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Autoethnographic Analysis of the Lives of Hearing Individuals with Deaf Family Members in Japanese-speaking Society: Participatory research on invisible minorities

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Abstract

This participatory research explores the challenges experienced by the authors, both of whom are hearing relatives of deaf family members: one is a child of deaf adults, and the other is a sibling of deaf children. We are bicultural members of both hearing and deaf cultures, but we can be considered invisible minorities because our participation in deaf culture remains hidden. This research aimed to externalize our challenges by objectifying our own experiences as invisible minorities. We used collaborative autoethnography to investigate the social and cultural structures underlying the challenges we face. Our autoethnographies show that we face a dilemma: do we embrace deaf culture as part of our identity or adapt to hearing culture and society? Furthermore, the findings suggest that we are in a situation of cognitive incongruity, where conflicting messages from hearing and deaf cultures occur. Additionally, we experience internalized stigma as individuals who have family members with disabilities, which can be understood as structural stigma experienced not only directly from other hearing people, but also indirectly from deaf family members.

Key words: cognitive incongruity; self-stigma; ego identity; CODA (Children of Deaf Adults); SODA (Siblings of Deaf Adults/Children)

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1. Introduction

With the recent trend of globalization, the linguistic environment in Japanese society is becoming more diverse, and the number of people whose mother tongue or first language is not Japanese is increasing. In addition to old-comers and sign language speakers, recently, people who communicate using a variety of languages, including newcomers such as international students and workers, have begun living in Japanese society. However, in Japanese society, where native speakerism is deeply ingrained, not only is there intolerance toward people with foreign roots and their languages, but it has also been reported that people who communicate without relying on hearing and their language, namely sign language, have a low social status and are placed in a challenging environment (e.g., Nakai, 2019).

In Japanese society, individuals who use languages other than spoken Japanese are considered linguistic minorities. However, there are also "invisible minorities" who possess minority characteristics, but are not recognized by others. Invisible minorities are defined as "minorities who are recognized as the majority because their minority nature is difficult to understand 'invisible' not easily perceived by others at first glance" (Maruta, 2019, p. 99). Examples include children with international backgrounds whose parents cannot speak Japanese, and hearing individuals who have deaf family members. These invisible minorities are incorporated into the majority of Japanese speakers because they can speak Japanese. Therefore, it is difficult for others to understand that they experience challenges related to their minority status, and they may be excluded from support, even if they face difficulties.

The authors of this study are children of deaf adults (CODAs) and siblings of deaf adults or children (SODAs). In this study, we describe their own introspective experiences as members of invisible minorities in order to examine the social structure that creates the difficulties faced by invisible minorities.

2. Past studies and purpose of this research

Next, we provide an overview of previous research on CODA and SODA, which are related to sign language and deaf culture. First, we discuss CODA. A CODA is defined as "a child with healthy hearing ability whose parent is hearing-impaired" (J-CODA, n.d.). This includes cases in which the parent is not only deaf, but also hard of hearing, or when only one parent is hearing-impaired. Therefore, researchers state that a CODA's language use and perception of deafness are influenced by the degree of the parent's hearing impairment, the family environment in which the parents were raised, and the parents' beliefs and values regarding language (Miyazawa, 2012). Shibuya (2009), who explored the experiences of CODA, found that they are situated in complex circumstances that affects their position in and perception of the parent-child relationship. For example, they may play the role of interpreter mediating dialogues between adults, even when the content is incomprehensible to children, and they may be exposed to the public's gaze as children with a disabled parent. These experiences lead to various conflicts.

In addition, Nakatsu and Hirota (2020) analyzed the influence of the degree of dependency of deaf parents on CODAs on the developmental process of CODA, such as personality formation, and discussed the need for early support for CODA in childhood. In this study, the authors conducted a questionnaire survey with 104 CODAs and found that communication with their parents occurs through sign language, oral speech (communication in which the deaf individuals read the mouth movements of the hearing individuals and responds with a mouth shape and vocalization), gestures, and written communication. However, effective dialogue is not established in approximately half of these households. Because CODA bear a significant burden from an early age, researchers have pointed out the need to reduce the burden on interpreters, provide psychological care, and support the establishment of effective dialogues. In this way, CODA are placed in two language environments, sign language and spoken Japanese, and therefore have the potential to become bilingual in sign language and spoken Japanese, while also having a bicultural aspect in which they come in contact with both deaf and hearing cultures. Biculturalism here refers to a condition in which an individual has connections with two cultures, adopts the attitudes, behaviors, and values of each culture, and expresses both consciously or unconsciously. It is also said that CODA have a culture that integrates both cultures (Grosjean, 2010). For this reason, bicultural people can sometimes experience problems with identity fluctuations between the two cultures to which they belong (Yamamoto, 2014). For example, in the case of international children who have two languages and cultural knowledge, it has been shown that the language and cultural knowledge of the place of residence are dominant because of the "determinacy of the place of residence" (Suzuki, 2008; Suzuki, 2014).

Furthermore, international children have both an identity as international children and an identity as "half" or "not Japanese." However, if they feel that their roots are denied or excluded, they may hide their identity as international children and experience conflict regarding their ethnic identity (Takahata, 2000). Therefore, it is considered important to know the country of one's roots and recognize the usefulness of one's linguistic capital, in addition to gaining perspective by interacting with people from various backgrounds.

The bicultural aspect of CODA is discussed in Shibuya (2009). According to this study, CODA tend not to consider themselves bilingual because of the social perception that sign language is the language of people with disabilities. They also view their own bicultural aspects negatively, such as feeling guilty about sign language and deaf culture, and they internalize what would be positively evaluated in other foreign languages as negative capital. Lovely and Ando (2018) also examine bilingualism and biculturalism through the experiences of both returnees and CODA as invisible and unique minorities because they are not identifiable from their appearance and are speakers of spoken Japanese. In the experiences of the five CODA discussed in the paper, it is noted that CODA deny their own attributes, such as the fact that their parents are not educated and that they use oral communication to communicate with their parents. Therefore, they consider sign language to be an imperfect means of communication and not their own language. However, it is also pointed out that CODA's identities are influenced by their own self-affirmation and acceptance by others. For instance, when they participate

in CODA meetings and are accepted by others, they come to recognize themselves as CODA.

Next, an overview of past studies focusing on SODA (referring to hearing individuals who have hearing-impaired siblings (SODA with hearing-impaired siblings, "Hearing Siblings," n.d.)) is provided. There is scant research on SODA in Japan compared to siblings with other disabilities (Sato, 2007). This is thought to be because hearing-impaired people are less likely to require medical or family support than people with other disabilities. However, because SODA restrict their own free time from an early age and support their deaf siblings more than their parents, they are reported to experience psychological burdens and to have ideas unique to SODA (Sato, Oda, Kobayashi, & Kuboyama, 2008). In light of this situation with SODA, the following previous research on sibling support has been conducted.

First, Sato et al. (2008) proposed a form of educational support for SODA through the analysis of case studies on the challenges faced by SODA and dissatisfaction with siblings. Sato et al. (2008) listed the necessary support for SODA as "creating environments in which SODAs can learn about their siblings' hearing impairments" and "people around SODA to accept SODA's feelings." These measures not only give SODA an opportunity to think about their role and the meaning of their existence, but also promote self-esteem. In addition, by providing a place for SODA to communicate their conflicts and challenges to others, SODA, who tend to be hidden in the shadow of their siblings, are recognized by those around them, and the SODA themselves are able to feel their identity as SODA. However, Sato et al. (2008) identified a problem in that the method of collecting case studies was based on the observations of teachers at deaf schools and classes for the hearing impaired, and does not directly reflect the voices of the SODA themselves. Therefore, in order to clarify the difficulties of siblings that are difficult for others to see, research that directly addresses the voices of those involved is necessary.

Next, we discuss a questionnaire survey conducted by Morita and Yokkaichi (2006) that examines the relationship between children with disabilities and SODA. This survey revealed that it is important for SODA and hearing-impaired children to build a relationship of mutual dependence and trust and communicate actively from both sides. Because problems for siblings can arise from the sibling relationship, it is clear that it is important to consider the framework for sibling support based on the problems in the sibling relationship and within the family. Additionally, Fillery (2000) finds that SODA can lose their childlike qualities because they play the role of mediating between siblings and others from an early age, sacrificing their time and physical well-being. In other words, it is necessary to understand that the difficulties faced by siblings are not only problems in the sibling relationship and within the family, but also arise from interactions with others. Because SODA's identity is greatly affected by how they are perceived and evaluated in society, and by their interactions with people other than their family, it is necessary to consider SODA's unique cultural and linguistic position, as well as their bilingual and bicultural aspects, as in the case of CODA.

To date, we have reviewed studies related to CODA and SODA. Based on these studies, it is possible to point out the fluctuation of CODA and SODA identities and the influence they come under from their interactions with others. However, to approach the problems faced by invisible minorities, it

is necessary to explore the social and cultural structures embedded in such interactions, in addition to describing the interactions that give rise to identities and the life world behind them. In particular, the difficulties faced by CODAs and SODAs living in Japanese society have not been well researched.

As such, the purpose of this study is to examine the difficulties experienced by both CODA and SODA from social and cultural perspectives, considering the unique cultural and linguistic environments of each group. This analysis uses the authors' own descriptions of their life worlds, which are affected by both deaf and hearing cultures.

3. Study method

This study is a participatory research project in which the authors, who are CODA and examine the issues faced by invisible minorities based on their own experiences. Participatory research is an activity in which participants reflect on their own experiences and difficulties in life, share them, and explore their meanings and backgrounds, with the aim of finding new ways to understand and help themselves, as well as to connect with others who can do the same (Ishihara, 2016; Mukaiyachi, 2020). The act of reflection to reexamine one's own experiences in participatory research is considered "a private act that is closed to the individual, whereas 'research' aims to share its results with others, and, in that sense, is 'public'" (Noguchi, 2018, p. 162). In other words, participatory research is not an act that is closed to the world of the participants, but rather an act that is open to the outside. In addition, while participants face themselves and explore ways to deal with the situation in counseling, in participant research, participants talk to friends who have difficulties in life, explore their meaning, and publish the results. Therefore, it becomes possible to go beyond the counselor–client structure found in counseling, and to externalize responsibility for addressing problems to society, rather than internalizing it within the individual. Furthermore, Noguchi (2018) discussed the limitations of the self that can be reconstructed from self-narration in participatory research, as well as the possibilities of participatory research. First, ego identity is recursively organized by retelling one's life history. However, if this reorganization fails, "further reflection is required," and the "self" becomes bound in deeper reflexivity, which results in the construction of a more negative self than before introspection (Noguchi, 2018, p. 172). In participatory research, however, the reflexive self becomes more open and public through dialogue with peers or through the publication of results, and a public ego identity is recursively constructed. This process is thought to externalize the stigma that arises from differences in social identity, making it possible to reexamine the social structure behind it.

According to Goffman (2001/1963), stigma refers to a condition that leads to discrimination and insults, such as those directed at a social group to which one belongs or at individuals with a disability. However, participatory research regards stigma as something created by society, rather than something that originates within the individual, and examines the problems of the social structure that produces it. Furthermore, it is possible that when individuals talk about themselves, they "will not have made any particular discoveries, and depending on how you look at it, they may have simply introduced themselves

and made some discoveries through feedback from the 'listeners,'" while it has also been argued that "it is the 'listeners', rather than the 'speakers', who overwhelmingly and reliably change perceptions as a result of participatory research" (Kumagaya & Kokubun, 2017, p. 20). The externalization of problems through participatory research can change perceptions and behaviors about society by affecting people other than the participants, and may even lead to changes in the social structure. Therefore, this study aims to externalize the problems faced by CODA and SODA, who are invisible minorities, through participatory research and by influencing the majority, thereby dispersing the self-help efforts imposed on minorities and changing the location of responsibility for addressing these problems.

Although there is no specific manual for participatory research, the philosophy and perspective of the research are indicated (Mukaiyachi, 2020). From these, the following points align with the purpose of this study. First, there is a focus on difficulties in living. Participatory research does not seek to find the cause of difficulty in living; instead, it aims to view this difficulty positively, regarding it as revealing problems that need to be solved and exploring its meaning. The dialogue for this exploration is considered a "disclosure of weakness," which allows the "treasure of experience," such as weakness and hardship, to become a shared asset among all participants. It is also important to shift from an other-person perspective, which focuses on curing difficulties in living, to a subjective perspective that emphasizes making use of these experiences. In particular, shifting perspective requires objectifying the difficulty in living by considering it from the perspective of the person involved, reversing common sense, and viewing people and things separately. This approach allows for an objective examination of the difficulty in living, rather than focusing solely on oneself.

In line with this philosophy, this study employs collaborative autoethnography (CAE; Chang, Ngunjiri, & Hernandez, 2013) as an analytical method. CAE is a form of autoethnography conducted through collaboration among multiple participants. In this study, the authors are considered participants, and the experiences of both parties are explored collaboratively. The study extracts and examines the commonalities and differences in the difficulties each party faces, as well as the social relationships in which they have been placed.

We adopted this CAE because the characteristics of autoethnography align with the idea of participatory research. First, autoethnography is a method for describing and systematically analyzing personal experiences to understand cultural experiences (Ellis, 2004). By introspectively reflecting on one's own position and emotions and self-reflexively examining subjective experiences, individuals can deepen their understanding of society and culture through themselves (Imoto, 2013). Furthermore, including an interlocutor in this process not only promotes self-narration and enables individuals to view themselves objectively by relativizing their own experiences, but also provides an opportunity to reconsider autoethnography from a meta-perspective (Okushio (Harada), 2016). The authors, who serve as each other's interlocutors, share the experience of being members of deaf families, but they also have different research interests and differ in whether the deaf family member is a parent or a sibling. Therefore, the similarities among the authors are expected to bring about deep self-insight, in addition to the self-relativization described by Okushio (Harada) (2016).

Furthermore, in a study of collaborative ethnography, in which auto-ethnography is analyzed together with interlocutors, the following points have been raised. First, Narita (2014) stated that the autoethnography of the teacher's own practice was read by students and class observers, and the reflections and contemplations expressed through discussion were verbalized. This process resulted in a class record as a world of "intersubjectivity" (Husserl, 2012/1973) that goes beyond subjectivity and objectivity, and collaborative ethnography as a social and cultural project (Narita, 2014, p. 52). In addition, Hirasawa and Narita (2015) reported that the authors held a dialogue about the autobiography (record of the person involved) of a man with developmental disabilities, and created a collaborative ethnography by adding and revising the autobiography. They stated that "through collaboration and dialogue that went beyond the limits and boundaries of different experiential knowledge, practical knowledge, and expertise, we followed a truly social constructivist research process" (Hirasawa & Narita, 2015, p. 188).

Ikeda (2018) highlighted that phenomenological aspects of collaborative ethnography are also present in participatory research. According to Ikeda (2018), participatory research, which objectifies and objectively examines difficulties from the perspective of the person involved, aligns with phenomenological scholarship. This scholarship maintains that research must "not deviate from the reality of life" to be truly scientific. In other words, participatory research does not ensure objectivity through "generalization" that applies to everyone. Instead, it finds objectivity in the collective knowledge generated through research, which is based on the multiple perspectives of research participants. This approach corresponds to the intersubjectivity of phenomenology (Ikeda, 2018, p. 138).

Based on the above, in this study, the authors, who share similarities and differences and have deaf family members, used CAE to examine the invisible world of minorities from the perspective of those involved and collaboratively explore and objectify the difficulties of living in that context, while acting as interlocutors. In this study, narrative inquiry (NI; Baynham & De Fina, 2017) was used to conduct the dialogue that formed the basis for the creation, analysis, and consideration of the autoethnography.

NI allows participants to discuss their experiences, reveal their weaknesses and shortcomings, and, through continuous dialogue that gives meaning to those experiences, makes it possible to observe social structures from the perspective of identity politics in society. Because this was an exploratory study, the number of NI dialogues was determined according to the progress of the study. A total of five dialogues were required to describe and consider the autoethnography. All dialogues were conducted in spoken Japanese and recorded on an IC recorder. In the first dialogue, participants brainstormed experiences they could recall. After the dialogue, each participant reflected on the transcribed data and recorded past episodes and feelings they remembered. In the second dialogue, participants spoke based on the recorded data, and after the dialogue, they reflected on the transcribed data and added newly recalled episodes to the record created in the first dialogue. In the third dialogue, participants spoke based on the record created after the second dialogue. Because no new episodes were mentioned, participants decided that the discussion of their experiences was sufficient and ended the dialogue. After the third dialogue, participants compiled autoethnographies of their own experiences based on all the

TABLE1. Authors' personal background characteristics and overview of the conduct of NI

Nakai's personal background characteristics	Maruta's personal background characteristics
・Family structure: Deaf parents ・Communication within family (Between parents) Japanese Sign Language (Between parents and children) Oral communication, Signed Japanese, Home Sign, and written communication ・Field of specialization: Applied Linguistics	・Family structure: Hearing parents, deaf siblings ・Communication within family (Between deaf siblings) Signed Japanese, oral communication (Between family members) Signed Japanese, oral communication, and Home Sign However, the proportion of sign language and spoken Japanese changes depending on the content of the conversation and the speaker. (With family members Other than deaf siblings) Spoken Japanese ・Field of specialization: Japanese language education
Overview of NI conduct	
May 29, 2018 (157 minutes); June 14, 2018 (178 minutes); June 28, 2018 (75 minutes); November 23, 2018 (117 minutes); May 18, 2019 (121 minutes)	
Notes: Japanese Sign Language is a language for deaf individuals with its own grammatical system, while signed Japanese is a language in which sign words are arranged in the same order as spoken Japanese, and the two are different languages (Kimura, 2011). In this study, the distinction between signed Japanese and Japanese Sign Language is unclear in the context of the authors' homes, so the languages used by the authors are collectively referred to as "sign language." Furthermore, home signs are not languages with grammatical systems like sign language, but rather gestures and hand movements used in communication at home or with close friends.	

transcribed data and records. In the fourth dialogue, participants used their own autoethnographies to give meaning to both participants' experiences, and each added to their own autoethnography. In the fifth dialogue, participants compared their revised autoethnographies and considered the structures that give rise to the challenges faced by invisible minorities, including the similarities and differences between the participants. During the discussion, we coded all the data and extracted recurring patterns and common themes. In addition, in conducting and analyzing this study, we mutually confirmed that we were not required to discuss anything we did not wish to disclose, and that we could discontinue the study at any time for any reason. Furthermore, we obtained permission from each family member to disclose any family-related information in the autoethnography.

4. Autoethnographies of CODA and SODA

Next, the authors' experiences are presented blow. Recurring events that were experienced multiple times, as well as events that remained strongly in authors' memories, are described using various themes (indicated in angle brackets < >).

4.1. Nakai's experiences as a CODA

Communication issues always arose in my (Nakai) interactions with Maruta. This was because our discussions often focused on the difference in the language environment between me, as a CODA, and Maruta, as a SODA. At home, I communicate using sign language, oral speech, home signs, and writing. However, as soon as I step outside, spoken Japanese becomes the main means of communication. For me, home serves as the boundary between these two worlds, and it has shaped my various experiences.

<Discomfort I felt at kindergarten and school>

Looking back on my experiences with communication, I recall that, in contrast to Maruta, who said he got along well with his teachers, I did not like my teachers. My most unpleasant memory is an incident that occurred when a teacher was explaining something in a kindergarten classroom. I was sitting with my classmates, listening to the teacher in silence, but suddenly the teacher scolded me for staring at people's faces and made me stand in the hallway. I still vividly remember the expression of the teacher glaring at me with anger and the confusion I felt as to why I was scolded for just looking at the teacher's face as he spoke. After that, I didn't pay attention to my classmates, but I became afraid to make eye contact with the teacher when he was talking. After I started elementary school, my teacher often praised me for working very hard despite having a hard time with my family. However, I didn't know what was difficult for my parents or what I was trying to do, and I always felt uncomfortable and embarrassed by his behavior that was like he was trying to pick at a sore spot. At the same time, I wanted him to just treat me normally, just like my other friends.

In addition, in end-of-term report cards and parent-teacher conferences, in addition to being evaluated as needing to have more confidence, being too quiet, and being timid, I was often given advice that I should be able to look people in the eye when expressing my opinions. I had always felt uncomfortable about making eye contact with people, so I listened to what the teacher said, thinking it was the same old story. However, I really didn't want to have to translate this for my mother, and more than anything, I felt a strong sense of discomfort with what the teacher was saying. It wasn't that I couldn't make eye contact with people because I was scared of them, but because I was afraid that if I did, they would feel uncomfortable. As I talked with Maruta about communication, I realized that there was a difference in etiquette between deaf culture, where people look directly at the person they are communicating with, and hearing culture, where people look at others but don't look too directly.

I also thought that the way I communicated with my parents was the reason the teacher was angry, and that my ongoing discomfort with eye contact and distrust for teachers could stem from an experience I had in kindergarten.

<The constant gaze of those around me and my home environment>

For some reason, people also spoke well of me outside of school. During my childhood, when the bonds in the local community were strong, I was always watched over warmly by the people in my neighborhood, but I also felt the same sympathy and pity from their gazes as I did from my teachers. I

also felt disgusted by being praised for being a good child who is trying his best despite difficulties. When I was chatting with neighbors with my parents or when we went shopping, I felt uncomfortable when my parents would say, "I'm glad your child (i.e., me) is a strong person," and I had to interpret for them. In contrast, my maternal grandmother and other relatives always told me that I should never give up no matter what, that I should do my best no matter what, and that if I caused any problems, they would blame it on my home environment. Perhaps because of this, I felt that my parents' disabilities were always with me.

Also, when I had to interpret for my parents when we went shopping, I would keep them quiet and do my own selfish "interpretation," and then move to a place where no one could see me, and then I would explain things to them in a way that made sense to them. This was because I didn't want people to hear the distinctive characteristics of their voices as deaf people, or have people see their hand gestures and exaggerated facial expressions. When others saw my interactions with my parents, I began to feel something similar to embarrassment and impatience. So, for example, when we had friends over, I would ask my parents not to talk in front of them.

Even so, my friends would sometimes tease me when they heard my parents' deaf voice or saw their sign language communications, but rather than protest, I would laugh it off along with them, and I would often end up feeling conflicted later. When I met Maruta, I felt a deep joy at having met someone who could relate to the experiences of having a deaf family, but I was surprised to learn that even though we are both from deaf families, there is a big difference between us in that we are relied on by our parents, who we should be able to rely on, and that there are aspects of Maruta, who has hearing parents, that I cannot empathize with.

<A conspicuous world of sound>

In my home, the world without sound is unmarked, and sound itself is marked. Listening to the story of the Maruta family, who can communicate both by voice and sign language, I realized that in my home, I, who can hear, am a minority. For example, no matter how much I shout in the house, no one responds except our dog. Whether I talk or sing, it all becomes a monologue for me. When I call my parents, I get in their field of vision, touch them, blow air on them, tap on the table or floor to communicate using vibrations, or throw small objects. My voice is useless for communicating at home. Meanwhile, my parents always use their own vices when they call me.

When they saw me react to their voice, they would ask me questions about sound. Whenever my parents asked me about my voice and theirs, the dog we kept at home, the sound of the electric organ, recorder, and harmonica I was practicing, the phone ringing, etc., I would think about the existence of sounds that only I could hear, and rack my brains over how to explain the characteristics of sounds to someone who cannot detect them. Also, whenever my mother said, "I want to hear your voice," I would look into her ear and speak loudly into her ear to check her reaction, even though there was no way she could hear it. On the other hand, I sometimes asked my parents what it was like to not be able to hear. Although I lived in a world with sound, I felt more comfortable at home and with my parents' deaf

friends, because I didn't have to listen to other people's conversations and wasn't bothered by voices. However, at deaf family gatherings, I was placed in the group of CODAs, who were the deaf parents' children, rather than in the group of the deaf parents.

Whenever I saw my parents talking to other CODAs and laughing and chatting with each other, I felt like there was a world unknown to me that only the deaf could experience.

<The wall between me and my father, who could not attend school>

I had one more communication problem. That was my interactions with my father. In contrast to my mother, who graduated from a school for the deaf and is fluent in oral communication, my father, who ventured into craftsmanship without graduating from elementary school, is only able to communicate with me about the basics of daily life. My father is not good at either oral or written communication, and he lacks the general knowledge and common sense that is common in the world. If he wants something, he buys it without thinking twice, and if there is a place he is interested in, he goes there. If someone recommends something to him, he does it without thinking. If he thinks it is right, he does it without questioning others or thinking of the trouble he may cause them. But that did not make him a nuisance; to me, he was like an innocent child, and I accepted him without any resistance. As a result, I thought that the reason I had difficulty communicating with my father was because he had not finished school. I did not feel that I was making fun of him, but rather thought that my mother was just lucky and that the deaf were just like that. However, my mother, who was also deaf, began to complain to me as a child that she did not understand what my father was thinking and could not communicate with him. I will not describe the details here, but as I grew older, I myself had more and more conflicts with my father, just like my mother. Miscommunication due to differences in ways of thinking and values occurs regardless of whether one is deaf or hearing, but when the topic becomes even slightly complicated, words don't flow well, and even if I explain, they don't understand, so I felt close to despair. I don't know if it was because my father didn't go to school and there were few words we could communicate, or because we had different ways of thinking, but while I accepted my father as he was, I felt like there was an insurmountable wall standing before me. I confronted my father for a while, but in the end, rather than overcoming that wall, I chose to avoid him.

<Unfair treatment you are forced to accept>

Both Maruta and I have done many things for our deaf families, but there is a definite difference between Maruta and myself. In my case, the people I am supposed to protect are my parents, who are the ones who are supposed to protect me. Ever since I was a child, I have been involved in handling and dealing with many adult problems.

For example, some of the problems my father brought back to me included the return of expensive items that he had bought without understanding them, and the negotiation of a cooling-off period for a shopping loan that he had taken out without any proper explanation. In other cases, I have acted as an interpreter for him when he signed a lease for an apartment or when he had door-to-door sales calls, but

because I was a child, I was often unable to negotiate properly or even to get an answer at the door.

Further, when I discovered that a relative had withdrawn money from a bank account in my father's name and rushed to the bank that had allowed it, I was also not taken seriously. As a child, I did not understand the gravity of the situation, but I still strongly remember how humiliating it was for me. Perhaps because of this, whenever I see the words "sign language" or "deaf," I still feel a sense of regret that I was not able to protect my parents from the unfair treatment they received because of their deafness, and because I was a child.

<Budding awareness of language and culture>

Since entering high school, I have lived totally immersed in a hearing environment. This is because people I met in high school and college did not know or need to know about my family situation. Perhaps it was also because I was not treated unfairly, let alone with pity and sympathy, by keeping my distance from sign language and deaf people. After graduating from university, I decided to work for a while and then go to Australia. I had a desire to learn the English language since I was a child and had always wanted to live abroad, so when the decision was made to go to Australia, I was filled with anticipation for a completely different new world. In Australia, I enjoyed interacting with people of various languages and cultures. However, my perspective on language and culture changed after I was involved in a robbery targeting Japanese people. After the incident, a Japanese friend took me to the police, and I felt anxious and frustrated at the faltering English I used to communicate with them. Also, the perpetrator was a Korean Australian, but my roommate at the time, a Korean exchange student, helped me search for the perpetrator and provided emotional support. This caused me to have ambivalent feelings toward "Koreans," but it led me to think again about the social status of people with different languages and cultures, such as the Koreatown in the area where I was born and raised and my Korean friends in Japan.

However, when I think of language and culture, I only think of foreign languages and their cultures, and did not think about sign language or deaf culture. This is because at the time I did not know that sign language is the language of deaf people and that deaf culture based on it is perceived to exist. However, by reconsidering my experiences through conversations with Maruta, I realized that the anxiety I felt in Australia because I could not speak English and the structural oppression of Koreans in Japan overlapped with the problems and situations that deaf parents would be facing.

<Deaf culture, a perspective on minorities>

After returning to Japan, I attended a Japanese language teacher training course and passed the Japanese Language Teaching Proficiency Examination, and then had the opportunity to teach at a Japanese language school. However, in addition to the anxiety about the future caused by financial difficulties and an unclear career path, I also developed a desire to gain specialized knowledge, so I decided to go to graduate school. In graduate school, I was interested in human-subject research, which became the starting point for my current work as a Japanese language education practitioner.

Furthermore, with the support of a professor at graduate school, I visited a language education institution in New Zealand, which drew me back into the world of sign language and deafness. This was because I saw a person with multiple disabilities, including visual and hearing impairments, studying English as an international student.

The international student was trying to learn English among other international students, receiving support from the teacher to rewrite the notes on the board and communicate what the teacher said in sign language. I couldn't take my eyes off the international student while observing the class. As soon as the class ended, I ran over to him. I wanted to talk to him, but the desire to tell him something was overflowing and I couldn't find the words. In the end, all I could say at the time was that I was a CODA and that I hoped he would do his best, which was a common thing to say. At the time, I didn't understand why I couldn't say anything, or what emotions were welling up inside me. However, as I shared my experiences with Maruta, I believed that even if deaf people could go to school, they could only go to schools surrounded by disabled people, and even if they graduated, they would not have the opportunity to work like hearing people, and I was able to organize my thoughts and think that I was at a loss for words in the face of the existence of deaf-blind people, who were beyond my understanding. As I talked with Maruta, who began to reinterpret my experiences in a positive way, I also realized that I had a negative perception of deaf people. After returning to Japan, I happened to come across a book about the social inclusion of deaf people. Since then, I have pondered on not only language education but also the social inclusion of deaf people who have been excluded from society, but I did not try to face it seriously because it was painful to remember my past experiences. However, a close researcher was about to start a study on Japanese Sign Language, and I met Maruta at a certain research group, which gave me the strength to face my past self and thoughts that I had locked away deep in my heart. Currently, I participate in symposiums on hearing impairments and CODA gatherings, and sometimes I reaffirm my new way of being, but sometimes I cannot bear to listen because I remember the difficulties I felt in life in the past and the circumstances my parents were in. It seems that even now after many conversations with Maruta, there are still parts of me that I have not been able to sort out.

4.2. Maruta's experiences as a SODA

In this section, I (Maruta) will describe my experiences. What I realized through my conversation with Nakai was that I was caught between deaf culture and hearing culture both inside and outside of my home. Because my parents are hearing, deaf culture and hearing culture were mixed together in my home, and the same was true when I was spending time with my siblings outside the home. When I look back on my own experience as a SODA, what I particularly recall is my position as a SODA and my relationship with those around me. My siblings are deaf, but since I was born in the position of a SODA, I didn't think much about my position when I was young. However, as I became more involved in society, I began to realize that my experiences and position were unique.

<My experience as an interpreter at after-school care>

I often played the role of an interpreter, connecting my siblings with others. In particular, when I attended after-school care with my younger brother, I was called in as an interpreter when he needed to communicate with the after-school care support staff or other children. Even when he was playing with other friends, I had to leave the group to interpret. My younger brother sometimes played with the same group, but since we were in different grades, there were times when I couldn't join in the play and we would leave the group and spend time doing something else together. In reality, I wanted to play with my friends without thinking about my younger brother, but the sense of duty to help him as a hearing older brother prevailed. I was grateful that the other children were willing to let my younger brother play with them, and I was conscious of spending time with him as much as possible without disturbing everyone. To do this, I was willing to sacrifice my own time and emotions and tried to avoid problems as much as possible. As a result of being considerate of those around me in this way, I became a "quiet child'' who did not assert myself much and behaved while observing the mood of those around me so that the group would come together well. This was an evaluation I received not only from the after-school care support staff, but also from schoolteachers, relatives, and the parents of my siblings' friends. Also, the after-school care support staff originally called me by my name, but after I started going to school with my younger brother, they started calling me "big brother.'' From these experiences, I often wondered whether I was living my life as an "interpreter'' for my younger brother's life. Although I felt it was difficult to live as SODA and as an older brother, I thought that everything would be solved if I just endured it, so I rarely expressed my dissatisfaction. Unlike Nakai, I mainly played the role of interpreter only at the after-school care center, but I often stayed quiet outside the center as well, so as not to cause trouble to those around me.

<Misunderstandings with my younger brother>

Due to my experience in after-school care, I often fought with my younger brother at home. My parents seemed to think that it was just a normal fight between siblings, but I felt that it was an explosion of frustration at my younger brother about after-school care. When fighting with my younger brother, of course, I couldn't express my feelings by yelling at him in spoken Japanese, so I had to speak slowly or use sign language. However, when we were both emotional, we often abandoned verbal communication and became violent. My mother, who saw us fighting, would sometimes say things like, "You (me (Maruta)) spoiled him [my younger brother] too much." When my younger brother and I were in elementary school, we often had arguments like this, but as we grew up, we had fewer opportunities to directly express our feelings to each other. However, especially when I was a university student and my brother was a high school student, we hardly even talked to each other even though we were in the same room, and we spent our days ignoring each other's existence.

It was around this time that I joined a sign language club at university and started studying sign language, and attended lectures on hearing impairments in other courses, in an attempt to deepen my understanding of sign language, deaf culture, and hearing impairments. However, my younger brother did not have a good feeling about me starting to study sign language, and he increasingly rejected me

as his older brother.

Apparently, my younger brother told my mother, “Big brother [me, Maruta] is the enemy of the deaf,” but I did not hear this directly from him, and I still do not know what he really meant. This misunderstanding between me and my younger brother remains a lingering resentment within me, and it continues to bother me as a problem that I need to solve.

<Increased interest in culture and language>

When I was in high school and college, I went to Australia for a short homestay at the invitation of a friend. Until then, I only had a vague admiration for foreign countries, but after two short-term language study abroad experiences, I became very interested in other languages and cultures, and although I had previously felt that I was not good at English, I began to study it actively. During a short-term study abroad program in high school, a Korean student in the same class asked me about the Japanese language, which sparked my interest in the Japanese language and culture we speak casually. As I had originally wanted to enter the education department, this experience made me want to become a Japanese language teacher. As a result, I entered a department specializing in Japanese language education, but my second short-term study abroad program sparked my interest in Japanese language education again, and I completed a Japanese language teacher training course via correspondence. During my two short-term study abroad experiences, my interest in other languages and cultures increased, and at the same time, my interest in the Japanese language and culture around me, as well as in sign language and deaf culture, also began to grow. Until that point, I had not thought much about being a Japanese speaker and a sign language speaker, but I became aware of the presence of various cultures around me and the differences between them. This experience has had a great influence on my worldview today, and I am particularly interested in language. Although I am majoring in Japanese language education, I have also become interested in Japanese language education, language education, and local dialects. When I learned that Nakai, like me, has a strong interest in other languages and cultures and had experience living in Australia, I began to think that my own interest in other languages and cultures may be influenced by my position and experience as a member of SODA.

<New awareness of differences in perceptions of sign language, deaf culture, and people with disabilities>

The interest in language and culture that arose during my two short-term study abroad experiences led me to realize that my own experiences and positions are not shared by others. When I was a university student, I had a disagreement with my host mother over our views on religion and sexual minorities, which led to several arguments. I have never agreed with discriminatory or exclusive thoughts toward people who are in different positions than me or who are considered social minorities, so I often wondered why people who behaved in such a way could not see the world from the perspective of others. For me, studying abroad was an experience that heightened my interest in language and culture, but at the same time, it was an experience that made me keenly aware of the existence of ideologies that

exclude people in different positions than myself. Even after returning to Japan, I often had experiences where others had difficulty resonating and understanding the thoughts and feelings I had.

For example, while learning sign language with other students in a sign language club at university, others pointed out that I learned words quickly and that there were differences in the way I expressed myself, and for the first time I realized that my experiences in contact with deaf culture as a SODA had been accumulating within me. I gradually began to realize that what I had previously taken for granted, such as not being hesitant to interact with deaf people and being able to naturally join in their groups, was not so for other people. Also, during a lecture on the human rights of people with disabilities, I was shocked by the fact that other students made discriminatory remarks about people with disabilities without hesitation. I realized that there were people around me who were intolerant of others in different positions than me, and I began to be conscious of avoiding talking about my family. In my interactions with the sign language club, many of the students were majoring in special needs education, so I had no qualms about talking about my siblings, but in my department, I tried to avoid talking about my family as much as possible. Also, because my relationship with my younger brother was not going well, I found it fun to study sign language, but at the same time, I struggled with not being able to accept myself as someone who communicates with others in sign language. The members of the sign language club aimed to use sign language to interact with deaf people, and considered it a good thing to be able to use sign language. On the other hand, for me, interacting with deaf people had been a natural part of my life since I was a child, but I was unsure whether it was okay for me, a hearing person, to use sign language as if it were my own. I thought that I could not share these concerns with the other students in the sign language club, and did not talk about them with others.

<Awareness of the artifacts of deaf culture rooted deep within me>

The first time I became aware of the influence of my involvement with deaf culture was when someone pointed out my gestures and reactions. When I try to communicate something to someone, my hands naturally move. I don't try to communicate something in sign language, but for me, not only spoken language, but also facial expressions, gestures, and the space in front of my body were all places of communication. In addition, when I used sign language, I often did not speak out loud, following the example of deaf people, but my mother sometimes told me, "Speak out even when you sign." I thought I was trying to communicate in a way that was natural for deaf people, so I felt a sense of discomfort when I spoke out loud while signing. I was never criticized by others at sign language clubs, but when people pointed out the differences between me and others, I sometimes felt, "I guess I'm different from other people." Also, because I was the only one of my siblings who could hear, when I was young, I would sometimes ask my mother, "Why am I the only one who can hear?" That's how vague the boundary between deaf and hearing was in my mind. I feel that this is the feeling that is most different from Nakai's feelings, who has a clear boundary between deaf and hearing at home and outside.

Further, while I felt uncomfortable around others who had no connection to deaf culture and felt that I did not belong to hearing culture at all, I also felt that I was more familiar with deaf culture than

I had imagined. A memorable experience that made me feel familiar with deaf culture was my experience at Gallaudet University in the United States, which I visited as a graduate student. More than 90% of the students at Gallaudet are deaf, and the official language is American Sign Language (ASL), but since I did not understand ASL at all, I was unable to communicate at the university store or library, and had to ask Japanese international students and faculty members to interpret for me. However, I was surprised to find that I felt more comfortable at university, where no one spoke the language, than in a spoken English society where communication is not an issue for shopping, etc. This experience in the United States was an opportunity to once again become aware of my own familiarity with deaf culture and sign language and my comfort in interacting with deaf people.

<Beginning my research on SODA individuals>

During my university career, I faced the problem of not being able to share my experiences as a SODA with others, but I gradually became able to distance myself by concentrating on my seminar activities and university studies. I became a senior under such circumstances and the time came for me to decide on a topic for my graduation thesis. Since I was part of a Japanese language education seminar, I began to explore the connections between Japanese language education and Japanese as a second language teaching, which had long been of interest to me. At that time, I remembered the children I met during my teaching practice in my third year of university. I did my teaching practice at a public elementary school. In addition to many non-Japanese children receiving Japanese language instruction, the school also had hearing-impaired children. Therefore, although the theme of Japanese language education for hearing-impaired children came to mind, I decided to write my graduation thesis focusing on Japanese language education practice for foreign children. I also considered going on to graduate school at the university I was affiliated with, but my supervisor recommended that I go to an external graduate school, and I was successfully accepted. In graduate school, I tried to continue my research on the theme of Japanese language education for non-Japanese children, as I had done in the past, but my current supervisor asked me the question, “Why are you interested in non-Japanese children and minorities?” and I realized that my life as a SODA was the background to this awareness of the problem. From there, I began a participatory research on SODA, positioning myself as one of the research participants. Although I was reluctant to face my identity as a SODA at the beginning of my research, I feel that I have been able to think positively about my own SODA status after meeting other SODAs and meeting Nakai, who is in a similar situation. In particular, after meeting Nakai and having multiple conversations, I have come to feel strongly about the structural problems surrounding minorities in Japanese society and the need for a change in language education, based on my own status and experience as a SODA, and this has become the core of my own research.

5. What causes invisible minorities to form?

In considering the authors’ experiences, having a deaf family member affects our perception of

ourselves and our perception of minorities in society, as well as our own language and culture. This effect is often expressed as a dilemma in the hearing world, where we try to assimilate and must decide whether to accept or deny our connection with deaf culture. In the following section, we focus on this dilemma and examine the social and cultural aspects that make us, who are influenced by both hearing and deaf cultures "invisible minorities."

5.1. Cognitive dissonance caused by "meta-messages"

The dilemma of whether to accept contact with deaf culture is thought to result from cognitive dissonance created by "meta-messages" conveyed through interactions with both hearing and deaf individuals. Cognitive dissonance refers to a state in which a person's inner thoughts and actions are inconsistent or contradictory. In these situations, individuals change their cognition and behavior to resolve this dissonance (Festinger, 1965/1957).

For example, Nakai, who is a CODA, learned communication techniques from his deaf parents, which can be summarized as bringing about a state of dissonance in communication outside the home. In communication with deaf people, facial expressions are indispensable elements in addition to hand and mouth movements. Through his interactions with his parents, Nakai learned to face the other person and gaze at them in order to obtain information from their hands and expressions. However, after being reprimanded for looking directly into his teacher's eyes, he received the meta-message that such eye contact was inappropriate and consciously avoided eye contact when talking to the teacher. If he did so, the teacher would tell him that it is important to look into the teacher's eyes when talking to people, and he would receive the unexpected evaluation that he was "lacking in confidence" or "timid." Nakai did not make eye contact with the teacher because doing so would make the teacher angry, and in order to prevent the teacher from thinking that he was lacking in confidence or timid, he would sometimes make eye contact as usual when talking to the teacher. However, due to past experiences and a desire to avoid being scolded, he would end up looking away from the teacher. Therefore, Nakai had a contradiction between his inner thoughts and his actions when it came to communication with teachers. In addition, after his deaf brother started attending after-school care, the support staff began calling him "big brother." This shift—from being addressed by his given name to being called "big brother"—conveyed a meta-message that Maruta was expected to support his brother, particularly by serving as an interpreter. As he actually interpreted, Maruta began to feel that he was an "interpreter." In other words, he internalized the expectations of others and created his "big brother" self. In this situation, when Maruta played with other friends, he not only went against his "big brother" self and the instructor's intentions to help his brother, but also caused trouble for his brother. On the other hand, by playing with his brother and interpreting for him, he was praised by the instructor and other adults around him, but he was suppressing his will and feelings as an individual, not as a "big brother." In both cases, his actions conflicted with his own will.

In this way, interactions with people around him generated cognitive dissonance in the authors' actions and even creating self-contradictions. Furthermore, this cognitive dissonance has affected how

Nakai and Maruta each perceived their own position. For example, Nakai has always been encouraged to persevere and not give up, no matter what.

However, even if they are living a normal life without any problems and believe they are doing their best for themselves, they are consistently praised for being caring toward their family and for making efforts to not give in to adversity. In other words, these words of encouragement contain a hidden meta-message that children without disabilities should try hard to support their family members with disabilities, so that the family's "disabilities" are not criticized. By accepting these words, the identity of being a member of a family with disabilities is imposed on them.

In addition, the authors have been asked by hearing people to interpret for them and have been praised for working hard for their deaf parents and siblings. However, they have also received negative messages through comments such as "I'm glad the child is well-behaved" and through the behavior of those around them, such as not being taken seriously, being laughed at, and being subjected to curious looks. These experiences convey the meta-message that "communication is done in spoken Japanese" and that "deaf people who cannot hear and understand words are pitiful." These negative messages about communication among deaf families show that sign language and the environment in which deaf people live within the family are different, and this has caused cognitive dissonance in the way the authors perceive themselves as bicultural, consisting of both hearing and deaf cultures. In other words, the contradictory messages of praise for the use of sign language and denial of communication through sign language cause conflict in the acceptance of their bilingual and bicultural aspects. Even if there is a contradiction between a person's thoughts and actions, if that action leads to smooth interpersonal relationships and self-defense, the dissonance between thoughts and actions will be maintained (Saito, 2004). As pointed out, there was a time when the authors conformed to the behavior of the hearing people around them and hid their connection to deaf culture, and this can be seen as a way of maintaining relationships at the time and defending themselves. The cognitive dissonance that the authors have experienced not only made their perception of their own position unclear, but also affected the formation of their respective identities.

5.2. "Self-stigma" created by dominant stories

Next, we examine the fluctuation between deaf culture and hearing culture experienced by the authors, who developed self-contradictions as a result of cognitive dissonance, as discussed in the previous section.

This fluctuation can be considered to be caused by stigma (Goffman, 2001/1963). Stigma arises in social interaction and represents the relationship between the people involved in the interaction. Social identity is involved in this process, and stigma refers to the discrepancy between the social identity assumed by others based on appearance and the immediate social identity as attributes that can be presented. In other words, stigma is the deviation between the attributes expected by others during interaction and the attributes that one can disclose in response. Stigmatized people experience mental and social disadvantages because of discrimination based on contempt. Goffman classifies stigma into

three categories: physical deformity, personality defects, and group belonging. Stigma is also classified into public stigma, which refers to discrimination and prejudice against minorities in society; self-stigma, which is internalized by individuals (Corrigan, 2004); and structural stigma, which is embedded in social structures such as norms, laws, and values (Hatzenbuehler, 2016).

For example, when interacting with people who do not have "disabled" family members, the authors have avoided mentioning the presence of deaf family members and have behaved as though all family members were hearing. In other words, they have adopted a social identity that erases the attributes of their own family in order to conform to the standard expectations of others. This is because disclosing the presence of a deaf family member could result in psychological disadvantages, such as pity and discrimination, suggesting that having a deaf family member is socially stigmatized. However, neither of the authors, Nakai nor Maruta, is hearing impaired, and there is no barrier that would prevent communication from taking place in interactions with hearing people. In other words, the stigma of being disabled should not be present in the process of interactions between the authors and hearing people. However, it is certain that the stigma of being a disabled family member limits the authors' actions, and within the scope of introspection, this stigma can understood as self-stigma created by the dominant story (White & Epston, 1990) that suppresses aspects of the self internalized by the authors.

A dominant story is a fact determined by the surrounding context and is often taken for granted. The autoethnography mentioned above reveals the presence of dominant stories and the metamessages that shape them. For example, the authors describe their experiences of laughing together with their friends when they made fun of their parents' deaf voices or facial expressions, instead of criticizing them and later feeling regret. They also describe experiences of discriminating against others and disclosing that they have a deaf sibling only to a friend who is a specialist in special needs education and is understanding of people with disabilities. The meta-messages that appear to underlie these actions are that "deaf people are inferior" and "they are disabled people who need support." These meta-messages were internalized by the authors and became a specific dominant story that "it is better to hide the fact that you have a deaf family member," which suppressed them and directed their actions. The authors who provided support as interpreters can also be considered young carers. Young carers are children or adolescents under the age of 18 who provide care for family members (Becker, 2000). They experience stigma in their interactions with school and local residents (Aldridge & Becker, 2003). Additionally, family care limits learning opportunities and affects the acquisition of social skills, such as friendships (Dearden & Becker, 2004). The authors continue to recognize that their own families are different because, through caring for their parents and siblings, they perceive that society shows contempt for deaf people and sympathy for having a deaf family member. However, because expressing anger or resentment in response to this could lead to the risk of losing friends, and because this inevitably affects social relationships, they not only suppress their anger but also gradually come to perceive having a deaf family member in negative terms. In particular, in Maruta's case, being called "big brother" in the after-school care-centered society where his brother belonged meant that he could not escape from his relationship with deaf people, and this influence may have manifested in the form of

misunderstandings with his younger brother at home.

It has been pointed out that "those who carry a stigma are labeled as stigmatized from within themselves due to the internalized eyes of others, and end up behaving as stigmatized" (Ashino, 2018, p. 58). However, the perspective of others that individuals internalize is an imaginary interpersonal social identity created from dominant stories. The difference between this internalized perspective and individuals' own attributes causes self-stigma, thereby leading to the creation of invisible minorities.

Furthermore, the meta-messages that create these meanings are not only those received directly in interactions. Deaf family members also receive meta-messages about communication through their own interactions. Nakai's mother differentiates herself by using oral language when communicating with Nakai, who is hearing. This occurs because the meta-message that "communication in society should use spoken Japanese" was embedded in the oral education her mother received, and Nakai himself may have received this meta-message through communication with his mother. For example, Maruta's deaf brother was reluctant to allow him to study sign language and required him to accept the value that sign language is for deaf people. Therefore, he is likely to have received the meta-message that "sign language is for deaf people and hearing people should use spoken Japanese." In other words, communication using sign language, which is considered for deaf people, is outside the standards of "ordinary people" (i.e., hearing people) in Japanese society. In this way, the structurally reproduced meta-messages were internalized by the authors as stronger dominant stories, which may have contributed the formation of self-stigma associated with being a "family member of a people with a disability." Therefore, the self-stigma that the authors have is a structural stigma of social values and other factors conveyed through various human relationships, and this structural stigma is thought to derive from eugenic assumptions that deaf people lack communication competence, as well as the fact that spoken Japanese native speakerism is deeply rooted in Japanese society.

5.3. "Personal identity and ego identity

The stigma discussed in the previous section is a relationship in nature and is closely tied to the extent to which one can reveal oneself to others. Therefore, to examine stigma necessarily requires consideration of both ego identity and personal identity (Goffman, 2001/1963).

Ego identity is a subjective and self-reflexive form of identity, defined as "a subjective sense of one's own situation, continuity, character that an individual acquires through various social experiences." In contrast, personal identity derives from the uniqueness of an individual's existence and consists of a series of socially recorded facts, such as date of birth and educational history. It constitutes a life history that includes "what an individual has done and what he or she is actually capable of doing" (Goffman, 2001/1963, p. 104). The degree to which personal identity is known determines how individuals present themselves in interaction. In that case, the actor "presents himself or herself according to his or her ego identity, and the self that he or she presented returns to the self through the evaluation of the other person, and the ego identity is reconstructed" (Ashino, 2018, p. 58). When a individuals conceal their personal identity, they separate it from the self and become conscious of the ego identity produced

within the interaction (Goffman, 2001/1963, p. 180). Based on dominant stories internalized through interactions and the roles assigned as interpreters, the authors constructed an interpersonal social identity from the perspective of others: "I should be a brave child or sibling who works hard for my deaf family." At the same time, they maintain a self-identity as "normal people (= hearing people)," derived from the personal identity presented in interactions. The authors both come from deaf families and interact in Japanese society with a self-identity that hides the fact that they are influenced by deaf culture. However, as our personal identity becomes more visible to others, the discrepancy between the constructed social identity and personal identity becomes more pronounced, leading to the expression of self-stigma.

In addition, stigmatized individuals are said to inhabit two social worlds because they have mental and social disadvantages. One group is an in-group that shares the same attributes or can understand those attributes, and the other is an out-group that does not. In particular, in the latter out-group, people may act or play roles to hide the stigma (Goffman, 2001/1963). For example, in foreign countries where we have no connections, or in high schools and universities where the attributes of our families are completely unknown, we have hidden our connection to deaf culture and avoided stigma by not telling anyone that we have a deaf family, unless the person seems to understand.

In this way, regarding the concealment of one's ties to deaf culture, Suzuki's (2014) observation that, even in a bicultural environment, the language and cultural knowledge of the majority are dominant because of the "determinacy of the place of residence" (Suzuki, 2008) can be applied to interpret the authors' situation. For example, when living in Japan, the school environment, the majority language—spoken Japanese—and its culture, which form the context for daily interactions, are positioned as superior to sign language and deaf culture, which are used in communication with the authors' families. Non-Japanese children who experience exclusion or negative stigma are reported to feel conflicted about their ethnic identity and attempt to hide their international background (Takahata, 2000). This point shows that, in addition to the low status of sign language and deaf culture, the authors are attempting to hide their personal identity that reveals their connection with deaf culture because of the discriminatory views of deaf people they receive as a meta-message. They try to assimilate into the majority hearing culture and spoken Japanese society. This situation can be interpreted as evidence of structural oppression embedded in society and culture.

However, regardless of how much a person ignores stigma, it will appear when the person engages with deaf culture. Nakai, who had concealed his connection with deaf culture, was able to share his identity with Maruta because Maruta told him that he was a SODA. However, the relationship between the authors, who have deaf family members and share an interpersonal social identity related to thinking about deafness, can trigger the reemergence of self-stigma that was expected to be suppressed. For example, Nakai's experiences at an educational institution where he met international students with multiple disabilities, and at research meetings on hearing impairment and CODA, show that Nakai's self-stigma is reawakened regardless of whether he is inside or outside the group. Self-stigma does not arise simply from one's relationship with a group; rather, it emerges from the tension between one's

interpersonal social identity—shaped by the internalized gaze of others—and one's personal identity.

6. Summary of this research and future research tasks

As described above, the authors' experiences as invisible minorities were examined through the lens of the dilemmas they face. This approach allows us to describe the lifeworld of invisible minorities from the perspective of those diredctly involved and to identify problems embedded within the social and cultural structures shaping their interactions. In particular, we objectify the difficulties of living without distancing oneself from the world of deaf families and externalize responsibility for these difficulties—an aspect that has received limited attention in previous research.

A review of the autoethnographies shows that Nakai, a CODA, once concealed his identity but has since come to confront it again. In contrast, Maruta, who naturally accepted being a SODA, writes that he became aware that his status as a SODA was unique and began to face himself as someone who lives between deaf culture and hearing culture. Although their life histories differ substantially both narratives reveal processes of self-transformation in which they find meaning in their own attributes and deepen self-exploration, triggered by an awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity. In particular, through encounters with understanding others, the authors were able to confront the elements of deaf culture that had been ingrained in them and the personal identity that they had been trying to erase, and to separate and objectify these elements from the individual, which is the result of these descriptions. Stated differently, the autoethnography enabled the objectification of each individual's self-stigma and the dominant story that produced it. However, the act of writing this autoethnography is a process in which both individuals, each with an ego identity focused on their own problems, present each other's personal identity and interpret their respective experiences through mutual dialogue. The resulting autoethnography can be described as a representation of ego identity in the self-reflective "here and now" that was obtained through the authors' co-construction. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze not only the resulting autoethnography, but also the process of dialogue between the two individuals. However, because the purpose of this study is to identify and disclose the problems that both individuals face from the perspective of the individuals involved, in addition to the world of CODA and SODA, who are invisible minorities, we intend to analyze the effect of the dialogue process on the creation and interpretation of the autoethnography as a future research task.

In addition, the dominant stories that create dilemmas are internalized as one's own "norm," but the dialogue in this study is believed to have had a certain effect of externalizing the unmarked problems the authors faced by describing them using existing discourse. By tracing their lives from multiple perspectives, the authors show that the dominant story of "having a deaf family member is something that should be hidden" is transforming into an alternative story that questions whether the rich bicultural experience of deaf families should be reduced to a social problem. Therefore, this transformation suggests the possibility of further liberation from the individualized self-stigma created by the dominant story. This public practice in the name of research shows that the relationship between the difficulty in

living, which had been internalized as a matter of course, and the stigma that created it is not confined within interactions with others, but is objectified and reconsidered in the space of discourse.

Furthermore, when considering dominant stories and stigma, it is necessary to address ego identity and personal identity, which are recursively constructed through interactions. The presence of others and dialogue with others make this process possible. Giving meaning to an event involves finding a pattern among the unique events that are remembered and reconsidering each event as an example of that pattern. The difficult task of objectifying remembered experiences becomes easier when two similar but different people, CODA and SODA, engage in dialogue. This process reveals the recollection of events from similar contexts, the assumptions behind multiple events recalled from different contexts, and the patterns between them.

On the other hand, as Noguchi (2018) points out, the ego identity described in this study is not a reflective, reflexive self that is derived from reexamination, but a "public reflexive self" open to the public sphere through the authors' narrative space or the publication of research results. Because this reflexivity is achieved through dialogue with others, it can be described as a "collective reflexive self" (Noguchi, 2018, p. 175). Up to now, the authors, as members of invisible minorities, have been the subjects of research and the beneficiaries of study results by researchers. However, by conducting participatory research in which we confront our own experiences as researchers, we have been able to reconstruct our self-identity, which we previously rewove by personalizing the problem, in a way that is open to people who consider the problem together. Additionally, as has been pointed out as a challenge of participatory research (Ishihara, 2016), we would like to add that the findings of this study represent only one example of experience and are not representative of CODA and SODA, nor do we seek to find assimilation pressure or universality for other CODAs or SODAs.

Finally, it is reported that CODAs and SODAs may identify a new problem in which adult children are unable to express their own feelings because of the expectations they experience through interactions with interpreters and adults around them. Previous studies have already indicated the need for communication and other support for children with deaf family members. However, it is considered that support may be provided by connecting the problems faced by children with deaf family members and returning them to society through dialogue, such as, for example, open dialogues using party research and narratives. In addition to spoken Japanese and sign language, there is insufficient understanding of hearing culture and deaf culture among the majority. In the future, it will be necessary to conduct participatory research that records and disseminates the autobiographical memories of minorities, with the aim of exploring internalized dominant stories through continuous dialogue with various invisible minorities. This approach may enable researchers to gain an overview of the stigma embedded in social structures and to generate new alternative stories with the potential to transform society. At the same time, it is necessary to consider ways to resolve the dilemma in which the people who consume the results of research on minorities are either minorities themselves or an internal group that already understands them, making it difficult to reach the external group for whom the research should be intended.

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