himself acting out in more than one occasion, and remembers himself as not precisely a troubled child, but unhappy in the confines of his classrooms:

> I couldn't be patient. There was the time we had to study but I was talking to my friends. And I would stand up and walk around. The teacher told me to sit down but I made an excuse like I'm going to get my stuff from my bag. I got in trouble a lot. (1; 26:00)

Despite his earlier assessment that all of his peers seemed the same, "just kids," I asked Kohei directly if, based on this "bad kid" status, he felt he was similar to the other pupils at either of his two schools, either the U.S. elementary school or the Japanese *hoshūkō*. His answer was a quick "No" with laughter. "I was really violent when I was little," he says (1; 31:00). "I didn't care if I did violence in front of other people. Like kicking or punching, not my friends but my mom or teachers" (1; 31:18). He felt different, more wild, but this difference was not a function of being a Japanese among Americans, or being Americanized among Japanese; he simply felt less at home in the classroom, less willing to adjust to the norms of that particular subfield.

He says he has few real memories of the jejune workaday activities of classroom life, and his best memories are of outside school, when he would play tag with his friends, or go to a park or the pool. He spent his days playing basketball, reading comics (in Kohei's case often these were English versions of Japanese comics such as *Shonen Jump*), watching the Comedy Central Network, laughing at the irreverence of animated series such as *South Park*, and going to movie theaters, where he says "Every time I would go to a movie I would sleep before the end" (1; 14:15). In both schools, his regular school and his weekend school, he had trouble sitting still. He almost repeated third grade, though the reasons why are vague. "I had bad grades. I think. I think in every class" (1; 27:39). These memories of Kohei's life as a young preteen in New York were recounted as ephemeral recollections, less episodic than impressionistic, of what he seemed to view in the interviews as a distant time, idyllic even, short his restlessness in classrooms.

Kohei's youth in the United States, however, was to come to an abrupt end when he turned 13.

Kohei's father was diagnosed with cancer. This rather stark news threw the family into disarray. The time was late spring, and, following the U.S. school year, Kohei was just graduating sixth grade. The cancer had progressed to a point that, as Kohei remembers, doctors in the United States "couldn't help," and the cancer was "all over" his father's body (6; 2:00). The family considered their options. A friend of Kohei's father suggested a doctor and a hospital in Kyoto, Japan, who might be able to offer more effective treatment, and so it was decided that the family would leave the United States and come home.

"I Came Back—Well, Not Came Back, I *Came* to Japan": The First Return, and Junior High

"The day that my parents told me that we were going to Japan," Kohei remembers, "I thought that I was able to come back to America for a short time, so I was really excited" (1; 34:00). At the time, this idea of a brief visit, where the family might stay in Japan for a short time then return America, was not unreasonable, was even the goal in a sense. If the cancer treatment was successful, all could return to normal back in New York at some later date. For the time being, they must make do in Japan, and they moved into a residence in Kyoto, a two-hour train ride away from Kohei's maternal grandparents, who had a house in Hyogo prefecture. The timing of the family's return was such that

Kohei arrived at an awkward juncture to suddenly switch to a new school, because the Japanese school year was still in session. To remain somewhat in the timeline of the Japanese school calendar, Kohei was enrolled in the last months of elementary school in Japan, though he had just graduated in the United States.

"I graduated sixth grade in America," he says, "and before entering junior high school I came back—well not came back, *came* to Japan, and did sixth grade, well, the last three months again, before graduating" (2; 1:15). He attended for this period a public elementary school near their new home in Kyoto. This was not enough time for Kohei to make any emotional connection with his classmates, and he speaks of the experience without enthusiasm, bypassing any comment on academics or classes and focusing on the social. "It was not that fun at school," he says, "because it's almost graduation and everyone's crying and I don't know anyone and I don't have any friends. Everyone was crying because everyone was graduating. Everyone was going to go to a different junior high." (2; 1:50). I asked Kohei if he also cried, and he answered simply, "No" (1; 2:06).

After this three-month attendance in the elementary school, Kohei, too, went to a different junior high, a public school across town. His sense of loss, however, was not simply saying farewell to a select group of grade school chums, or the breaking up of a clique that would reform with perhaps even some of the same members on a new junior high campus. For Kohei, the loss was nearly entire. He had, in only a few months, lost to distance and memory every person his own age he had ever known or called friend, every teacher, every textbook and desk and hallway, every apartment block, every familiar smell and taste and basketball court and pop song played through an open window as he

might walk home from school. He had lost the variables that grounded his identity, every field and subfield that had been available to him. Seemingly unwilling to dwell on any negative aspect of his return, Kohei says simply in the interview that focused on his return with the comment: "I missed my friends, and my lifestyle" (1; 37:18).

As the weeks at the new junior high school passed, day by day, Kohei attempted to carve out a place for himself in the groups, though he found, day by day, that though he felt he should be fitting in at this school where presumably everyone was new and starting with a social *tabula rasa*, he was treated as different, not because he was a "bad kid" but because he simply did not feel he was like the other students. Kohei discovered that the students at the school had predominantly come from three feeder elementary schools nearby, and the students all knew each other or had a core group of friends from the previous school whom they already knew. Kohei felt he was not so easily incorporated into these groups, and felt his English skill marked him in a negative way:

> I didn't really like it that much. Because in Japan, in junior high, like three elementary schools get together, and they really knew each other but I didn't. They mostly got in groups, but I was new there so I couldn't. I did, but like my skills of my English were really good, and Japanese people, when they're little they don't like people who are really good at something. (6; 4:50)

He sensed that not only his English use, but also his Japanese pronunciation and vocabulary marked him:

> I went to junior high and made new friends. But there were like a lot of differences between me and other people. Since I couldn't speak that much

> Japanese I was made fun of by everyone, students around me. Like I couldn't speak Japanese well. Well it's hard to give an example but I just couldn't talk in Japanese well, like really fluently, like right now. It's like an exchange student came to Japan, studying Japanese, and was only able to talk a little bit. It was like that. (2; 2:13)

This difficult in communicating was compounded by the fact that the dialect of Japanese that Kohei spoke was not the local one. The Kanto dialect (*Kanto ben*/ 関東弁) spoken in Tokyo where Kohei's father was from was the dialect the family had spoken in their home in New York. In Kyoto, located in the Kansai region, the dialect was much different. This, in effect, emphasized his lack of linguistic capital:

> It was not only that I couldn't speak Japanese, but I used to speak Kanto *ben*. I couldn't speak Kansai *ben* that well, so, and people were like "Why are you speaking so weird?" I went to school in Kyoto and many people were speaking Kansai *ben*. I was the only one who was speaking Kanto *ben*, so. . . . (2; 2:38)

Kohei remembers this as one of his most difficult periods:

> That's the time I really didn't like Japan. That might only be because of Kyoto. They really talk mean. I'm not used to Kansai *ben* and that stuff, so. I'm used to like Kanto *ben* like from Tokyo, that's what my parents were talking. When I came to Kansai it really sounded so hard, not hard but *harsh*, so it really scared me. (4; 27:07)

Academically, Kohei also remembers having problems in classes such as reading in his junior high school days. He considered these problems were the result of not forming a habit of reading or writing when he was younger:

> I had problems. A lot. Well I hadn't liked reading since I was little. Even in English. I don't like to read. So I really had a hard time reading, 'cause I didn't know where to like, pause. And writing, I never wrote, so, I had a hard time writing too. (2; 6:03)

He also remembers still not feeling as if he were a particularly well-behaved student, remembering: "I thought I was a bit different from people. Yeah, I could understand my teachers, but I didn't feel like listening to them, so I did what I wanted to do" (1; 39:07).

Despite or perhaps because of Kohei's behavior, the teachers at his junior high school offered him supplementary work: "They told me if I wanted I could have some extra time to work on Japanese when I was in junior high. Only for a year; it didn't last that long. About an hour after school" (2; 6:32). Kohei, however, never felt as if he were able to "catch up" with other students or able to read at the same level as his classmates (2; 7:04).

Socially, Kohei tried his hand at an extracurricular soft tennis club. He was faced with a hierarchical system where he was expected to defer, to some degree, to students older than he, his *senpai*. When I asked him if they took him under their wings and tried to help him he laughed: "Not so much. I didn't like the older people. They didn't like me, too" (6; 6:12).

Meanwhile, Kohei was still expecting that at any time he might return to the United States, when his father became well enough. This, however, did not happen. The various cancer treatments, contrary to hopes, were not able to extend Kohei's father's life, and when Kohei was 15, his father died. This loss, of the head of the household, of the financial anchor to the family, left both an emotional and practical hole: His mother, limited in her English skills and job training, was unable to return to work in the United States and keep the family in the standard of living to which they had become accustomed. With their source of livelihood in New York now gone, there was no other option than for the family to remain in Japan.

Kohei's adjustment process then took on a different importance. The stakes were suddenly higher, because his life in Japan was now his life period, for his foreseeable future. If he were ever to return abroad, he must manage to find a way himself. By Kohei's estimation the most trying parts of integrating with the language and classroom culture ended at this point, at junior high graduation and his father's death, after having lasted three years and six months. One of the teachers at the junior high who had worked with Kohei in his difficulties suggested he might be interested in leaving Japan again, going abroad via an academic track, in the next phase of his education at a nearby high school:

> I really didn't know where to go (for high school) when I was in junior high. And I couldn't speak that much Japanese, so a third year teacher at junior high school told me that there was a program of going abroad for a year. (6; 6:33)

"I Was a Bad Kid until High School": High School and Study in England

Kohei's junior high teacher also recommended him for a specific scholarship program that was funded by private individuals and corporations. This program, the Ashinaga ("Daddy Longlegs") scholarship, is not particular to returnee students, but provides interest-free educational loans as a support mechanism for Japanese children who "have lost one or both parents as a result of illness, accident/disaster, or suicide, as well as children who have a parent with a disability that prevents them from working" (ashinaga.org). This program was to help Kohei financially through high school and into university.

The high school he attended was, he says, a relatively expensive private school, and had approximately 350 students in each of the three grade levels. The student population totaled over a thousand students. He considered it a "big school" (6; 8:03) and the environment among other students who were interested in study abroad affected him. He felt his turn as a "bad kid" was no longer suitable. His father was gone. His immediate future in Japan was decided. He began to consciously change his attitude toward his classroom and social endeavors, noticing the somewhat new academic climate of the new school, a new field with norms different than anything he had yet experienced:

> I was a bad kid until high school. From high school I felt a bit different, 'cause there were a lot of new friends and it was private school, so many new kids would come in and they were like, all acting adult, so I couldn't—I felt I shouldn't—be more childish, so that's what changed me. (2; 27:49)

The study abroad component of the school attracted young people who were interested in going overseas and therefore had some interest in learning foreign languages, including English. Kohei, too, knew that, as his junior high school teacher had counseled, this was his chance to go overseas again. He also realized that in addition to the newfound seriousness of affect among his classmates, the new field afforded him a renewed symbolic capital in the form of the English ability he had naturally gained while growing up in New York. This also in some way seemed to excuse him for lapses in his mother tongue, because his relatively advanced English skills were seen to make up for his errors in Japanese:

> My high school was like, people who want to go abroad, so they were like all amazed that I was in America, so I didn't have that much of a complex speaking Japanese. Because, well, everyone knew that I had been living in America. In high school everyone was like treating me like I speak really good English. (2; 7:20)

The focus, then, seemed to be not on his deficit of cultural capital in a lack of Japanese ability, but rather a surplus of capital in his English ability, now no longer scorned as different but consecrated as valuable in the new school, a new field. There were, suddenly, others like him, other returnees who had lived abroad and faced some of the same challenges he had faced. Visiting international students were now present in some classes. Even Japanese students with no study abroad experience seemed to have their eyes set "outside of Japan":

> There were not only returnee students like me but people who only lived in Japan, and really want to go abroad and see what's outside. Because of that, they were like my friends right now (at EFSU), who want to like work abroad, study abroad, live abroad. Well that made a lot of changes for me. Because they really wanted like to see the outside of Japan. (2; 8:28)

The school, however, did not send students abroad straight away, and Kohei remained in Japan for over a year before he was to leave again. As in junior high, he was required to wear a school uniform, though he did not mind this as he felt it looked fashionable:

> The uniform was a necktie. The junior high had also had a uniform but it wasn't that good. High school was more like a suit so it was really good. There was a three-color shirt, blue white yellow. And like the design changed so that was really good. I didn't feel that bad because I didn't need to choose clothes, so it was easy to pick out what to wear. (6; 9:10)

As in his memories of his youth in New York, Kohei's recollections of the social aspects of high school crowd out any thought of academics: "To tell you the truth," he says, "I didn't study that much in high school, so I only have memory of playing tennis and hanging out with friends" (6; 10:33).

He left soft tennis behind and played regular tennis at high school. This team, again, had a placement hierarchy whereby newcomers were made to play with one another, with senior members playing on a separate tier or the "regular" team. Kohei was put into a situation where he was expected to defer based on not ability but seniority, a facet of team membership not uncommon in such activities in Japanese sports clubs

(Cave, 2004, p. 408). He reacted to the situation, however, with resentment, feeling his competitiveness, willingness to advance, and tendency to ignore Japanese honorifics language hobbled him:

> I had a lot of problems because I'm not used to those nice words, so when I talk it sounded like really bad for (my older teammates). They were mad at me a lot because in tennis I used to beat them. I used to win a lot, so I said I wanted to be on the regular team. They didn't like me. And just because they didn't like me I didn't get into that. Maybe because of the way I talked or the way I played. I was aggressive, trying to win. When I was in first year I think I was the most aggressive one. (6; 12:47)

After the first year and a half the time came to leave for study abroad. The high school offered study abroad programs at "four or five" institutions outside Japan, but none in New York or anywhere the United States. Kohei says, "I wanted to go to America but they didn't have any associated schools (there), only in England" (6; 15:10). Students' choice of school was narrowed based on the kind of location they preferred, and in Kohei's case he wanted, based on his upbringing in New York and his experience in the environment of Kyoto city, to live in an urban area:

> They had like a seven-month course and a ten-month course, and I wanted to go on the ten-month course. So if it's 10 months there's only two schools so I had to choose one of them. I didn't want to be in the countryside. (6; 15:13)

He was sent to live in a city with a population of around 25,000, located an hour by train south of London. "It was really different from America," Kohei says, of his experience

there. “Like how the buildings looked, how people talk, the smell. The first three months I really wanted to go home.” (1; 36:30)

Kohei’s was installed into a host family with a mother and a boy of 9. The mother was, he says, very nice, but the first day of his stay was less than smooth:

> I was in a place from school about a 30-minute walk. A homestay. The first day, well first we went to the college, and the first day our host families were going to pick us up. But my host family thought it was the next day. So I was waiting at the college about a half day. Eventually I went there by taxi. (6; 18:48)

Kohei noted that he did not have any particular problems with his homestay family, largely due to his ease in using English, again a useful linguistic capital. “It was a positive experience, because like from the first day I got along. Like, many friends they said they couldn’t get along with their family because they couldn’t speak that much English. But I could” (6; 22:10). Though he retains a fond memory of the experiences he had there, his life with the host family was not without its moments of surprise, such as when he, at the age of 16, was given charge of the family’s young son immediately on his arrival:

> On the first day my host mother said like, “You should take my son to the town and go get some snacks.” Well I wanted to go to the town to the city part, so. She sent me with her 9-year-old son. We went and bought some snacks and looked at some video games. (6; 21:34)

The meals in his host family’s home were, as he expected, different from what he usually ate in Japan, though he laughs when he tells me what he was fed:

> The food was mostly about one pound food. She served like instant pizza ((laughs)). Like noodles without soup? And fish and chips. I only liked the fish and chips. She fed us that every day. That was every day. Like three times a week it was pizza. (6; 20:11)

It seemed to me as I was speaking to Kohei that he possessed a considerable resilience, an ability to adapt to situations outside of the familiar, but to also do so without complaint. He simply did not mind what to me sounded like inconveniences or, to some degree, hardships. Even as he recounted what to me seemed like odd experiences with his host family, he did so with a sense of humor.

> I bought a shampoo, and I was leaving it in the shower room. When I saw my shampoo the next day it was almost gone. And like two days or three days later my host mother said, "Your shampoo smells really good." They had their own but like, they were using mine. ((laughs)) (6; 20:58)

Nevertheless his daily routine was school, spending time with schoolmates, and coming home to play video games with his host brother and then watch television, "mostly news," in the evening (6; 21:34). He did not get homesick, using the Skype Internet telephone service to communicate with his mother back in Japan from time to time (6; 24:10). He consumed media in English, not having brought any Japanese comics or books from Japan.

Within the school, the college that Kohei attended had "a lot of international students" who stayed for varying lengths of time at the school on different programs. "There were some students there for one year, some for one month or three months.

Coming and going. Like German or Finland. A lot of people coming in and out so I didn't know where they were exactly from" (6; 16:45). Kohei, who was placed both in classes with high English proficiency international students as well as classes of only native British students, made several friends: "I was in a class called A class so I had an opportunity to take classes with British students. I took math and PE and Spanish classes. I made some friends" (6; 24:00).

Although Kohei was able to navigate social and practical situations fairly fluently in what he considered native-like English, he found that a number of British people whom he met responded negatively to his pronunciation. Among the native British, English fluency still retained capital, but its value was to some degree dependent on the accent in which it was delivered, and the preferred variety was not the one that Kohei had retained from a youth in Queens. Even though in his Japanese high school among other Japanese students he had been praised and even admired for his easy English speaking ability and what was called his native-like American accent, and his international acquaintances in his classes in England had no special reaction to his speech, when he spoke English to an English person he was met with amused bewilderment: "When I was in England everyone would make fun of me. Like I spoke with an American accent, I think, like, that's what people said. I don't know why, but the people in UK didn't like the American accent" (5; 7:30). Fortunately, the judgment on his speaking at his British home was less severe. His host mother "thought the American accent was cute" (6; 26:00).

Many, however, did not. Kohei relates one instance when he was out with friends, and a few younger British boys mocked him and his fellow Japanese:

> When me and my other friends were in a KFC, I think they were more younger than us, about 14 or 13. I think they thought that we were Chinese or something. So they were like talking to us, like *dissing* us. And when I talked in English in an American accent they were like really like pissed off a lot about the American accent. (6; 26:34)

As I recalled his statements about his childhood propensity for violence, I asked Kohei how he reacted to these hostile experiences. Kohei said simply: "I'm not violent now. It doesn't solve anything, the violent stuff. Like just getting mad makes me tired, so I didn't want to be mad or get violent" (6; 27:48).

Kohei got along better with his international classmates, who were also in England in part to study English as a second language. Kohei considered his peers in class A to be all of similar proficiency to himself, though he noted he aspired to their classroom behavior:

> I thought we were about the same, because even though their English was bad, they tried to like talk a lot, and tried to tell what they're trying to say. They were more aggressive, not like Japanese students. I tried to be like that. (6; 24:54)

Kohei was able to compare readily the behavior of other Japanese students to the exchange students and British students, as some 60 others from his Japanese high school had also come to the college to study. These fellow Japanese made up part of his social circle, where he was able to speak Japanese, though he expresses regret at doing so:

> When I was there, I spoke mostly Japanese. At that time I didn't feel anything, but after finishing the studying abroad project I thought I should have spoken more English with them. My own English was pretty good at that time but since I was abroad instead of speaking Japanese I should have been speaking more English. (6; 17:05)

Though Kohei maintained his speaking skill in Japanese by conversing with friends, academically he went the entire 10 months without a Japanese class. "I had no Japanese teachers," he said (6; 24:34).

His broad assessment of his time in England, unlike Kyoko's rhapsodizing over the United States, is less effusive: "I wasn't homesick," he said, "but I didn't like England that much" (1; 36:45).

In less than a year, he returned to Japan.

"I Was Half Happy, Half Sad": The Second Return

Kohei returned from England and had only a vague idea of what he wanted to do for his future, and it was quite easy to simply fall back into the grind of a senior in Japanese high school, spending most of his time now preparing for the university admittance tests that seemed inevitable:

> I went (to England) in third year and came back in third year. It was really just as usual when I came back. There wasn't that much change studying abroad before and after. I was third year so I had to prepare for examinations for university. (6; 30:36)

When I asked him what he felt he gained from this study abroad experience, he shrugged and said: “My English changed a lot. My TOEIC score went up.” (6; 32:13)

Despite this nonplussed demeanor toward any transcendent life change (there was no echo of Kyoko’s “it changed everything” in Kohei’s reflections) he did notice differences in the school systems he had been a part of. After now having passed, in part, through the education systems of three countries—the United States, Japan, and now England—he felt that the means of instruction was somewhat different back in Japan. Once again, however, he did not find this change particularly worthy of devoting long periods of thought:

> To tell the truth I really didn’t care, but like, well, in elementary school it was more like teachers giving us a question, and that makes us think and answer. In junior high, well, teachers in Japan, they only talk and write on the board, and you have to write it down. In England, in Spanish class they made us do some discussion in Spanish, so. Well, the teaching outside of Japan is more like making us think and discuss more. (6; 34:25)

One other point he noted about living abroad was his development of an appreciation for the difficulties involved in providing for himself financially, and, considering his understanding of the larger social field of work in Japan, how education might provide the cultural capital necessary to then obtain the economic capital to live the kind of life he vaguely began to imagine for himself:

> When I came back from England when I was in high school, 12th grade, I thought that living by myself is really hard in America or England. I had no one to depend on. So I thought it was really hard to earn my own money, by working. My career was only up to high school. I think there would not be that many places to work in Japan, if your career is only up until high school. So my only choice left was going to university. (2; 11:47)

He had little sense of what life might expect from him past high school, though he did mention he had thought to someday return to the United States: "At the beginning I was like thinking of going abroad and study, or move back to America and go to university. I was also thinking about working after graduating high school" (2; 11:02). With this in mind, he decided it would be best if he continued his education in a school that offered study abroad programs, and he had made some inquiries while still in England, seeking the advice of an older acquaintance from Japan, who gave him the specific recommendation to attend EFSU.

"First and Only": Choosing a University

For Kohei deciding on EFSU was less a process of choosing from many possibilities than of simply settling on the one option: "I wasn't much thinking of going to university. I only thought of going to this university. First and only" (2; 13:00). Kohei's mother was not immediately enthusiastic about his choice and the implications for social capital that attendance at the school might imply: "She said like, is it really high enough for you? Isn't it a little low for you to go? But when I researched about the

school there was going to be a new program" (2; 14:17). The new program that was to convince both of them that it might be a good academic home for Kohei, and might provide some higher prestige than assumed (and therefore more of a chance to get a "better" job after graduation), was the GS program, at that time just beginning its first year. Kohei came to an Open Campus session, where demo lessons are provided by teachers for prospective high school students and various recruiting events are held, and after this experience, which he says he does not remember clearly, he made the decision to apply:

> In the first place, I was only thinking of study abroad. That was the first reason. I didn't clearly have another reason but I was thinking of making my own company. So I wanted to like, well…I really had some interest in business. (2; 14:58)

This vagueness of understanding on Kohei's part might simply be the novice hope of a freshman student that the school would groom him for some imagined future of entrepreneurial success, or it might be a product the media releases of the school that were given to suggest that students who attended would be girded for success in either domestic or international careers functioning in English. Confident in his TOEIC score and his ability to speak English, Kohei applied for the Advanced English track of the GS program. He was asked to take the TOEFL, sat for his AE interview, and, in April 2011, began study at EFSU.

University Life: Classes

At EFSU Kohei enrolled in his first semester for nine required classes, focusing primarily on language, with other classes meant to focus on the fundamental skills involved in an international business career (See Table 4). His initial statements on the program, mirroring Kyoko's, gave a sense of constant activity, though he seemed to resist this more than embrace it:

> Every class does different stuff, but mostly I can say it's really hard. Harder than I thought. Like a lot of assignments, a lot of schoolwork. A lot of tests. Next week I'm going to have five or six tests. Final exams. I have class five days a week. I average four classes a day. I got three classes on Thursday, but the rest of the days, four. (2; 21:10)

Table 4. *Kohei's First Semester Courses*

Japanese title	English title
国際関係論	International Relations
経学	Business Administration
N/A	Reading and Writing[a]
N/A	Listening and Speaking[a]
言語基礎論	Language fundamentals
アカデミックリーディング	Academic Reading
エクステンション A	Extension A (Reading)[a]
エクステンション B	Extension B (Writing)[a]
N/A	Business Math

[a] *Language of instruction was English*

He did not question this busy-ness as he felt it was all "part of the program" and was intended to prepare him for his desired study abroad experience in his final two years:

> Only thing I know is like we have to learn what we have to learn in the third and fourth year in the first two years because we're going to be out of the country

> during those years. Going abroad and study. I'm truly hoping that I'll go abroad. (2; 38:51)

Kohei did not take the TOEFL test in his first semester after having taken it initially to enter the school, though he was to eventually take it again in his second semester. He felt that his score in April at the beginning of the year (a 490) reflected what he considered to be his poor command of English grammar: "It's accurate about my grammar, yeah maybe. I'm a slow reader so it's a bit hard for me. So I have to read more faster and solve the problems more faster" (5; 6:38). Though he felt his *kanji* ability was improving and he knew he was not without a degree of naturalness in his spoken English, he felt very limited in his grasp of English grammar, declaring: "I don't have enough experience of writing sentences" (2; 17:57). Added to this self-consciousness, and, even, self-doubt, came the new experience of studying in Japan with not only students who were focused on study abroad, as his classmates in high school had been, but several high language functioning students who were returnees like himself, and some who had had never been abroad but had obtained relatively high scores on standardized English tests:

> Everyone around me has better English…There's some people that are really good at grammar but not at speaking or listening, and some people have both abilities; that's really good. Some of them have only the listening but not that much of grammar. For me it's listening and speaking but not grammar. (2; 18:12)

Kohei, like Kyoko, in his first semester adapted his use of English to the different environments or subfields in which he found himself, unlike his younger days of

speaking whatever language suited him, and he says he kept a rein on how he spoke and when. He also altered his class demeanor from what it had been in England to fit what he felt was more appropriate to the Japanese classroom context: "In classes with Japanese teachers I don't speak English. If the teacher's completely speaking Japanese, I won't speak English. In not all the classes but sometimes, I raise my hand. I don't answer questions if I'm not called on" (2; 33:10). This alternating between the two languages caused him, like Kyoko, to have doubts about his ability to maintain fluency in English, which he was still expected to use but which had for some time become a secondary language. Even the idea of "knowing" English in this academic environment seemed oddly different than it had when he had been growing up:

> Right now I don't really feel like I am speaking English as well as before, because my Japanese is getting better and better, but I'm forgetting my English. Well, when I see a vocabulary word, I know the word, but I don't know the definition or how to explain it. It's really hard right now. (2; 51:08)

His view of the content of the program, as Kyoko's, slowly took form over the course of the semester, subtly reshaping when many of his early expectations proved to be fulfilled in unexpected ways. Of classes, he says, "I was expecting like really recent social stuff or business stuff, but, well, the content of courses wasn't how I thought" (2; 16:07). His courses focused mainly on language, and were not particularly diverse apart from international relations and some math courses, but even some of the language classes, which he knew would be part of the program to a large extent, were different from his imagining. Perhaps key in his commentary is how the program's addressing of its

promised focus of "Global Studies" did not fit in with what he imagined would constitute such studies. As with Kyoko, he found little pleasure in his international relations class:

> I don't know how to say in English but we have like *kokusai keiron* (国際関係論 / international relations), but I thought we were going to learn recent things about global issues, but it was like learning history. So that was one thing I wasn't expecting. And I didn't know that there was going to be like *gengo kisouron* (言語基礎論/language fundamentals), like it's about grammar. (1; 16:40)

At the end of the first term, Kohei stated he had positive feelings about the school, but in his interviews it became more and more evident that, unlike Kyoko, he had begun to distance himself from any kind of studious academic habitus, instead sitting back and simply allowing the class and university experience to happen to him. He was often confused by assignments or lectures, unsure of where they fit in the larger picture, and at times was simply unwilling to take the trouble to ask the teachers to clarify:

> I would grade the school between A and B right now. Myself about a C. There are sometimes things that I don't really get. But I leave class and like, finally I really don't get it that well, and after the class I never ask the teacher what it means. I just leave it until the end before the exam. I think the teachers would respond, many students are asking, but some part of myself is too lazy to ask. (2; 24:11)

In the second semester, a few of Kohei's classes changed, with some one term courses disappearing from his schedule, and some other classes such as microeconomics (ミクロ経済学) suddenly appearing. He did not choose these courses or add any new electives to his schedule (as Kyoko had done) but simply took what came. He remained

unsure of his prospects and was somewhat disheartened by a poor showing in his first semester grades. “In the Spring term I dropped some subjects,” he said, sheepishly, “so this time I don’t want to drop any. I failed some classes” (4; 3:49). “Spring term I was fooling around so I didn’t think I was learning that much but now I think I’m doing really giving an effort, so I’m starting to learn something” (3; 14:42). Kohei also noted how he was “sometimes absent” from his classes (2; 29:40), and, sometimes during class, simply reverted to the fairly commonplace strategy in many Japanese classrooms, that had also been adopted sparingly by his classmate Kyoko: He fell asleep (for more on this relatively common phenomenon in Japan, see King & Lind, 2007):

> I sometimes sleep in class. For well, like two or three times a week. I did it in high school a lot. Same in Junior High. In the U.S. I was awake, when I was in elementary. Sleeping, that’s the point when you make yourself not catch up to what is happening in class. Because once I sleep I don’t get what the class is doing, so I’m trying not to sleep that much in class. So, it’s getting better than Junior High or High School. (2; 47:55)

He was nevertheless upbeat about the Fall term:

> This term my goal is to give an effort on my schoolwork, and go to the next year, next grade. In the spring term I did a bit bad in my scores, so I have to like, give an effort, and increase my scores. (3; 23:25)

Outside the difficulties of the classroom, Kohei was still struggling with the mechanics of how to navigate the requirements of the new GS program. In GS the program was itself in a state of nascence, with new requirements somewhat *terra incognita* for not only

Kohei and his fellow students, who were its very first cohort, but also for all of the teachers assigned to the program (myself included), and for even the program administrators who had only recently been appointed, and who therefore inevitably had to consult newly drafted policies before advising students on unexpected questions about curriculum or finer points of the various study abroad requirements. Kohei's willingness to take charge of his class schedule and delineate for himself and exploit the rules of the game, however, foundered on his apathy and lack of desire to investigate very far into what he dismissed as the impenetrable intricacies of the GS program. In his third interview, he stated; "I don't know. Yeah, I don't know what teachers are trying to do, like what we have to do" (3; 2:36). Late in his second term, he said, "I have to pass required classes. Some of them are required. I don't know which ones are required. I just have to do everything. I hope everything goes well" (4; 18:17). One interview later, when reflecting on his courses in first year and his schedule for the upcoming second year, he was just as helplessly reconciled:

> It was difficult. So many subjects from nine o'clock. I don't know. I really want to choose my own subjects, because in this first year, the people (in the administration) chose our schedule. It was a really hard schedule. They never told us when we could choose. There was a rumor that the teachers are going to choose the second year schedule. I haven't asked. I'll wait and see. I don't care if they choose or not. I just want my schedule. (5; 35:00)

University Life: Teachers

Kohei did not particularly seek out most of his teachers for interaction beyond the classroom, and did not feel in any way singled out by his professors as special or marked, at least not as related to his status as a student who had lived so long abroad. "I talk to teachers," he says, "when the test comes out" (4; 8:39). He felt that his instructors, rather than viewing him as a *kikokusei* or returnee, might have noticed echoes of his wilder, entertaining side: "I don't know what teachers think about me. I don't know. Well maybe they think I'm funny. Maybe" (5; 11:05). He cultivated this *farceur* persona in class consciously, even directing his shtick towards teachers themselves: "I want to try to make my teachers laugh. But I'm still not used to…I think I'm used to teachers, but I don't think I'm used to *every* teacher" (2; 28:49).

The teachers Kohei eventually felt "used to" included most of his teachers who taught him English, including one Korean/Japanese instructor, and he says he eventually began interacting with his English teachers after or before class, if the occasion arose. In my own class he was often quiet, if not staid, though this could be attributed to various factors, including the fact that he was a participant in this study and thus had various opportunities to talk with me, or that he felt somehow answerable to me in ways he did not feel with other teachers and therefore checked his more playful nature, or even that all of his other language teachers were female and he might have felt more comfortable with them. He did not share Kyoko's sense of great familiarity with teachers at EFSU, but he did echo her statement that his Japanese professors who taught non-language courses

were considerably more intimidating than his English teachers, though teachers in both groups were similar in age:

> Teachers are good. That's a bit vague but they're like, good. Like, well not only in class, but after class, we often have a little bit of a chat, and I can work on my speaking better and better, a little bit better. But I don't talk to Japanese teachers. I don't talk to them. I don't know, I think I'm scared of Japanese teachers. They're all like grandpa. They look scary. (5; 20:46)

However, at times he even viewed some of his (non-Japanese) language teachers less than amicably. When a class seemed too easy or pointless, Kohei could become easily bored. This occasionally translated into restless behavior of the sort he mentioned having in his younger years, and as his teacher I was approached by one of his other instructors, a Chinese woman who taught his extension reading course, who suspected Kohei regularly intentionally disrupted her class. When confronted with this suspicion from the other teacher, I was unsure how to address the problem, but was invited to visit her class as an observer so I could see for myself. Unfortunately, Kohei did not attend her class on the day I watched. When I decided to ask Kohei a grand tour question about his English courses and his interest in them in general, he focused at one point on that particular course, explaining:

> Well in [her] class it's so hard (.) Well it's not only me but mostly I'm the one who gets in trouble. Like, like everyone's doing the same thing, but like I'm the only one who's in trouble. Like…many people are discussing and doing a bit of talking, but mostly she looks at me and says, "Be quiet." I react like, "Sorry." I

> didn't like her class that much because like it's not moving to the next stage or level that fast, because for one she takes like three classes sometimes to move on to the next point, and it made me bored. (2; 45:40)

When I asked if he had a strategy besides sleeping to cope with this boredom in class, he said, "if it's really bad, if I don't get it, or there is a topic that I really don't know, that sometimes makes me bored. I lose my concentration and do something else, like other class's homework (2; 47:20).

He also began to have doubts about the way he was evaluated, and not just in his performance in class tests, but by some standardized language tests, such as the *Jitsuyō Eigo Ginō Kentei* [(実用英語技能検定) / a 5-tiered, 2 stage English test sponsored by MEXT, informally called the *Eiken* (www.eiken.or.jp). This test, he suggested, was unreasonable in its expectations of someone his age:

> I don't know if (I'm being measured on) my English skill. I don't know, but like Eiken grade one, I don't know if I'm going to use those words when I'm an adult. I don't know, yeah, I don't think I will use this vocabulary. It's really hard. Like when I took the first, like grade one, it was like, it was like four, what do you call that? Multiple choice. And all those vocabulary I didn't even know. I didn't even know those four. All those all questions I didn't know. I didn't know what it was trying to say. It's more for like someone who really wants to teach English, like being a teacher. (5; 15:00)

Though Kohei felt "confused" by his classes and somewhat distant from most of his teachers, he was energized by another aspect of university: social life.

University Life: Relationships

Halfway through his first year, Kohei began to seek out the international students who attended classes on a slightly different academic calendar than the Japanese students, and who had therefore not been at school in April when classes had begun. Unlike Kyoko, who seemed to have no interest in meeting international students or focusing on widening her social life at EFSU, Kohei enjoyed interacting with students who could only, or primarily, speak English:

> I go to the International Center and talk with a lot of guys from abroad. But I haven't studied English during my junior high or high school that much, and so I've been forgetting a lot of English, and it's not coming out. (3; 36:01)

He enjoyed this pastime, and by second semester, spent most of his out of class time in the International Center, in some ways fulfilling one of the stated (but ungraded) goals of the program, to create *gurōbarujin* (global citizens): "I'm usually in (the International Center) and I like to talk to exchange students. I love talking to them because you can get a lot of information about their countries. That's really interesting" (4; 21:58).

In his classes with fellow Japanese students, he felt he was not shy, in fact quite the opposite: He wanted to be seen and noticed, and not just by teachers but by everyone.

> I never get like nervous. I really want to, like, be *seen* by everyone. I try to. I really like to act like famous. I think it's my personality. Like I really want everyone to know my name and who I am. I try to make myself noticed. That's what I'm trying every day. (2; 40:35)

The attention he sometimes garnered, however, was not always positive, and at times Kohei felt his social instincts were out of line with others. This was, he said, mostly true off campus, in situations where the environment was less friendly to behavior that to him seemed normal, but occasionally seemed to be viewed by others as eccentric:

> People don't say I'm strange but they act like that. They're really surprised when I talk to them. I think they're not used to it because Japanese people are really shy to talk to other people, other strangers. I usually talk to strangers when I get lost or ask for the route. (4; 32:40)

Kohei also expressed that although he was reassured by the ethos of EFSU, and felt in some ways very at home on the campus, this changed when he went "outside," where he felt that he was out of place in the larger picture:

> It just doesn't fit me. Japan. EFSU fits me but not Japan. Like everyone's so like international in EFSU. I don't know, but…I don't know how to say this, but… they look at people personally like, not like, I don't know how to say but ((laugh)) well, like a stay normal, not acting really, um, I don't know how to say it. I just feel right, yeah, here. It's like everyone's so—I don't know—busy. And EFSU too but outside it's more busier. Like everyone's so in a rush. Yeah. So, maybe it's only me, it might be only me, but everybody looks so mean. Thinking about their self. (4; 19:45)

Kohei often presented himself as merely coasting through the waterways of academic life without a rudder, leaving his success or failure to fate, but in some situations he did take

advantage of this natural ability at socializing. When exam time arrived—as it often did—he utilized the resources his classmates could offer him in the form of study groups:

> I study with other people. Mostly I don't study that much by myself, because I can't learn by myself. So I usually learn by my friends. There's a restaurant near here and we gather around there, my friends teach me, and I ask them if this is right and if it's right I get my answers for that. Homework I could do by myself, but exams I have to ask my friends. (2; 31:08)

He also felt comfortable in the AE section of the GS program, with Kyoko and the other students, several of whom were also returnees, saying the class was "really different from junior high or high school. Kind of reminds me of elementary school in America. Being noisy. Talking a lot. Laughing a lot. In English, and both languages" (4; 44:10). He found, in fact, that he could most easily relate to returnee students, saying, "I only talk to people who understand what I'm trying to say, like if they have the same experience as me. Some people who used to live abroad a long time. EFSU has some people like that" (4; 26:10).

Academically, Kohei ended his second term unsure of the future, but resolved to continue in the program. He spoke to his advisors, who kept their advice to a minimum, saying only that he needed to have a TOEFL of 500 (3; 20:50) and to his mother, who urged him to try to do well or suffer the consequences:

> My mom was telling me that if I don't go to the second year, I have to quit the school and have to work, so if that happens I just have to like work, and not stay in Japan, and go abroad. Work or go to second year without failing. (4; 17:15

Passages: A Change of Scenery

As I departed EFSU at the end of that academic year, Kohei agreed that he would stay in touch with me both via the Twitter social networking platform and email, and that he would meet me for any meetings if I wished. I did not know then that he was only to remain at the university for a semester longer, that he would drop out halfway through the second year. Though I tried to keep up with his Twitter posts and occasionally interacted with him online, he did not tell me of his leaving the school when it happened. I heard the news, unexpectedly, from Kyoko, during one of our follow-up interviews that fall. "Kohei quit the school," she said, as her first words in the interview recording (6; 00:00).

I was to meet Kohei twice more, once in January of 2014 after he had been enrolled for more than a year at another foreign language school closer to his home, when I took notes but did not record. The last meeting was in December, 2015, near Kyoto station at a fast food restaurant one morning after he had returned by the first train from a night out in the city. He was busy organizing with some friends a new business, one involving the production of events, such as club parties, live music performances, "and anything else," he said. He seemed content with his life, and though he admitted he still was not very seriously approaching his classes, in which his grades were "not bad but not good," though he was confident he would be graduating soon. His ideas for going abroad had changed, and he no longer felt he would be able to leave Japan as a student, at least not for the foreseeable future, instead imagining some far-off future after earning money:

> I do think of living abroad but not now. Well if I live there it might be a time when I have enough money to not work. Travel well, if I have time not America, but I would like to go to like Egypt. (5; 39:11)

I asked him "Why not America?" considering that country had been, after all, his birthplace. He replied matter-of-factly now, no longer wistful about the past but practical about how much time had passed:

> Most of my friends in America are like working right now. If I go there for work, I think I can't live there, because my English isn't as good as theirs, and I don't know the economy of America right now. So from my knowledge right now I think I couldn't survive. So instead of working abroad I think it's good to work in Japan and make some contact in business. (5; 39:45)

I now turn to my third participant, a returnee and EFSU student who lived and studied in the same school as Kyoko and Kohei but in a separate, language-focused program with considerably different classes and goals.

CHAPTER 6

"I WANTED TO ENJOY UNIVERSITY LIFE IN JAPAN": AI'S STORY

> I didn't really care about people when I was in New Zealand, but in Japan I do care about people so much. I don't know why.
>
> —Interview 3, December 13, 2011

First Impressions

I also met Ai at entrance interviews, though her interview was not for the Global Studies program but for a new upper level program in the Focused English Studies (FES) courses in the School of Overseas Studies. Unlike many of the students who were interviewed, Ai arrived neither in a high school uniform (she had graduated high school in New Zealand) nor the black skirt and white blouse "business suit" attire that I routinely saw my Japanese students wearing in formal situations. Ai wore a pink cardigan over a blue T-shirt, and jeans. Later she would tell me she "was so ashamed" (1; 34:35) about this choice of clothing, as she had read in the interview invitation that it was okay to wear what she called, in a New Zealand dialect, *mufti*[12]. I do not remember what she said in the interview, though I do clearly remember she was quiet, seeming almost abashed, which in Ai's case was manifest by a tendency to smile sadly, as if she had overturned a cup of tea

[12] Originally an Arabic word, this term was borrowed by the British army and is used throughout the former commonwealth. It means, simply, civilian attire, or in this case, casual non-school uniform clothes.

in front of us. This was a mood she seemed to adopt naturally around me and perhaps other teachers, as if convinced that whatever it was she might have been doing at the moment was inadequate to some imaginary expected standard.

Ai, of the three participants who completed this study with me, was never my student at EFSU. I saw her in the halls or met her in my office, or, after I was no longer a EFSU teacher, in coffee shops in the city. I did not have firsthand access to her classroom self, and was not able to observe her demeanor in her courses but rely on her own accounts. On the other hand, with Ai I did not worry to the same degree as I did with Kyoko and Kohei how their participation in the study might be influenced by my role as their first-year teacher/evaluator.

The second time I met her was when she came to my office after I had visited her classroom. I had gone there with the instructor's permission with an open invitation for any student who had been abroad to come visit me, so I could explain the study. Though I would eventually distribute quite a few of the free coffee coupons to students whom I never saw again, with Ai, I felt from the beginning that she was committed to taking part. She came to my office alone, unlike many of the other students who came in pairs and said they were interested, but never followed through. Ai signed the consent form readily, and was willing from the first meeting to schedule an interview. I got the sense she was happy to have the chance to talk about both her time abroad and her experiences as a student to someone who might listen. I reassured Ai each time we met that her comments and stories would have no effect whatsoever on her academic evaluation at EFSU, and that she would be able to speak to me in complete confidentiality—only after she had

approved her stories would they be published. Every time I reminded her of this, she responded with a quiet "Yes, okay," as if nevertheless bracing herself to make some cathartic confession. I wrote in my field notes at the time:

> [Ai] seems relaxed. Very at home with herself. Doesn't doubt me or seem to doubt me. (My imagination?) Sits at the table…obediently? Does what she is told, or seems to do what she is told. Wonder if she would call me "sir" if she had studied in the Southern US and not NZ? (Ai: FN 5/30/11)

What follows is an account of Ai's experiences, first abroad in New Zealand, then back in Japan, and finally in her first year as a student at EFSU. Ai's perspective as related to me on her life abroad in New Zealand is notable in its differences to that of Kyoko and Kohei, who both lived in two countries outside Japan. For Ai, New Zealand "native" culture seemed somewhat homogenous, and she refers to it with the seemingly interchangeable adjectives *white*, *Kiwi*, and *Western*, which she then contrasts with *Asian* culture, using the singular noun *culture*. As with Kyoko and Kohei, I have reified to some degree her direct quotes. Kyoko and Kohei's accents reflect their life experiences in the United States, whereas Ai has a distinct New Zealand accent that occasionally jumped out at me in her word choices and idiom, though this might not be represented in the transcribed version of her speech.

"I Always Wished to Go Overseas for Study": Life in Christchurch, New Zealand

Ai considered her childhood to have been advantageous in ways that those of other children were not, stating plainly, "I think I was born in privilege" (5; 10:06). Her

father owned a travel company, and her mother, who had been to Australia as a university student years earlier and later worked overseas as a tour guide, "wanted her daughter to learn English" (5; 7:01). When Ai turned 8, her mother sent her to an international school, though not full time. "I went for like summer season during my vacations, and also Saturday school, until I was 11 years old. From eight to eleven. Summer and winter and Saturday school" (5; 6:55). The international school she attended was a private, K-12 institution which, on its website, stated its main goal was "to develop informed, caring and creative individuals who contribute to a global community." The school had native English-speaking instructors for some courses, and Ai traced her early interest in English to her enrollment in these courses. Her language classes were taught by both Japanese and native-English speaking teachers, and she noted that this experience was an important influence:

> I didn't really have interest in English before then, but when I went there and learned English from a native English speaker, I learned so many things. Like how to speak, how to pronounce English. I found English is really interesting. And learning language is very fun. I started to listen to American music. And I started to be interested in going overseas. (1; 3:35)

The experience made a lasting impression on Ai, who felt as if she wanted to continue to study English throughout her schooling. She says, "I wanted to (continue to) go to that international school. I tried to go to the junior high school but I failed, so I decided to go to regular junior high school" (5; 10:45). She attended her "regular," public junior high for three years, remembering only that "compared to others I could speak better English"

(5; 11:20). She graduated from junior high and, similarly to Kyoko, imagined herself getting out of Japan. She enrolled in a high school, and found that it, like many high schools, had a study abroad program. She talked to her mother about the possibility of participating:

> My Japanese high school had a one-year study abroad for Canada or Australia, but me and my mom were talking about it and she said "You should graduate the (overseas) high school" but the Japanese high school had only one year study abroad, so we decided to quit the high school to go to New Zealand. (1; 2:30)

New Zealand arose as the primary choice, because her mother considered it a safer alternative to other common destinations such as the United States or Canada. She had also spent time herself in Australia and New Zealand and felt her daughter might enjoy it as she had:

> My mother told me that America is pretty dangerous for me, like you know they're busy, and, you know, pretty scary. Dangerous. My mom told me "It's your first year to go overseas so you better choose a different place, like New Zealand or Australia because it's a peaceful country." (1; 7:40)

Ai completed her first year in the Japanese high school, spending two semesters there before she transferred. Her mother had been busy finding an agency that could suit Ai's needs, and this agency eventually found a place for Ai in a high school in Christchurch. The requirements for admittance to the study abroad program were minimal, and unlike Kyoko, Ai did not have to sit for a formal gatekeeping interview:

> There's an office in Auckland. They arranged study for Japanese students. I think I was contacted through email, that's the only thing we did. I didn't really have to speak to them, my mother did. An interview with me wasn't necessary. (5; 12:16)

Ai was enrolled as a freshman, and the school organized her accommodation with a homestay family. She initially had and was able to maintain a positive attitude toward learning English during her years abroad, though her initial weeks were challenging and strewn with unexpected hurdles. Her first shock came from her difficulty understanding the local New Zealand dialect: "That was unbelievable. Like everyone talks very fast, native English. Native New Zealand English was really hard for me to understand. They had accents" (1; 9:40). However, the new language dialect was not her only hurdle. She found that living abroad was not merely a matter of switching languages, but of altering her entire lifestyle, including diet, pace of life, and adjusting to the daily view out her window. "It was pretty hard to get used to New Zealand food. I was pretty homesick. I found that New Zealand is very countryside, and I thought New Zealand was totally different from Japan" (1; 10:15).

Unlike Kyoko or Kohei in their first experiences outside Japan, Ai's time abroad was spent without any family member, much less a parent, to provide her moral support, companionship, or guidance of any kind. In Ai's experience, mirroring Kyoko's and Kohei's second times abroad, the guardianship roles were filled by her host families, the first of which was a couple with a New Zealander host father and a host mother who was immigrant Japanese. Although this provided some sense of familiarity at first, Ai soon had misgivings when she found herself falling back on Japanese to communicate:

> I sometimes used Japanese with the Japanese host mom, so I decided no, I have to change the house. I don't have to use Japanese. I felt it's not good for me. She had a Japanese accent when she spoke English. (1; 14:06)

This was to be the first of four homestay experiences Ai had in her two years abroad. Unlike Kyoko's extremely smooth, even nurturing homestay, and Kohei's odd but welcoming experience in England, Ai's homestays proved troublesome. She was to change from family to family, enduring what she considered various difficulties of atmosphere and communication in each household. The international office of her high school was responsible for her homestay arrangements, and Ai found them very helpful in facilitating her moves when she explained her reasons for wanting to change. She felt her first homestay family was kind, but she reasoned that if she stayed with them for the entire two years abroad she would probably not progress in her main goal for her life there, which was to master English.

She moved to another home, and in this new home she realized using Japanese with a homestay parent was a minor worry. After all, though her homestay mother in the first household had not provided what Ai considered a solid English model, the living experience from day to day was somewhat similar to a habitus Ai had known in Japan, where Japanese food was prepared and the host mother shared sensibilities Ai could understand. The second homestay family consisted of a non-native English speaking host mother from the Philippines, and this time no host father. On this occasion she had another what she termed "flat mate," a girl from Malaysia, though to Ai's disappointment the two girls were not able to develop a bond of friendship:

> She was really, really quiet so I didn't talk to her or anything. I think she was not good at speaking English also. So the time we spent together was only for dinner, then we went to separate rooms. We didn't really mix. (5; 14:48)

In this house Ai faced again a host mother with limited English, though now Ai had no access to the Japanese language to help navigate communication difficulties, and felt uncomfortable listening to English in an unfamiliar accent that she discovered she did not like. In addition she realized various aspects of her own habitus were dramatically out of step with her new host household, particularly when it came to food and what she considered palatable fare, and with what regularity the same kinds of food could be reasonably served:

> The Filipina lady spoke Philippines accented English and that was so annoying. I couldn't really understand. And the food was horrible, like the same food every day. They provided rice but it's totally different from Japanese…*great* rice. I don't know how to describe it. I don't know what it is. The Philippine lady was very cleanholic, so if I dropped like one drop of coffee she was like "Hhhhhaaaaa nooooo…." (1; 10:40)

The perceived pressures of this lifestyle and the fact that this, too, was not the kind of homestay she hoped to live in for two years, prompted Ai to move yet again.

Her third homestay was the most successful of all four, and here she found herself with two new flat mates, a German girl and a Brazilian girl, with whom she found she could talk easily. The host family were a "Kiwi homestay" (1; 12:12) where both host parents were New Zealanders, and "they were very nice and made good dinners, and

were kind to me" (1; 12:16). Unfortunately for Ai this third homestay prematurely came to an end, though not because of communication or interpersonal difficulties. The host parents moved out of Christchurch in order to focus on their private business interest, and had to give up boarding the girls, and the Brazilian and German girl returned home to their respective countries. This development led Ai to her fourth and final homestay, with another native New Zealander couple, though of an age that, to Ai, seemed ancient. Unlike in Kyoko's case, no agency stepped in to decide there might be a mismatch in the Ai's youth and her host family's age:

> They were very old, like grandparents, like 75 years old. They were like grandmother and grandfather. Oh, the food was horrible. I don't want to remember it. The food was meat, mashed potatoes and steamed vegetables every day. The steamed vegetables were very soft, because they were old, and can't chew. The mashed potatoes were very soft, and the meat was very tough. Yeah, so their food was very horrible. But they were very nice. (1; 13:02)

Throughout these moves and her own efforts to make her homestay life work, Ai was developing her social persona outside of the home, both in the classrooms of the high school and in after school settings. In this regard she made another realization: Though she was now spending time with Japanese students, she felt uncomfortable doing so. Guilt began to creep in that she was not doing what she had set out to do by studying abroad.

> When I met with my Japanese friends I spoke Japanese but I thought it was not good for me. In town there were so many Japanese who met in one place. I hated

> it. I knew some Japanese people, I talked to them, but I felt guilty, so I always like hung out with Kiwi friends or Filipino friends to speak, to improve my English. But I felt very Japanese. It can't be helped to, you know, gather Japanese, like they're all Japanese people, and feel lonely, like it's hard to speak English, but I thought they have to change their decision, to, you know, improve their English. (1; 16:12)

This feeling of discomfort with Japanese was compounded when Ai found herself judging the behavior of many of the local Japanese students whom she saw about town in Christchurch. These students would congregate in a certain section of the city with many shops, places where Ai also went but avoided other Japanese, second-guessing their motives for coming abroad. Their lifestyle choices did not mesh with her own, and she observed their actions from a distance:

> Japanese people in Christchurch were pretty stupid. I think it is easier to get into a New Zealand high school than an American high school, so Japanese people in Christchurch probably dropped their high school and junior high school and there was no way to enter high school in Japan? So I don't know. Like Japanese in Christchurch were trying to be gangsters or something, like trying to be fools. They dressed like a gangster, like they tried to dye their hair like *yankī*.[13] I thought, "Why were they doing that?" Because their parents paid money to go overseas, and there is a chance to study English, but they're not studying English.

[13] The word ヤンキー [*yankī* or yankee] was popularized in the 80s to describe a certain type of delinquent youth subculture in Japan, typified by certain hairstyles and modes of dress decidedly non-mainstream.

> I thought it's so stupid. Because my close Japanese friends in Christchurch made the same decision as me, like they're trying to speak English and trying to improve English. But some people in town didn't do it. (1; 26:45)

Regarding this behavior on the part of her compatriots, Ai developed her own theory, suggesting maybe the new environment abroad, without the social pressure of Japan, allowed these students the license to behave carelessly, without studying or conforming to social norms a high school student would usually face back home:

> Maybe they didn't dye their hair in Japan. Maybe they wanted to be like gangsters in Japan but they couldn't. And then they dropped their high school, and there's nothing to do. And then I don't know. I think they were fools. (1; 29:00)

While in New Zealand, as she focused on English and avoided a social environment of spending leisure hours with groups of Japanese students, Ai also found that she had little interest in studying Japanese:

> I thought if I study (Japanese language), then I can't concentrate on having a happy life in New Zealand. Because you know I wanted to hang out with my friends, and if I study I wouldn't have time to. I studied English. (2; 17:50)

When I asked how Ai studied, she revealed that it was not exclusively (or even primarily) in the academic setting of the high school language classroom. "I was really a bad student, so I didn't really do my homework a lot. When I wanted to learn English I watched movies with English subtitles. But I did my homework. I did. What I had to do" (5; 19:22). She focused on listening and speaking in what she perceived as the more natural setting of simply spending time with native English speakers, though this took time. She

was not daunted, however, and made an effort to consciously choose whom to spend time with in order to benefit her language skills:

> I was always challenged myself to talk to people and communicate with people, with Kiwis, and I tried to spend time with my New Zealand friends in classes, helping each other. Or I ate lunch with New Zealander friends or American friends. I think those are very nice memories. Yeah, Japanese people always gather, so I heard one school had 20 Japanese students in the school so they all gathered to have lunch but I didn't want to do it. So I tried to speak to New Zealander friends and tried to, you know, communicate with them. (1; 23:07)

At the same time, though she did not take formal standardized proficiency tests to gauge her improvement in learning English, she felt she was gradually becoming a better listener, even estimating specifically how and when this occurred:

> At first it was really hard to speak English but I tried to speak to New Zealanders or Germans or Koreans, not Japanese. And three months passed and my English speaking wasn't improved much but listening skill had improved very much so I could listen to fast native English. Probably in six months I could speak, slowly. (1; 20:20)

Ai's relatively slower development in speaking proficiency was a result, she felt, of her difficulty communicating with people in what she saw as the dominant culture in in New Zealand. Ai, more than Kohei or Kyoko who had both studied in the United States, seemed to divide the world of her experiences into two polarities:

> I felt isolated sort of because Asian culture is sort of isolated from white culture. Really at that time I didn't really speak well so it was pretty hard for me to talk to Kiwis. When I learned how to speak English it became better but first year it was pretty hard for me to get along with western people. Just speaking English and expressing my feelings. And white, I mean western friends didn't want to listen to me. Because I couldn't speak well they gave up to talk to me. It was frustrating and I wanted to learn a lot. (5; 30:23)

Outside her language courses, Ai found no more satisfaction than she did in her English class. She took the same high school classes as other students, though as she says "All my classes were in English" (1; 20:06). Still even in her content courses she did not feel inspired to excel in the formal classroom settings, finding interest only in one of her various classes:

> I took my first year, which is 高校二年生 [(*kōkō ninensei*) sophomore year] in Japan. I took math, visual art, and hospitality. One subject that I really, really liked is visual arts. Like posters or logos of companies. We made them. And the teacher was really really nice. The teacher was very kind to me when teaching. I didn't know anything about visual art but I like to learn something new. (1; 18:50)

Other teachers, however, Ai did not find as sympathetic. She felt she did not get along with some teachers whose level of discipline was overly strict from what she was used to:

> I didn't really get along in the international school, the Asian English class. I didn't get along with the teachers, because they were too strict. One teacher was from New Zealand and the other Asian, from China. The lady from China was

> very, very strict. I didn't really get along with her. She was strict about homework and every single word. She didn't scold me, she was just strict. (5; 20:10)

Ai's time abroad was not without hiatus, and she came back between school years during the New Zealand summer break, which was winter in Japan:

> I came back to Japan twice in two years. Came back after each year, for two months, then returned to New Zealand. New Zealand summer holiday is pretty long, so. I was back from December to February. I experienced only winter for two years. You know New Zealand winter is completely different. Very cold, very windy. Colder than my hometown. (1; 31:16)

Despite two years of winter, she said these reassuring trips back home gave her not only a way to speak Japanese in a guilt-free way, which she seemed unable to do while abroad, but to catch up with the trends and behaviors—the left-behind habitus—of Japanese students at home:

> Very busy, many, many of my friends were very busy. I thought it's great going to town, like there are many shops in Japan and there are so many things to do, like to have fun. I always wanted to go back to Japan when I was in New Zealand, because I missed like fashion and all the stuff. When I came back it was pretty good to meet with my old friends and I missed them a lot when I was in New Zealand." (1:32:07)

At the end of her two years of New Zealand high school Ai would eventually receive her diploma, though she explains this was a surprise. Based on her performance in classes she did not expect to pass:

> I'm not good at math. I'm not good at English, especially writing. I didn't get good grades. I only got good grades for graphic design. I only passed it. That's the only one subject I passed. I wasn't a good student I think. I studied but I think it was pretty hard for me. In other I classes got *Not Achieved.* (2; 24:30)

She jokingly attributed her subsequent passing as a "miracle" (2; 25:23), but later clarified:

> I didn't know what happened. I think I talked to teachers all to forgive me, because I was an international student so I should pass easily. So I think that was the reason. I was an international student and my family paid a lot. So I made it. They told me "Okay you passed." (5; 21:45)

"My First Choice": Choosing a University and Returning to Japan

Midway through her final year in New Zealand, Ai had found online that EFSU had a study abroad aspect to its curriculum, and, in a development that was attractive to Ai, did not have an entrance examination:

> I didn't really know about universities in Japan. I didn't really search about it a lot, but I wanted to enjoy university life in Japan. You know how I went to a Japanese high school for a year? I really enjoyed it and I made lots of friends, so I thought if I go back to Japan for university I think I can have a good experience in Japan. EFSU has many study abroad programs. I found that the AE 入試 [(*nyūshi*)

> entrance requirement] which I have to take over 600 TOEIC score, or 500 TOEFL score, and I took TOEIC score, and I got a good score so I thought it's a good chance to use my English skill. (1; 5:20)

A further motivating factor to study at EFSU for Ai was that although she was not studying Japanese formally (or, in her words, "at all" [2; 3:50]) during her two years in New Zealand, in her application for EFSU, to her relief, she would not be required to demonstrate Japanese ability:

> I didn't have to study for a Japanese test. You know what I mean? I just needed a TOEIC test or TOEFL score, and we just have an interview and then if I passed the exam I can have a chance to go overseas again for two years. And it impressed me a lot. I think that's the big reason for me to go to EFSU. (2; 17:07)

Ai flew to Japan for the interview to be admitted to the AE program in the FES curriculum, and I met her for the first time. After completing the interview in July, she returned to New Zealand to finish her school year, and within a few weeks was informed she had passed the EFSU entrance requirements. She felt, she remembers: "Oh, I'm so lucky" (1;36:30).

By December, having heard she passed her courses in New Zealand, Ai was back in Japan and would begin classes in April. The Advanced English program required students to maintain an 80/B average, and also to submit to evaluation by their two teachers, twice a semester, for progress in both academic work and affect. Ai registered for the typical load of FES students, taking her English courses from two native-English

speaking teachers four times a week each. She also took some electives. In the next section I discuss her feelings about and progress in these courses during her first year.

University Life: Classes

As a student in EFSU's long-established Focused English Studies program, Ai did not have to face the same web of administrative confusion as Kyoko and Kohei. The study abroad paths, course requirements, and syllabi in the FES program were fairly documented both online and in materials given to students. She had qualified and was placed in the Advanced English section of the program, and though this meant that she would be groomed for a two-year study abroad program rather than the usual 10-month program FES students usually experienced, in practical terms it meant that her progress would be more closely monitored by her FES teachers in the form of student-specific teacher evaluation reports written twice a semester. Her course schedule (Table 5) was similar to all other first-year FES students, and was a more streamlined course load than that of GS students. Compared to the GS students, Ai's English classes met more frequently with the same teacher, and followed a more laissez-faire curriculum whereby each class was considered a content course with a specific focus, though the content itself was up to the teacher. She also took courses on international relations and career design.

Table 5. *Ai's First Semester Courses*

Japanese title	English title
国際関係	International Relations[a]
N/A	Focused English Studies: Reading and Writing[a]
N/A	Focused English Studies: Speaking and Listening[a]
キャリアデザイン	Career Design

[a] *Language of instruction was English*

Ai found herself excited about the prospect of starting anew in a new school situation. Her life in a Japanese university would be a long-awaited time when she could mix with other students and enjoy a social life with extracurricular activities, while maintaining and improving her English for a further study abroad. Her mother was supportive:

> I can get a diploma from EFSU and from the U.S. My mom thought it was great. I can get a job in an American company. My mom's attitude toward the U.S. has changed because I've been to New Zealand. (1; 34:30)

Ai began to travel to classes every day via train and bus, with a commute time of an hour and a half to get to the school. She made this trek twice a day each day. She also found herself having ambivalent feelings about being back in Japan: "After I graduated my high school in New Zealand I thought 'Oh Japanese are so busy. I want to go back to New Zealand'" (1; 32:20). When I asked her what she meant by "busy" she said:

> It's very stressful to be in Japan. When I was in New Zealand I had a very relaxing time, and it was hard, but New Zealand, it's not a busy country like Japan. Japan has so many people, and it's very stressful. I have to think a lot of things, and especially university, I have to do things by myself, like check emails and like check all these things, and I have to hand in all the things and it's pretty…it was hard for me to get used to Japanese busy society. (1; 33:03)

In addition to getting used to what she saw as a more busy lifestyle—what had become an unfamiliar habitus consisting of dispositions she nevertheless felt were norms to which

she should adhere—Ai, like Kyoko and Kohei, expressed animatedly how she felt she was having trouble communicating clearly in Japanese:

> In New Zealand I usually spoke in English. So when I came back to Japan, my tongue is like rolling around, because I got used to speak in English, so my Japanese like, sounds so weird. I don't know how to say but like, my Japanese speaking skill has become worse. I just, I like to write, I like write and read in Japanese so I think there is okay but speaking skill (.) sounds weird when I speak Japanese. Because with my mother, I speak like *wowowowowowo* like *wowowo* how do you say? You know how like New Zealanders don't open their mouth? So I forgot how to open my mouth. ((laughter)) Like English and Japanese is really different, so and I got used to speaking English, so I just kind of can't speak Japanese properly, it's hard to hear, like my mother told me "What are you saying? I don't understand." My friends and family tell me the same thing. I think I have like a Japanese brain English brain, so I can just 切替 [(*kirikae*) switch] how do you say? I can change it all the time. So if I change my mind in English I can speak fluently, but if it's in the middle it's very weird. Like because you know when I'm at school I usually speak in English because AE classmates can, are able to speak English. So after the class I still have a little English brain and then everyone else is, everyone else out there is speaking Japanese, so it's in the middle. I think I feel weird. (2; 5:33)

She likewise doubted her English ability, feeling her TOEIC score of 720 on entrance to EFSU was "not that good. It's pretty embarrassing" (1; 6:45). She also felt her TOEFL score was weak, but attributed this to her poor test-taking ability in standardized tests:

> (My TOEFL score) kind of nearly reached to 500. . . . My first TOEFL was 480? I'm so bad at reading I think. So weak. Weak, weak. Because when I start to figure out the reading parts, I always need a little bit more time to do stuff. I don't have the ability to read in a short time. (2; 1:30)

In her first term interviews Ai said that she did not initially find the AE classes challenging, though she resigned herself to the idea that they were necessary for her to endure: "I don't really know what we're learning, it's pretty boring, but I think it's a worthwhile thing for me, I guess" (1; 44:38). Through the first weeks of the first term she began to lose her momentum, and spent her time, she said, "daydreaming" her way through classes (2; 28:50). She sometimes fell asleep during lessons even in her smaller class of 25 students, and this resulted in her mark being lowered, as the class policy was that any sleeping in class would result in an officially marked absence. This occurred until the midterm progress report came back and one of her two AE teachers informed her that she was failing. She stated she was aware of her own role in earning the failing grade, but insisted she would do better before the end of the semester.

> I got my midterm evaluation? I got an F in Mr. Eddy's class, and it was very shocking. I felt so bad. Because it can't be helped, because at the beginning of the class I didn't really like his class so I just fooled around in class. I slept. I was

> daydreaming and sleeping in the class, but I changed my mind to concentrate in his class and I started to focus on his class. I was always late. But I changed my mind, so later I was no longer late to class, didn't stay away from his class. I put in an effort. But it didn't work much, so. It was a bit shocking. I'm trying now to do my homework, to put my effort on homework and everything. So I think I'll get a better score for my final grade. I am just hoping that it's working. (2; 9:55)

Ai's motivation to perform well in her classes was supported only by the far-reaching hope that someday she would again be allowed to study abroad. She was unsure precisely what manner of study abroad this would be, but she was determined that it would occur. Unfortunately, this motivation, although positive enough in terms of a grander life plan, could not provide sufficient buoyancy to keep her interested in courses that she felt were uninspiring and, for her, covered skills at too basic a level:

> Mr. Davis will speak very slow and you know how like we in our class we all have different ability? Low or high? […] I thought I had a higher level, but some people had a lower level. […] I would say they now focus on the lower level. The teachers. So I thought "Oh that's easy why do we have to do that? Why do I have to do it?" Psychology of happiness? […] And it made me daydream. I just wanted to daydream or I didn't want to listen to it. That lasted quite a long time. […] I thought "Why do we have to do that? We know how to be happy." So it was stressing me out. […] The style of teaching was okay but the topic was too easy and it's not necessary for me. I thought it was an easy topic so lower level

> students could understand, like to get used to English, but for me it was like kindergarten. (2; 29:23)

Ai also felt many of the topics in her other class of AE were too similar to what she had already studied in New Zealand, and therefore she was not sure of why she needed to pay attention or apply herself. She was reminded at the end of her first semester by her academic advisor that even if the courses were easy, this made poor performance in them all the more unacceptable:

> I did in New Zealand ESL class. I had to read many books and write personal responses and now we're doing it again. For me, I'm doing it again and I thought, "I have to do it again and I have to bring homework." And it's kind of troublesome to me. I thought it's unnecessary for me to do. But after I talked to my coordinator, she said "Even if you think that it's not necessary, you have to complete all the things." Like if you can do it, you have to do it. I just thought "Oh I can do it," so I didn't have to do it. (2;13:18)

Of her other, non-FES courses, she said that she always attended career design class, in which she was one of 25 students, but it was "pretty boring" (2; 47:31) and even though she was physically present she often slept. In stark contrast to both Kyoko and Kohei, Ai had only praise for her course in international relations. Notably, unlike the international relations class of the students in the GS program, Ai's class, though taught by a Japanese professor, was taught in English, and was relatively smaller than her AE classes. There were around a dozen students enrolled:

> It's my favorite class at EFSU. I think international relations is pretty interesting and the teacher is very nice. And I am used to my classmates. They're all older than me and we've got four Korean international students so it's pretty interesting and nice to talk to them. And then I've never learned international relations before, so I think it's an interesting subject. We can learn about history, and I won't be embarrassed, like I do have information in my head, so if I go abroad then I think it's a good subject for me to learn. International relations is okay. (2; 51:30)

Nevertheless, she still had trouble focusing on the class for the entire lecture, sometimes, again, sleeping in part of the period. In this class, Ai was not penalized for doing so:

> Because it's a really difficult subject, I have to sometimes sleep for 10 minutes and then wake up. And then "refresh my brain" and then restart again. But then the teacher notices that I'm sleeping, and I say "I need some break because it's difficult," but she understands. (2; 53:40)

She reflected on her attitude at the beginning of the year, saying, "I was very foolish this semester" (1:37:54). However, even by the end of the term she was not happy with her progress, although her grades were high enough to keep her in the program.

In her second semester, in fall of 2011, Ai still could not determine any purpose in her English lessons, either short-term or long-term, other than the fact that they were something she had to get through: "Goal of the class? Goal of the class? I didn't think of it. Just pass the class. Goal of the teachers… Vocabulary? ((laughter)) I don't know. I don't know." (2; 33:09). In some cases she felt the class was not only without a language goal, but its content, presumably chosen for its high level of interest, was too simplified:

> Probably in Mr. Davis's class we do kind of rubbish things. ((laughter)) Time wasting things like… he's doing things like learning art? Like he gives us many, many lectures and it's kind of useless. Like Leonardo Da Vinci ((laughter)) and so many artists, that we don't even really have interest in. I do love art but like learning art is like a worthless thing for AE. I do think so, and many students think so. Seriously. (3; 1:00)

I commented to Ai that she had remarked that her only academic interest in the New Zealand high school had been a graphic design class, and asked her if it was useful in some ways to then study art and in this way deepen her knowledge of graphic design. Her reply was that she felt there was a disconnect in what seemed to her the monotonous delivery of the course content and what she felt should be the language goals:

> It's like kind of useful? But it's too much. We study English but we're actually studying arts. It doesn't really make sense. To me. A little bit is okay, but it's too much. Like Mr. Davis loves art, and…we don't. And it doesn't really…even if we do, we do like art, but it's just too much. (3; 9:50)

She was now also taking an economics class and a class on management. In these classes her interest level was no higher: "I take 経営 [*keiei* (management)] and 経済 [*keizai* (economics)]. It's boring and I don't want to study" (3; 44:46). I asked her what was boring about the course and she seemed to lay the blame on the teaching style of the instructor:

> In *keizai* class the teacher always, always just looks down and just teaches? Always looks down. And I don't know what he's trying to say. He's very weird. We have a report? I have to write report but it's just that. (3; 44:46)

By the last month of the second semester courses, Ai had once again lost even passing interest in her schoolwork, stating that she "felt bored" (3; 48:45) at the university and thought that the momentum she had gained in the latter half of term one had deserted her:

> About two weeks ago I felt really depressed about studying. Because I'm tired of everything. I was tired of everything. Why? I don't know. ((laughter)) Because I found out I didn't really study last term, like this fall semester I did I put sort of efforts in like 必須授業 [*hisshū jugyō* (required classes)] like AE, and I got better reports than last semester. So I felt (.) Happy? But this semester I feel like, like I don't want to do anything. So my motivation of learning got down. I felt it's not a good thing. I will regret if I don't study now, and I felt ashamed of myself. That's why I was depressed. (3; 1:57)

University Life: Teachers

Ai was plain-spoken in her attitude towards her professors, saying "I stay away from teachers, pretty much. Other students (do) too. Probably all of the class doesn't really go to their offices. I sometimes talk with Mr. Johnson, but not Mr. Davis" (3; 10:32). She referred here to her FES teachers, one of whom was new in her second semester, though she said she was equally standoffish in interactions with her Japanese professors. She felt, however, that this was a kind of norm among her peers, saying

"Students just have no interest in talking to a teacher. They probably like teachers but are not interested in them individually" (3; 11:10).

As an FES student in the AE program, Ai was subjected to a closer scrutiny than students who were not on the AE track, and was given twice-per-semester written evaluations by her AE instructors (see Appendix O). One evaluation in the middle of the first term, mentioned in the previous section, informed her she was failing and the comments section informed her that if she continued in her behavior she would be deemed unsuitable for study abroad. Rather than focusing on the implications of the "F" designation if it became the full grade, Ai worried about the implications the grade might have on how she was viewed by her teachers. She realized that although she might feel apathetic toward her professors, they might have more definite views on her, and this led her to a state of almost frantic worry, even when she was explicitly reassured that she was not disliked:

> I've talked to Mr. Davis he said "Just because you got F, it doesn't mean I don't like you." I think that since he mentioned that he doesn't like me, that means he thinks he doesn't like me. Because he mentioned it. Because it's not necessary [to mention it]. I don't know. […] But anyway. Maybe he doesn't like me. (2; 44:44)

Of her Japanese professors, Ai spoke fondly only of her international relations teacher, saying "I think she's a really nice teacher. She's very nice anyway" (2; 54:04). On the whole, however, Ai stated "I don't really know about teachers," (3: 12:54). Even so, I could of course not be sure that this reported apathy was the entire story, as I was obviously also a teacher and Ai would have known very well that other teachers in the

program were my colleagues. The only real feeling she seemed to have about her FES teachers one way or another was that one in particular, Mr. Davis, seemed to simplify the class too much, though even in her criticism she backed away from dismissing the lesson entirely, laying the onus of responsibility back on herself:

> I would love to sleep in Davis's class. In his class now we learn how to sound *l* and *r*! I think I can do it but, *ahhh*. I just thought, "*Ahhhh, l* and *r*, okay." But some people, some students, cannot pronounce *l* and *r* so it's okay, but for me it was pretty boring. (2; 37:00)

Though in principle Ai's FES class was supposed to keep the same teachers for the first two semesters (one class had changed teachers as the original teacher's contract came to an end mid-year) in the second year the class would have two new teachers, which for Ai meant two new unknown variables. When I asked how she felt about this, she said "I feel scared. I'm excited to see new teachers, but I'm kind of worried about how they will make us study. Like compared to now. But I am happy to change" (3; 43:28).

University Life: Relationships

Throughout her first year, Ai never joined any club or circle, though she would sometimes express an interest in doing so. In her first semester, when she did not have a part-time job, she said "I have a lot of free time" (1; 48:20) but later in the year she would fill her free hours with work and homework, saying "I want to do something fun, but I don't have the time, like I want to be involved in clubs. A club. I should try something. I'm just making up excuses. I should try something new" (3; 46:07). Her university social

life had begun in her AE class that met eight times a week, and Ai began the first year by organizing an ice-breaking party at a café for her class:

> Some students, or quite many students, came to this city from other cities or other prefectures. So I thought we should be like be a big group of friends, like they came to the city, so I wanted to enjoy the city life. So we had a dinner party, which I coordinated. (2; 25:54)

In a manner that I eventually felt was typical of Ai, she downplayed her role as the organizer of the party, even adding that she felt that her efforts to create this social event were a function of her own shortcomings of personality:

> I wanted to get to know each other and I'm a kind of a weird person. I act like I'm a positive and active person in front of people. But in my house I always think, I'm always daydreaming about people, like how to do, how to like connect with people. I was thinking many things when I am alone so like I sort of, I met many new faces, so it was kind of stressing me out. Because I wanted us to get to know each other, but it was pretty hard. We just met like four weeks. But it was a good party in the city, at a cafe bar. (2; 26:15)

Though her assessment was that it was a "good party," she felt it was also a cause of stress for her, as she felt the girls tended to want to "get into groups," (2; 27:20) and girls made up 20 out of the class of 23 students.

Despite the constant class meetings with the same students, Ai never felt very close to her AE classmates. She remarked of becoming friends only with one of her Korean classmates in her international relations class, though she spoke to this student in

English. Also Ai, in the same way as Kyoko, did not seek out other exchange students at the International Center, saying she did not want to be tasked with language exchange where she would have to shepherd students through life in Japan or be a tutor of Japanese language. “In this university,” she said, “I just want to concern by myself. […] You know some exchange students are willing to learn Japanese, and I don’t want to teach them Japanese. It can be a bother” (3; 22:56). She either did not consider, or dismissed the idea that spending time with exchange students might improve her English, an area where she felt her own ability was faltering. She did not compare herself to native speakers, but to other Japanese students who had been in similar study abroad situations, and in this regard she felt she had failed to improve her language skills, saying in the second term:

> My skill at English is getting lower I think. Compared to when I was in New Zealand. When I speak to my friend from New Zealand, a Japanese guy, he studied in New Zealand for three years, and he’s coming back this year, and I heard his English is more like native English, but my English is very…. My English is getting much lower. When I speak to him I feel it. (3; 39:20)

She also felt in the second term that the class as a whole had lost its motivation, and because of this she reasoned she did not want to spend time with her classmates, who she felt might pull her down:

> I felt really comfortable with them last semester, but this semester I felt like I just thought about myself too much. I didn’t think of other people. Especially other classmates. Because their motivation to study got very down, and I did want to

> study, so I just didn't want to compare with them. So I didn't get close to them this semester like I did in last semester. (3; 20:48)

As often seemed the case, as she acknowledged some negative aspect of her situation, she ended her comment trying to look on the bright side, ever wiping up the metaphorical spilled tea: "It's comfortable now. Like one or two months ago I didn't feel comfortable. But now it's comfortable." (3; 21:50)

Ai saw a comparison between how she had felt in New Zealand with the low-motivated Japanese kids who lolled about Christchurch without taking their schooling seriously and now the other students in her AE class, who had also been lackadaisical in their study habits in the English classes. She had not wanted that influence. In the end it had not mattered. As her first year at EFSU came to a close and we held our final interview before I left the school, Ai seemed quiet and reserved, seeming unhappy with how the second term had unfolded. She said she felt guilty somehow. I asked her why. She said, "The guilt comes from myself. If I don't study. I didn't study and I knew it was coming but I didn't do it. It's, it's complicated. I feel guilty when I didn't do things that I had to do" (3; 27:08).

Passages: A Change in Goals

In December of 2011, as she was finishing her freshman year, Ai gave me her email address and promised to meet me again when I needed to contact her before the completion of the study. I communicated with her over email a few times, and met her in person for a session where I spoke to her but did not record, then a final interview that I

audiorecorded. In these meetings I was able to catch up on what happened after I had left EFSU. For Ai, her second year brought several big changes. Though her four-day-per-week classmates in AE remained the same, she gained two new teachers as she expected. These AE classes, long promised as a direct track to a long-term study abroad, were only mildly interesting, she said. In this second year her plans to study outside Japan changed focus, and she decided she wanted to go to France instead of the United States. At home, however, there were also changes: Her parents divorced, and her financial stability and economic capital took a rather serious blow. Subsequently, all of her study abroad plans fell through, as even though she, as a scholarship student, could have her overseas tuition and board subsidized to some degree by EFSU, she was without any further funds to pay the extra costs of life abroad. I met with her on a winter night in 2014, after she had finished her third year, at a coffee shop in the city. After this meeting, which I did not audio record, I wrote in my field journal:

> Ai has not quit EFSU. She stopped going, though. She didn't get any credits in the last (junior) year. She still needs 30 more. But each class is 8 credits, she says. […] She seems to indicate she will stay at EFSU and finish, she says she *has to finish.* I don't know what she means exactly, but I suspect it has to do with just getting university out of the way. In the same way as Kohei, I think Ai wants to find her way through this. And like Kohei, I think she will in her own way. She has her eyes on some distant prize, which for her I think means getting out of Japan. She says: *I have to finish. I have to take some classes. Do you have any professor you can recommend?* (Ai: FN 1/16/14)

In this way Ai's goal became simply being done with university and moving on in her life, less about the original goal of using EFSU to study abroad and more now just to be finished, and move toward a different future. I asked her how she felt about her parents' divorce, and if that had caused any upheaval in her life. In my field notes I wrote down her response:

> 別に [*Betsu ni*. (Whatever)]. I was upset when it first happened. My mom told me when I turned 20. She said "Now you can handle it: We're getting a divorce." Now I'm over it. I don't really care. I'm fine. (Ai: FN 1/16/14)

Eventually she did graduate, a year later than expected, in the summer of 2015. "I was so sick of university," she said, in our last interview in February 2016, "and I didn't really go to school so I was a bit late to graduate" (5; 3:51). Her parents' divorce was only one of her home issues, for her brother, too, had some personal difficulties that caused stress for both her and her mother. Her father was living elsewhere, and seemed so thoroughly out of her life that she said she did not know where he was or what he was doing. "He tries to text me," she said, "but I don't respond" (5; 7:54). I suspected that though much of the unrest in her personal life must have been percolating or below the surface in her first year of university, the acute difficulties seemed to have occurred in the interim between her first and final years at school. "That's kind of a part of the reason I couldn't go to the university," she said. "I was in trouble with my situation so I don't feel like going to school" (5; 8:25). She spoke in retrospect of her time in the foreign language university in typical Ai-speak, saying something negative then pushing to find something positive:

> I'm happy to be done, but I learned quite a lot in the first two years. Because I never tried to study before. So I think it was a really good experience, but I think it was so painful at that time. It's been a really good experience for me. (5; 27:40)

As our final interview came to a close, but before she revised this manuscript, Ai told me she had found a job in Tokyo, employed in the field of art, as an entry-level assistant. She seemed both relieved and pleased, both to have gotten a job in a field that interested her, and to be getting out of her hometown and moving relatively far away, far from the issues of her home life. Of the job, she said, "I don't know what I will do," but she said it with a hopeful smile (5; 1:26).

This concludes my presentation of the individual narratives of the three participants. Rather than conclude this chapter with a summary or preliminary discussion, I have elected to present each of the narratives as an intact story to provide the most direct and immediate access to the reader. I turn to my own interpretation and discussion of commonalities and differences in their stories in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

THE RULES OF THE GAME: A SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

> Every established order tends to produce (to very different degrees and with different means) the naturalization of its own arbitrariness.
>
> —Bourdieu (1977, p. 164)

> People can't, unhappily, invent their mooring posts, their lovers and their friends, any more than they can invent their parents. Life gives these and also takes them away and the great difficulty is to say Yes to life.
>
> —James Baldwin, (1956) *Giovanni's Room*

> Things are what they are only because they are what they ought to be. . . .
>
> —Bourdieu, (1977, p. 166)

As the participants' stories have unfolded in the previous chapters, I have tried to present them each according to the same general pattern, following the progression of my research questions:

> What were the circumstances leading to each participant's journey abroad?
>
> How did they function, cope with, or experiences their lives overseas before returning to Japan?

How did they experience life upon their return?

What prompted them to want to attend a foreign language university, and once there, how did they deal with classes, with teachers, and with other students?

What were their goals for the future and how did these goals change as they progressed through their initial years of university?

Of course this ordering is an imposed, arbitrary pattern, one that I have set out for the sake of coherence. In the very first interviews some students talked of their goals for the future, and in the last interviews before I submitted this final draft I listened as some participants reflected on their initial days abroad as youngsters. I have wrangled a chronology, a set of stories, Polkinghorne's (1995) *narrative emplotting*, out of this for clarity's sake. Initially, when I thought of how to present the reflective accounts of each participant, I considered whether to lay them out thematically, giving one participant's perspective on life as a child, then juxtaposing this with the perspective of one or more other participants, or to present them as told, in a stream of consciousness of reported memory, amorphous. As I discussed in Chapter 3, I finally decided to separate participant stories into separate chapters, as much as possible, to allow the individual voices to surface, and in a linear time order. In doing so thus far I have minimized analysis in favor of narrative structure.

In the current chapter I delve further into a paradigmatic look into the stories via Pokinghorne's (1995) narrative analysis, considering how my research questions have been addressed in the stories of each participant, both in the context of my conceptualization of Bourdieu's thinking tools, and in the midst of the other literature on

Japanese returnees. In this chapter, I contextualize the experience of being a returnee with a discussion of field. I discuss how fields align with the notion of involving oneself in a game, a game with rules that must, to one degree or another, be followed. Through this involvement in the game or games there is a resulting change in individual habitus, which I see as the degree of internalization of or resistance to the rules of the game(s). This framework is one I use in my analysis throughout the chapter, synthesizing, where reasonable, the experiences of each returnee using Bourdieu's thinking tools and lexicon. I address my research questions following the temporal layout of the participants' stories, where possible juxtaposing the returnee literature I have mentioned in previous chapters.

Playing fields: Applying Bourdieu's Thinking Tools

Bourdieu's (1991a) concept of field (*le champ*) has been imagined as a field of experience, but also of competition, of conflict, of even combat (Bourdieu, 1996a). The game always has stakes, and the players are always in a state of struggle. To take Kyoko's example of handball (what I, as an American, would call Olympic handball) as a metaphor for life experiences, this game has a very specifically designed court of certain dimensions and hardness, with painted lines of specific colors delineating fields of play, foul zones, physical goals set on either side of the field, as well as areas that are out-of-bounds. Once a player steps off of the court for whatever reason, she is out of play, and if she steps far enough out she could be considered permanently out of that particular game. Like players in handball, social agents wear designated apparel (with varying degrees of leeway as to what is acceptable and what is unacceptable), have both appropriate and

inappropriate means of communicating or interacting with one another, have sets of rules that they must learn, little by little, until they move from novice to more skilled, and have goals. At different moments there might or might not be a team effort for one shared goal, but there are always goals to be attained and a role for each player. A social field is in some cases limited in the same way as a playing field by physical or geographical boundaries, though not always: When one is out of the office, one is exempt from certain behavioral requirements, but not from the behavioral requirements of the larger social field; when one travels abroad for business, how one is expected to act might change but there are nevertheless still a set of unwritten rules. Games can be played both "at home and away," and in some cases the away game has different regulations, sometimes so much so that it might seem to be a different sport entirely. In the following sections I outline how the varying fields (in Japan, and in different contexts and different countries abroad) have interacted with the varying forms of capital and the changing habitus of the participants in their told experiences. I begin by considering my first research question of how and why each participant initially went abroad.

Life Gives This: Going Abroad

One aspect of the participants' experiences that I want to highlight is the contrast in why they were all initially abroad. Although returnee literature has often categorized *kikokushijo* as similar in this way—they were taken away by parents because of the father's job—I have found in my 15 years teaching in Japan that students in my classes who "fit the mold" of returnee student have quite different reasons for having sojourned

outside this country. The three returnee participants in this study initially lived abroad, in fields quite distant and distinct from those of Japan, for very different reasons. This in itself seemed a plausible enough reason for separating their stories one from the other, distinguishing each participant's life experiences and avoiding the assumption that their turns abroad were all of a type.

Kyoko's time abroad was first subject to her parents' desires, then later her own. Her initial journey was because of her father's temporary job posting. She was never going to stay for very much time in Hong Kong, and though as a child she might not have been consciously aware of the provisional nature of her sojourn at the time, her parents would certainly have been. She moved overseas with them for their reasons, or perhaps even for only her father's reasons, with Kyoko in the role as an accompanying family member whose needs had to be looked after but who was of necessity "along for the ride." Only later in her high school years when she left Japan again (and then left yet again in her university years) was the journey her own choice. Her Hong Kong experience was the classic *kikokushijo* experience, and the one most commonly acknowledged in Japan and accepted as worthy of attention—the child plucked out of school due to unavoidable necessity, taken abroad, and eventually returned to Japan (and the school system).

Kohei had a different kind of abroad experience, and for longer. Kohei's experience has also received less attention in returnee studies, as his time abroad began at birth. He grew into boyhood without ever participating in the early-year schooling Japanese youngsters receive. Born abroad as result of his Japanese parents' choices, he might have conceivably spent his entire life in the United States. He might still now be

living in New York without ever having returned permanently to Japan, but for the misfortune of his father's cancer, which brought the family back. Though Kohei did later choose to study in England in part of high school, his early lengthy residence in New York as a boy was simply life, as he knew it, and in his case the first new unfamiliar field was not *kaigai* [(海外) overseas] but Japan itself.

Ai had an experience different from both Kyoko and Kohei. Ai was born and raised in Japan until her high school years, and only had, in her early youth, the kind of limited exposure to English that many Japanese young people might be having in this era of so-called *gurōbarujin* ("global citizen") prep schools. She read English in texts, heard English from non-Japanese teachers who visited her classroom once a week for "English conversation," listened to "white American music," and saw English spoken and taught on public television educational programs. Ai's mother chose to send her to an international school on weekends to expose her to more English, and later, again guided by her mother, Ai made the conscious choice to finish high school in the English-only environment of Christchurch.

In all three cases of these first times abroad, the decisions of the participants' parents determined the fields and the games, in which the participants then began to take part as best they could. Each of them were expected to absorb new rules, but the fields, although uniform in the sense that they were all English-language-speaking countries, were far from identical: an international school in Hong Kong then a high school in Washington state, a Brooklyn neighborhood and an international school in England, a high school in New Zealand. Each participant had to negotiate their way through new

social, academic, and extracurricular situations. For Kyoko and Kohei in their early years they were able to rely on family nearby, but in their high school experiences overseas, all the returnees were largely on their own.

Goodman (1990a, 1990b) and some other researchers (Cutts, 1997) have taken as a matter of course that returnees, in the most basic sense because of the reality of the high cost of airfare and room and lodging abroad, appear to come from families with relatively higher economic (and by way of transference, social) capital than most other Japanese people. Goodman (1990a, 1990b) reasoned that this was what allowed the idea of a returnee "problem" of the past to gain such traction, in turn eliciting the concessions made by the Japanese government for returnees in the education system. Because parents of returnees possessed significant social, economic, and cultural capital, their voices and concerns for their children were more likely to be given credence, heard and acted upon. Although this might be a reasonable assumption on a macro level, and certainly wealthy families might send their children abroad for any number of reasons, not all such children who go abroad come from wealth.

Each participant in this study could count themselves fortunate, born, as Ai stated of her own life, "into privilege," relative to many of their peers who might have wanted to go abroad, but did not possess the sufficient economic capital to leave Japan. Though Ai was the only of the participants to straightforwardly assess her background as relatively financially well off because her father owned his own business, none of the participants stated they were from a lower rung in a socioeconomic ladder. None, however, felt they were able to simply coast on their parents' funds, either when in

school or after graduation. All of them, even early in their first year, stated they were concerned about getting a job in the future and making enough money to support themselves. Kyoko was driven by a desire to excel so that she could achieve financial independence, and in her second freshman semester when her class was given the opportunity to ask questions of a student who had returned from living abroad on a EFSU program, Kyoko says she was not interested in affective questions about life in the United States, but rather she "wanted to know like what amounts, like money" (3; 20:55). Kohei, from a young age, was made aware of the necessity of financial security in building a life when he realized his family could no longer live in the United States mainly because of the abrupt lack of funds to support them when his father died. Ai, who felt she had been given a great deal in her youth by her parents when they sent her abroad to New Zealand, would later feel the burden of a lack of funds when she reached the age of 20. At that time her parents divorced, pulling the financial rug out from under her, and stymying her plans to study abroad again. Although the returnee students of this study did not come from impoverished backgrounds, none of them could be said to depend upon a reliably lavish family wealth or a consistent benefactor.

There is also the notion embedded in Goodman's (1990b) thesis of an "elite class of schoolchildren" that family economic, social, or cultural capital can translate into the same capital for the returnees themselves, either while abroad, or freshly back in Japan. As I have pointed out in Chapter 4, Bourdieu (2006) suggests that certain kinds of capital cannot be inherited, but must be earned over time. Also, although Bourdieu's concept of capital acknowledges the influences of economic theory, which views capital as related to

"mercantile exchange, which is objectively and subjectively oriented toward a maximization of profit" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241), it expands capital as something more than simply exchangeable currency with one value. Some types of capital might have value across a field or across fields, but other types are less transferable, are less valorized in one field than another, or even within one field by different players. The skills learned in Japan do not always have the same value abroad, and the skills learned abroad do not always have the same value in Japan.

In terms of linguistic capital, the participants could feel fortunate to have lived in countries where English was the language spoken and the language acquired, particularly as a command of English, specifically if not exclusively, is to some degree a culturally consecrated ability in Japan both in and outside of academic circles. Kyoko, in her first period abroad as a child, would have been as unaware of this as Kohei, who was simply brought into the world in a place other than his parents' home country. All of the participants, however, as they matured, felt a desire to continue to learn English, perhaps feeling the encouragement both tacitly and directly in so many contexts where English proficiency is seen as desirable. In both Kyoko's and Ai's case, though less so Kohei's, I felt the participants perceived the sheltering hand of their parents guiding them in life choices, specifically to learn English but also to cultivate a knowledge of a lifestyle outside of Japan. Kyoko mentioned both parents, but certainly her mother, as "strict" about study, and as pushing her to both continue at English and remain focused on her schoolwork. Kohei seemed to be moored to his parents in their choices regarding where to live, but relatively less guided toward a particular goal or educational track. The fact

that he lived his early life speaking English outside the home was a result of simply where his parents happened to reside at the time. Ai explained that her attendance at a young age at the international weekend school and her choice of New Zealand as eventual study abroad destination were both a result of her mother's urging. Previous literature has seemed, in its categorization of *kikokushijo*, to take as a *fait accompli* that the children were whisked out of Japan by their parents because of job requirements. There has been little research, however, on the motivations of the parents in taking the children abroad and actively cultivating their English skills, instead of enrolling them, for example, in *Nihonjingakko*. For the participants in this study, once abroad and in school for whatever reason, they were compelled to live in the new field(s) outside Japan, and internalize the rules of the new game(s).

Away Game: Living and Functioning Abroad

If I begin with the idea of family economic capital as the means of having gotten abroad in the first place, and the notion that at least with the participants of this study their parents' decisions seemed to be guiding them toward acquisition of a different kind of capital than that available in Japan, what capital did they take with them that had value or currency in their fields abroad? What exactly is the cultural or symbolic capital they might have gained?

First Journeys: Kyoko and Kohei

When I compare the participants' experiences, contrary to my expectation there seem to be many more differences than similarities, though life eventually brought them to the same classrooms at EFSU. Both Kyoko and Kohei initially lived abroad at young ages; Kyoko left for Hong Kong as a five-year-old, and Kohei lived in New York from birth. Each of them, as well, went abroad again in their high school years of their own accord, and each to different countries than the ones where they had first sojourned. For these two participants I needed to divide their lives abroad into two periods, the earlier period when they were children and the later, high school period. I expected both participants would have different perceptions of living abroad in the two separate stays. This turned out to be true, for a number of reasons, including the fogginess of childhood memory as well as the change in priorities as a young adult (impressions that might have seemed very important when a child no longer seemed particularly relevant as a 19-year old).

Once Kyoko's parents decided that Kyoko would travel with them to Hong Kong, their choices regarding her life were guided by a concern for how to enhance and cultivate her future. Kyoko as a child was able to benefit not only from her parents' economic capital in funding her transportation and lifestyle in Hong Kong, but also from her parents' active desire to prepare her for a future where she might use English. This was evident in their paying for an English tutor for her before departure, and then in choosing how she would be educated once there. Her parents made the deliberate decision to send her to an international school with English as the medium of instruction,

ostensibly as an early step of her personal enrichment, a long-term investment in her acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital. Kyoko remembers having the freedom and childlike independence to play with dolls with her younger sister, but their eventual shared hobby of figure skating coached by, in Kyoko's words, "a champion," would also have carried some distinction, which she took pains to mention in her interview. By the time she sat in my office for interviews, Kyoko had already become, as a child, accustomed to competition at what was presented to her as an elite level, and developed a habitus of taking as self-evident that she was worthy of participating and even excelling in such activities. She was also used to having to perform on cue in interview situations such as the initial screening for her GS program at EFSU, having sat for an interview at her international school in Hong Kong, then again having an interview before leaving for the United States in high school. Even so, as she reminded me in follow-up interviews and comments, this habitus of aiming high did not come to her without a sense of great pressure. Her goals to become an accountant, to surround herself with the trappings of what she had come to see as luxury, and to excel in everything she did, were achievable goals, but came at a price. She felt great personal stress, enacted a self-imposed isolation from social activities, and occasionally felt hollowing disappointment when she did not receive the recognition she desired.

Kohei's lifestyle in New York became in many ways that of a non-immigrant American boy, but his parents were also seemingly aware of how his future might be affected growing up outside of their and his country of nationality. Kohei grew up playing basketball with neighborhood kids and getting into trouble at school, following

the unpublished playbook of being a "bad kid," and breaking written rules both in weekday school and his *hoshūkō* Saturday school. His life outside the home was nearly complete immersion in the Englishes of differing dialects and accents spoken by his "mainly Hispanic" (1; 17:49) neighborhood peers and the daily exposure to teachers and other classmates, as well as media. English, though not a mother tongue for him in the sense that his family spoke Japanese at home, was nevertheless a native language to him, so much so that in their first year university course Kyoko would compare herself unfavorably to Kohei in terms of English fluency, though her own TOEFL PBT score was nearly 60 points higher than his. Kohei's ability to speak and function in English as a young boy was a function of his parents having settled in New York, though they, almost in the opposite fashion as Kyoko's family, chose to send Kohei to *hoshūkō* to maintain his Japanese reading and writing at some level of competence. This effort of his parents was meant to keep him proficient in Japanese, maintaining the kind of cultural capital that might easily become deficient in the United States, but would be useful back in Japan. Meanwhile Kyoko's family (at least initially) pushed her toward English.

In their first times abroad, then, each of these two participants carried with them very different types of capital— Kyoko was able, with some linguistic capital of English knowledge, to enter a private school with other international students. Kohei, born in New York, embodied the habitus of an immigrant child among other immigrants in Brooklyn. Kyoko returned to Japan having experienced how to function in a school interview, and with a spurred desire to compete and excel, with the knowledge that her relatively high linguistic capital in English could be what set her apart. Kohei learned the

field of how to function as an immigrant among other immigrants, how to negotiate English as, if not a mother tongue, a very nearly first language. He was also able to develop his Japanese linguistic capital at the Saturday school. With different fields, came different expectations of habitus and different strengths of capital.

Home from Away: First Returns

I struggled, in posing my questions, both the prepared questions and my impromptu asides during interviews, to avoid framing them in such a way as to suggest my participants had lived troubled lives, attempting to avoid the pitfall Goodman (1990b) suggested is a flaw in the methodology of many returnee studies, where researchers have assumed from the outset that there have been problems of readjustment. If the participants were to perceive some crisis of return, I hoped this would be revealed in their own recollections and not spring from some tacit suggestion I had made. Reassuringly, I felt the accounts of the participants in this study were not as achingly lugubrious as I had come to expect they might be after my reading of many studies on *kikokushijo* readjustment. Still, all of the participants did have clear memories of a difference of experience in living abroad and living in Japan, and although *hysteresis* is not a term without some degree of negative connotation, it is to some degree an understandable, even expected result of movement between different fields. Envisioning their experiences in this way, it has been my intention to avoid shoehorning my participants' narratives into harmonious on one side or

discordant on the other, instead finding what I see as middle grounds between Yoshida et al.'s (2009) smoothies and bumpies, where the participants might not fit clearly into such easily divisible categories.

Kyoko and Kohei, by the time of this study, had both lived abroad twice and returned twice. Kyoko's first return was traumatic for her in the same emotionally tumultuous way as any childhood move can be, but she framed the situation more as a tearing away from her life of figure skating than as a crisis of return based in cultural or linguistic difficulties. In an instance of serendipity working against her, her return coincided with the outbreak of flu virus, with the popular media speculating that the virus had spread from Hong Kong, creating unwelcome attention on Kyoko, who reports she was bullied at that time. The bullying here of course might have occurred no matter what the local news was saying or whether or not there had been a disease, but the fact that there seemed some reason for the bullying allowed her to "blame" it on external factors, namely suspicion of sickness, rather than herself. Indeed, once the fear of contagion subsided, she says she was treated as "special" (6; 4:26) by teachers as a returnee student, often allowed to coast by in situations where her peers would have been held to a higher standard. Though she could communicate in her mother tongue without difficulty, her written Japanese ability had deteriorated during her time abroad. *Kanji* ability in reading and writing remains a marker of cultural capital in Japan, particularly in educational settings where the ability to write properly is not only afforded esteem, but considered a sign of having absorbed the proper discipline. Kyoko remembered:

> My *kanji* sucked. Like what the hell? Both reading and writing. […] Since I was a returnee student, Japanese teachers were making fun of me. For example "Oh Kyoko, read this part," and I'm like "How can I read this?" and laughing. "Because you're a returnee student, it's this." Like, they won't get mad that much. Other students they're like, "I can't believe you can't read this *kanji*, like how are you gonna pass university?" But I never got scolded. (5; 54:22)

This example of the cultural capital of "being a returnee" trumping the requirements of a singular classroom assignment seems to support Goodman's (1990b) point that such students might be given an edge on their peers who have never lived abroad, but it seems in this case a very blunt edge, and ultimately more of an avoidance on the teacher's part of the difficulty of remediated teaching than a way of providing help to the student who might need it. Kyoko's parents, ever aware that this kind of free pass might seem attractive to her, reminded her she could not rest on this beneficence forever: "People, like students, were like 'You can speak English and that is better than being good at *kanji*.' My parents aren't like that. They're like I'm Japanese, like 'You're Japanese, you gotta know Japanese stuff.' They were so ashamed" (5; 55:45).

The returnee who faces this kind of throwing up of the hands and a wink and a nudge from a "sympathetic" instructor might find herself in difficult times later. In one of his many writings on *Nihonjinron*, Befu (1991) wrote:

> The belief that Japanese is a unique language, spoken universally and exclusively by the Japanese, reinforces a thesis of cultural homogeneity. Most Japanese

> proceed on the assumption that the essential character of the Japanese culture and expression is found and realized exclusively through the Japanese language—a cultural commodity available only to the Japanese themselves. (p. 4)

The idea that returnees, as ethnically Japanese, nevertheless find the *kanji* of their school level too difficult, throws a wrench into the gears of the notion of a Japaneseness quantifiable by such skills. Writings on returnee students discussing *kanji* and acquisition (Hansen, 2001; Matsuda, 2000; Snape, Hirakawa M., Hirakawa Y., Hosoi, & Matthews, 2014) note such difficulties in the education of returnees is far from uncommon, and indeed the maintenance of *kanji* skills is one of the stated purposes of *hoshūkō* Saturday schools abroad (which, of the three participants in the study, only Kohei attended). The symbolic capital embodied in *kanji* proficiency is then displaced to some degree by simply "being a returnee," though I feel it is relevant that all of the participants had obtained an ability in specifically English, and not a language with less linguistic prestige in Japan. If Kyoko's L2 had been Tagalog would her instructor have been equally understanding?

The linguistic capital that came with having studied English is what Kyoko realized set her apart from other students at her school, and what could put her on once again a competitive track where she might rise above others. Her experiences in Hong Kong had taught her that she was not bound by geography or any certain environment, and her knowledge of English, fostered carefully by her mother and now at a point of relative fluency, invited an English-speaking country as a destination.

Kohei's return was less immediately traumatic, and more a case of a slow realization that his own forms of capital had little currency in regular schools in Japan. As he points out his first "return" was more of a "coming to" than "coming back" to Japan, as he had only visited the country a few times as a child when he moved back for good. His arrival in Japan when he "came to" the country was not particularly happy, though the circumstances of his return—his father's illness—would have been sad no matter where the destination. Once his family had returned, his placement into an elementary school was necessary to keep him in the school calendar with other Japanese pupils, but this practical necessity highlighted his lack of linguistic and social capital in the new field. "I couldn't speak that much Japanese," he admitted (6; 1:13), though certainly he spoke enough to be able to function in a school setting. He felt, he says, "like an exchange student coming to Japan and was studying Japanese and was only able to talk a little bit," (2; 3:05). No one knew him and he knew no one, and at the time of the year he entered, so close to elementary school graduation, the other students had formed bonds and shared experiences with one another over several years. Kohei simply did not have the months and years needed to establish any significant social capital—time was against him. Coupled with this was the fact that his English ability was better than his Japanese, and he remembered "That's the time I really didn't like Japan" (4; 27:07). As he progressed through junior high he continued his stint as a "bad kid," often sleeping in class and having difficulty focusing on academics. Not until the end of his junior high school when his teacher suggested to him that he attend a high school with a study abroad aspect did

he find a niche into which he felt he fit. At the new high school, surrounded by pupils who were either returnees or who had a strong interest in study abroad, Kohei's linguistic

abilities suddenly attained a rich symbolic capital. Though he said he never attained a strong motivation to study, he felt stronger socially:

> I fit in, socially. It was like an international course, and people in the class really wanted to like level up their English so they were more interested in me because I used to live in America for like 13 years. At that time my English was good. (6; 11:38)

He had hit upon a place where he could feel part of a group, a team playing the same game with similar goals. This group, however, though made up of all Japanese students, consisted of pupils who were nearly all setting their sights outside Japan.

In these first returns, Kyoko and Kohei faced the challenge of negotiating new fields based on the capital (including the linguistic capital of their English proficiency) that they had acquired overseas. They now had to strategize how to use the forms of capital that they possessed, and to compensate for the forms of capital that, in their absence, they had been unable to accrue. Teachers and peers discounted their perceived and actual Japanese deficiencies as understandable. English proficiency for both of them became something that set them apart. For both participants this feeling led them to turn their faces once again outward, outside Japan, to a place they felt they might fit more securely.

Different Worlds: High School Abroad

Kyoko and Kohei made the choice to go abroad again, propelled by their memories of their lives as children, and their confidence in their own linguistic capital to function in an overseas setting. Another understated yet not unstated reason for their urge to go abroad was the hysteresis they had experienced upon returning to Japan from their first sojourns. Kyoko, as mentioned in Chapter 4, felt life in Japanese high school consisted of "Japanese kids who are so the same" (1; 25:26) and said she was not interested in staying in an environment, that, for her, had come to seem oppressive. Kohei, of his choice of school in England, simply wanted to get out of Japan: "I didn't care wherever I went, just as long as I could go abroad" (6; 14:56). Even Ai, who in her teenage years made the choice to study overseas for the first time, seemed interested in leaving Japan due to her experiences on her weekends at the international school and the contrast between that environment and the Japanese public school she attended. Using rhetoric seen and heard in the discourse of *gurōbarujin* ("global citizens") and internationalized Japanese, Ai spoke of the "wide vision" (2; 58:45) of "foreigners" that Japanese people did not share. She had less of a grounding in English by the time she went to high school than Kyoko or Kohei did at the same age, but still she felt her experiences in the international school and the fact that "compared to others could speak better English" (5; 11:20) gave her sufficient linguistic capital to sustain her in life in New Zealand.

For all the participants, life abroad at times provided a chance to reflect upon their own dispositions, and develop symbolic and cultural capital that had value in the fields in

which they found themselves. Capital, as Bourdieu (2006) suggests, begets capital, and Kyoko's experiences in the state of Washington were a direct influence on how she would eventually set the course of her life. Kyoko's time in Washington as a high school student was made possible by the arrangements she and her mother made (with her parents' funding) with the organization that would secure for her a school and board abroad. Once she was installed in the home of the family that had been chosen for her (at the last minute) she was provided with a lifestyle of relative abundance in nearly every way compared to what she had known in Japan. She was given her own room, a mobile device with its fees paid for her every month, and surrounded by the trappings of what she perceived as distinction—not simply fundamental material needs such as shelter and food, but luxuries beyond what were typically conceivable in Japan—a house on a lake with a jet ski, a hot tub on a home balcony, access to a car as a high school student, and, through her host sister and eventually her boyfriend, *entrée* into a social milieu of friends and acquaintances seen as popular in the school context in which she was daily immersed. This exposure to the lifestyle of her host family, possessed of a significant economic and to an unclear degree cultural capital, marked Kyoko indelibly, eventually influencing her choice of career in accounting (Her host mother was an accountant, her host father worked in a bank), which she hoped would set in motion a life trajectory of her own toward this kind of perceived affluence.

Kyoko's immersion into the new fields also influenced her personal habitus, and as she adapted herself to the new rules of the game she found herself changing in more ways than one. Her newly acquired dispositions were instilled by watching what

everyone else was doing, then reinforced by her exposure to media: "I kissed my boyfriend in public but I didn't like it. Then watching *Gossip Girl* my brain is like 'Oh this is how it's supposed to be'" (1; 57:52)! Her behavior at school became typical to that of her American high school peers, and she sometimes skipped class and failed to complete her homework assignments, although she had a "talent" for math, a cultural capital beyond her classmates that she felt she had gained in her home country. She attributed her success in math to the more rigorous math curriculum in her schools in Japan, her ability with numbers now a relatively rare symbolic capital. She was able, even without doing her daily assignments, to score high enough on all tests to pass. Eventually, she said, "I felt like I'm not Japanese or something. I felt like I'm completely American and my host family even asked me to adopt me. I didn't get homesick or miss my parents or friends (in Japan)" (2;56:53).

Kyoko's acclimatization to life in the high school environment of Washington was facilitated her host sister, who served as what Wenger (1998) would term a type of "broker" who "straddle(s) different communities of practice" (p. 318). This kind of chaperone is a form of Willis, Onoda and Enloe's (1993) "cultural broker" mentioned in Chapter 1. Kendra showed Kyoko the ropes, speeding the process of acquiring the rules of the game in the hallways, parking lots, and shopping malls of the town in Washington where they lived. Her host sister's counsel not only afforded Kyoko a guide through the labyrinth of unfamiliar social settings, but effectively endowed her with social capital "by association." Kendra, a popular student and upperclassman already, introduced Kyoko to worlds/fields she would have, if alone, needed years of accrued social capital to access.

Kohei's utilization and acquisition of capital was somewhat different. Although Kyoko's mother helped her arrange her study abroad through the placement program, Kohei was able to attend a "really expensive" (6; 7:11) high school, and therefore participate in its own study abroad program, not because of a great family economic capital, but with support from the scholarship funds provided by the Ashinaga scholarship society. Kyoko went to the United States, and Kohei went to England. He was placed in a less clearly affluent host family than Kyoko's, even bearing in mind the notion that they were in different countries and different social worlds with different values and markers of distinction. Kohei's host brother, who was much younger at 9 than Kohei's 16, was unable to serve as a broker in the social situations and various fields in which Kohei found himself at his school or outside the house. The linguistic capital Kohei had begun to accrue in his study abroad course at his high school seemed to reverse itself in England—his "American" accent was no longer seen as enviable but now seen as something peculiar, even undesirable by at least some of the native British he encountered, and he was viewed less as a competent speaker of English as an Asian student with an unexpected way of talking: "My English is more like American English so when I talk like an American they say 'Why are you American'" (6; 25:36)? He nevertheless was able to find a niche for himself, though primarily with other exchange students from Europe, or Japanese students like himself, not with his native British peers. He therefore opted not to use his English and rather made his space in his social world using Japanese, the language he had struggled with in Japan but now served as a way to strengthen his social capital. Later he would have reservations about this strategy:

> I hung out with Japanese students. I spoke mostly Japanese. At that time I didn't feel anything, but after finishing the study abroad project I thought I should have
>
> spoken more English with them. My English was pretty good at that time but since I was abroad I shouldn't have been speaking Japanese. I should have been speaking more English. (6; 17:10)

Kohei, like Kyoko, says he "never got homesick" (6; 24:10) when he was in England, and would periodically communicate online via Skype with his mother and talk about school life.

Ai's experiences in negotiation of cultural and social capital were again different than her fellow participants, both in her attempts to fit into the life of the school of New Zealand and her dealings with other Japanese. Ai, like Kyoko, benefitted from her parents' funding in going abroad. She says "I was given a pretty good chance" (5; 10:05) in being allowed to live and study in the English-only environment of New Zealand. She had, however, never been abroad prior to her high school days, and did not possess the same ease of fluency as Kyoko or Kohei in their second times abroad. She encountered difficulty at first functioning in the all-English environment both at school and at the homes of her various host families, and like Kohei did not have the benefit of an insider who could guide her through the social life of Christchurch. Her closest homestay peers appeared well into her time abroad in the form of flat mates, exchange students like herself, two girls from Germany and Brazil, but these relationships ended once the homestay ended and the two girls returned to their home countries. Ai did encounter what

she considered like-minded Japanese students in New Zealand, though in general she shunned spending time with fellow Japanese, who she felt did not take their time abroad as seriously as they could have, and were, in her words, “fools” (1; 29:04). One of the reasons she felt this way was that the Japanese students she saw adopted a very different style of dress than what she expected they would have had in Japan, dyeing their hair and dressing in outlandish clothes. Of herself, however, Ai reflected almost with guilt: “I (also) dyed my hair. […] I made pierce holes. I kind of did the same thing as these other kids. Kind of” (1; 29:55).

Kidder’s (1992) ideas about markedness of behavior when returnees come back to Japan have an analogous phenomenon for Japanese students who go abroad. Although Kohei, who grew up around Americans, said he never noticed any particular differences in his dress from that of his American peers, both Kyoko and Ai mentioned feeling somewhat odd in the overseas environment in terms of dress and appearance. Kyoko mentioned her initial unease at being one of the only Asian faces in her daily life in the United States, but also spoke of her body and choice of clothing as seeming, at first, out of pace with others:

> People were like “You look like a skeleton, or you are like skin, where is the meat?” and I was like “Well, I think I'm not skinny,” and they're like “Whaat?” I was like, “In Japan I'm normal.” I dressed like a Japanese girl. Like I don’t know why but American girls, their jeans are so *low*. And yeah they wear like very skinny jeans and like T-shirts, but I had, like my pants that weren’t that stylish, and the clothes I was wearing weren’t that cute. (1; 59:08)

Ai, in direct contrast to Kyoko, and this possibly because of her living in a different city in a different country (and therefore an entirely different set of fields, despite the similarity to Kyoko's situation where English was the language of daily life) stated how she also noticed a contrast in her own fashion with the host culture, but for the exact opposite reason:

> I didn't really care about my clothes because it was New Zealand, and New Zealand local people wear like T-shirts and hot pants, that's it. So I didn't really care about my clothes. Like when I went back to Japan, I was really surprised there. Like the fashion was real cool. And I can't wear New Zealand style and I was really surprised. Like, "Why am I wearing this?" (1;30:21)

Bourdieu's (1977) concept of *bodily hexis* is the notion of the fish fit for water, the shaping and posturing of the body (in clothing, gait, hairstyle, application of or lack of makeup, gestures) so that the individual fits the field. The game requires a team uniform, or the proper colors, or casual cotton shorts rather than wool slacks, or cleats, or trainers. Both Kyoko and Ai noticed, in comparing themselves to the host country, a difference, and both adapted to it, Ai embracing the "New Zealand" style, which she was to later feel she had to discard on return to Japan, and Kyoko undergoing a transformation as a result of learning from her host sister, who she says "taught me everything" (6; 15:28). These subtle and not-so-subtle new dispositions toward behavior and dress were not acquired all at once, but like the acquisition of capital, occurred over a period, so that by the time they were fully internalized, they went unnoticed, at least until the returnees came home.

Second Returns

Each returnee experienced different degrees of hysteresis when they re-entered Japan on their return from high school abroad. This time Kyoko's return from the United States after high school was not unexpected for her, though she says she returned earlier than she had intended, unable to languish in freedom in Washington as she had wanted to do over the summer vacation. The reason for her early return was, again, in a twist of fate, another outbreak of disease, this time the swine flu. Though there was no suspicion that the disease had come from the United States, in Japan, international air travelers were considered possible carriers of the illness, and this both moved up her return date by the sponsoring study abroad organization (for fear of what might happen were she to stay longer and the outbreak not be contained) and landed her back in Japan in the middle of a flu scare that had not yet subsided. On the day of her arrival back in Japan, Kyoko's account of herself as a mute girl in the airport unable to even articulate her needs to the information desk attendant seems dramatic, but can be explained partially by her complete immersion in English while in Washington:

> I felt so awkward and weird coming back, because I hadn't spoken any Japanese at all for a year. I didn't even talk to my mom on the phone. None. I had a card which I could use to talk to them free. We had the opportunity to talk. But I just didn't. It was my choice. I liked the life I had at that time, and like speaking to them felt like "I'm in here for like only a year." (2; 54:02).

Kyoko had immersed herself in the game completely, taking on the dispositions of the social field in which she was thriving. She had known, however, she would be only there

for a year, and only an academic year at that. In terms of everyday life, upon her return Kyoko began to change her eating habits, leaving behind the cheerful abandon of eating fast food. This was not because of a renewed interest in health but simply because the experience in Japan was not what it had been in Washington. The presentation, taste, and context of eating were all different: "When I came back to Japan I stopped eating fast food. At convenience stores there is meat but I don't eat that either. It doesn't taste right. It's like there's medicine or something in it" (1; 1:03:50). Though she had moments of discomfort back in Japan, she was nevertheless not classifiable as one of Yoshida et al.'s (2009) so-called bumpies. As she had done in the United States, now in Japan she attempted to immerse herself in the field that she once again inhabited, joining in and excelling at sports and developing social and cultural capital that might help her in her choices of school.

Kohei, on his return from his high school study in England, found himself in an environment with others in a similar situation to himself. He had spent what seemed, to him, a relatively short time overseas—having grown up for more than a decade in New York, he referred to the period as "only 10 months," though 10 months is the same length of time Kyoko spent in the United States, and, at EFSU, such a length of time is considered a long-term sojourn. Many of Kohei's Japanese high school peers returned with him, and they set about, in their final year, playing the new and expected game of studying for university entrance tests, the same as classmates who had never been abroad. As he says:

> I went there in third year and came back in third year. It was really just the same as usual when I came back. There wasn't that much change studying abroad before and after. I was third year so I had to prepare for examinations for university. Everything like AO[14], Center Test. (6; 30:36)

Although he was involved in this intensive studying for exams, Kohei said he did this mostly because everyone else was doing so, that he was following the general pattern of others. Students would get together in groups and study for the university admission tests. Kohei would eventually take three sections of the Center Test, though he says he only remembers the English and mathematics, and that he was not asked to use either in his application to EFSU. His linguistic capital with English was enough to bring him not only into the foreign language university, but into one of its advanced programs. The transition from high school to university was, similar to Kyoko's experience, relatively smooth.

Ai's experience again differs from those of the other two participants. She completed her high schooling in New Zealand and returned to Japan with the knowledge she would begin EFSU in the Spring of 2011. Even her interview for the AE program of the FES program took place while she was still abroad in New Zealand, as she flew over just for the interview, then flew back to attend a graduation ceremony. The game for Ai went from negotiating her way through Kiwi life, to what she hoped would be "university life in Japan," more or less straight into classes at the foreign language university. Readjustment to Japan would take place within EFSU itself.

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[14] AO refers to "Admissions Office," where university admissions offices determine prosepective student's suitability based on an application, interview, and essay test.

The hysteresis effect of return then for each participant was perhaps mitigated by factors such as the local fields each participant experienced when abroad and on return. Kyoko felt the effects more acutely initially, having lived in the United States completely surrounded by Americans, having only used English for her entire time overseas, and having had an American host sister and boyfriend. She had taken on as completely as possible the dispositions and bodily hexis of an American teenager without the influence of her Japanese family, and on her second return, in the airport, she had at first been so affected that she had not be able to process even simple Japanese words. Kohei had less difficulty in this return perhaps partially because of the fact that his time in England was spent largely with Japanese people experiencing similar challenges as sojourners in England—a field that was only familiar to degree that English, albeit of a different accent than he was familiar, was the language used. His English skills were already at a level where he could communicate to relatively high degree, and he fell back on interacting in Japanese with Japanese, taking on less of the habitus of a British student and more the habitus of an exchange student abroad. On his return to Japan he was, again, sharing the experience with many of his high school peers who had accompanied him to England. Finally, his academic trajectory toward university was quickly determined, taking him directly, once again, into a study abroad-oriented field in the form of the program at EFSU. Ai, though she professed disdain for many Japanese in New Zealand, admitted to spending much of her time interacting with her close Japanese friends there, who shared not only her interest in English many of her own dispositions as a Japanese girl abroad. Her return directly into the classes at EFSU was, certainly, a return to Japan, but to a

local field that valued the linguistic and cultural capital she had gained in New Zealand. She was even labeled, by her teachers if not by administrators, a returnee.

Choosing a School

One similarity in all three of the participants' accounts is the reason they chose EFSU: to go back abroad. Each of them mentioned their relief that the requirement for entry into the EFSU programs was straightforward: No Center Test or entrance exam was necessary if they could pass the requirements for the English language programs. These requirements were to write an essay in both Japanese and English stating their purpose in applying, to pass an interview in which they would be interviewed in both English and Japanese, and to attain a high enough score on a standardized English proficiency test. These criteria seemed to relatively match the skills each participant had acquired.

Each student had different experiences coming back to Japan, but shared a desire to go back to something, or go toward something that was not Japan. Kyoko's desire for a life and career in the United States was singular. She initially set her eyes on larger universities with International Relations departments within which there was a study abroad component, but due to EFSU's promise of scholarships and a "guaranteed" place in a long-term study abroad program, coupled with the fact that she would not have to take any test beyond a standardized English proficiency examination, she settled on the GS program. Kohei's desire to go "anywhere" outside Japan, with the guidance of his teachers, who seemed to think this would suit him, and his grounding in English, brought him to EFSU, this despite his mother's reservations about the prestige of the school. The

scholarship program of the GS program was, at the time, said to be a fast track to studying abroad, in a program where every student enrolled was guaranteed a slot in the overseas program. This recruitment tactic worked. Ai, too, came to EFSU to leave Japan: "I could study abroad again so I think that's the big reason to come to EFSU" (2;17:00). Notably she did not mention the English environment of EFSU or the fact of the rather large population of exchange students there, a point that would take on meaning in her narrative.

They all chose to attend a foreign language university, this place that seemed to value the cultural and linguistic capital they possessed, and promised to return them to the familiarity of the strange. They came in expecting not only courses all in English, but courses that would expose them to so-called international perspectives, and in the case of Kohei and Kyoko, global business. The promise of admittance to university based solely on the linguistic capital they had all gained in their life experiences abroad, with the further assurance that they would be able to leave Japan again as exchange students, was a tempting siren call, and one that they each heard unmuffled.

The Place that Was Promised: Life at the Foreign Language University

A foreign language university seems in some ways a field tailored to fit the returnee student: there is a stated ethos of internationalism or "global studies," a significant number of classes are held in English as the medium of instruction, exchange students from other countries are present on campus and physically proximate, and the opportunity for the returnee to go back abroad through a scholarship program for various

lengths of time. Nevertheless, the participants' developing habitus as students were not uniform, and their experiences of the local fields of the foreign language university were not entirely positive in their first year.

Kyoko would say in her interview that her sense of herself as a returnee was in some ways not based on her experiences in the United States, but on her childhood abroad: "In Japan a year abroad is not returnee. I heard returnee is like people who were forced ((laughter)) by their parents to go abroad because of their job" (2; 11:02). She did not consider her time in Washington as really a part of her designation as *kikokushijo*. In fact, she had long considered her returnee status to be a bewildering designation that she personally doubted, as she felt she did not match her preconceived notion of what a returnee was. Even so, she appreciated the idea when she took classes at EFSU:

> People say I'm a returnee but I'm not like Kohei. I don't really consider myself a returnee. But if I tell people I lived abroad, people say "Oh, that's so cool." Students say, "That's so cool." So when I was in high school, or like junior high or elementary school, I didn't like mentioning that I am a returnee or I lived abroad. But now [in EFSU] I don't mind mentioning it because people say "That's so cool" or "That's so awesome" or "I wanted my life to be like that." (2; 1:41:00)

Kohei felt his time abroad had imprinted upon him a character unlike his peers, and also thought that the students at EFSU appreciated his language ability, but he seemed uncomfortable with the notion of being set apart. He seemed to want to have his linguistic

capital valued, but at the same time wanted to fit into the social fields of which he found himself a part. He was reassured that his burgeoning Japanese ability allowed him to blend in:

> Maybe the experience of living abroad for 17 years makes me special. Sometimes in a bad way. When I came to Japan I was really bad at Japanese speaking. I had bad Japanese, and it was really hard for me to communicate. And everyone at university, everybody says like, "Wow cool," and praises me a lot because of my English. In the beginning. Now I don't know, just maybe they know, they count me as a Japanese student. Because I can talk fluently in Japanese now. (5; 23:40)

Ai, in her first year, made no similar remarks, but in later interviews, remembering her first year in retrospect, she simply said, "I think I had a pride that I was a *kikokusei*" (6; 25:01).

One point that Kyoko and Kohei seemed to agree upon was that the collective habitus of students at the foreign language university seemed to value the ability to speak English. This kind of linguistic capital was a "consecrated" ability, having symbolic value in this particular field, as it had for Kohei earlier in his Japanese high school study abroad section. At EFSU the participants in this study were all in the top tier of English language proficiency classes, both in the GS and FES programs. As Kyoko said:

> I don't have to adjust myself now. Because I'm in a foreign language university. And like my surrounding environment is like we have to speak English and study English. Like, I chose to come here. This university has that kind of environment

> that I didn't have when I was in elementary school and junior high, and I wanted to have that kind of environment. (2;35:27)

Kohei's reaction to EFSU in his first semester was equally charmed, and he felt that he was to some degree accepted, and he attributed this to being exposed to students who had been in similar life situations as he had: "I only talk to people who understand what I'm trying to say, like if they have the same experience as me. Some people who used to live abroad a long time. EFSU has some people like that" (4; 26:10). He mentioned specifically some members of his GS class, including Kyoko.

Ai, on the other hand, would praise her academic experiences at EFSU in later interviews, but in her first year she had no feeling on the matter, or at least a guarded feeling, and stated plainly that though she liked her classmates, she preferred to be by herself:

> My most comfortable place is in my room. Alone, by myself, listening to music. I don't want to be alone, but sometimes I want to think about myself, like I just want to relax by listening to my favorite music. (3; 17:51)

I wondered, with Ai, whether her distinct New Zealand accent was in any way part of the puzzle, as she never said to me that she was regularly praised by her classmates either for her studying abroad or for her native-like accent, and which, to my ear, seemed perfectly Kiwi. In Ai's FES class were several returnee students, some of whom initially interviewed for this study, and all of these returnees in her class had studied abroad in the United States. Her teachers described Ai as "able to speak English," (Ai: FN 06/30/2011) and in her first term she stated she felt she "participated a lot, more than any other

student," (4; 43:50) but she still received a score of C in participation in her mid-term evaluation. "I was like 'Why?'" she said, "but I didn't want to say any complaints" (4; 44:20). I wondered whether the linguistic capital of using English in that particular environment, or indeed in the larger social field, might be determinant in Japan on the accent of English used.

Differences in Approach to Classwork

Despite the lack of stated stress with the foreign language university environment, the participants all expressed some measure of discontent with the class content at EFSU. In Kyoko's and Ai's cases, they notably suggested their classes were often pitched below what they thought was their own ability, though they both allowed that this might be unavoidable in classes with lower proficiency students. Kyoko, however, was able to negotiate her way through the classes she felt were below her ability, even purposefully seeking out harder courses offered in other departments. She had acquired, over the years previous, a studious habitus in which resting on what one was given was not the end of the story. It was necessary to take matters into one's own hands and wring success out of whatever situations presented themselves. For Ai, who in some ways was outwardly more positive than Kyoko, a different strategy, one relatively common among many Japanese university students, had become the norm: Grin and try to bear it, and if you cannot bear it, sleep through it.

Kohei felt he had changed in his way of approaching classes in his time in England, saying, of the other non-Japanese exchange students, "They're more like

aggressive, not like Japanese students. I tried to be like that" (6; 24:52). He realized this was a classroom dynamic he had noticed in the United States as a child, and that he had been adapting his behavior on and off in classrooms since then, finally settling on passivity:

> When I was in elementary school in America, like I was raising my hand every time, everyone was raising their hand when the teacher asked a question. And when I came to Japan, like no one was raising their hand when the teacher asked, and I was the only one. I stopped doing that eventually. I did it again in England but stopped again when I came back. (6; 36:52)

These classroom dispositions were not a result of simply being returnees, as if going abroad as young people created a way of being that each participant shared. They had lived similar experiences, but not the same experiences, and their experiences even in the same classes at EFSU (in the case of Kyoko and Kohei) did not elicit from them similar behavior.

Social life

Each participant also approached the social field of EFSU differently, having different goals and finding interest in different niches. This was in line with what Kanno (2003) pointed out, "as students become older, they become more capable of exerting their agency and negotiating their identities as they engage in community practices" (p. 142) though I would stress that by no means did the students arrive at the same strategies.

Kyoko, ostensibly the high achiever pushing herself to do more, shunned almost completely the opportunity to interact with exchange students socially. Of her non-Japanese classmates in her psychology class, she spoke with a knowing cynicism: “I think foreign exchange students don’t turn the homework. I asked this guy in front of me in the same class, like, “Did you do your homework?” and he's like, “Nah, fuck homework” (3; 9:17). This lackadaisical attitude toward schoolwork was similar to the pull toward truancy she would have felt in Washington, when her friends and boyfriend suggested she leave her schoolwork for social activities. This particular habitus, however, for whatever reason, she had left behind in Washington. Kyoko was not unaware of how her own studious attitude and her desire to excel was not the norm among many of her peers. She tried to identify how exactly she was different, saying, “Compared to other students I have specific goals. I organize stuff and I have goals and study. And that’s why I think teachers see me as a different student compared to others” (5; 20:21). She continued, reflecting on how her peers seemed to notice a difference, too:

> People always ask me “Why do you try to be good?” I like hanging out with many people, and you know I still like hanging out with people who are not smart, and who don't think schoolwork is good, or like don't even care about education. But I still like to hang out with them, and so they think that we’re the same but were not exactly the same. I still care about my schoolwork and homework and grades. So they’re like “We hang out together, but I don’t feel like we’re in the same world.” That’s what people told me. (4; 23:03)

For Kyoko, the difference in habitus between her and her peers was not necessarily one of Japaneseness and foreignness or East and West, but of drive and apathy, of a desire to excel and a satisfaction with the ordinary. She saw this as not only an indication that some students were "not smart," but as a failure of imagination of what the true future might hold if these same students were to go abroad. She seemed to almost resent the easy confidence such students had:

> Some students are like "I want to go to America," or "I want to go somewhere," and they just say that but they don't know how hard it is, and they don't know how hard college study and college life will be without your parents. And that makes me like, "I don't know how can you say that." I went abroad twice and both times I had such a hard time to adapt to the environment, and I sometimes wish I never went abroad. But they just say like "I can go," or "I want to go to America," and *blah blah blah* and they don't know how hard it is. (2;13:05)

However, this dismissal of other students' motivation was not uniform. At times Kyoko felt the issue was not one of effort, but simply lower language proficiency. She particularly felt this way about the English language classes streamed at a lower level than her own:

> I have some friends in the other class, and their motivation is very high, and they are studying more than I do. I know on some English language vocabulary tests my friends in that class were studying using notes, so hard. I am like, "Why are you studying so hard?" They say "because I can't do it," and I was like, "Wow." (2; 17:25)

Kohei's social life, in contrast to Kyoko's, existed in the orbit of the International Center and exchange students, though he also, in term two of his first year, began practicing in a band where he tried to learn bass guitar. Though he found this the most interesting part of his life at that time, the band suddenly ceased practicing when the drummer injured his arm, and never re-formed as a group. I noted Kohei said he had little free time, which I found unusual because he said he was not in a club, though it was true he lived over an hour away by train (both Ai and Kyoko lived closer to two hours away). Unlike Kyoko, who seemed to be scrupulous about using all of her time toward some purpose, Kohei alone of the three participants in this study enjoyed "hanging out" and chatting with exchange students at the university international center.

Ai began her school year trying to arrange the party with her classmates, but she eventually came to rely on her Japanese friends from her past: "I spend time with friends from high school. Friends from junior high school. Not from EFSU. I am active with my classmates but not as much as others. But I'm not an outsider" (3; 23:28). She made friends with the Korean student from her international relations class, but never felt she connected strongly with the students in her FES class—she noted how they seemed unmotivated and she did not want this to affect her, yet in her own interviews she seemed to have lost motivation even without the influence of others. Slowly the desire to socialize with her classmates or even to do well in classes gave way to a desire to simply get through the year.

Markedness and Dress

One aspect of the participant's experience that interested me was to what degree, if at all, they felt perceived as different in their manner, physicality, or dress than other Japanese students. Revisiting Kidder's (1990) notion of returnee markedness, I noticed the participants in this study did not comment frequently on feeling uncomfortable or different from their peers at the foreign language university. In terms of appearance I did not notice any particular notable difference in how Kyoko or Kohei looked from many of their peers, either in terms of clothing, or skin color, or hairstyles. The participants' bodily hexis, their team uniform as it were, seemed indistinct from that of other players in the game. Asked about fashion, Kyoko said:

> I'm not crazy about it. Sometimes people are like, "Are you wearing makeup?" and, "Yeah I am." And yeah, when I was in America I was wearing jeans and flip flops and T-shirts but now I dress preppier. And like more feminine. Because in Japan like the latest fashions, the popular fashions, are like that. I find out from magazines but I won't wear the stuff that doesn't fit me or doesn't make me look good. (5; 43:43)

Though Kohei said he did not like feeling singled out as a returnee, he also did not like the idea of looking like everyone else, and in some ways he was actually desirous of setting himself apart:

> I don't know fashion trends. I don't like wearing the same stuff as other people. Like I don't know, me and my friends have the image of university students in Japan is like chinos and Timberlands. I don't like that kind of what do you call

> fashion, that's really "university student." I wear different stuff. Yeah maybe my friends wear different stuff. But then I don't dress similar to my friends either. (5; 17:40)

Ai spoke often of how she felt Japanese fashion was "real cool" (1; 30:21) in relation to what she felt was the non-fashion of New Zealanders, though ironically she was the only participant who I felt dressed somewhat differently than other students, usually in brighter colors. To me, however, this seemed more a function of her interest in art and her personal style than any influence of life in New Zealand. She often spoke of how she did not dress in Japan how she had dressed in New Zealand, echoing some of her very first comments to me about what she considered the *faux pas* of wearing casual clothes to her interview for the FES program. Her sense of fashion seemed very much her own, and although certainly influenced by the trends around her in Japan and abroad, not dictated by them.

Language Skills and Maintaining English

Each participant had a unique perspective on using English and using Japanese, with occasionally seemingly contradictory notions of using the two languages. Although they felt the foreign language university offered an excellent, long hoped-for chance to use and develop their English skills, they all claimed that they did not use English very often in school social settings. Many of the other students at EFSU did not speak English as well as they did, or the participants found their foreign language university peers interacting and functioning nearly completely in Japanese—not only before, after, and

during non-language classes but also in English language classes. Kanno's (2000) paper noted that when her participants' returned to Japan from Canada and entered Japanese universities they experienced a new attitude toward English: "[The] change in their status as English speakers seemed to redefine my participants' relationship with English: they started to claim ownership over English and the sociocultural world that goes with it. In Japan, English became *their* language" (p. 11, emphasis in original). In the same paper, Kanno (2000) also notes that her participants used English only in English language classroom settings, but in settings outside language classes, including other subjects and in their social lives, used only Japanese (p. 12). Peirce (1995) coined the term *investment* as opposed to the term motivation, suggesting learners alter their attitudes toward language learning based on their evolving social field. She asserted that "an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity that is constantly changing across time and space" (p. 17). The unexpected lack of English use at the foreign language university, when the participants had all expected an environment of abundant English use, left them perplexed yet they adapted by following the behavior of other students.

In the current study at a foreign language university where gaining better proficiency in English was presumably the motivating force behind the enrollment of many students, the participants dealt with using the two languages in various ways. Kyoko, like the other participants, viewed her language balance of English and Japanese as a zero-sum activity. Similarly to how she felt if she used Japanese in Washington, or

thought about Japan, she would lose some integral part of her experience abroad, she felt that by using Japanese in Japan she was sacrificing, little by little, her abilities in English:

> I think the more I study Japanese makes my English like, worse. Like the more I forget English. Because at one time there was a like a mid-term test and I had to think in Japanese, like I was I was doing all the difficult stuff in Japanese, so my brain was completely in Japanese, and then suddenly I forgot how to speak English. Like English didn't come out from my mouth. And I cried to my friends, and they were like, "It's okay we can speak English at lunch." (2; 52:21)

At the same time Kyoko made no attempts to conduct her life monolingually in English, seeming to feel as if speaking English to Japanese rather than native English speakers was inauthentic. She broke down the percentage of her use of each language: "I speak 65 percent in Japanese, 35 percent in English. I like talking English with my friends too, but I like talking in English with foreign people, American people. On weekends, maybe 80 percent Japanese" (2;58:30).

Although Kohei also felt as if his English ability was appreciated at EFSU, in his high level class he felt daunted to some degree, saying "Everyone around me has better English" (2; 18:11). In a later interview he said his English ability, ironically, was not improving at EFSU but deteriorating:

> I don't use English a lot so it's getting worse and worse. I don't speak much. It's not coming. I don't know how to say but, I can't…. I can't express my feeling. I used to do that. Yeah I was able to express myself in English but I can't right now. I'm forgetting English. (5; 4:30)]

Ai, for her part, was adamant about using only English in her classes when she participated, though in her story she, too, mourned how she felt her English ability was getting lower and lower. At the same time she expressed the idea that she had a separate "Japanese and English brain" (2; 8:10). In her social life she spent time with her Japanese friends who had little knowledge of conversational English, and for her, the habitus of using English to express certain thoughts was more natural than using Japanese:

> When I can't think of the vocabulary in Japanese, I can say it in English, but you know how my Japanese friends don't speak English? So if I say the word they don't understand. When I said something in English they were like "What're you talking about?" But I didn't know how to say it in Japanese, so it was a little confusing. (2; 8:30)

Kanno (2000) suggested maintenance of English proficiency was a key way in which her participants maintained their "*kikokushijo* identities" and pointed out how English language classroom settings in Japan with students who have never been abroad sometimes cause difficulties. She noted that "non-*kikokushijo* students are threatened by the *kikokushijo* students' English and resent being placed in the same class with them, where the *kikokushijo* students become bored and/or succumb to the pressure to 'Japanise' their English" (p. 14). In the current study the three participants were actively repelled by the use of what we termed *katakana English*, whereby English words are pronounced as they would be written out in katakana, also the way English words are often spoken by many Japanese people. Examples could be words such as *donnto* (ドント) for *don't*, or *supiiku* (スピーク) for *speak*. In Kyoko and Kohei's class in the second semester, I had

students purposefully speak Japanese in one small group discussion, then change languages and speak English, to have them reflect on the naturalness and flow of conversations in both languages. I then had students consciously speak in "katakana English" for two minutes to consider the distinction in how they felt English words could be pronounced while retaining meaning. Kyoko reacted viscerally against this activity and kept quiet throughout, later explaining herself in an interview:

> I don't feel comfortable speaking katakana English in this [classroom] environment. It's English class. We should like speak *English*. I think katakana English is different. I mean I don't know how different, maybe it's like one of various Englishes, but people don't understand katakana English. It's not the English that I can use to communicate with foreign people in foreign countries. When I went to America I noticed that people would never understand katakana English. You can't even communicate with katakana English. I think maybe it's part of "Englishes" but it's not like the English I can use. (4; 5:21)

Kohei found such activities amusing, though he never spoke katakana English in interviews or in classroom activities that did not have such pronunciation as part of the task. Ai, who was not in my class, was unnerved by "Japanese accent English" and said her first, Japanese, host mother in New Zealand had the tendency to speak using katakana English. This was one of the reasons she had elected to change home stay families.

All of the participants felt that what they perceived to be native English (i.e. English without a katakana accent) was the most desirable way of speaking, and were very resistant to speaking or even listening to the way English is pronounced by most

Japanese English speakers. This preference both set them apart from many of their peers who did speak with a katakana accent and allowed them to demonstrate in speaking their own linguistic capital in the way of pronunciation. Their investment in English was such that they saw it as a language to be used with native speakers, with a very clear line separating correct native English from incorrect Japanese katakana English. The rules of the game they had learned abroad (i.e., the way to speak and interact in English) superseded those that applied in the foreign language university environment (where katakana English was the norm). This hysteresis effect, where the dispositions acquired abroad no longer served them, resulted in their shutting down and simply not using English in many case.

How They Saw the Future: Goals After First Year

The breadth of this study is meant to stop at the participants' first year, and consider how they saw themselves and experienced their life and classes at that time. Goals and imagined futures obviously changed as they progressed from freshmen to sophomore to eventual graduates, or, in the case of Kohei, transferred out. All three imagined themselves on EFSU's promised path to study abroad, having entered on the pretext that enrollment in the various programs ensured that they would be able to take part in long-term study abroad programs. Only one of them did.

Kyoko imagined she would get out of Japan, and live abroad forever. This was her stated goal. "I just want to get a job in America," she said (3; 30:55). She simply could not imagine herself living in the working environment of Japan, and lived her life

as a student with a keen sense that she would become an accountant in the United States. She never professed an interest in sharing Japanese culture, of living and working in Japan but using English, of working internationally with a Japanese company involved in international trade, or any of the variations on the popular notions of a *gurōbarujin*. For Kyoko the goal was always *get out*, and get out she did.

Kohei, less sure of his future in his freshman year but also determined to leave Japan, kept his head down and his hopes up, saying, "I am still thinking about going back to the US for the rest of my life," (3; 20:42). His conception of the purpose of the foreign language university was that it was meant to "make the student more international, like being more active do something for the world. Make something, create, that could be part of the world" (4; 45:12). He hoped, in university, to become a more active person, and to involve himself in clubs, saying "I'm trying to make more hobbies, like a person who can do anything. There's a lot of things to do in university" (3; 9:35). He also felt an inclination toward making some sort of business or "starting up a new company" (3; 18:22) and this idea he was to follow up on, though not at EFSU. He ended his freshman year with a sense of foreboding regarding his low grades, but a hope for a future beyond school.

Ai said plainly the only reason to study at EFSU for her was to go abroad. She romanticized life outside Japan, in some way drawing a very stark line between Japan and the rest of the world, saying, "If I go abroad I have can have a wide vision. I can make many friends from overseas. Foreigners have a different opinion. And I can just have a wide vision" (2; 58:45). She shunned school clubs or other social extracurricular

activities, saying, “I think the most important part of university is doing well. I want to study abroad” (3; 49:09). In what later became to me a poignant passage, Ai described how she felt guilty about not doing her work properly in classes as a second semester freshman, and her frustration with Japan:

> It's complicated. I feel guilty when I don't do things that I have to do. Because I live in Japan. A lot of stress just comes from being in Japan. ((laugh)) Like the train. So many crowded trains. Everyone looks very angry. I'm very gentle ((laugh)). If I live in Japan forever I will probably be like this. *Nnooo* I don't want to. (3; 26:07)

Summary

In this chapter I have explored my research questions in the experiences of each student, noting their similarities and differences of experience in light of Bourdieu’s terms of capital, field, and habitus. Notably, I found that the participants all went abroad for quite different reasons, and while they were able to sojourn as a result of their parents’ economic or cultural capital (money, or in Ai’s case, her mother’s firsthand knowledge of New Zealand), this capital did not necessarily transfer to the participants either when they were abroad or when they returned. Although I concede to some degree Goodman’s (1990) idea that returnees are children of privilege in that they must be financed to get abroad at all, this does not mean that every returnee basks in a luxury of wealth and abundance, particularly in the struggles abroad creating and maintaining social capital. Nevertheless, it is certain that the three participants in this study did gain an amount of

cultural and linguistic capital from the fact that they sojourned in a country whose language was English, which remains a prestige second language in Japan. While abroad, the different types of fields the participants entered, as well as the different experiences gaining social and cultural capital, affected not only their attitudes toward their sojourns, but their attitudes and goals upon their returns to Japan. Upon return, all of the participants were attracted to study abroad programs in the Japanese school system (albeit in the case of Ai, only after entering the foreign language university), where they found a field more comfortable than the general Japanese classroom and curriculum. Contrary to my own expectations, none of the participants felt a distinct markedness of bodily hexis within Japan in relation to their Japanese peers, though in some cases they reported that they had felt this when abroad. Each participant reported a disappointment for varying reasons, once enrolled, in their foreign language university experiences, often because of a failure of the realities of the school environment to meet their expectations. These unmet expectations included the types of classes they took, but also the use of English (or lack of use, or style of English used or unused) on the part of both professors and other students. None of the participants in their first year were able to develop a larger social capital among fellow returnee students in an organized, school-sponsored support network in the form of clubs or circles, and each participant developed an individual strategy to deal with academic course loads, the demands of social life, and the balance of using English and Japanese. Finally, all of the participants at the end of their first year at the foreign language university maintained a strong desire to return abroad.

CHAPTER 8

MOVING FORWARD: IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FINAL REFLECTIONS

> The world had prepared no place for you, and if the world had its way, no place would ever exist.
>
> —Baldwin, (1961) *The Black Boy Looks at the White Boy*

In this study I have explored the experiences of three Japanese returnee student participants. I have re-storied, with their ongoing help, their accounts of their lives as youngsters and their lives when outside Japan, through their lives as returnee first-year students at a foreign language university. In this final chapter I discuss the implications of my findings for parents who decide to take their abroad and then bring them home, administrators and curriculum designers, teachers, and researchers. Finally, I discuss the numerous limitations of the study, ending with my own reflections on the project.

Implications for Parents of Returnees

Parents in Japan play a strong role in the education of their children in the same way as parents everywhere. The school environment sets the stage for the formation of peer groups, of academic discipline, of attitudes toward what is possible, and serves as a means of social reproduction. The 21st century in Japan has seen an upwelling of rhetoric regarding globalization not just as an economic phenomenon, but as a social and cultural

wave. Although one can argue the term *gurōbarujin* is as vague as the term *kokusaijin*, there is a very real current ethos of educating university students in such a way that they seek out a habitus that incorporates the world outside Japan, and become imbued with a knowledge of other languages. Parents who choose to send or take their children abroad as preteens or high school students must consider the various strains placed on their children in terms of lost and gained social, linguistic, and symbolic capital, and how these might affect the students when, or if, they return to Japan, and at what age. The value of *hoshūkō* Saturday schools, in maintaining Japanese language and social interaction with Japanese peers, and thus linguistic and social capital on return to Japan, must be balanced with the immersion in the host culture and linguistic and social interaction with peers abroad. Kohei's experience of spending time with both his *hoshūkō* classmates and his American neighborhood and school friends did not provide him with a carte blanche to behave however he wished in any social context, but he, more than the other two participants, seemed to avoid strongly identifying with any specific peer group, maintaining even in university the view he had had as a child, that he and his peers in both classrooms and the international center "were all the same" (Kohei interview 1; 16:30).

All of the participants in this study received parental support, either financially or emotionally or both. Parents should keep in mind, however, that the local fields around their child, and these respective fields' valuing of different types of capital, can have a large effect on how well the child develops the metaliteracy to cope with the changing environments.

Implications for Administrators and Curriculum Designers

My first hope for administrator and curriculum designers is that they rethink the various issues that go into classifying students as returnees, or, to use the term of the field, *kikokushijo*. In this study at least one participant out of the three, Ai, did not qualify as a *kikokushijo* by any administrative standard, though she was regularly referred to as a "returnee student" by her English language instructors, who saw her as having had the same sort of cross-cultural experience (and symbolic capital) and linguistic capital as students who had been abroad as children. Although I can understand the notion of age as a determinant in classifying *kikokushijo*, the fact is the vast majority of students in university in Japan are in their late teens (https://gakumado.mynavi.jp/gmd/articles/541), suggesting this is a moot criterion at the university level. What did seem the most relevant point of qualification was whether the child had been taken out of Japan by his or her parents because of unavoidable work requirements of the parents, or by choice. My question throughout this study was "Why of necessity does the decision-making process in going abroad affect the designation of the student as a returnee or not?" A student who studies abroad for a year or more outside Japan by choice, faces the same type of issues on return in cultivating linguistic, cultural, and social capital as a student who has been taken abroad by his or her parents.

In this study I have focused on how returnees experience their lives before and during attendance at a foreign language university, but returnees of course are not unique to such schools. As the number of university enrollees in Japan declines, such foreign language universities might soon be an outdated concept. Larger, prestigious universities

continue to establish schools of global or international studies with study abroad programs to meet the increasing interest in languages and overseas experience. Returnee students who inevitably end up in such programs will face the same issues of social capital and who to spend time with, the value of their own linguistic and symbolic capital as speakers of a language other than Japanese, and the tug of going abroad again. One abiding concern of the participants in this study was that the programs they were in were not what they had expected upon enrollment. In some cases this was a matter of teaching style—professors did not teach in English, though the students felt they had been led to believe all instruction would be in English. The participants noted that their non-returnee peers might not have been able to follow lectures only in English and thus resigned themselves to a state of quiet dissatisfaction. In other cases the students were not happy with the English levels of their classmates, though many of their language classes consisted of the students with the highest tested proficiency. At other times the participants simply expressed *ennui* with school itself. In some ways this might be a universal complaint of students everywhere, that classes are "boring" and attendance in school is not what they would rather be doing. However, I had the distinct sense that all the participants had a spark of interest in language and learning that was somehow not firing in the classroom or social situations they experienced at the foreign language university.

Universities in Japan with English language majors, whether foreign language universities, or colleges of global or international studies in regular public or private universities, deal administratively with returnee students in different ways. My own

experience teaching higher proficiency classes is that every year one or two returnees appear in class, having spent varying amounts of time abroad. In some cases, such as at EFSU, these students are streamed into English language classes with fellow returnees and other high English proficiency students who have never been abroad. The thinking seems to be that students will fare better in classes where other students are able to function in English at a high level. Participants in this study, however, found that the classroom habitus they encountered was in large part one of passivity and silence, even when English ability was uniformly high among their peers sitting in the desks around them. In other university international programs in Japan, students, whether returnee or otherwise, who are able to attain high standardized English proficiency test scores are able to receive automatic credit for first- or even second-year English classes, which offer what is considered instruction too remedial for high proficiency students in the four skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Such policies are designed, among other reasons, to lure high proficiency students into schools or programs where they take fewer classes for the same amount of received credits, and can participate in the "summer vacation of life" as university in Japan is popularly referred. Another policy, one that EFSU tried to initiate with students considered special cases such as Haruka, streams returnees directly into classes with exchange students, bypassing entirely any instruction in essay composition or reading and instead focusing on the student's perceived need for interaction with native-English speaking peers.

I did not envision or plan this study to serve as a needs analysis for returnee students, and I cannot adequately frame the entire scope of shortcomings of either the

participants, their fellow students, or the programs at EFSU. However, I do think that administrators or designers of such programs geared toward students interested in study abroad have the responsibility to instill in students not only an excitement for the program before enrollment, but to shepherd students into a habitus of study and learning where they are encouraged to reflect on themselves and their life trajectories, whether they stay in Japan forever, go abroad and return, or go abroad permanently. For students studying language, in particular, organizing, while the Japanese students are still in Japan, opportunities for classroom and social interaction with exchange students from other nations seems to me an obvious way to encourage this kind of reflection and growth. For Japanese students who fear the responsibility of becoming unpaid Japanese tutors, English (or other) language-based social extracurricular functions could be arranged. Possibilities include cultural sharing activities involving food (creating or cooking shared meals, potluck dinners), media or literature (book discussion groups, or for those more inclined, *manga* discussion) or music (dance, or even multi-lingual karaoke parties).

The field(s) of a university contain also the subfield(s) of its social environments, and administrators could become more aware and involved in the very real socialization that occurs in this realm, and the degree to which students from different backgrounds are able to assimilate into its norms. In Japan specifically, Kelly (1992) writes of the social aspect as the "hidden role" of the Japanese university, which, he argues, is in some ways rather the primary role: socializing students into Japanese society. This social world for many students includes what is termed in Japanese *bukatsudō* [(部活動) extracurricular activities], a school phenomenon not particular to Japan but to some degree

systematically ritualized from elementary through secondary school and into university (for a discussion of the history and development of *bukatsudō* see Cave, 2004). Notably in the university setting in Japan there is a distinction between クラブ [(*kurabu*) clubs] and what are called サークル [(*saakuru*) circles]. Clubs have official standing in the university and can often receive some type of university support, either financially or in the form of reserved rooms dedicated to the club, in which members are responsible for the rooms' maintenance and care, and can stow their materials or lounge. In clubs, also, a systematic and in some ways ritual hierarchy of *senpai* (senior) and *kōhai* (junior) exists, whereby older students shepherd newer or younger members, and expect in return a certain amount of deference. In a "club" meeting, for example, senior members might be allowed to sit in chairs, whereas newer members must sit on the floor—even if adequate chairs for everyone might be available. By way of contrast, "circles" tend to be less formal, without the same degree of an imposed pecking order among members, and are focused not so much on training for competitions or exhibitions as cultivating social connections and widening students' interactions with other students who might have different majors, be in different streams, or otherwise take very different classes. Both clubs and circles at EFSU were open to students in all faculties, meaning GS and FES students could, theoretically, freely mix in such situations. Not one of the participants in this study took part in any club or circle, though they expressed interest in possibly doing so "someday." At either a foreign language university or in an international studies program at a larger university, administrators could have a hand in creating some clubs more open to nontraditional social mores. The conscious administrative dismantling of

the hierarchical framework of one or more “international” clubs, in which members might be allowed to interact in a way more akin to circles, with an inclusive policy for international students, would require time and effort, yet might produce an invaluable way for students of different backgrounds to interact. Returnees might need to be provided with local fields that match their bodily hexis and accumulated forms of capital—that elusive environment Kohei might have been seeking at the international center at EFSU.

Implications for Teachers

Instructors of returnees might find such students unique in their classes of Japanese students. At the classroom level, English language teachers are often at a loss, as I was, when the motivation of English-speaking returnees seems to be either low or seems to diminish with each assignment, each pair work task, each activity meant to be high energy. In the case of Haruka, I searched my lesson plans for ideas that I hoped might bring her out of her closing shell of demotivation, feeling as if somehow I could change the direction I felt her academic journey was taking. On reflection, I feel now that there must have been a constellation of events that were occurring in her life, some of which might have been bearing down on her at that particular point, some of which had their genesis in her own habitus formed much earlier than when she walked into an EFSU classroom. The field in which she found herself at the time, the rules of the new games at the foreign language university, were to her perhaps simply uninteresting, or, in the same way as stated to one degree or another by each of the participants in this study, outside

her expectations. Teachers who find their returnee students suddenly silent might take the time, without pushing or suggesting, to perhaps act as an audience for the student, either in a discussion or by reading an assigned journal. In cases where other returnees with similar experiences are available, bringing these individuals together for shared activities might produce the kind of feeling of kinship that Kohei stated he felt when talking to his own classmates who had also been abroad. Though in Kohei's case these relationships (which he initiated, and which were not organized by me or his other teachers) were not enough to keep him at EFSU, he did continue his education elsewhere and as of this writing continues to make progress toward a degree and toward his dreams of running a business.

Teachers must then also be careful to avoid the assumption that returnees will be, simply because they are returnees, highly motivated and energetic about language classes. Returnee students have generally mastered listening and speaking skills to some degree as a matter of course in their workaday habitus abroad the way any first language user might. Students' investment in academic work might be low if they feel that they can already communicate in the second language, and they might see language activities as unhelpful. Even native English-speaking students are not always thrilled about language arts classes or discussing current events. All of the participants in this study were able to comprehend my English and the English of their instructors with relative ease, but they sometimes felt the material used in their language and other classes was too easy, low interest, or simply boring because it came packaged in the form of a classroom lecture. Returnees are as varied in their interests and classroom habitus as all the rest of the

students in a Japanese classroom. Likewise, as a result of returnee students attending school abroad but often having a home life with casual reading done in Japanese, their reading and writing skills are sometimes at the same level or even lower than their non-returnee Japanese peers. As Kohei lamented, “I don’t have much experience writing” (Kohei interview 2; 17:44). In the same way as with native speakers, returnees must develop reading and writing skills through practice and attention. Often standardized tests such as the TOEFL and TOEIC do not account for learners’ writing abilities, or it happens that those parts of the test that are geared toward writing are not included in the streaming process, as was the case in the programs at EFSU. Teachers, both Japanese teachers and native-English speaking teachers, must realize this possible imbalance of skills does not necessarily imply laziness or lack of studiousness.

Teachers might also keep in mind that in other cases, returnees might be strong in all four main language skills, but might have experienced abroad classrooms with assignments very similar to those offered in beginning university courses. Ai complained that she had already had experience writing the kinds of essays she was being assigned in her first semester of EFSU. This might seem like the convenient excuse of a student who cannot be bothered to complete yet another writing assignment, but if a student is enrolled in so-called “advanced” classes, not simply in terms of high English proficiency but in terms of preparing students for study abroad, teachers should keep in mind that capable students might want higher level or more challenging material than that given to beginning writing classes. In the same way that fourth-year university students would not expect to be assigned expressive five-paragraph essays, students who have already been

through a year or more of classes where such essays were routinely assigned might want more challenging tasks, such as higher level grammar review or research writing.

Teachers, both in high school and university, might need to re-evaluate the decision to let returnee students "off the hook" as it were, in certain situations where the teacher might feel leeway is necessary to give the returnee a fair assessment. Kyoko's high school teachers who shrugged at her relatively low *kanji* ability, and Ai's high school teachers who waved her through despite her "not achieved" designation for her classes, can be contrasted with Kohei's junior high school teachers who offered to give him extra homework to bring him up to the same academic level in Japanese as his classmates, and in the case of one teacher took such a serious interest in Kohei's future that he introduced him to both the Ashinaga program and a high school with study abroad possibilities. The first strategies seem to facilitate the teacher's workload, and the desire to run a class smoothly, or the institution's desire to keep students' morale high, whereas the other is student-directed. Though giving a student extra attention still sets the student apart, it is an act geared toward not just allowing the student to pass, but to thrive, both in the field of the Japanese classroom and in terms of the students' individual future goals. In comparing Kyoko and Kohei, while their eventual academic trajectory seems to suggest that Kyoko was more successful as a student, I should note that, of the two, Kohei consistently rated his *kanji* and Japanese ability as continually improving, and has made a decision to stay in Japan at least for the time being, while Kyoko remained doubtful of her Japanese abilities and even suggested this was one reason she was drawn abroad. While reasons for this might be varied—Kohei had only weekend *hoshūkō*

classes in his early life to prepare him for the rigor of writing and reading *kanji* and therefore might have started "learning" of *kanji* at a more remediated level than Kyoko—I can only speculate.

Finally, teachers at all levels who deal with returnee students should appreciate the linguistic capital of the returnee student, whether this is their first language oral or written ability, or their ability in a second language. The returnees in this study benefitted in cultural capital from the fact that they had sojourned in English-speaking countries and were thus able to take advantage of the prestige English has in Japan. Across the world, of course, not all students who live in countries outside their native land are exposed to English. English teachers (and any teacher) must realize that returnees who have returned from countries where English is not the language of daily life, or from a country where they were primarily exposed to a minority language or a language without perceived prestige in the home culture, should not be considered a returnee of any less caliber than those returnees who lived abroad and acquired English.

Implications for Researchers

Theoretical implications.

I began this study imagining a signpost pointing forward, but without a clear destination. The catalyst was a student in my own class, who struck me as very linguistically gifted and highly intelligent, the perfect candidate for the advanced track study abroad program in which she was enrolled, who then dropped out of school abruptly and without explanation. I hoped to shed light on why this had happened by

exploring the experiences of students whom I felt were similar to her. What I found was that returnee students have quite different stories, although they are often categorized as one demographic block. The *why* of one student is therefore necessarily different than that of any other. This can be due in large part to the complexities of the fields that they encounter before they ever enter the classroom, which in turn influence and are influenced by habitus and the forms of capital they possess, or have stripped from them.

In applying Bourdieu's ideas to this study I assert I have a different way of viewing returnees than previous researchers. Within my narrative framework I have attempted to use Bourdieu's thinking tools (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 160) of field, capital, and habitus in considering the participants' experiences as returnees. In reading Bourdieu in English translation, I was initially daunted by the density of his prose, in every book and article I read, and at first I wondered if the issue were one of translation or if Bourdieu's language was really so hard to penetrate. The best answer I found was a reported conversation of Bourdieu's where he is said to have claimed an obscure writing style was necessary in French sociology at the time in order to be taken seriously. Whether an accurate representation of his rationale or not, this argument does not make the process of parsing Bourdieu's sentences any easier. I still believe that a researcher who is interested in returnees, and is willing to brave Bourdieu's storm of semicolons and hyphens, and read the works of his acolytes who interpret his theories and findings in subtly different ways, can find in Bourdieu a helpful framework in considering returnees experiences' abroad and within Japan. Bourdieu's own research tools included large scale quantitative and qualitative data. As he said in a speech to students in Paris: "…to grasp

the subfield of economic power in France, you have little choice but to interview the top two hundred French CEOs" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 230). My own undertaking here is a different kind of effort, with very different goals and purpose. Returning to the formula [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice] provided me with a structure to compare and contrast the changing circumstances of the participants of this study. Their differences of lived experience, differences in various forms of capital, and the fact that they each had to learn "different rules for different games," suggests that for them the idea of a shared "returnee practice," either when sojourning or after return, is problematic.

The idea of returnee as a category was also an unexpected enigma. In talking with the participants in this study and considering not only their stories but the potential untold stories of similar students in my other classes, I kept coming back to the problematic issue of how returnees are categorized by various entities as *kikokushijo* (or not). Only one of the participants in this study fit the mold of "classic" *kikokushijo* who was taken abroad for a period as a youngster due to parents' work, then returned to Japan. The other two, then, might not have been considered as relevant in this kind of study by researchers with more strict or, as I would suggest, unnecessarily exclusive criteria. Though researchers must set some criteria for participants in any study, a new way of viewing what constitutes a "returnee" might be necessary in the current context of Japan and an ever-increasing interest in "global studies" programs and the cultivation of so-called *gurōbarujin*. Even studies where researchers focus specifically on returnee grammar use (Snape, et al., 2014), language attrition (Hansen, 2001) or some other discrete aspect of their development must take into account the complexity of who to include or exclude as

participants, and be prepared to justify the criteria imposed, if understanding more about "returnees" is the goal.

Researchers on Japanese returnees must also not forget returnees who have sojourned in countries where English is not the official or commonly used language, such as China, Indonesia, or Malaysia. These students, too, have experienced profound changes in cultural and linguistic capital in their movement in the fields from their home country, to abroad, and back. Students who were raised abroad by one non-Japanese and one Japanese parent and who come to Japan for higher education might also be considered to have similar experiences as *kikokushijo*, regardless of the fact that one parent is not Japanese. I have had in my own classes students who were raised with one parent who was German or French, yet this parent spoke English to the child and Japanese with the Japanese parent. Students who are products of such families, particularly when the students are considered legally Japanese, could also be considered a type of returnee, as such students regularly experience the type of linguistic issues returnees face (Greer, 2005).

My initial suspicions, based on my study of *Nihonjinron*, that patterns of "Japaneseness" would strongly color my participant narratives, appeared to be have been at least somewhat unfounded. In interview after interview I expected the kind of responses and reflections on mixed identity that have come to the forefront of other returnee studies (Kanno, 2000; White, 1988; Yoshida et al., 2009). It is possible that as time passes and the notion of a more "Global Japan" is discussed in wider and wider circles, returnees feel less pressure to hide their experiences, and are more likely to cling

to the idea that they are representative of the much-heralded "global citizens," and therefore embrace or at least not anguish over the effects of cultural hysteresis. It is also possible that my deliberate decision to avoid asking direct questions about Japanese identity and/or feelings of isolation based on cultural differences kept the reflective door closed, as it were, and prevented the students from giving free rein to possible complaints. I strongly felt the need to "keep it positive" in my interactions with participants, or at least not start off negative, and I avoided treating them as if they necessarily were experiencing a "crisis of return" (White, 1988) or were an "elite subclass" (Goodman, 1990b). As primary and secondary schools in Japan move toward the concept of "multicultural co-living" (Okano, 2014) in their incorporating returnees and other students with unique cultural experiences into classrooms, so researchers conducting returnee studies should approach their participants without the explicit assumption that their participants will be racked with specific problems.

Methodological implications.

Narrative studies and interview studies consist of data much more complex than simply questions and answers. In collecting data for this study, I utilized various tools including the main method of individual face-to-face interviews, but also personal classroom interaction with two of the participants, and finally field notes, journals entries, email communication, and social network posts. I had hoped to gain a significant amount of data for each participant in this way. What happened in the end was I had a large amount of interview data that was predominantly only audio-based, as the video files

showed the participants themselves but not me. Narrative studies, if they are to be truly co-constructed, must be so from the outset, and include the interviewer as part of the process not only in the audio transcript as asker and answerer, but also in the video tableau. In the peripheral data not directly written or spoken to me, the participants' social networking posts on Twitter were typically brief and decontextualized comments, which the participants themselves frequently did not remember posting by the time I asked them details about what they had written. In this era where university students are regularly posting the minutiae of their lives on not just one but many social networking platforms, often almost simultaneously, these seem a natural instrument for researchers to utilize from the very beginning of data collection, assuming of course the participants allow it. Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software can also help collate, organize, and aid the process of analyzing such data.

Aside from individual interaction with my participants, I had hoped at the "end" of my research to organize a meeting of all of my participants and allow them to speak to each other, and for practical reasons I was never able to do so. My own life situation took me out of the context of the school before my interviewing was done, just at the end of the participants' first year, and after that I was barely able to schedule one-on-one meetings, much less organize everyone to get together. Kanno's (2000) strategy, in which she encouraged her participants to interact not only with her as researcher, but with each other through the group journal, initially provided, as she says "sense of community" among her participants (p. 262). In this Internet age, such a journal need not be a physical document, but could easily be done online in the form of linked social network posts.

Researchers conducting future returnee studies might examine not only whether the students, before they return, study in a *hoshūkō* Saturday school, a *Nihonjingakko*, a local school, or some combination of these, but also consider the social and living contexts of the sojourners while abroad, including how or to what degree they are able to make use of local brokers to their community, and what exposure to social and economic capital (valued within the specific fields they live) is afforded them simply by their lodgings, host families, or roommates. In addition, the mediating agencies that place returnees in their homestays or living quarters such as dorms or homestays abroad also seem to have potentially dramatic effects on the students' life experiences and therefore motivating forces. Returning to both Kanno's (2003) and Wenger's (1998) ideas about the interconnectedness of identity and learning as products of social interaction, researchers cannot assume all sojourners begin in the same or even similar social situations in their different fields abroad. Using the groundwork of Moriyoshi (2001) and Yoshida, et al. (2009) that considered individual differences in the affect and attitudes of returnees, researchers might now consider their social, cultural, and linguistic experiences abroad as predictors of (re-) adjustment. Kyoko's entire outlook and choice of career might have been different had she done her homestay with the elderly couple that had been originally arranged for her. Kohei's life in London might not have been the same at all had he been placed in a household with British students his own age, or even a flat-mate from another country who might have also been studying abroad. Ai's host family experiences seemed to have bounced her from one uncomfortable situation to another, at least four times. Such decisions of student placement are no doubt carefully considered

by the agencies themselves, yet the results are still as unpredictable as wind, and researchers studying returnees might take such factors into account when speculating on whether once returned the students are *shinjapa*, *smoothies*, or some other variant of adjustment or attitudinal classification.

Limitations

I had many limitations in this study, both those of context and method. Foremost is the fact that of the three participants, two were from my own classroom in that first year of their university enrollment. They were potentially constricted in their interactions and responses to me, both oral and written, by my status as teacher and authority figure, a person who was in control of their grades and how they would be treated in the classroom. Even after I was no longer their teacher, I was still figuratively their *sensei*, of a status on par with a kind of surrogate parent. To add to this psychological distance, I was at least twice the age of each participant, a male, and the place where most interviews took place was my own domain, my office at the school. I tried to make the participants more relaxed through various attempts at lighting and positioning of the camera and recording device, including, as I mentioned in Chapter 3, providing snacks and a large piece of paper with colored pencils to draw. I asked participants each time if it were acceptable to them on any particular interview for me to record audio and/or video, and I sometimes left the room (for a toilet break or if called out) and as a way of letting the participants relax while being filmed, I left the camera on for the participants to

communicate with me via the recording devices but not face-to-face. This resulted in regular hamming for the camera with pulled faces, but even this allowed them, perhaps, to relax.

Language was another limitation, in that I asked the interview questions in English only. I always told my participants that they were free to answer or comment in Japanese, but other than one or two instances when Kohei could not think of the English word for the concept he was thinking of and glossed himself in Japanese, the participants all always spoke only English to me. I was aware of the issues involved in using an interpreter in interview studies (Williamson, et al., 2011), and I dismissed the idea as intrusive. I was, however, not confident in my own Japanese ability to understand or communicate my ideas clearly in that language. Apart from the idea that my participants might have been unable to articulate themselves as they wanted in English, or that I might have not understood their meanings in the way they wished to convey them, it is possible that in the process of their speaking English and my listening, or my speaking to them in English and their listening to me, nuances of tone, word choice, humor, affect, and implication were simply lost. Also, as a non-Japanese, an American, I realized at the outset that my broaching of topics on Japan and Japaneseness in interviews might not have been met with complete frankness or candor—or, on the contrary, might have been embraced with an instant willingness on the part of my participants to criticize Japan or

complain about situations that I, sitting across the interview table nodding, might have been expected to endorse. Also, participants might have simply been agreeable in the interest of rapport (Seidman, 2006).

This language gap of my relying on English in interviews leads to the clear problem of my references and citations, which, though taken from the considerably large body of research in English on Japanese returnees, is dwarfed by the vast works on returnees that have been done in Japanese and remain un-translated. Although I searched a number of times using Japanese keywords, and tried to find as many translated works as I could, I was incapable of the more comprehensive exploration of Japanese language research that would have enriched this study.

Narrative analysis is set with limitations as a methodology, and my own study contained further limitations compounded by contextual issues. In Bruner's (1991) words: "Narratives…are a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and 'narrative necessity' rather than by empirical verification and logical requiredness…" (p. 4). Narrative analysis by its definition is the re-storying of a person's experience (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990; Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002). The voice of the researcher then mingles with that of the participant (re)teller, and there is the possibility for the narrative researcher to, in the words of Yu (2014), "exploit rather than explore" (p. 688). I have tried to do my best to give each participant a copies of transcriptions and drafts along the way, to get their approval and solicit their suggestions. Even this, however, has resulted in most often agreement, where they have praised me for writing about them and offered little in the way of suggesting I change their words or my

conclusions. I cannot imagine this is because I am exactly right in all of my ideas and assumptions. No matter how often I insist to them "You can tell me what you really think, no need to hold back" there is the idea that they are, in fact, holding back. This might not simply be a case of what I would consider over-politeness, but a lack of knowledge, even among these returnee students, of how to disagree politely. Study abroad research has delved into the ways in which students acquire skills in pragmatic abilities (Dufon & Churchill, 2006). As I mention in Chapter 3, Kidder (1992) found that her returnee participants were somewhat limited in socio-pragmatic awareness in issues of directness, and had the tendency to idealize the concept. Whether my own participants felt this way or not, if they did not trust their own sense of how polite they needed to be, they could have been considerably muted despite my urging to "just be frank." The same is true of the video or audio recording equipment and my asking if it was acceptable for me to record them—they might have been simply too shy to say "No" when the camera was poised there with the light on standby.

For every account that was presented to me and every story that was told or constructed, there were inevitably stories that went untold. I could not have hoped to unlock all possible doors to participants' habitus, as if I could have simply asked the right questions under the right lighting on the right afternoon and expected a deluge of experience to come flooding into my IC recorder or video, with all or even a representative account revealed. I nevertheless hope the longitudinal nature of the study has helped me to get as rich a set of data as possible from all participants. This limitation has been further highlighted by the fact that I am a novice researcher. I struggled from

interview to interview, listening to previous sessions and noting how, in the early interviews, I tended to ask questions without allowing the participant to respond, in some cases talking over the participant, in other cases asking multiple questions in an attempt to rephrase what I felt was a question the participant had not understood. I have conducted various interviews for different purposes but this is my first time conducting longitudinal interviews over more than a year of time, and my first time trying consciously to avoid the kind of advisory role I have always played as a teacher in such situations where I am talking with students. I tried deliberately not to speak in evaluative language (such as using the word "good" as my response to a participant remark) that is apparent in the pilot study partial transcript in Appendix I. I attempted to substitute such rejoinders with words such as "thanks" or "all right," which nevertheless remain somewhat evaluative. In my attempts to keep a comfortable atmosphere and keep the interviewees loquacious—and also to stave off participant boredom—I often split the occasional silence that welled up after a question, inserting my own interjection or anecdote. This tended to serve the purpose of lightening the mood, and I was almost always able to evoke laughter or a smile from the interviewee, but I might have done so at the cost of allowing the participant to summon a more rich response to the original question.

Final Reflections

I began this study considering Haruka, a student who was initially for me a pleasant vocal player in what otherwise seemed like a game of silent contemplation on the other side of the lectern. She eventually became an enigma, whose way of interacting

with me and with others in the classroom dramatically changed, and finally she simply disappeared. In the early drafts of this study I wrote of her older sister, who had also been my student and a returnee, and who had told me with excitement prior to the semester how Haruka would be part of my class. I allowed this excitement to influence my own expectations that were rooted to hopes for Haruka's academic success and passage into a study abroad program like her sister before her. I ask myself now why I felt so disappointed that Haruka did not follow through as her sister had done, why she did not stay in school or make efforts to become a successful student. Was her decision to leave school really such a bad choice for her? Was I, a gatekeeper of an educational institution, so moored to my own ideas about social reproduction that I felt any trajectory that was not academic was a mistake? Did I feel it was my role as an educator to provide, in the form of a classroom, what I felt was the "best place" for her as a person? In reading the literature on returnees I have come back to this thought: We write of them as students, and in the field of education that is how we understand them: as cogs in the system that either function properly or fail. Ultimately, however, returnees make their own choices, as they should, are driven and motivated by forces outside the world of academia or English language classrooms, and act upon their own agency. Many returnees might well want to study abroad again, but many might simply want to *be abroad* again, back in a life and field they feel they understand better than the one they must struggle through in Japan. Foreign language universities and international study programs offer a tempting chance to a go to a promised land where "things are what they are ought to be," but in some cases the returnee might not wish to plod through the academic world of essays and

presentations and examinations to get there. Whether students must sit for interviews, actively improving their English (or other) language skills, or participate as a student in various kinds of classes, if students want to go abroad again via an academic track there is no simply "opting out" of the game.

I would like to return to Kanno's (2003) notion that "as students become older, they become more capable of exerting their agency and negotiating their identities," (p. 142). Though in this study I span only the first academic year of the participants' experiences, even in that space they grew and changed their views of themselves, of the university, and of their future goals. Kyoko took the reins and made the university fit her purposes. Kohei made the very mature decision to break from a situation in which he felt that he was not thriving and move to a different school. Ai accepted her economic limitations that kept her from study abroad and changed her goals. As the participants' social and economic capital continues to change and grow, they continue to realize themselves, finding their own places in the world. As Bourdieu stated, "Homo academicus relishes the finished" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 219). I necessarily finish this study here, though we all continue toward our own new and revised goals, the participants, myself, and even, somewhere in a wider field of her own, Haruka.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LETTERS OF INVITATION FOR FIRST-YEAR STUDENTS*
(ENGLISH AND JAPANESE VERSIONS)

MEMO
To: Students who have lived outside Japan (**first-year students)**
From: Phillip M. Clark

I would like to invite you to participate in an interview research project. This project will not affect your grade in any way. It is completely separate from your academic work. It does not require you to do anything but have a conversation.

For more information, contact me at: xxxxxxxx@xxxx.com or please visit me in office number **1409** any time on Tuesdays.

Thanks for reading and I hope to see you soon.

Phillip Clark
Office: **14**** (ext. 24**)

MEMO
To: 海外滞在歴の学生のみなさん（１年生）
From: Phillip M. Clark

このたび、私の研究プロジェクトに協力してくれる学生を探しています。
もちろんこのプロジェクトがみなさんの成績に影響することはありませんし、大学とは全く別のものです。難しい事は求めません。ただみなさんの話をきかせてください。

詳細については xxxxxxxx@xxxx.com へメール、もしくは研究室 1409
までお願いします。火曜日はいつでも在室ですので気軽に立ち寄ってください。

みなさんの話を楽しみにしています。
ご協力よろしくお願いします。

Phillip Clark
Office: **14**** (ext. 24**)

*(Note: A map to my office was originally attached to both forms, but has been removed for the purposes of school anonymity.)

APPENDIX B
GLOBAL 30 UNIVERSITIES (LISTED ALPHABETICALLY)

1. Doshisha University (Kyoto)
2. Keio University
3. Kyoto University
4. Kyushu University (Fukuoka)
5. Meiji University
6. Nagoya University (Nagoya)
7. Osaka University (Osaka)
8. Ritsumeikan University (Kyoto)
9. Sophia University
10. Tohoku University
11. University of Tokyo
12. University of Tsukuba
13. Waseda University

APPENDIX C
SUPER GLOBAL UNIVERSITIES AS OF 2013 (LISTED ALPHABETICALLY)

1. Akita International University
2. Chiba University
3. Hiroshima University
4. Hokkaido University
5. Hosei University
6. International Christian University
7. International University of Japan
8. Kanazawa University
9. Keio University
10. Kumamoto University
11. Kwansei Gakuin University
12. Kyoto Institute of Technology
13. Kyoto University
14. Kyushu University
15. Meiji University
16. Nagaoka University of Technology
17. Nagoya University
18. Nara Institute of Science and Technology
19. Okayama University
20. Osaka University
21. Rikkyo University
22. Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University
23. Ritsumeikan University
24. Shibaura Institute of Technology
25. Soka University
26. Sophia University
27. Tohoku University
28. Tokyo Institute of Technology
29. Tokyo Medical and Dental University
30. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
31. Tokyo University of the Arts
32. Toyo University
33. Toyohashi University of Technology
34. University of Aizu
35. University of Tokyo
36. University of Tsukuba

37. Waseda University

APPENDIX D
FOREIGN LANGUAGE UNIVERSITIES IN JAPAN AS OF 2012 (LISTED BY NAME USUALLY USED IN ENGLISH, AND IN ORDER OF FOUNDATION)

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
Founded 1899 (Originally Tokyo school of foreign languages)

Nagasaki University of Foreign Studies
Founded 1945

Kyoto University of Foreign Studies
Founded 1947

Kobe City University of Foreign Studies
Founded 1949 (as current name)

Osaka University of Foreign Studies
Founded 1949 (as current name)

Kansai Gaidai University
From 1966, a university of foreign studies

Kanda University of Foreign Studies
Founded 1987

Nagoya University of Foreign Studies
Founded 1988

APPENDIX E
SCHEDULE TO INVITE STUDENT PARTICIPANTS

Date	Time	Place	Class	Teacher
May 10, 2011	10:45	Room 1317	FES 3	---
May 10, 2011	3:00	Room 1313	FES 2	---
May 11, 2011	4:40	Room 1317	FES 1	---
May 12, 2011	3:00	Room 1313	Advanced English Studies	---

APPENDIX F
CONSENT FORM

Name: _____
Time abroad: _____
Location(s) abroad: _____

I attended a Japanese school while abroad	Y	N
I attended a *hoshūkō,* 補修校 while abroad.	Y	N
I attended a local school while abroad.	Y	N
After returning to Japan, I attended an ukeireko (受け入れ校)	Y	N

Comments: _____
_____
_____
_____

Hometown: _____

Interviews
This research project consists of a series of interviews. You will be interviewed over the course of your first year at the university (at times to be arranged at your convenience.)
The interviews will be audiorecorded, and video recorded.
The sound/video files of your interviews will be completely private, and will not be uploaded to the Internet or distributed for anyone else to see/hear.
Information from the interviews will be completely private, and nothing you say will be revealed to anyone without your permission.
You have the choice to refuse to be interviewed or to cancel participation at any time, *with no penalty.*
As compensation, you will be paid 1,000 yen for each 1-hour interview.

I understand the preceding and wish to participate.

Signed (your name): _____
Date: _____

If you wish to take part in this project, please return this form to me at any time.
Phillip Clark (email)
Office (number)

APPENDIX G
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Table 6. *Interview Schedule*

Participant	Date	Type*	Length
Ai**	5/30/2011	audio	0:52:48
	7/04/2011	audio	1:04:10
	12/13/2011	audio/video	0:49:59
	01/20/2014	notes	
	02/07/2016	audio	0:43:45
Kohei	6/14/2011	audio	0:41:25
	7/15/2011	audio/video	0:52:10
	10/05/2011	audio	0:49:22
	12/20/2011	audio/video	0:51:22
	3/07/2012	audio/video	0:36:4
	01/23/2014	notes	
	12/07/2015	audio	0:53:19
Kyoko	6/07/2011	audio/video	1:04:07
	7/07/2011	audio/video	1:01:48
	9/29/2011	audio/video	1:05:10
	12/01/2011	video	1:09:19
	1/24/2012	audio/video	1:21:39
	03/04/2012	audio(self)	0:30:49
	9/05/2012	audio	0:54:53
	06/21/15	audio	1:18:20

*occasional practical constraints such as camera availability prevented recording in both audio and video formats.
**Some students were not enrolled in my classes and were therefore more difficult to contact; this is reflected in the fewer number of interview sessions.

APPENDIX H
FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

(Ranked 1-10 by me afterwards in terms of how effective I felt the questions were. 1 being the lowest.)

Bio questions

1. Where did you go?
2. Why?
3. When?
4. For how long?
5. Who financed your time abroad?
6. How long have you been back?

General questions

1. What did you think life would be like at EFSU?
2. Talk about your experiences at EFSU as a returnee.
3. Talk about your experience abroad. Would you characterize it as happy?
4. Why did you decide to come to EFSU?
5. Talk about English.
6. How difficult was it for you to adjust to fashion trends when your returned? How about now? **(3/10)**
7. What differences are there in the "pace of life" in Japan and abroad? **(7 but little reflection)**
8. To what degree do you find it difficult to "conform" to Japanese culture? **(7)_**
9. How often, and how much, do you feel isolated from society? **(too direct, 4)**

10. What kind of experiences do you have where people have envied you? **(too direct, 5)**
11. Talk about individuality in your own life. (**difficult, 3. Clarify it and it is better**)
12. What kind of adjustments did you have to make, or are you still making, to life in Japan? **(8/9, good one)**
13. Talk about body language. **(confusing)**
14. How indirect do you think your communication style is? What does it mean to you to have an "indirect" communication style? **(confusing)**

APPENDIX I
TRANSCRIPT (EXCERPT) OF PILOT STUDY INTERVIEW # 1

Transcript: Tuesday, September 7, 2010 5:30 pm

Interviewees: HA (2nd year female student, age 18)
YM (2nd year female student, age 18)
Interviewer: PC

PC: ok ahmm so first of all how old are you. how old are both of you. how old are either of you.

HA: eighteen

YM: eighteen

PC: okay…and uh where did you go abroad where were you living

((laugh))

PC: I don't care who answers first

HA: Tennessee (.) Memphis. Memphis Tennessee. ((laugh))

PC: okay

YM: I lived in Michigan Detroit.

PC: Mhmm. When were you there?

YM: Uh I was born in Detroit and I lived there until seven

PC: Mhm

HA: I went there when I was three and came back to Japan when I was fifteen

PC: mm (.) okay: good (.) uhmm (.) why were you there?

HA: dad's job?

(2)

YM: me too

PC: okay

YM: my dad’s

PC: Aaare your parents back in Japan now? Did everyone move back?

HA: Yes

PC: Okay good (.) uh did you so what what did you go to high school in Japan or what what was your schooling experience in Japan?

HA: in Japan? I went to high school. In Japan.

PC: from the age of fif (.) teen?

HA: Mhm

PC: until now

HA: mhm

PC: so what high school that was three years

HA: yes. so I went my (.) I went a little bit of my freshman year in America and then I came back

PC: right (.) and did you attend any did you attend any school in Amer- in the US (.)any sort of school to prepare you for coming back to Japan?

HA: I went to like it’s called (.) it’s called ho:shu:ko

PC: Mhm

HA: I went there every Saturday

PC: right that was only one day a week

HA: yes one day a week

PC: okay so what did you study there

HA: we studied math nihongo Japanese (.) and that's about it

PC: *kanji* and that sort of thing

HA: yess

PC: k how about you

YM: I in Japan?

PC: yeah

YM: I junior high school and high school and also elementary school? and when I was in America I went to ho:shu:ko every Saturday?

PC: mhm

YM: and I did like Japanese math and (.) yeah I don't really remember

PC: mhm this was a long time ago

YM: yeah

PC: did you have a lot of other kids with you in these Classes? the ho:shu:ko?

HA: not really

PC: no? there's something called a ukeireko that when you come back to Japan there are schools that are actually

designed for students who have returned to Japan (.) which then are sort of to assist your readjustment did you go to anything like that when you came back?

HA: yeah. my um I went to Doshisha International? so there's a lot of kids that are like me and then they had um it was called and M class and and L class? and the L class is for people like just came in from Japan and like have like already know Japanese and then the M class there's only about like five people in that class? are for people who like can really do Japanese and they like teach you more from the beginner's (.) start? and I was in the M class.

PC: okay all right how about you

YM: um I went to a school called enokigaoka shougakko? and it is a Japanese school but there's some many foreign students? so um but I was put into only Japanese student class so it was very difficult for me when I came back

PC: mhm um so let's talk about that then you said it was difficult for you to come back did either of you have difficulties in high school what kind of difficulties can you talk about that? you can talk together you don't necessarily have to talk to me. so what about that (.) coming back

HA: coming back

YM: hmmmm

HA: I never really rode the train that was really difficult because we don't have trains in Memphis except for luggage trains but we always use the bus or the car so and there's way too many people for me in Japan

YM: hhhh

HA: I didn't have I never experienced something like with like so much people (.) and then in school you would have like Japanese history and in my school we had like um how do you say it? Bible study? and they do that in Japanese and then of course the *kanji* comes and then they give you the little textbooks in Japanese and I couldn't read most of the *kanji* so I had to have my mom like write (.) the okurigana for all of the *kanji* so I could cuz they'll pick on you to read and they kind of make fun of you if you can't read the Japanese so I made my mom do that a lot. but then yeah other than that

PC: that was in a school?

HA: mhmm

PC: the-uh so you had a ep a religious studies in the school that you were at

HA: yeah my school was a Christian school so we had Bible studies and stuff

PC: ok right right right ok mm

YM: ummm I like to play with my friends very much but I couldn't invite them because I can't speak Japanese well so my mom said to the friends and then my mom told me that you have to go to somewhere at whatever o'clock and so I didn't really think that very in touch with them? because my mom is in the middle so mm that was a little bit yeah I don't

HA: yeah

((laugh))

YM: and study: yeah me too my mom write the *okurigana* for me

PC: mhm

YM: very much and I don't remember really ((laugh))

HA: yeah the clubs were really hard I joined the girl's basketball team? and I kinda joined thinking it was kinda like uh like what they had in America you don't it's not that strict I mean you don't have to go like every day.

YM: mm mm mm

HA: and you know it takes up your social life but um here you have to go every day even if it's a Saturday or a

140 Sunday and then you have of course the senpai kōhai

141 YM: yeahh

142 HA: and you don’t really have that in America so you know

143 it was really hard because you all the first-graders

144 they had to do like EVERY THING for the seniors and

145 that was really kinda I didn’t like that at all

146 ((laugh)) I didn’t understand it.

147 PC: mhmm

148 HA: yeah ((laugh))

149 YM: mmmm

150 HA: °what else

APPENDIX J
INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview 1

1. Choice to come to EFSU: Why?
2. How difficult was it for you to adjust to fashion trends in Japan when you returned? How about now?
3. Talk about your life abroad in any general terms.
4. What differences are there in the "pace of life" in the Japan and abroad?
5. To what degree do you find it difficult to "conform" to Japanese culture?
6. How often, and how much, do you feel isolated from the rest of society?
7. What kind of experiences do you have where people have envied you?
8. Talk about individuality in your own life.
9. What kind of adjustments did you have to make, or are you still making, to life in Japan?
10. Talk about body language.
11. How indirect do you think your communication style is? What does it mean to you to have an "indirect" communication style?

Interview 2

1. Follow-up questions from interview 1.
2. New goals for the term.
3. Follow-up questions regarding choice to come to EFSU
4. What are your strengths as compared to your classmates?

5. What are your weaknesses compared to your classmates?

Interview 3

1. Where do you feel most comfortable?

   Where do you feel most comfortable in school?

2. Expectations of you…
3. Who expects what from you?
4. To what degree do you match those expectations?
5. What do you expect from others?
6. To what degree do others match your expectations?
7. How do you feel about your program?
8. What are your revised goals?
9. How do you feel about your English level and progress?
10. How is your motivation?

Interview 4

1. What does it mean to you to "be Japanese?"
2. How do you feel about your "level" of English? How much does this match the university's "leveling" of you?
3. Talk about accent. Can you tell me any stories about your experiences?
4. How do you feel your teachers see you?
5. Do others' expectations influence you?
6. Talk about fashion and your own fashion. How much do you think about it?

   Hair/clothes/makeup/shoes/ etc.

7. How is what you wear now similar/different from what you wore when you were abroad? What fashion trends suit you? How in touch are you with fashion trends?
8. To what degree do you care about tests? English tests? TOEFL tests?
9. How do you feel about teachers?
10. To what degree do you feel like an actress/actor?
11. How special do you feel as an English speaker, here at this school or elsewhere?
12. How do you understand the term 社会参加? shakaisanka
13. How do you feel about grades or other ways you are evaluated?
14. How closely do you align yourself with the status quo? In behavior, etc.?
15. How's your *kanji*? Talk about it.
16. Fill out form (*Nihonjinron* form) and talk about it.
17. Thoughts on year one.

APPENDIX K
JAPANESE TERMS*/QUESTIONNAIRE

Write the ***letter*** of the appropriate response, as you understand the term.

a) 甘える *amaeru*
b) 和 *wa*
c) 遠慮 *enryo*
d) 恩 *on*
e) 思いやり *omoiyari*
f) 精神 *seishin*
g) 義理 *giri*
h) その他 other (please explain)

1. After getting notified I have passed my university entrance exam, I give a present to a teacher who helped me studying to enter university. I am grateful for his support. This is an example of _____.

2. My friend's mother asks me if I need a lift home. I take the offer even though I can walk home with no trouble. _____.

3. My friend always remembers my and our other friends' birthdays. She always says happy birthday to us on our birthdays. _____.

4. I was told by my friend that I am too childish in my way of thinking compared to my actual age. I was told I have the mental age of a 5-year old. _____.

5. In school, the teacher tells pupils to walk in a line. I didn't want to do that but I did, because I didn't want to disturb other people. _____.

6. If a person is lost on the street, I will help him or her, even if he or she is a stranger. _____.

7. When you talk about where you want to eat dinner with a group of friends, and opinions are divided, you don't stick to your opinion but respect others' opinions. _____.

8. People who are in an area undamaged by disaster volunteer to help people in Tohoku. _____.

9. I give up my seat to an elderly person on a train. _____.

10. My mother bought a ticket to a musical. My mother is not interested in musicals, but her friend will be on stage in that musical. _____.

11. I didn't like my class teacher in junior high, but when I graduated from school I said "thank you" to that teacher. _____.

12. In Kyoto, the McDonald's have brown signs instead of the usual red and yellow, in order to fit in with the surroundings. _____.

13. I am an athlete. I do not take performance-enhancing drugs to make me a more powerful player. _____.

*The terms were taken from (Wierzbicka, 1997). The "other/その他" designation h) was provided in case students had another term (or no particular term) in mind.

APPENDIX L
TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[fill]	Indicates an unspoken word filled in to give context to utterance.
(3; 1:02:38)	Interview number and time. Indicates passage was taken from interview 3, at the time of one-hour, two-minutes, thirty-eight seconds.
sss	Indicates an extended sound, i.e. Yesss
(Name: FN 1/1/12)	Indicates field notes comment, with the participant name, and date of the field note.
((laughter))	Indicates non-verbal action evident in video recording or audio recording. In this case, laughter.
[( )]	Translation to or from Japanese, *romaji* and English
(.)	Pause in conversation
[. . .]	Material deleted
. . . .	Sentence trailing off into silence

All interview data has been transcribed in such a way that the participants could read it easily for the purposes of confirming or editing. Filler utterances such as *uh* or *um* have purposefully not been included for ease of participant review of their material. In some cases words such as *like* have been retained to give a better sense of each participants' voice.

APPENDIX M
DATA SOURCES

Haruka

Introductory card for class
Written class journal
Email communication

Kyoko:

Introductory card for class
Recorded interview video data
Recorded interview audio data
Written class journal
Twitter timeline
Email communication
LINE SMS communication
Pre and post interview notes
Classroom observation notes (of a class not my own)

Kohei:

Introductory card for class
Recorded interview video data
Recorded interview audio data
Written class journal
Twitter timeline
Email communication
Pre and post interview notes
Classroom observation notes (of a class not my own)

Ai:
Recorded interview video data
Recorded interview audio data
Handwritten unrecorded interview notes
Email communication
Pre and post interview notes

APPENDIX N
CODING SPREADSHEET EXAMPLE

	A	B	D	F
1	CODE↓ Participant→	Kohei	Kyoko	Ai
2	English proficiency	2; 18:11 Everyone around me has better English. I mean some people are really good at grammar but not at speaking or listening. And some people have both abilities, that's really good. Someof them have only the listening but not tha tmuch of grammar. For me it's listening and speaking but not grammar.	3;11:44 I like using English/English dictionary more than Eng/Japndictionary I sometimes check when they have like a disease name because its easier to understand in japanese cuz I have japanese input. Its easier to understand Eng/eng they use like easy words. Becasue I cant read kanji that much. If I check like english to japanese dictionary I have to jump to japanese japanese dictionary. Or sometimes I go to english japnese dictionary and then go to English English.	1;6:45 My TOEIC score is 720 "It's not that good" "It's pretty shame" TOEIC ON ENTRANCE
3		2; 37:40 My English is only like talking daily life but not like those Global Society stuff so I want to improve my English.	2;52:21 Now I don't know why but I think the more I study Japanese makes my English...like, worse, not worse but. Like the more I forget English. Because at one time there was a like a middle term test for these kind of subjects and I have to think in Japanese like I was I was doing all like difficult stuff in Japanese so my brain was completely in Japanese, and then suddenly I forgot how to speak ENglish, not how to speak but like English didn't come out from my mouth, and yeah and I was like I cried to my friends and they're like oh we can speak English during lunchtime or whenever. And yeah, so that's why yeah. I did lose Japanese when I was in America.	2; 1:30 TOEFL score: (197) 479 (first taken was 480) I too- uh it was 197. 197. 4-479? The last one. (At ?) Yeah. It's kind of nearly reached to 500.... Uh first toefl was 480? Uh, I'm so bad at reading I think. So weak. Weak, weak. Because I always I always like when I start to um figure out the reading parts I always need a little bit more time to to do stuff... I don't have the ability to read in a short short length, short short time? Short minutes?
4		3; 36:01 Right now I go to and talk with a lot of guys from abroad. But I haven't I didn't study English during my junior highr high school that much and so forgetting a lot of English it's not coming out.	2;:53:52 Right after I arrived at the airport my mom was like"You have to get in this train you have to hurry," and I was like "What?" And my mom didn't really hug me or anything, and I was like (shock) like this I mean my host mom hugged me and she was crying and I see my real mom and we havent met for a year I thought she would greet me and like hug me but she was like "The train's coming you gotta go hurry and I was like "What?" And she kind of went somwhere running and she thought I was following her but I wasn't. I was kind of lost and I didn't know what to do and I was walking around and this lady, I think she was, I dont know but the lady working at the airport, she came up to me and talked to me in English like "Are you lost?" I wanted to say in Japanese, but I couldn't speak. Like I forgot how to speak. I was like Ummmm.... And so she took me to the this place and she announced "Uh this girl is wearing orange t-shirt and jeans and she looks like an Asian girl is lost." Yeah seriously. "She's 17," and my mom came and was like "How could you?" Like... "Sorry". I felt so awkwward and weird 'cause I havent spoken any Japanese at all for a year. I didn't even talk to my mom on the phone. None. Like I had uh like card which like I can like talk to them free and yeah theres we had like opportunity to talk but I jsut didnt. It was my choice. Well, cuz I liked the life I had at that time, and like speaking to them felt like I'm in here for like only a year or something. Cuz yeah i don't know what i'm saying but.	3; 15:35 (Try hard? High proficiency compared to others?) Maybe Ordinary. Just doing what they say.I haven't done any extra works. Oh I did. I got like extra papers from Mr. because he said if you want any extra papers I'll give it to you and I did it and it was useful. It was like a paper of TOEFL quizzes.
		4; 35:45 (by December 20) It's not going up that fast but I think I'm getting back my English a little.		3; 39:20 My skill at English is getting lower I think. Getting lower. Compared to when Iw as in NZ. Cause when I speak to my friends from New Zelaand, umJapaense he studied in NZ for three years an dhe's coming back this year and I heard his enlighs is more like local English but my English is like uh

APPENDIX O
ADVANCED ENGLISH EVALUATION FORM

EFSU
IES Progress Report
STUDENT: STUDENT ID:
TERM:

CLASS: Class Absence: days
INSTRUCTOR:

This student is scheduled to participate in one of the two-year study abroad programs upon completing five semesters at EFSU. The student is expected to complete his/her studies in a two-year time frame. Therefore, the student must have sufficient language skills to enroll in the undergraduate programs and to pursue his/her academic studies at our affiliated institutions. The student's academic progress and performance should be evaluated accordingly.

1. General Evaluation:
   - □ Making normal progress.
   - □ Passing the class with some low grades. Needs improvement on overall academic performance.
   - □ Not passing the class. Failure to improve the academic performance may result in jeopardizing the benefit of participating in the study abroad program.

2. Language Proficiency:
(Excellent = 95-100, Good = 85-94, Satisfactory = 80-84, Needs Improvement = 70-79, Unsatisfactory = 0-69)
Reading: Composition: Vocabulary: Grammar: Speaking: Listening:

3. Class Performance: Low/Weak High/Strong
   - Class Participation: 1 2 3 4 5
   - Assignment Completion: 1 2 3 4 5
   - Academic Motivation: 1 2 3 4 5

4. Comments:

5. Suggestions:
   - □ Be on time for class.
   - □ Improve class attendance
   - □ Meet with the instructor during office hours.
   - □ Pay more careful attention in class.
   - □ Spend more time preparing for class.
   - □ Submit assignments on time.
   - □ Spend more time completing assignments carefully.
   - □ Participate more in class discussions.
   - □ Ask for extra work from the instructor in _____ (area).
   - □ Ask questions when confused.
   - □ Speak more English in class.
   - □ Talk to the instructor about improving study habits.
   - □ Keep up the good work.