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Editorial Foreword

Selected Conference Papers

Journal Editorial Board

Acknowledgments

Editorial Foreword

As always, GALE has had a busy year, and it's hard to believe that over a year has gone by since we gathered in Kyoto for our one-day conference entitled *Gender Awareness in Language Education: Exploring Gender and its Implications*. The standard of research, reflection, and discussion was very high and many presenters have enjoyed the process of honing their presentations into valuable pieces of academic writing for this volume of selected conference papers.

Critical pedagogical concerns come to the fore in the work of the roundtable discussion chaired by Fujimura-Fanselow with fellow contributors to *Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity Are Making a Difference,* which was published by The Feminist Press last year. The contributors make further reflections on the issues raised in their collection and offer suggestions for using their essays in the classroom. A pilot study from a university classroom of non-English majors (Yoshikawa) yields interesting results regarding gender differences in motivation patterns for learning English as a foreign language. Some practitioners have found that music can play an important role in motivating learners to persist in the tasks required for language acquisition. Gillis explores this issue as well as exploring questions of gender in her survey of young people's tastes in Western culture music videos. A survey of Junior High School textbooks by Hamamoto makes some interesting comparisons for gender bias in publications from 1999 and from 2008. While it is evident that publishers of coursebooks have greater sensibility towards promotion of gender equality, it is also clear that much remains to be done. A statistical analysis of survey data of young female students (Nishio and Matsunami) indicates that many young women may still be unduly constrained by gender mandates in their planning for work, family, and finances. Finally, engagement with conversation analysis and with a challenging psychoanalytic vocabulary allows Squires to explore how the male gendered subject is actualized in spoken interactions where the co-construction of masculinities takes place.

Recently, during a JALT chapter discussion session, one participant took issue with the prevalent dichotomy between "Quantitative" and "Qualitative" research. He pointed out that people generally think of 'quality' as better than 'quantity.' These Proceedings show that it is possible to have high quality work no matter what research paradigm is chosen. In addition, we have examples of quantitative work with a qualitative sensibility and vice versa. For those who missed the opportunity to hear the speakers present last May, here is a chance for enrichment and more professional "quality-of-life," perhaps, with their reflections and insights.

Many thanks to the editorial board for their invaluable help in making this issue a professional success. All of us, authors and readers alike, are beneficiaries of their attention to detail, thoughtful suggestions and level of expertise. A special word of acknowledgement must also go to the authors for choosing our journal to host their research and ideas. Thank you for furthering the field of gender studies in Japan. We wish you enjoyable reading!

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Salem Kim Hicks

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Transcending Discrimination: Teaching Issues Related to Gender, Sexuality and Minorities

Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow
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Abstract

Participants in the roundtable collaborated in putting together *Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity Are Making a Difference* (New York: The Feminist Press, 2011), a volume of 25 essays that seeks to present the multiple faces of women in Japan, focusing particularly on issues concerning sexual minorities and minority women in Japan. As teachers, researchers, writers, and community activists, we share a common commitment to promoting awareness and understanding of gender, sexuality and minority issues. In the roundtable we discussed: 1) how we became interested in these issues and what we see as our goals in the work we do, 2) the challenges we have confronted in pursuing those goals, particularly in the Japanese context, 3) concrete strategies and approaches we have employed and found fruitful, and 4) what we view as the value of this volume and our ideas for using the essays in the classroom. We also elicited comments and questions from the audience.

要旨

ラウンドテーブルに参加した私たちは、セクシャル・マイノリティやマイノリティ女性に関する問題に特に焦点をあてながら、日本に暮らす女性たちの様々な姿を紹介することを目指し、25章で構成された書籍、『Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity Are Making a Difference』(New York: The Feminist, 2011) の編纂に協同した。教員、研究者、著述家、市民活動家として、私たちはジェンダー、セクシュアリティ、マイノリティ問題についての認知や理解を促進させる重要性を共に分かち合っている。ラウンドテーブルでは、1）私たちがこれらの問題に関心を持つようになった経緯、また、仕事や活動を行う上で目指しているゴール、2）特に日本という状況においてそうしたゴールに向かっていく中で直面した課題、3）それらの課題を克服するにあたり有効だと考えた具体的な方法・取り組み、4）この本の価値・有用性、また、授業での活用方法をどのように思っているのか、ということについて討論した。さらに、聴衆からのコメントや質問を求めた。

Introduction (Fujimura-Fanselow)

While we have seen a growing awareness of issues pertaining to gender discrimination in Japan over the past 30 years, and measures, albeit inadequate and often unsuccessful, have been adopted to combat such discrimination, the multiple forms of discrimination directed against and faced by women within so-called sexual minorities and marginalized/minority groups—such as Ainu, Buraku, Zainichi Korean, and migrant people—have received little attention among researchers, and government policymakers. Many Japanese, including university students, have only a superficial knowledge of, and, very often, negative and stereotyped images and prejudices against LGBT and minority people. This is perhaps mainly due to lack of exposure to—or to put it more strongly, deliberate suppression of—issues concerning gender, sexuality, and minority groups in the educational process, as well as the fact that they have often not encountered people of diverse sexualities or ethnic/national backgrounds.

I would also note that these issues have only recently begun to gain attention even among feminist researchers in Japan. Perhaps, events such as this roundtable presentation will help to change this situation for the better.

Back in 1995 I had co-edited Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, *Present, and Future*, a volume of essays introducing current Japanese feminist scholarship on Japanese women intended for students and scholars—both in Japan and abroad—studying Japan as well as those interested in gaining a cross-cultural perspectives on issues concerning women. Fifteen years later, my motivation in compiling *Transforming Japan*, was to have these same students and scholars gain awareness and greater understanding of the diversity that exists among women living in Japan, who confront challenges and struggles that in many ways overlap, yet in other ways are unique to specific groups—in other words, the intersection of gender, sexuality, race, class, nationality, religion, ethnicity, sexuality, age, and other factors in the Japanese context. In particular, by including chapters about Ainu, Buraku and Zainichi Korean women as well as Filipina migrant women, I wanted to dispel the impression—and the myth still held by a great number of Japanese themselves—of Japan as a homogenous country and one in which racial or ethnic discrimination do not exist. Similarly, I sought to give prominence to essays dealing with issues concerning so-called sexual minorities, which continue to be almost totally neglected in Japanese education.

Five of the more than 30 people who collaborated in the production of Transforming *Japan*—the editor, two authors, and two translators—took part in the roundtable to share their thoughts and experiences related to working toward promoting awareness of the issues taken up in the volume and ideas for using the book in teaching.

Roundtable participants
- ❖ Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow (Moderator) is a professor of education and women's studies at Toyo Eiwa University and editor of *Transforming Japan*
- ❖ Kimberly Hughes, a Tokyo-based freelance translator, writer, educator and community organizer, translated several of the essays in the book
- ❖ Malaya Ileto, a translator and editor specializing in serving the non-profit and academic communities, and translated several of the essays in the book
- ❖ Saori Kamano, a senior researcher at the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research in Tokyo and part-time instructor at Hosei University, co-authored the essay "Defining Lesbian Partnerships" in the book
- ❖ Diana Khor, is a professor in the Faculty of Global and Interdisciplinary Studies at Hosei University and co-author of "Defining Lesbian Partnership."

The roundtable discussion proceeded with the Moderator (Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow) posing questions, which had previously been given to the participants, and having each respond to them from prepared written remarks. What follows is based on these questions and responses, augmented by additional comments made in the course of the roundtable discussion. Each participant submitted a written account that included their prepared written responses, additional comments made during the discussion, plus some notes added for clarification. These notes have been put in brackets. Some of the comments and questions we elicited from the audience have also been included.

Discussion
Moderator: Malaya, in what capacity are you working now or have worked in the past to promote awareness of race, gender, sexuality, minority issues, and work toward social change, and what do you see as your goals in pursuing your work? How did you become interested in these issues and in the work you now do or have done in the past?

Ileto: I am a translator/editor serving mainly nonprofits and universities, but before going freelance I worked for several NGOs in Tokyo including Peaceboat, Global Village (a fair trade organization) and the International Movement Against all forms of Discrimination and Racism (IMADR). IMADR is an international NGO based in Tokyo that, as the name makes clear, fights to eliminate discrimination and racism. It was founded by a group of Buraku people (descendants of outcastes during feudal days, who continue to be discriminated against today) and has a big domestic and international network of anti-discrimination groups. [It has an office in Geneva and has consultative NGO status with The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).]

At the time, I coordinated many of IMADR's international activities (e.g. Buraku Liberation League (BLL) study trip to visit Dalit groups in India), as well as managed their publications, including translating a book about a survey conducted by Buraku, Zainichi Korean and Ainu women in response to the Japanese government's failure to do a survey despite being urged to do so by UN treaty bodies. *Transforming Japan* includes a chapter on this survey written by Yuriko Hara, the Secretary-General of IMADR, as well as a chapter by Risa Kumamoto, who used to work at IMADR, on her experiences as a woman of Buraku origin. The chapter on Filipino migrant women by Leny P. Tolentino is also based on a book I co-edited that was published by IMADR.

Since going freelance, I continue to work with IMADR as well as other groups fighting for social change, and through publications such as *Transforming Japan* hope to continue to contribute to make more information available about these issues in English.

I became involved in this work almost 15 years ago, when I was on the JET program in Tokushima, Shikoku. I was working at the prefectural government's international affairs division and an English teacher consulted me because she was concerned about a student being bullied, and heard that it was because of where the child lived. She didn't understand what this meant, but when she asked the other teachers, they told her it was nothing she need know about because she was a foreigner. Eventually, she found out that the child was being picked on because he was of Buraku descent. After she shared this story, my office consulted with the BLL and decided to promote awareness of Buraku discrimination among English school teachers by running a study tour to a Buraku neighborhood and meeting BLL activists

to hear their stories. This was the first encounter of many with the Buraku and other minority communities in Japan.

Moderator: And Diana, tell us your story of involvement.

Khor: My main job is teaching, and I have taught "English classes" in the university's General Education curriculum, and I am now teaching sociology classes in English at a newly established department. Even when I was teaching English writing and so-called "current issues" classes, I integrated issues of race/ethnicity, gender, and sexuality into my class, and right now, I teach primarily classes focusing on these topics.

My goal is to raise awareness of these issues, to help students think about these issues critically and also, importantly, to see how they are part of these issues—primarily in how they are affected by these various forms of inequality and how they affect or contribute to maintaining such inequality and oppression. I want to teach students to respect differences and also see themselves on the continuum of differences, where they occupy minority positions, to be true to their feelings. I still believe in the "personal is political" motto of the second wave movement. It works but I have also experienced strong resistance, perhaps because working with emotions in the context of acquiring knowledge or engaging in analysis is not a method that is institutionalized here.

As to how I became interested in researching and teaching these issues, I started with social class inequality, being trained in the tradition of British sociology, and I felt the lack of attention to gender, and attending graduate school in the US opened me up to the world of racial and ethnic studies, and also about sexuality, and recently came full circle to looking back at my experience in colonial Hong Kong and trying to integrate all these in my research and teaching.

Moderator: Kim, please share your role.

Hughes: I see my role as helping students to realize that they themselves have an important role to play in creating better societies. Therefore, my classes aim to empower students to get involved in "positive social action" not only through learning/studying in the classroom, but also attending events that are taking place right in their own communities. My own background is as a grassroots social activist/community organizer (via writing, translating, grant writing, event planning, etc.), so I always try to incorporate "real-world" elements into my teaching.

Moderator: Saori tell us what you do.

Kamano: I have been teaching a class titled Families and Sexualities in Japan for exchange students from overseas. In this course, I spend several weeks on issues regarding sexual orientation and gender identity issues. I also cover issues of children born outside of a legal marriage. For the class, I assigned the chapter Diana Khor and I wrote for the book, "Defining Lesbian Partnerships," as an optional reading. Also, I've taught a relatively large sociology class titled "Society viewed from the perspectives of lesbians, gays and transgendered people" (regular class for Japanese students). My goal in teaching is to have students realize how the institution of heterosexuality and binary view of the sexes operate and how they affect all of us.

In my research, I try to document daily lives of non-heterosexual women and men

through empirical research. I want to record the reality, including their strength (rather than just being victims of general invisibility and hidden discrimination). Series of case studies and/or biographies are useful, but I feel a strong need to accumulate social scientific studies that touch individual experiences and yet move beyond them and get at the social patterns.

I think this kind of research is helpful in my teaching, too. Students from Europe and North America tend to simplify the issue by just saying that lesbians and gays are really hidden in Japan. At the same time, they find it very liberal here, because of what they see on TV (such as *Onei-kyara*). Empirical work provides a more realistic picture of what is going on. Specifically, I have been interviewing people who identify as lesbian or women-loving-women, and the chapter we wrote for the book is based on the interviews.

Finally, whenever possible, I try to write about issues regarding sexual orientation and gender identity in the context of mainstream fields. [I have put together papers that examine family sociology and demography respectively from a queer point of view.]

Fujimura-Fanselow: Although I was born in Japan, I spent my formative years in the U.S. and witnessed the unfolding of the civil rights movement and other social movements that followed in the 1960s and 1970s. Issues concerning human rights and racial and other forms of discrimination have remained very important to me and been a central focus in my teaching of education and women's studies.

Women's studies grew out of the women's movement and its goal was linked to efforts to work toward social change. The idea was that through undertaking this study, which included the critical and integral component of consciousness-raising whereby women would first confront their own internalized beliefs, prejudices, and sexist ideas, students would become agents of social change. With the institutionalization of women's/gender studies in the academy, it has increasingly become just another academic discipline that can be pursued by scholars in the absence of having a political commitment to the goals of feminism, and another "subject" to be "taught" to students. And in the process, consciousness-raising has lost currency. [Florence Howe, a prominent "birth mother" of women's studies in the U.S. and a founder of the Feminist Press, which published *Transforming Japan,* says in her recently published memoir (*A Life in Motion*) that women's studies became her way of practicing feminism. In my case, too, engaging in the work of teaching women's studies is my way of practicing feminism, of taking part in political action.]

In the 20-some years I have taught at a women's college in Japan, my goal has been to first of all help students gain confidence in their ability to think and believe in the worthiness of their thoughts and insights, to become independent thinkers, and to apply their thinking to question everything—their own attitudes, values and assumptions, both about themselves and those around them, as well as those that underlie existing social structures, institutions and practices. I especially want them to become more knowledgeable and sensitive to issues of human rights, both within Japan and in other countries, and, just as importantly, to then assume the responsibility of engaging in constructive action to bring about change, however, small. In this regard, recently I was heartened when a student who, upon finding out through Twitter about discriminatory remarks made against gays and lesbians by Tokyo Governor Shintaro Ishihara, recalled Masae Torai's (a FTM transsexual who had come to speak to our class) exhortation to those who are not members of so-called sexual minorities to become their allies. My student contacted other students and together they attended a gathering protesting Ishihara's remarks.

Moderator: What are some particular challenges and difficulties you have each encountered in teaching of issues of diversity—in terms of race, class, gender, sexuality, in the context of Japanese schools and other settings/contexts?

Ileto: I don't have that much experience teaching, but as I have been a guest speaker at Kumiko's classes on Career Design several times now, based on these encounters, I have been frustrated that despite sharing for an entire hour about my experiences developing a career in NGO work, working all around the world, getting a masters degree etc., students still use the Q&A section to ask questions such as "Does your husband let you go on business trips?" and make assumptions such as that the only reason I must be living in Japan is because I am married to a Japanese man (which is not the case). Students still try to fit me into their mould of what they believe women's experience should be.

Kamano: A major problem I've encountered is students' lack of background knowledge, so that it takes time to just get at the fact that lesbians and gays and transgender people exist. Hence, I can only touch the surface of the issues. I am able to go as far as getting the students to understand the difficulties and pain of so-called "sexual minorities". However, they tend to think of lesbians and gays as "others," and it is hard, in the span of just a few weeks, to get across a more complex reality of sexual orientation and gender identity, which would force them to question the very structure of this society (of which they are active participants) that constructs heterosexuality and binary sexes.

Khor: The problems I've encountered are basically those of teaching English and also teaching in an English Immersion Program. I have taught English in a general education curriculum and now I am teaching sociology courses in English to mostly Japanese students with extensive overseas background. I have also taught courses about Japan in English to foreign exchange students. The issue of "English" and teaching English or teaching in English has been a challenge and at times this gets in the way of teaching about diversity issues.

One problem stems from my being identified as a foreigner and one that represents the West—though that's my "selling point." Another stems from the fact that available English materials (usually produced in the USA), are generally contextualized in the English-speaking world (e.g. in the Race, Class and Gender field, most studies are about African American women, and a very good PBS video on social class is only about the United States). If they are about Japan they focus mostly on representation, and at times they are written from an exoticizing, Orientalist perspective. Neither source is quite satisfactory. What I really need is empirical research on Japan in English – and hence the value of *Transforming Japan*!

Students' keen interest in mastering the English language and lack of interest in diversity issues is another issue. When I taught classes in the English curriculum I had students who were not interested in any of the issues I took up but were interested in learning to speak and write in English as well as I do. In some sense, it worked by catching them unaware. But most of the time, it didn't work.

I would also point to the lack of complementary courses, or a larger curriculum that takes diversity issues seriously. Right now, I teach in a liberal arts department, and we don't have other courses dealing with gender and sexuality issues, or other issues of inequality, including race and ethnic issues, social class issues and so on. There is generally a rather low level of

consciousness about these issues, in contrast to students from other departments, especially in law, politics, who occasionally take my classes.

Moderator: Kim, what has been your biggest challenge?

Hughes: My biggest challenge is how to address ways that will best resonate with students. I have tried to approach gender/sexuality issues in the classroom not by announcing that "I am a lesbian" (although when asked I do try to answer honestly), but instead by totally normalizing the issue through my choice of classroom materials (e.g., the NHK program "Haato o tsunago," "It Gets Better" video series regarding LGBT youth suicide in the USA), as well as by encouraging students to attend LGBT events such as film festivals, Pride parade, etc.

  With regard to this and other social issues, I try to incorporate materials from non-English speaking countries whenever I can in order to broaden students' worldviews, such as an anti-nuke video from Brazil, information regarding youth protests in Spain and other countries.

  When dealing with basic gender issues in the classroom, I have yet to figure out a way to address the matter of male students nearly uniformly speaking out first when working in male-female pairs. I would love to hear suggestions from others regarding how to approach this matter.

Fujimura-Fanselow: While mention is made in junior and senior high school history and civics textbooks of minorities such as the Ainu, Buraku, or Zainichi Korean people, there is little detailed discussion, and discrimination encountered by these people is presented as something that existed in the past. As a result, many students are under the impression that such discrimination no longer exists. In addition, the backlash against gender equality that surfaced following the enactment of the Basic Law for a Gender-equal Society in 1999, led to attacks both on the promotion of so-called "gender-free" education and the inclusion of sex education, so that they've had little exposure to correct knowledge about sexuality and LGBT people. This is similar to the problem Saori pointed to, namely, the appalling lack of background knowledge among most students. The first challenge, then, is to get students to confront their own ignorance and apathy toward people belonging to sexual or ethnic minority groups.

  Related to this is overcoming the hurdle of indifference exhibited by many students to whatever it is they are learning. The top-down transmission of knowledge (banking) style of teaching—mostly through lectures—that dominates much of teaching in Japanese institutions, often barely acknowledges the presence of students and makes little demand on them or helps foster in them the ability to think in a critical way, especially about how what they are studying relates to them, connects with their own lives and experiences. Therefore many students are apt to regard whatever they are studying as something "out there" and having little relation to themselves or their interests and concerns. And so, when they are confronted with the plight of abused migrant Filipina women, they initially perceive of these women and the problems they face as totally disconnected from them.

Moderator: What are some approaches, concrete strategies each of you have employed to raise awareness and understanding of these issues on part of students (and others) and to inspire students to become engaged citizens and "become the change," as Kim put it? What approaches have you found encouraging and fruitful or not very fruitful?

Ileto: I am not a teacher but I really believe that your approach, Kumiko, of bringing in diverse guests to talk about these issues from a first-hand perspective is surely one of the best things that can be done when standard teaching materials fail to address the topics, and when this diversity is otherwise non-existent (or invisible) in the classroom or community. It was certainly my own experience visiting a Buraku neighborhood 15 years ago and learning about the discrimination from people of Buraku origin that opened my eyes up to the issues. Some students I met in your classes used my visit to reflect upon childhood experiences, realizing that they actually did have exposure to Buraku discrimination in their own families at a young age, but did not understand it at the time because it was taboo to discuss the issue. Meeting me also seemed to dispel stereotypes the students had about women from the Philippines. I hope I can continue to inspire students by introducing new things and encouraging them to, as they contemplate their career, consider how they can contribute to society.

Moderator: Kim, what have you found useful in engaging your students in these issues?

Hughes: I have found that it works well to approach social studies by using materials of particular interest to students (videos, music, etc.) rather than strictly reading articles, as well as to vary methods (writing, group discussion, etc.). I also feel that we as educators have something to learn from students in terms of their openness and lack of fixation upon social categories that characterize the era of identity politics in which many of us were socialized and educated, and some of the older social activists I work with have made similar observations. It's time to do away with the "anti-" and move into positive strategies driven by love and peace in their true meanings. [One fabulous example of this is the intergenerational movement of young kayakers who are working together with the elderly residents of Iwaishima Island in Yamaguchi prefecture to together stop the construction of the proposed Kaminoseki nuclear power plant.]

Moderator: Diana, what is your approach?

Khor: If I were to describe my approach, it'd be a double effort at using a lot of facts and personalizing the issues, and contextualizing diversity issues in or in connection to Japan as much as possible, which means a lot of studying up for myself as well. I do put myself on the line, in some sense, by using my peculiar position/location as a postcolonial English-speaking Chinese in an English-speaking classroom, and also by helping them make personal connections to the issues. In talking about racism, speaking about my own experiences is a lot more convincing and commands more attention than any facts I can give them as they can distance themselves from the facts, somehow. In the same way, I try not to ask students about "Japan," but their own personal experiences and then connect them to Japan.

I show videos or use materials from overseas of LGBT families, and so on. Images showing a foreign context seem to allow students to distance themselves. At the same time, they present less of a language barrier than in the case of just printed materials. What has worked, in my experience, are Martin Rochlin's Heterosexual Questionnaire aimed at helping heterosexual people understand the heterosexist questions posed to lesbian and gay people, coming out letters, and self-searching exercises about where they shop, where they eat and so on. Using English materials about Japan, based on research involving real people, and about "real life" is important. In contrast to representation, which seems to have the effect of

exoticizing Japan, or allowing students to dismiss as foreigners' not understanding Japan, it allows less denial.

Fujimura-Fanselow: As I said earlier, a major challenge is to get students to become aware of the common threads that connect them, as human beings, women, and daughters to those whom they see as disconnected from them, and to regard the problems faced, for example, by migrant Filipina women, as their problems too, and in addition, realize not only that they can do something to change the situation, but that they have a responsibility to do so.

To try to accomplish this goal, I have students not only read or view videos and films dealing with such topics, but also provide opportunities to have direct encounters with people of diverse sexualities and ethnic or racial backgrounds, so that they are able to attach actual faces and voices to the people and the issues they are trying to understand.

When Masae Torai, who underwent gender realignment surgery appears before my class every year and talks about his life, the students are initially concerned most about how he's going to look, but as they listen to him talk, they begin to see him as a friendly, out-going individual who happens to have undergone such surgery, and they realize that this is simply one aspect of the person—not the overriding one. In other words, they see that he is both similar to and different from themselves.

Likewise, in the case of Leny P. Tolentino (co-author of "The Story of Kalakasan and Migrant Filipinas") and Donna Nishimoto, in discussions we have prior to their visit, many students admit they tend to look upon Filipina women in a negative light—as having come to Japan simply to make money and soliciting male customers in front of bars and snacks. Again, though, once they meet these two women, they realize their negative prejudices had been based on stereotypes and ignorance. At the same time, the impulse to look upon Donna and others portrayed in the textbook who had suffered abuse and exploitation by their Japanese partners as simply victims to be pitied, was tempered by their meeting with Donna, who demonstrated strength and pride in her identity and a determination to work toward improving her life and that of other Filipina women and their families.

To make what they have learned from such an experience "theirs" rather than simply "an interesting encounter with someone different from them," students need to be given opportunities to share their thoughts, reflections, and insights from that experience and be given guidance to link what they are learning to their own lives, past and present, and their future expectations and aspirations. After meeting Leny and Donna, I have the students in groups discuss whether they have had experiences similar to Donna's, and in fact many are able to recall instances whereby their choices about schooling or employment had been restricted by power relations vis-à-vis their parents or teachers, or constraints based on gender-based expectations and stereotypes that others as well as they themselves held. [Finally, I have students write papers integrating what they learned from their readings, videos, their encounter with Leny and Donna, and the group discussions, which they share with other students.]

Kamano: What I try to do is bring in stories of real people and introduce research that describe and analyze everyday living, attending to the variation of experiences among sexual minorities. It works to a certain extent, but there is the risk of reaching the conclusion that "everyone is unique" and that the students will stop thinking beyond that. I face the challenge of how to balance the idea we are different, each of us having our own sexualities, and so on, with the social fact that in a society where the institution of heterosexuality and binary views

of the sexes dominate, there are social patterns in the experiences based on one's sexual orientation, for example.

Another approach I use is to have the students go through vicarious experiences. For example, I've assigned a coming out letter whereby students write a letter to tell his/her parent(s)/parental figures that she/he is homosexual and have them reflect on the experience afterwards. Many students wrote in the reflection that they thought it would be mechanical and easy to write it, but once they started, they found it was very difficult having to deal with unexpected feelings and emotions. Most addressed the letter to their mothers only. [The typical content of the letter and the reflection included pain, a need for acceptance and support, reassurance that it is not the parents' fault, that they are happy as they are, feel a sense of pride, and love and appreciation of their mothers. The exercise seemed to have deepened their understanding of issues regarding sexual orientation.]

It's also important to problematize the "majority" in order to understand what the minorities experience everyday. To this end, I have students look at the Heterosexual Questionnaire that Diana mentioned earlier, and note their own reactions to the questions. The reaction was quite strong—they felt blamed, as if they were doing something wrong by being heterosexual, and some became defensive, writing, for example, "Don't homosexual people do that, too?" (to a question on why so many heterosexual people have affairs). Such an exercise, if students are allowed enough time to discuss their own responses afterwards, could be useful.

Moderator: What do you view as the value of *Transforming Japan*, to which you contributed, and what are some ideas you have for using the particular essay you wrote or translated in the classroom?

Ileto: I think it does a lot to dispel the stereotypes of women in Japan and show how things are surely changing. I learned a lot not just from the pieces I worked on but the book as a whole and many of my friends in Japan and abroad who are interested in gender issues have already picked up a copy. It is certainly a book I wish I had when I was studying human rights and gender issues in graduate school.

Khor: Not only does the book fill a gap for teaching at the university level about Japan, it also helps decenter the focus on Euro-American societies when discussing issues of diversity, to bring the issues closer to home for Japanese students and expand the empirical and theoretical bases of discussing these issues when used in classrooms outside of Japan.

Thinking specifically about our piece, it can be read in a number of ways. One is as an empirical piece about lesbian relationships; it can be used for any discussions of intimacy, relationships, and so on. Basically, students would learn that lesbians do exist, and they do form relationship, that they do live in Japan. It can also be read as a social construction of relationships—how relationships are not given, but made, and serve as an invitation for readers to explore how heterosexual relationships are also constructed. Additionally, it can be used to question assumptions about identities and categorization: sexual orientation, gender affiliation, and so on. The piece can be used to help students relate to these women rather than seeing them as "others" or "minorities" while at the same time understanding their position in society. It is important to both question the taken-for-granted identities and categories and also understand women who claim or inhabit these identities and categories.

Kamano: The chapter we wrote lays out the complexity of the actual lives of lesbians in terms of how not being visible or understood as lesbian couples give them freedom beyond this hetero-homo division, but at the same time, it also takes away some particular characteristics of lesbian experiences. The book as a whole is full of empirical studies as well as first-person's stories, and hence, can give reality to lives of people in Japan.

Hughes: I feel that *Transforming Japan* is unparalleled in terms of its combination of academic writing together with "real-life" stories. It represents an amazing wealth of teaching materials, and the introduction by the editor, Kumiko, is a wonderful resource!

Fujimura-Fanselow: The book is intended for a wide audience—not only for those in the field of women's/gender studies, or Asian/Japanese studies, but also anyone interested in learning more about a variety of issues that cut across cultural as well as academic boundaries. It doesn't assume sophisticated prior knowledge of Japan or feminist theories. In line with my own commitment, as a feminist, to making knowledge and writing about women accessible to as many readers as possible, I specifically requested the authors to strive to avoid as much as possible the use of academic and feminist jargon.

Another distinctive value of the book is that it integrates writings by both academic scholars and activists who are engaged more directly in advocacy work, for example with nonprofit organizations that support single mothers, migrant women, or lesbian and bisexual women. In addition, many of the authors are themselves members of the marginalized/minority groups about which they write and/or have spent many years working with them, not only as researchers but also as advocates. I consciously sought out these authors in the hope that their possession of an intimate knowledge and understanding of the lives, struggles and accomplishments of these women, combined with skills of scholarly analysis, would infuse these essays with personal meaning and immediacy and also be stepping-stones for readers to look into their own lives, past and present.

Comments and Questions from the audience

Comment: (Risa Kumamoto) I wrote the essay on "Buraku women" in the volume. While it is valuable to provide students to meet face-to-face with individual members of minority groups, there is danger in presenting any individual as some exotic specimen, or a spokesman or representative of the entire group. These individuals may, at worst, feel exploited for the purpose of making a point. Students must not come away from the experience thinking they now know all about migrant Filipina women, or transgender people, or lesbian women.

Question 1: What do you think about the teachers exposing their personal lives that are related to the topic she/he is covering in the class?

Response: (Kamano) At times, it might help to sacrifice the self, and yet, there is always a risk of silencing the students. They might stop questioning and take in everything the teacher says since whatever the person of the category says should be correct. Another danger is that the teacher might give students a skewed understanding of the issues. That is to say, since he/she offers only one example, whatever the characteristics of the person will be attributed to his/her position (e.g., sexual minority). Needless to say, there is a risk of being harassed, rumors spreading, losing jobs, etc.

Response: I (Khor) have found it effective to share personal experiences. Or rather, it is almost hypocritical not to do so when I am asking students to examine their own lives.

Question 2: To what degree has the backlash against gender equality and education aimed at promoting gender equality in schools that began around year 2000 impacted you? I know that at some universities, courses on gender or feminism have been eliminated due to such backlash.

Response: Fortunately, I (Fujimura-Fanselow) have not been affected negatively. I continue to teach an introductory course in women's studies that all students are required to take for a semester. Three years ago, a student who had come out to the class about her bi-sexuality while taking one of my courses decided she wanted to increase awareness about LGBT communities and the issues they face by forming an LGBT association on campus and asked me to be the sponsor. She had no trouble at all getting approval from the student affairs committee, and her group has gotten financial support from the college to hold panels and other events at the annual fall school festival, which are always attended by a number of faculty members.

Conclusion
Our roundtable presentation provided a welcome opportunity to share with others who have a common commitment to promoting awareness of issues related to gender, sexuality and minorities, reflections on how our interest in these issues evolved and how each of us has attempted to work toward bringing about social change through teaching, community organizing, non-profit work, and other activities. Articulating our thoughts on these matters and hearing the thoughts expressed by others helped us clarify and gain new perspectives on our past as well as our current work. In addition, the comments and questions from the audience revealed that many shared similar concerns. We would like to have been able to devote more time to exchange of ideas and experiences with the audience, and we look forward to future presentations in which we can have more dialogue among all participants.

Kumiko Fujijmura-Fanselow is a professor of education and women's studies at Toyo Eiwa University, where she has taught for over twenty years. Her primary interest has been to explore and develop ways of teaching/learning that promote critical thinking and consciousness regarding not only women's/gender issues but human rights issues in general.

YouTube, "Western" Music Video, and Young Japanese Audiences

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Abstract

YouTube has given us all unprecedented access to music videos from around the world. This paper reports the early stages of a research project into the extent to which Japanese young people are using this technology to watch and share "Western" music videos, the kinds of music they include in the term "Western", and how they interpret what they see and hear. The author looks at whether Japanese young men and women choose to watch different kinds of music videos and if there are differences in the meanings they derive from the videos they watch. This paper will discuss first the findings of researchers in the field of popular music with regard to gender bias within the music industry, both past and present. The issues raised are then related to the author's own lines of enquiry regarding the extent to which YouTube is used as a medium through which "Western" pop music can be accessed by Japanese young people. The results of initial findings are presented, and plans for ongoing research outlined.

要旨

YouTubeは私たち誰もに世界中の音楽ビデオへのいままでになかったようなアクセスを可能とした。著者は日本の若者がこのテクノロジーを使って「西洋」の音楽ビデオを見たり共有したりしている範囲と、「西洋」ということばに若者が含める音楽の種類、そして彼らが見たり聞いたりしたものをいかに解釈しているかを調査している。著者はまた、日本の若い男性と女性が異なる種類の音楽ビデオを見るのかどうか、そして、彼らが鑑賞したビデオから取り出す意味に違いがあるかどうかを検討している。本論は過去と現在にわたる音楽産業における性による偏見に関して、ポピュラー音楽の分野での筆者の発見を論じる。さらに筆者は日本の若者に「西洋」のポップミュージックへのアクセス手段としてYouTubeが使用される範囲に関する自身の研究領域に、この問題を関係づける。筆者の発見の結果が示され、現在進行中の研究が概観される。

Introduction

Music videos are recordings that combine musical sound and visuals. They are integral to contemporary daily life: seen on television screens in the home as well as in public spaces and accessible through the Internet on our computers and mobile devices. This is true of Japan as well as the West. YouYube, in particular, since it started up in 2005, has made an enormous range of videos available that have been produced commercially or by amateurs. YouTube streamed 1.2 billion videos a day in 2009 (Vernallis, 2010, p. 235). Although music videos seemed new in the 1970s to the generation that had grown up with radio and vinyl disks as their main source of music, they were not a new phenomenon in the commercial world of musical performance and reception. As early as 1902, Phonoscènes were being

shown in France. These were films of musical (and other) performances with sound recordings played simultaneously. They were replaced with the Vitaphone short films in the 1920s and 30s, also shown in the cinema, and later by the Soundies that could be watched on Panoram jukeboxes in the 1940s and 50s. After the Second World War, Scopitones were popular and could be viewed in bars and clubs on jukeboxes. Film clips were made by a lot of pop artists in the 1960s and 70s to promote their new recordings when they could not, or chose not, to perform them live on stage or on television, or when they thought the visuals would enhance the aesthetic effect of the music. With the advent of MTV in August 1981, music videos were brought into American homes twenty-four hours a day.

With the rapid spread of MTV, the commercialism of music videos became apparent. They were clearly promotional materials made for the purpose of selling records or CDs. (The Japanese term is "Promotional Video".) In fact, the previous manifestations of the modern music video mentioned above were also made to promote the artists and sales of their recordings. It was perhaps the business model on which MTV was initially based that underscored the commercial nature of the music video. The founders of MTV had little money to commission material and so invited record companies to provide the material free in return for the wide exposure MTV could provide for their products. This business model worked well and the recording industry enjoyed an increase in sales after a period of decline in 1979. The music video on MTV was both an advertisement and a source of entertainment. Moreover, MTV soon gave rise to other television channels dedicated to music videos such as Country Music Television (CMT), Black Entertainment Television (BET), Video Hits 1 (VH1), The Music Factory (TMF) and nationally specific MTV channels. As a result, it became the norm for an artist or group to produce a music video to accompany the launch of a new single or album.

One further aspect of music videos of the MTV era that drew attention was the way in which they exploited women's bodies and promoted the patriarchal viewpoint of society at that time. Academics started to take notice of the TV channel and the first to analyze music videos was Ann E. Kaplan, a feminist film critic. Although her initial work has since been criticized for focusing too much on the visual aspects of music videos and paying too little attention to the music, she caught the attention of both media analysts and feminists. A substantial body of academic work has been produced since 1987 on music video as a genre and the representation of women in music videos.

In this paper, first I will draw on the growing canon of feminist popular music criticism to demonstrate that exploitation of the female body and the promotion of patriarchal values were far from new phenomena in the "Western" music business of the 1980s, and that critical debates continue around interpretations of the work of current female video stars such as Lady Gaga and Beyoncé. This discussion is intended to contextualize my research into Japanese music video audiences who are watching Western music videos through YouTube and their interpretations of what they see and hear. In the second section, I will explain the background to my research project, drawing on classroom experiences that have indicated that Japanese and Western audiences interpret music videos differently and that there are differences in what Japanese young women and men focus on when watching a video on YouTube. In the third section, I explain my methodology and my findings to date on how widespread the use of YouTube is among Japanese young people. These initial findings indicate that eliciting responses to Western music videos provides insights into the influences of both culture and gender on the interpretation of music videos by young Japanese audiences.

The reason why I am writing "Western" inside quotation marks is that it is an ambiguous term when applied to popular music. It can include not just Anglo-American music but also,

in the minds of many, the music of international artists such as Shakira or Christina Aguilera, who have dual American and Latina identities. One of the first lines of investigation I shall undertake is to find out which kinds of music my Japanese informants consider to be "Western".

A brief historical overview of women in the world of musical production and performance

Since the age of vinyl records and radio, in the West, we have become accustomed to listening to music as disembodied sound. Many of us prefer this. And for this reason, many people prefer not to watch a music video. They would rather just listen to the song and let their own imaginations provide the visuals. This attitude is far from modern. Although music is a part of all human cultures, and is widely believed to have been a precursor to human language, there has been a Puritanical suspicion of the body in Western music traditions that has led to attempts to separate the sound from its means of production. Plato would talk from behind a screen and play music thus because of the disconcerting way that music causes the body to move and is produced by bodily movement. This mysterious ability of music to inspire bodily motion has caused consternation, and a strong tradition of Western musical thought has been devoted to defining music as the sound itself, and to erasing the physicality involved in both the making and the reception of music. Renaissance nobles sometimes hid their musicians behind screens to create the impression that one was listening to the Harmony of the Spheres and it was common in monasteries and churches in Europe for musicians to be placed behind screens. The advent of recording has been a Platonic dream come true, for with a disk one can have the pleasure of the sound without the troubling reminder of the bodies producing it.

The feminist music scholar Susan McClary (1991, p.151) points out that music is a very powerful medium not just because of the physical reactions it induces, but also because listeners have little rational control over the way it influences them. Paradoxically, music is seen as the most cerebral and nonmaterial of the media, but at the same time, it is the medium most capable of engaging the body. This confusion over whether music belongs with the mind or the body is further complicated when the masculine/feminine binary opposition is mapped onto it. In Western culture, mind has been defined to a large extent as masculine and body as feminine. Music is therefore seen most of the time as a feminine (or effeminate) enterprise and in order to assert masculine control over this medium, women have been denied participation. Lewis (1990) describes how, for much of human history, women and girls have been denied access to musical education and the full range of musical creation. In medieval times, women were barred from liturgical rites. Only nuns could practice music-making, but in isolation from society. During the 15th and 16th centuries, women in Europe had no access to the two ways of getting a musical training: cathedral schools and apprenticeship to a master. In 17th century Europe, musical composition and performance were seen as such unsuitable activities for women that they were banned by papal edicts.

There was a small shift in attitudes in the 18th century when the bourgeoisie was formed, and new and powerful associations were created between bourgeois women, the home and the family. Musical training for girls started to be encouraged because it provided support of both social class distinction and gender difference. Piano playing and singing were considered appropriate means of musical expression for women because they could be incorporated with the woman's role in the family. It was important to a man's prestige that his wife and daughters could entertain family and guests. Playing for the family was considered to be part of the service a woman provided. It was not expected to provide her

with a source of pleasure. While women's music making was seen as amateur, men's music making was upgraded to professional and they were not often seen performing in the home any more. In this way, amateurism became associated with women and with inferior musicianship.

Moreover, artistic value was attached to musical composition and only men could learn to write and conduct music. The interpretation of music through performance was valued less highly. One justification for discouraging women from musical composition was that they were assumed to be incapable of sustained creative activity. Only since the 1930s have women been able to train as classical music composers, and women rock musicians have had to struggle to gain recognition for their compositional work. In addition, the historical coding of certain instruments as being unsuitable for women prevented them from playing instruments such as the trombone in classical orchestras until the 1970s, and has made it harder for women performers to be taken seriously as rock guitarists and drummers.

When women wanted to make a career in music in the 18th and 19th centuries, they were not allowed to marry because it was thought that wives should be devoted exclusively to the care of their husbands, their home and their family. Professional women musicians were often expected to provide sexual favours to their employers and to critics. Lewis explains that, "Women who operated outside the nuclear family, where they would have been under the jurisdiction of one man's domination, could expect to be treated as every man's servant" (1990, p. 61). For women musicians, this was not only humiliating, but it also meant they were denied recognition and rewards for skilled musicianship. The expectation of sexual favours has continued in the popular music business, where women are suspected of sleeping their way into record company contracts, even when they are clearly talented and legitimately signed. This situation was faced by pioneer women rock'n'rollers such as Tina Turner and Pat Benatar, whose experiences are described in detail by Lewis.

Given the barriers that women faced as composers and performers, it is unsurprising that in 1966, only 5% of people in the Western music business were women (Roberts, 1996, xiv). The situation had improved to some extent by 1988 when 32% of people in the music business were women (ibid.). This change can be partly attributed to the growth of the music video and its incursion into the home through MTV and other TV music channels. In the early 1980s, music video was recognized as a genre, but most videos were directed by men with a correspondingly male gaze and male address. The record companies, as a result of this and their own sense of music consumers, developed a male-oriented textual address in their videos and soon came under fire for their violent and sexually suggestive images (Lewis, 1990, p. 42). Lewis comments that such videos "activated textual signs of patriarchal discourse, reproducing coded images of the female body, and positioning girls and women as the objects of male voyeurism" (ibid., p.43). Women and girls, who had not been able to attend live rock concerts, were able to watch them on MTV and were confronted with "the fact of their exclusion from dominant discourses of adolescence and rock music" (ibid., p. 69) and this made many of them strong supporters of the female musicians who had begun to carve a space for female creativity and subjectivity in music by means of their videos. In this way, a number of female musicians were quickly catapulted to star status. In 1982, the Go-Go's became the first female band to make it into the "Top 10" record charts. Women vocalists such as Cyndi Lauper and Tina Turner had a number of hits and gained awards. Madonna sold millions of records and Pat Benatar noticed a big change in the composition of her live audiences. When she first began performing, they were mainly men, but soon after MTV debuted, there were more women than men in her audience (ibid., pp. 70-71).

Music video has provided new opportunities for female musicians to open up the narrow codes of representation that had been imposed on them and has expanded their participation

in the many aspects of music production and promotion. One notable example is the way Cindy Lauper was able to use music video not only to overturn staid images, but also to create song authorship in "Girls Just Want to have Fun". Lauper changed the original lyrics by Robert Hazard to alter the meaning of the song entirely from "an inflated male fantasy of female desire" to an expression of her views on gender inequality (Lewis, 1990, p. 95). This music video became an anthem for female adolescents calling for equal access to the lifestyle and privileges enjoyed by their male counterparts. Likewise, Madonna's manipulation and critique of the codes of female representation were recognized early on by female audiences and gradually began to be acknowledged in the press. Her proven ability to create songs that become hits has facilitated her involvement with record producing and promotion with the result that she is treated by the industry and the press as an author in her own right.

Much ground has been gained by female artists in the last 20 years. Among the most-viewed videos on YouTube these days are those of Lady Gaga and Beyoncé. MTV recently reported that the online viewing figure for Lady Gaga's music videos has exceeded one billion, the first artist whose work has done so. Official data from Visible Measures, a company that specializes in calculating internet video reach, documents that three of Lady Gaga's videos, "Just Dance" (2008), "Bad Romance" (2009), and "Poker face" (2009), have been viewed over 250 million times each. The only video to have been watched more times than these is Beyoncé's "Single Ladies (Put a Ring on it)" (2009), which more than 500 million people have watched (Railton and Watson, 2011, p. 141). The popularity of these two artists can explain the way that the release of their collaboration video "Telephone" in March 2010 attracted a great deal of critical attention. (The official video has been watched well over 120 million times on YouTube alone at the time of writing).

Contemporary music videos provide varying views of femininity. Railton and Watson compare Shanice's (2006) "Take Care of U" and Destiny's Child's (2005) "Cater to U". They point out that the lyrics are similar, but each video produces a very different version of femininity. Whereas Shanice's video portrays a woman who is dependent on the approval of her friends and husband, Destiny's Child's video establishes "an image of women who are in control of their own bodies, their own desires, their relationships with men and their friendships with women" (2011, p. 9). There is now an identifiable growing canon of postfeminist culture based on the idea that contemporary women can be both powerful and feminine at the same time. A music video that illustrates this viewpoint is Pink's "Stupid Girls" (2006). It shows how it is possible to be *both* intelligent and good-looking, be politically motivated *and* work within popular culture, be sexy *and* respected, be successful *and* feminine. The artist herself embodies all these qualities and shows that femininity can be renegotiated and that a simple binary approach is limited and misleading.

Vernallis (2010, p. 243) examines the images of femininity that Beyoncé creates in "Video Phone" (2009). This video raises questions of power and control, such as "Can you handle this?" and "Do you dare watch me?" Whether Beyoncé is in control and could just walk away from this sex work is ambiguous to the American critic Vernallis, and by extension, to Western audiences. (Viewers' comments on YouTube suggest confusion about how to interpret this video.) This ambiguity underscores McClary's observation that "music is not the universal language it has sometimes been cracked up to be: it changes over time, and it differs with respect to geographical locale" (1993, p.25). Moreover, music video is a highly mediated medium. It adds a visual element to the reception of music, so there is even more reason to avoid making assumptions that there is a shared, universal understanding of the gestures, actions, settings, and props of any Western music video. Meaning is not inherent in the music and the visual images. Our interpretations of signifiers in music videos are based on what we have learned in our cultural milieu and can vary greatly. Even though Western

pop/rock has been heard and performed in Japan for over 50 years, we should not assume that Japanese audiences hear, see, and respond in the same way that British or American audiences would, owing to the many differences in social customs, expectations, and signifiers in Japanese and Western society and music. Now that YouTube is making an abundance of Western music videos available for viewing by young people here in Japan, I am curious to know how they are interpreting them. Are they seeing the same versions of masculinity and femininity that Western audiences see?

Initial insights into the perspectives of young Japanese YouTube viewers
A number of thought-provoking experiences in the classroom have led to the formulation of the following two research questions:

1) What role do "Western" music videos play in the lives of Japanese young people?
2) How do Japanese young people construct meaning in "Western" music videos
    when the videos have not been made with an Asian audience in mind?

Music videos are on sale in Japanese music stores and they are broadcast on Japanese TV and MTV channels. They are also available on record label websites and other websites dedicated to disseminating music video. My first research question aims to investigate whether Japanese young people are accessing music video from these sources or if they are mainly using YouTube as their point of entry and/or preferred site. In addition, it is important to research whether Japanese YouTube viewers are watching music videos closely as they listen, or if they are consuming them as background music while they do other things. This will have important implications in discussions of interpretation. Furthermore, accessing music videos through YouTube is different from watching on TV because there is an online community present in the form of feedback comments from others who have watched the music video. Recent audience research emphasizes the interactive nature of online media consumption. It is therefore important to investigate whether young Japanese YouTube viewers become active members of the online community, sharing opinions and making/following recommendations. This may also have a bearing on their interpretations of the music videos they watch. My two research questions are therefore closely linked.

With regard to my second line of inquiry, Angela McRobbie (cited in Negus, 1996, p. 18) raised questions about the differences in the ways young men and women consume and use popular music. I hope to shed more light on whether gender influences the interpretation of Western music videos by Japanese youth. Classroom experiences have led me to ask whether Japanese young men and women are constructing different meanings from the same Western videos and, in addition, whether these young people are seeing and hearing what a Western audience sees and hears. Is it reasonable to expect them to catch intertextual references that their Western peers would infer? Conversely, are they creating additional meanings that may not occur to a Western audience? I shall share below anecdotal and quantitative evidence that has led me to believe that investigation into the interpretation of Western music videos by Japanese young people is a rich field for study.

I include music video as a component of my British media studies seminar course for 3rd year university students. When looking at the role of narrative in different types of media texts, including pop songs, in 2008 and 2009, I used the Spice Girls' 1988 song "Viva Forever" to discuss the concept of 'open' and 'closed' texts and was curious when we looked at the video and each time the students all agreed that the two children are a girl and a boy. Although one of them has long hair, to my Western eyes they are both clearly boys. I

wondered if this difference could be explained by the research undertaken by cultural psychologist Richard Nisbett and his research student Taka Masuda. Their hypothesis was that "Asians view the world through a wide-angle lens, whereas Westerners have tunnel vision" (Nisbett, 2003, p. 89). They carried out a series of experiments with Japanese and American university students that demonstrated that Asians pay more attention to the background or whole environment and the relationships between objects while Westerners focus more closely on the focal objects in a scene. Could this be why my students assumed, without looking closely, that the child with long hair was a girl? And if this is the case, do Japanese young people pay attention to visual aspects of music videos that Westerners overlook and vice versa? Does this influence their overall interpretation of the video?

From classroom discussions, it was clear that my seminar students watched a lot of music videos and I was curious to find out what Western music videos they liked watching on YouTube and so asked them to choose a video they like and which tells a story. They had to send me a summary of the story by email with the YouTube link and I compiled the summaries for the class. We then watched the videos together in class. I hadn't expected that such a simple assignment would provide me with a surprising number of insights. I have done this activity with 2 cohorts of students now and of the nearly 30 students in total, only two students chose to summarize the same video. This was in 2008 and they chose Daniel Powter's 2005 release "Bad Day". The summary submitted by the young man was very different from that of the young woman. It contained the bare facts, but did not make many connections between events. Someone reading it, who had not seen the video, would probably not get a very clear idea of the storyline of the video. On the other hand, the young woman's summary was far more detailed and included more information about the emotions of the protagonists as well as the relationship between events. The summaries are reproduced below with the names changed to protect the privacy of both students.

> The man and woman are main cast in the music video. They are living same flat but the floor is different. They get up early one day. They change their clothes and go to each office. They take a train alone. There are some couples in the train. Next, they are very tired from their work. Their hobby is painting a picture. They write graffiti on the poster at a station in turn. They are conscious of existing each other. At last, they meet in the heavy rain. (Masahiro)

> There were a man and a woman. They lived their own lives. They got up and went for work. She got up 30 minutes earlier than man. He watched her leaving from his home every day. They went to the office by train. They both looked like they didn't enjoy their lives like their jobs and lived an unhappy life. They did the work something like writing pictures. He lived opposite house from hers. They knew each other. One day, she found a shop sign on the street. A woman sitting on a bench was written on it and next to her, there was a message "SHINE". She wrote a cloud and rain on it. He found this rewrite picture and added the umbrella with it. Next day, to see the picture, she wrote a taxi splashing her with water. Then he added a man next to woman to avoid the water and a half of a heart mark. She'd written just bad things for woman in the picture but she wrote the rest of the mark this time. Another day, it was rainy but she didn't have her umbrella so she was waiting taxi with getting wet. Then he appeared and gave her his umbrella. They smiled happily. (Yuriko)

These differences have made me wonder whether they simply reflect the respective levels of motivation and conscientiousness of these two students, or whether we can generalize

from this to predict that young Japanese women pay closer attention to detail and emotions expressed in Western music videos than Japanese young men.

A further insight gained from the assignment outlined above was that some students were interpreting music videos at a symbolic level. They were simply required to summarize the story of the video, but one young woman, describing Britney Spears's video "Oops! I did it again" (2000), made the following observation: "When she is in red, we can see her superficial active side, on the other hand, when she is in white, we can catch a glimpse of her regret." This was especially fascinating for me because I would not have interpreted this juxtaposition of colours and attitudes in the same way. This led me to wonder to what extent culture was influencing our different interpretations and whether I could find any patterns in these differences.

My research methodology and initial results

In order to uncover and compare the music video viewing preferences of Japanese young women and men and differences in interpretations of Western music videos, I am using a mixed quantitative and qualitative methodology. My preliminary study in February 2010, aimed to test my hunch that Japanese young people are watching a significant amount of Western music on YouTube. I conducted a survey of over 2,000 undergraduates from 8 different faculties (science, computing, engineering, law, business, economics, international culture and foreign languages) at my university when all first year undergraduate students, apart from those majoring in English, were required to take an English language test. Out of 2,217 students who took the test, 2,138 (96.4%) students responded to my two survey questions. The response rate was probably very high because there were only two questions in Japanese with a brief explanation that the questions were for research purposes and not part of the test and the students only needed to fill in 2 responses on their mark card at the end of the test. There were a lot of invigilators at the test (including me) who were informed about this and who checked that the students answered the survey. A colleague responsible for marking the test sent me the data. The questions and responses are below:

1. Which of the following media do you use to listen to music? Check each one that you use:

CD	17%
iPod/MP3 files and player	38.8%
Radio	3.7%
TV	13%
MTV	2.5%
YouTube	18%
Others	7%

2. If you use YouTube, which do you watch mostly? (Check one answer only.)

Japanese pop and rock music videos	37.5%
"Western" pop and rock music video	10%
A mixture of Japanese and "Western" pop and rock music videos	17.8%
Other kinds of video	34.7%

It was very reassuring for my research plans to see that as many as 18% of these students use YouTube to listen to music and somewhat surprising that so few (2.5%) use MTV. On further reflection, this could be explained by the fact that MTV is a cable channel which many households and students living alone probably do not subscribe to. The finding that so few (3.7%) listen to music mostly on the radio is in line with the data collected by Manabe (2008, p. 84), who found that, "While the radio was the most broadly-used device for American students (93%), it was the least-used device for the Japanese, with only one respondent citing it as her favorite device. Such findings were in line with the national norms, where according to Internet Kyokai (as cited in Manabe, 2008, p. 84), 60% of Japanese rarely listened to the radio, and those that did were likely to be over 60 years of age". Whereas Americans listen to the radio a lot while driving, most Japanese students commute to their campus using public transportation and so portable music players are extremely popular these days. With a large number of CD rental stores in Japan, it is cheap and easy to rent CDs and upload them to an MP3 player or an iPod. The Japanese record industry works with the rental companies and uses contracts to promote certain singles on a regular basis (Stevens, 2008, p. 87). It was also encouraging for my research purposes to see that as many as 10% of these students watch mostly Western videos on YouTube and that an additional 18% watch a mixture of Japanese and Western music.

These results indicate that my hunch is correct and that there is a sizeable audience of Japanese young people watching Western music video on YouTube these days. The data also revealed that there was no significant relationship between the gender of the students, or their level of English, and whether they were watching Western music video.

Further research and conclusion

In order to investigate the kinds of music video Japanese young people are watching, I have been using an ethnographic approach based on unstructured interviews, classroom observations, and focus group discussions of selected music videos. At the time of writing, I have interviewed 46 students initially (27 female and 19 male) to find out about their YouTube viewing experiences and habits and to discuss their definition of "Western" music and their interpretations of some "Western" music videos of their choice. I interview volunteers singly or in pairs if they prefer. The interviews are recorded on a digital audio recorder and transcribed by myself. This is done according to the regulations, and with the approval of, the research ethics committee at my university and with the signed acceptance of all participants. They are paid a suitable fee for their participation. Participants willing to join a focus group in order to discuss interpretations of "Western" music videos will be invited to do so after initial analysis of the individual or paired interview data. I also keep notes from classroom discussions about "Western" music and music video to supplement my interview data. I hope to uncover the versions of masculinity and femininity that my young Japanese informants perceive in the Western music videos we watch together and I am looking forward to sharing the results of my research at a GALE conference in the near future.

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Is Japan Ready for a Gender-Equal Society?
Gaining Perspective via a Study of Junior High School
English Textbooks

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Abstract

In order to promote the formation of a gender-equal society, the Japanese government established the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society in 1999. One of the areas which was targeted for the promotion of gender equality was education. The aim of this study is to examine the issues of gender in junior high school English textbooks published in 1999 and then analyze changes as seen in junior high school English textbooks recently published in 2008. The study covered 39 textbooks widely used in Japanese junior high schools by analyzing gender distinctions; thereby illustrating that there has been a distinct but still incomplete shift towards more gender equality (representation) in the 2008 textbooks.

要旨

1999年に男女共同参画社会基本法が公布され，男女平等を推進するための目標のひとつが教育であった。この研究では，日本の中学校英語教科書にみられるジェンダーがどのように変化したかを調べる．1999年と2008年（最新）に出版された教科書39冊を選び，ジェンダーの観点から比較分析する．それによって，最新の教科書におけるジェンダー・バイアスは，改善されてはいるもののまだ不十分であることを例示する．

Introduction

In English education, it is worth highlighting social norms in English language textbooks because, as Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) affirm, learners need to master not only the formal rules of language, but also rules for the appropriate use of language. Although EFL textbooks in Japanese junior high schools contain explicit information about the norms of gender, many do's and don'ts are not expressed in an observable way. In this regard, the teaching approaches being used can reinforce or discourage the norms of gender and affect what learners learn. This study is therefore an attempt to explore the messages these textbooks send and is specifically concerned with any gender distinctions in them.

Language reflects the ways society constructs gender, but "by ignoring asymmetry one tends to reinforce stereotypes" (Caldas-Coulthard, 1995, p. 239). Exposing gender distinctions is therefore considered a useful task because it helps prevent the spread of stereotyped language practices. Over the last few decades, studies of gender issues in a variety of ESL contexts have indicated a lack of female referents, male dominance in cross-sex conversation, and the assignment of stereotypical roles to both women and men (Levine & O'Sullivan, 2010; Pauwels, 1998; Polanyi & Strassmann, 1996; Renzetti & Curran, 1995; Winter, 2010). This study examines junior high school English textbooks published in 1999

and 2008 and seeks to answer the following two questions. How are women and men represented in the textbooks? If a clear gender bias is evident in the 1999 textbooks, does gender bias still exist in the more recent editions of the same books? While the scope of this study is quite limited, it will be helpful to tackle these questions.

Overall, women were considerably underrepresented among the number of co-authors of all of the textbooks published in 1999 and 2008. Figure 1 shows the number of female and male co-authors of the textbooks according to the year of publication. The co-authors of the textbooks in 1999 were composed of 22 women and 167 men in total. There were just 28 women altogether, compared with 155 men, with respect to the number of co-authors of the textbooks in 2008. In other words, only 12% of the co-authors of the textbooks in 1999 were female, compared with 15% in 2008. The relative proportions of female to male co-authors therefore represent an obvious gender imbalance. This fact suggests that more women authors might have an impact on the gender-neutral content of the textbooks.
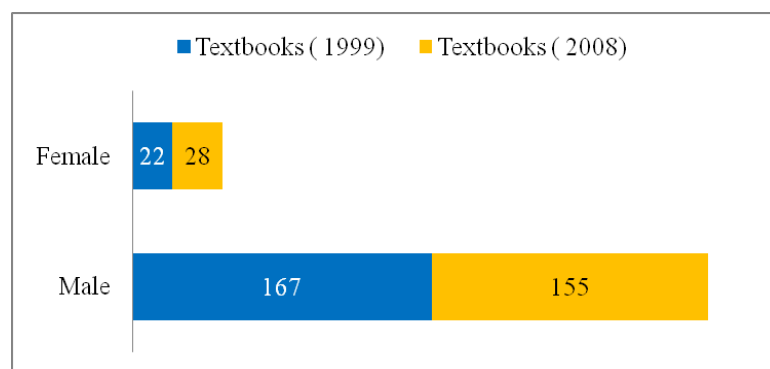
Figure 1. Number of female and male co-authors

Method

The school has a curriculum that helps learners learn societal values. It is therefore important for teachers to realize that social context is relevant in learning the English language. I present my analysis with an observation of how English textbooks in Japanese junior high schools have portrayed gender stereotyping both in content and language use for the last decade, beginning when the Japanese government established the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society in 1999.

The present study covered 39 government-approved textbooks published in 1999 (except *Sunshine*, which was published in December of 1998) and 2008, with each title consisting of three course books commonly used in the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades:

・*Columbus 21: English Courses 1~3* (1999)
・*Columbus 21: English Courses 1~3* (2008)
・*Everyday English 1~3* (1999) (*Everyday English* was not reissued in 2008.)
・*New Crown: English Series 1~3* (1999)
・*New Crown: English Series 1~3* (2008)
・*New Horizon: English Courses 1~3* (1999)
・*New Horizon: English Courses 1~3* (2008)
・*One World: English Courses 1~3* (1999)
・*One World: English Courses 1~3* (2008)
・*Sunshine: English Courses 1~3* (1998)

· *Sunshine: English Courses 1~3* (2008)
· *Total English 1~3* (1999)
· *Total English 1~3* (2008)

This study provides analyses of gender representation among these 39 widely used textbooks in Japanese junior high schools.

Discussion

A Qualitative Imbalance in the Use of Gender Terms

Textbooks published in 1999

There was a qualitative imbalance in the use of gender terms in the textbooks published in 1999, revealing a prevalence of masculine over feminine terminology. The terms in question referred to the kinds of activities expressed through verbs and adjectives with which boys and girls were associated. These findings confirmed strong tendencies for gender stereotyping in this area. Familiarity with this essentialist approach to gender may help in understanding decisions made by textbook authors.

According to Doyle (1995), men and women value different aspects of what they call friendship. Specifically, women tend to see friendship as an occasion for sharing feelings with another person. As for men, friendship means sharing an activity with another person. Wright (1982) explores differences between emotional sharing and engaging in common activities. In relation to the expression of boys' and girls' activities in the textbooks, there was a diverse range of verbs associated with boys but not with girls:

     fish, play (basketball), drive, surf, use (the Internet), videotape

Girls, on the other hand, were exclusively associated with the following verbs:

     hate, wait, wonder, ask, shout, smile

There were a number of adjectives applied to either boys or girls. Boys, but never girls, were described as:

     cute, strict, tall

There were a small number of adjectives of which girls were the object and never boys in these textbooks:

     friendly, loud, reserved, sweet

Both male and female characters displayed highly stereotyped behavior and engaged in activities considered appropriate for their gender. Furthermore, male characters were visually more prominent, because they engaged in a wider range of activities than female characters. In other words, girls were less concerned with doing than with being. The description of female characters in these textbooks was used with more emotional states of mind or with less physical activities.

Textbooks published in 2008
Blatant forms of gender stereotyping previously found in 1999 textbooks appear to have been reduced in the 2008 textbooks. Examples in the recent books featuring females ascribe to girls and women the active and adventurous human traits traditionally reserved for boys and men. For example, Jenny gives Hiro a quick kiss on his cheek (*Columbus 21: English Course 3*, 2008, p. 54) and a soccer coach is a young female teacher (*One World: English Course 1*, 2008, p. 47). Females were portrayed as performing a wider range of activities than they once had been and appeared in the stories as visibly as males.

However, one can also find examples of masculinist gender ideology within the pages of 2008 textbooks, particularly in story scenarios. The different beliefs about girls, how they should be brought up and how they should behave, correspond to their future positions in the gender hierarchy. These beliefs dominate many story lines of film and television drama and they have also been enshrined in the age-old stereotypical representations of women in fairy tales. Fairy tales, such as *Snow White* and *Cinderella,* connect beauty and youth with good women, and ugliness and old age with bad women. The ideal male is very "masculine" yet nurturing. He falls in love with the beautiful heroine. These patterns reflect a long tradition in fairy tales in which femininity is also equated with vulnerability and forbearance. In a traditional fairy-tale scenario, women are beautiful and patient heroines, whereas men are brave, agentive, heroes. This gendered paradigm can find its way into language textbooks, as in the following story (*Columbus 21: English Course 1*, 2008, p. 95) in which Hiro becomes the "hero" of vulnerable Jenny:
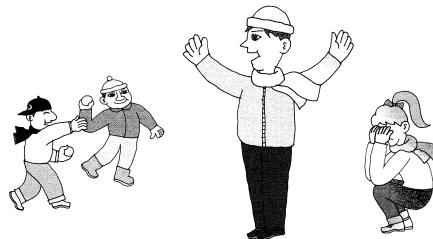
The class went out. They gathered some snow. But Daisuke and some of the other boys started a snowball fight. One of Daisuke's snowballs hit Jenny in the back. Hiro couldn't say, "Stop it." Jenny did nothing about it. Then another snowball hit Jenny in the face. She covered her face with her hands. Hiro got angry and said, "Stop it! Don't be so mean!!"

The Dominance of Male Character in Conversation in the 1999 Textbooks
One aspect of this analysis was to observe the way in which conversational exchanges between male and female characters were represented. The type of speech attributed to male and female characters reflected the dominance of the boy in conversation. Girls were allowed to introduce topics, but boys tried to control what topics were discussed and then expanded them. In cross-sex conversation, "boys more often succeeded in focusing the conversation on

the topics they introduced" (Renzetti & Curran, 1995, p. 152). In conversations involving boys and girls, boys tended to take the initiative and explain things to girls, as illustrated in the following extract from one of the textbooks used in the 9th grade (Columbus 21, 1999, p. 24):

> One rainy afternoon, Ken is talking with Mika and Judy.
>
> *Judy:* Oh, it's raining again! I hate the rainy season. What was the weather like in Sydney, Ken?
>
> *Ken:* Pretty good. There was a lot of sunshine, and even in winter it wasn't so cold.
>
> *Mika:* By the way, did you see a lot of koalas and kangaroos?
>
> *Ken:* Mika! Australia is not just a country of koalas and kangaroos.
>
> *Mika:* I know, but I was just wondering.
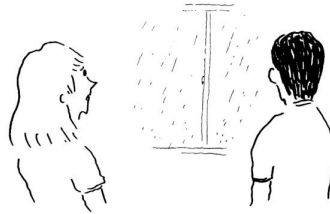
It has also been observed that girls tended to apologize to boys in textbook representations. Girls' utterances often function as providing support to those of boys (Holmes, 1992). One of the passages quoted above is the intensive *just*, used where Mika said, "I know, but I was just wondering." The use of the intensive seems to be a way of backing out of committing oneself strongly to an opinion (Lakoff, 1975). To hedge in this situation is to seek to avoid making any strong statement. This may reflect the textbook authors' understanding of the characteristics of women's speech.

Textbooks published in 2008
It seems that there was a conscious effort to correct previous gender bias in the more recent textbooks. Data findings from this study indicate that female empowerment in these textbooks was beginning to be expressed and there may have been a greater awareness of the need to promote gender equality in language.

However, there remains room for improvement. A sample sentence can be seen in a *One World* lesson used in the 7th grade (2008, p. 47):

Tom: Is she our new coach?

Jun: She's so young!

Coach: Don't talk!

Tom: Sorry, Coach.

There are two boys talking about a young female teacher and a boy asks, "Is she our new (soccer) coach?" The image of a disappointed expression on the face of one of the players may suggest an adherence to highly gendered roles.

Problematic Representations of Families in Textbooks
Textbooks published in 1999
There was no significant difference with respect to the following subjects and topics in the textbooks: family, food, computers, cultures and events in foreign countries, the environment, music, shopping, space travel, or sports. In analyzing the families in the textbooks, for example, there is a certain type of imaginary American family. This rather idealized scenario involves a nuclear family composed of two white adults of opposite sexes and two children with a pet dog. According to Polanyi and Strassmann (1996), even if the characters used in textbooks are imaginary, they are part of, and cannot be separated from, the content of what is taught. That is to say, textbooks are part of the culturally produced fund of ideas and images, which sometimes reflect a high level of stereotyping.

Women in the textbooks are either invisible or gender-role stereotyping is accentuated when they are presented. The female characters are portrayed as housewives, mothers, grandmothers, aunts, salesclerks, or English teachers. Women are primarily portrayed as caring about children and involved in household chores. In the 1970s, "the textbooks used in American schools were criticized for this type of stereotyped representation of gender and for their use of language that tended to make women invisible except in roles like mother, daughter, homemaker, and perhaps teacher or nurse" (Frank, 1989, p. 119).

In the textbooks' recasting of gender relations in a family, on the other hand, further evidence of the textbooks' masculinist bias could be seen. Who cooks meals? Who spends time taking care of children? The common answer to these questions is "mother." Those who protest that mother is not necessarily the answer to each of the questions may point to examples in which a man fulfills traditionally female roles in a family. Generally speaking, these same textbook figures often differ from dominant practices in Japanese society at that time, even though it is positive that they are showing alternative roles. According to a survey administered in 1997 to 348 married Japanese men in their 20's-60's, 9.8% of them cook more than once a week (Nisshin Oillio Group, 2010).

Moreover, the following examples paradoxically emphasize that the husbands cook certain days only and otherwise their wives cook the rest of the time. For example, one of the sample sentences in *New Crown* used in the 7th grade was, "My father often cooks on Sundays" (1999, p. 69):

What do you do on Sundays?

My family enjoys Sundays. I listen to music. Sometimes I swim with my friends.

My father often cooks on Sundays. He is in the kitchen now. He is making bread for us.

Look at my grandfather. He is playing *shogi* with his friend.

Another sample sentence from *New Horizon* used in the 8th grade was, "Today, it was my father's turn to cook dinner" (1999, p. 82):

Sunday, January 25, 1998

Today, it was my father's turn to cook dinner. "We're going to have chicken teriyaki with salad and fruit," he said and went to the kitchen.

His cooking is usually as good as my mother's. But today was the last day of sumo and he ran to the TV. He's been a sumo fan for a long time.

Textbooks published in 2008
In the textbooks' casting of gender relations in a family, little evidence of masculinist cultural values could be seen in the textbooks. This may be due to significant societal changes. According to a survey administered in 2009 to 799 married Japanese men in their 20's-60's, 25.8% of them cook more than once a week (an increase of over 15% since the 1997 survey). In Japan, changes have also occurred in the style of eating in the home since the 1990s, and this also has implications for gender relations. Internet research was administered in 2008 to 14,878 Japanese people on eating alone (My Voice Communications, 2008). The survey

shows that 53% of those surveyed are in favor of eating alone. Many modern people seem to like to eat alone more than sitting around a table with a family. If so, the following pictures of mealtimes might in a way show "the good old days" of Japan (*One World: English Course 1*, 2008, p. 50):

I eat breakfast at 7:00.

I eat dinner at 6:30.

According to the survey, 41% of respondents eat one to three meals alone daily. The most common response is "lunch on weekdays" alone (66%), followed by "dinner on weekdays" (38%) and "breakfast on weekdays" (36%). By age group, the proportion of respondents skipping breakfast is high in young people in their 20's. Also, having dinner with the whole family is not often done anymore because of the lifestyles of the parents, such as dual-income families, overtime work circumstances, and children returning home late due to lessons and cram schools. This may be related to structural changes in the Japanese workforce. If we consider the number of dual-income households, the Japanese Cabinet White Paper on Gender Equality (2011) states that, since 2000, the proportion of dual-income households has consistently been greater than that of households of full-time homemakers; for example, 10.11 million dual-income households and 8.25 million households of full-time homemakers in 2008. Moreover, the difference between the two tends to increase every year.

A Problematic Choice for Women's Titles
Textbooks published in 1999
Language reform initiatives can increase awareness that neutral words should be used as much as possible. Distinctions were made in the vocabulary choice used to describe women and men. Now, when describing occupations, for example, it is popular to use "salesperson" or "police officer" instead of "salesman" or "policeman." If language tends to reflect social structure, such changes might be expected to inevitably follow.

Although there has been much encouragement to make the necessary changes by establishing new categories, there have been many instances of misinterpretation. An appropriate title choice for women, for example, was problematic. The traditional titles of *Mrs.* and *Miss* distinguished women on the basis of marital status, so *Ms.* was intended to become a parallel to *Mr.* When *Ms.* was first proposed, however, it was often "ridiculed" (Unger & Crawford, 1996, p. 22). Many women regarded Ms. as an additional title to refer to "specific categories of women," but not as a universal one for women replacing Mrs. and Miss (Pauwels, 1998, p. 218). When a woman used the title *Ms.* rather than *Miss* or *Mrs.*, she was assumed to be more assertive and dynamic. This title also included professional status and lifestyle. *Ms.* was used by working women in white-collar positions, and by modern and trendy women. In the textbooks, *Ms.* and *Miss* were used for teachers and *Mrs.* was mainly used for mothers as follows (Everyday English 3, 1999, p. iii):

Textbooks published in 2008

In these textbooks, *Ms.* and *Miss* were still used for teachers and *Mrs.* was mainly used for mothers (*Columbus 21: English Course 3*, 2008, p. 4):

This study found a linguistic change concerning the title choices for women in the textbooks published in 1999 and 2008 (see Figure 2). Approximately 42 percent of the textbooks in 1999 did not provide the title of *Ms.*, but in 2008 all of them provided it in the vocabulary lists in the back of the textbooks. Moreover, no less than 44 percent of the textbooks in 2008 provided *Ms.* only.
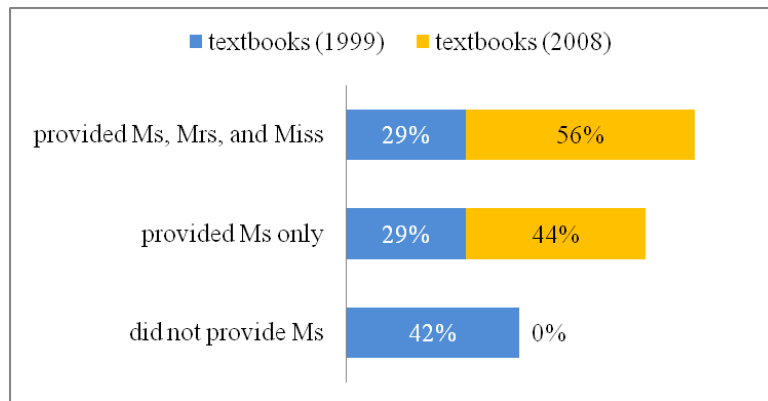
Figure 2. Title choices for women in the textbooks

Conclusion

This study examined gender representation in popular Japanese junior high school English textbooks published in 1999 and analyzed how gender representation has changed in the textbooks most recently published. The textbooks published in 1999 showed examples of ideologies of male dominance in content and language use.

In contrast, an analysis of the textbooks published in 2008 revealed a more or less balanced portrayal of women and men. The textbook authors seemed to consciously avoid gender stereotypes. As a result, previously prevalent, more obvious forms of gender bias have been reduced. However, gender imbalances still exist in current textbooks, regarding the number of co-authors of the textbooks and appropriate title choices for women.

Textbooks play a major role in Japanese junior high school EFL classrooms, so it is crucial to become aware of gender issues in these materials. Awareness of gender bias, however, does not automatically result in its correction. Therefore, without conscious effort, gender bias will not be completely removed from textbooks.

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Career Planning from a Financial Perspective: An Investigation into Female Students' Attitudes to Work, Family and Money

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Abstract
This study investigated the attitudes of female Japanese students to work, family, and money, as well as to gender studies by conducting two kinds of surveys. A survey of 426 female students indicated that despite the rapid changes in the Japanese economy accompanied by changes in gender roles, many still hoped to depend heavily on their future partners for finances. A second survey identified gender issues of interest for 156 university and junior college students. Study results indicated that there were some female students who regarded financial and psychological independence from spouses as being important. This was accompanied by realistic expectations of future husbands' income potential. These study results also suggested that there was a need for financial education from the perspective of gender for Japanese women, so that they may be able to secure and maintain a decent life for themselves and their families, and become active contributors to the Japanese economy. It is our contention that a revision to the syllabus for gender studies in Japan is necessary, primarily to enable female university and junior college students to foresee their careers from the perspective of finance.

要旨
本研究の目的は，日本の女子大学生・短大生が家計管理を含めた金融の観点から自身のキャリアを予見することができるよう，ジェンダー関連教育の再考について検討することである。そこで、彼女らのジェンダー，仕事，家庭，金銭に対する姿勢について検討するため，2つの調査を実施した。426名の女子大学生・短大生を対象に実施した第1調査からは、日本経済における急速な変化が，性別役割分業にも変化をもたらしているにもかかわらず，彼女らの多くは依然として将来の配偶者に依存したいと考えていることがわかった。第2調査では，156名の女子大学生・短大生のジェンダー問題への関心について調べたが、彼女らの中には、経済的および精神的に自立することや、将来の夫の稼得能力について現実的になることを自覚する学生が少なからず存在することが明らかになった。以上の調査結果から，日本人女性に対してジェンダーの観点から金融教育を行うことが急務であることが示唆された。そのような教育を実施することにより，女性が，自らの生活を安定させられるだけでなく，家族の生活をも維持することができ，さらには日本経済にも貢献することができるようになると考えられる。

Introduction
Since Teruko Inoue, one of the pioneering Japanese feminists, started teaching women's studies at Wako University in Tokyo in 1976, many students, especially women, have learned about gender roles in Japanese history and the modern age. Adults who attended lectures at centers for women or gender equality scattered all over Japan benefitted similarly. However, to our surprise, only a few studies (e.g. Kanatani, 1995; Nishio, 2004; Utsumizaki, 1999) have been conducted to ascertain the gender issues in which female students are actually interested, and the knowledge they gain from women's studies and gender classes (henceforth, referred to as "gender studies"). We believe these questions are important as it is necessary for academic staff who teach gender studies to grasp students' demands pertaining to the subject, and respond to their needs accordingly. Moreover, further studies on students' reactions to gender studies in the event they have attended classes on the subject, their feelings about topics related to gender studies, and their perceptions about the educational pedagogy employed by lecturers in such classes are also required. These efforts will not only improve the quality of educational pedagogy, but also help gender-related issues to be understood and appreciated by students on a wider scale.

Moreover, changing times have given rise to changing needs. For example, there is a need to investigate the reality of women's lives in terms of work, family, and money, and explore their own perceptions of that reality. The need to examine women's attitudes towards building a "career," — "the continuous discovery of the value of one's role and the relationship between one and her role, and the recognition that an individual plays various roles throughout her life" (MEXT, Central Education Council, 2011, p.103) — and their knowledge about money has become especially urgent. Relevant data and comments on these issues are also provided on the website of the Center for Women and Financial Independence of Smith College. Smith is one of the most prestigious women's colleges in the U.S. The center suggests that despite women becoming more active in the economy as workers and consumers and taking on more financial responsibility for themselves and their families than ever before, much work still needs to be done before women have full financial independence. Many Japanese female students appear, from the results of the survey discussed below, to still expect to depend financially on the men in their families. It is necessary to examine, for example, how our students would plan their lives, especially working lives, if they knew the costs associated with bringing up a child, and whether they are ready to finance these aspects or expect their future partners to do so. We believe that it is time to explore the relationship between Japanese women and money, and in doing so, seek an ideal educational pedagogy to strengthen their financial literacy. If Japanese women experience such education, they can become truly active participants in the economy.

To investigate the attitudes of female university/junior college students to work, family, and money, as well as to gender studies, we conducted two kinds of surveys with them. Each survey sought answers two different questions: (1) Are Japanese women college students fully aware of the economic realities they face and are they planning careers based on these realities? (2) Would these students be motivated to learn about economic realities and how to deal with them? In this paper, we will suggest possible additions to topics taught in gender education through the examination of the results of those surveys.

Reasons women should think about their career and monetary issues
There is a tendency for society—including Japanese society—to regard women who are ignorant about matters related to money as "more feminine," than those who are financially savvy. The Center for Women and Financial Independence at Smith College calls into

question the fact that for too long, women have been told not to worry about money and to depend on someone else for it. Consequently, little attention has been paid to women's understanding of monetary issues. This has been the case for gender studies also, partly because this field has traditionally concentrated on women's roles in the labor market and in familial contexts.

However, circumstances for women have seen a drastic change in recent years: the globalization of the economy, a decreasing birthrate, an aging population, increasing numbers of unmarried people, a rise in number of female-parent households, and an increase in the number of widows (Timmermann, 2000). It is therefore more necessary than ever for women to think about their lives from a career perspective. At the same time, an increasing number of women are finding that they need to financially support themselves as well as their families. Thus, it is crucial that women recognize and accept this responsibility as financial security can result only from *financial literacy* which, according to the JumpStart Coalition for Personal Financial Literacy, a world-known non-profit organization based in Washington, DC, is "the ability to use knowledge and skills to manage one's financial resources effectively for lifetime financial security" (Jump$tart Coalition for Personal Financial Literacy, 2012). Women can no longer rely on "Prince Charming" for financial support (Anthes & Most, 2000, p.132). As Martinez noted, "women need to plan and save more than men" (Martinez 1994, p. 104-105) on account of the following reasons:

> (1) Women live longer than men.
> (2) Women earn less money than men.
> (3) Women who do receive retirement benefits obtain significantly lower benefits than men.
> (4) Women are more likely to leave the job market to concentrate on family matters.
> (5) Women are most often the *trailing spouse* (one who gives up their job and associated benefits) when their husbands relocate for a job.
> (6) Women do not have a role model for retirement planning.

It is clear that women face different financial issues compared to men. Moreover, women tend to seek less risky financial investments and brokers often assume women are less interested in such investments (Martinez, 1994). Such aspects widen the financial disparity between women and men, to the detriment of the former.

Antes and Most (2000) and Alcon (1999) point out that the problem of gender bias has permeated into society in complex ways. Anthes and Most (2000) also note that women tend to fear mathematics compared to men, that parents encourage their sons to start earning money at a far younger age (13 years) than girls (16-18 years), and that twice as many boys as girls are encouraged by their parents to save the money they earn. Given these factors, it is no wonder that women are placed at a distinct disadvantage when it comes to financial management. Alcon (1999) suggests that women face difficulties in securing finance on their own terms, on account of the traditional belief that women are not successful at managing finances over a long period of time. Numerous survey results, often conducted with college students, have suggested that more women than men tend to be ignorant about money. More specifically, students ignorant about money are "non-business majors, women, students in the lower class rank, less than 30 years of age, and have little work experience" (Chen & Vople, 1998, p. 110). Surprisingly, even women majoring in business have less financial knowledge than men (Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 1997b). Women are also believed to have less interest in financial investment and have less knowledge about it (Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 1997a). Other gender differences reported include when women need to make an important financial decision they tend to avoid taking a risk (Powell & Ansic, 1997), and they prefer obtaining

professional advice before making a financial decision on their own (Stinerock, Stern, & Solomon, 1991). On the whole, despite women students enjoying a higher grade point average (GPA) compared to their male counterparts, they have less knowledge about finance than men (Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 1997a). It might be hypothesized that women with lower academic backgrounds such as junior-high school and high school graduates, have even less knowledge about money than college students.

Financial education seems essential for women regardless of their academic backgrounds. In this regard, the model followed by Smith College seems exemplary. However, it is arguable whether financial education should be established as an individual subject as is done by Smith College, or whether it should be incorporated into gender studies or career education, the latter of which is often offered at most universities in Japan today.

The realities faced by Japanese women
In Japan, Kuribayashi and Inoue (2011) examined the financial literacy and behaviors of women by occupational status: those working after marriage and/or having given birth (Group 1), those retired because of childbearing or child rearing (Group 2), and those who retired once, but subsequently returned to work (Group 3). According to the study, unlike women from Groups 2 and 3, women from Group 1 showed understanding and foresight about financial matters. While the other two groups exhibited foresight, they were found to lack understanding about financial matters, and were therefore identified as being at greater risk of encountering financial troubles. In addition, in contrast to women from Group 1, in which some women earned enough to invest in property, women from Group 3 did not earn as much or display the financial understanding necessary for investment. The latter group—in fact, the major group of Japanese women today as indicated below—is therefore at a greater risk in experiencing financial troubles.

Looking at women in the 2010 Japanese labor market, the proportion of female full-time, part-time, and *other* workers (including temporary workers and contract employees) was 46.2%, 41.2%, and 12.6% respectively, compared to 81.1%, 9.1% and 9.8% respectively for males (Government of Japan, Cabinet Office, 2011). From these figures, it is obvious that working full-time is not easy for women, especially after they marry and have children. In fact, 66.5% of women retire before or after their first child is born, and only 25.3% of women continue working full-time (Government of Japan, Cabinet Office, 2011). The remainder of women (8.2%) belong to the category *others and unknown*. Women who continue working after giving birth are often limited to jobs allowing maternity leave or childcare leave. This normally includes full-time specialist workers—typically teachers and public servants. Moreover, many women of childbearing age are compelled to work part-time, where job security is negligible and wages are low. Part-time workers are often excluded from maternity benefits and childcare leave systems. Once a woman gives birth, she typically has to leave the job for several years, regardless of her desire. When she is ready to take up a job again, she often ends up being ghettoized in a part-time job throughout the remainder of her working life (Nishio 2012b).

According to the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2011), in 2010, the average length of women's current employment, calculated "based on the period from the time one is employed to that of the survey" (the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2011), was 8.9 years, while that of the men was 13.3 years. In particular, this number was much smaller—only 6.4 years—for female university graduates, whereas it was 12.5 years for their male counterparts. This suggests women tend to resign from work in their late 20s, considering the fact that women secure their first job (most often full-time employment) immediately after graduation at the age of 22 or 23.

Moreover, according to the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2011), the first monthly salary for women graduating from universities in Japan in 2011 was ¥197,900 (= $2,473, considering $1 = ¥80) compared to ¥205,000 (= $2,563) for men, and that for women graduating from colleges of technology and junior colleges was ¥170,500 (= $2,131) compared to ¥175,500 (= $2,194) for men. The average annual income in the first year for Japanese women in the age group 20–24 years was around ¥2,370,000 (= $29,625) in 2010 in comparison with ¥2,690,000 (= $33,625) for men (National Tax Agency, 2010).

When we consider the fact that the average age of marriage for female graduates between 2002 and 2005 was 28.23 years (Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2008), and that 66.5% of women quit working before or after their first child is born, we appreciate how very difficult it is for women to work as full-time, or regular employees for a long time, even if they hope to do so. In fact, although the percentages of married working women were 53.7% in their 30s, 66.5% in their 40s and 59.8% in their 50s (Government of Japan, Cabinet Office, 2011), most of them are working on a part-time basis.

From the various studies and statistics mentioned above, it is clear that women should acquire financial literacy in order to orient themselves towards a changing society and that they must continue working so that their financial status continues to improve. In Japanese society, however, there are still many young women who regard their married lives, especially child rearing, as being more important than their own financial and psychological independence (Sechiyama, 1996). In addition, it may seem that because women in Japan are traditionally in a position to manage the household finances and to varying degrees make expenditure decisions, that then they are *in control* and have financial power in the household. However, if the husband is the breadwinner, women are still at financial risk. As women do not *earn* the money, they are dependent and thus are at risk if their husband dies, leaves, or loses his job. Therefore, in order for women to be successful at more than just controlling the money source, it is crucial for them to build their own financial security independent of their husbands. Even though the economy has been changing rapidly and it is understood that women may not always be able to opt out of the workforce, there is still a strong belief that serving children with love is the most important aspect in the life of a Japanese woman. Japanese society therefore requires women, once they are married, to do housework and rear children and compels them to focus on these duties alone. This is a crucial problem. It is further compounded by women's acceptance that these duties are theirs alone (Sechiyama, 1996). Few women question whether child rearing by the mother alone (with an absentee father) is really good for children. It is seen as a result of gender-based division of labor (Nishio, 2012b). However, this exposes a naivety regarding the need to be financially secure.

Institutions of higher education, especially women's universities with the stated policy to develop the potential abilities of their female students, are responsible for teaching them the following things:

1. The necessity of freedom from gender-based division of labor.
2. The reality of women's circumstances under present economic conditions.
3. The need to think about their lives from a career perspective.

At the same time, these institutions should motivate women students to acquire financial literacy, in order to help them become and remain financially independent.

Surveys devised for this study

This paper addresses two questions: (1) Are Japanese women college students fully aware of the economic realities they face and are they planning careers based on these realities? (2) Would these students be motivated to learn about economic realities and how to deal with them? In order to find answers to these questions, we accessed information that is available in the public domain and we investigated: the attitudes of female Japanese students to work, family, and money; the kind of working lives they wish to lead after graduating from university (including their lives after marriage and giving birth); the income they expect to earn and that of their future husbands (if they marry); and possible gaps among women's expectations and their actual financial potential and that of the men in their lives. In addition, we investigated what topics the students are interested in learning in gender classes and how they may change due to what they have learned. We devised two surveys towards this end.

Method: Survey 1 (see Appendix A)

Particpants

A paper-based survey was conducted in January 2011 in a women's university and in a junior college in the Kansai area. After omissions for missing data, the analysis was carried out for 426 female students. Participants ranged from first- to fourth-year students from a range of departments including English, Japanese, Pharmacy, Sports and Health, and Biology and the Environment. Although some second- to fourth-year students had attended gender classes before, few first-year students had studied gender studies.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire collected information about students' departments and year of study. All questions related to future career plans and focused primarily on two issues: work and family. Some questions were directed at salary expectations of the participants themselves, and those of their future partners. The survey was conducted in Japanese.

Results

Choice of career plan

Participants were requested to select an ideal career plan for their future from among the following five types: 1) unmarried working; 2) married, working, without children; 3) married, working, with children; 4) married, working suspended for childrearing; 5) full-time housewife. The most popular choice of career plan was "married, working, with children" followed by "married, working suspended for childrearing" (see Table 1).

A chi-squared test was conducted to examine the differences depending on whether the respondents were university or junior college students, their departments, and their year of study. There was a significant difference between university and junior college students ($\chi^2_{(4)}$ = 9.62, $p < .05$), which was not a reflection of either department or year of study (see Table 1). University students were significantly more likely to select "married, working, with children" and significantly less likely to select "married, working suspended for childrearing" compared to their junior college counterparts.

Table 1
Selected Career Plan Type*   (%)

	University	Junior college
	n = 336	*n* = 73
1. Unmarried, working	4.8	2.7
2. Married, working, without children	3.6	1.4
3. Married, working, with children	40.2	24.7
4. Married, and work suspended for childrearing	36.0	50.7
5. Full-time housewife	15.5	20.5

Note: We anticipated that as *Unmarried with children* is stigmatized in Japanese society (Lunsing 2001), it would not be selected as a career plan, thus it was not included.

Years spent on the job before retiring
In response to the question regarding the age that students wanted to work, a significant difference among career plan types was evident ($F_{(4, 411)}$ = 102.29, *p* < .001). Following post-hoc testing using Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD) test, significant differences were revealed between students with career plans of types 1 (unmarried, working), 2 (married, working, without children) and 3 (married, working, with children), and those with career plans of types 4 (married and work suspended for childrearing) and 5 (full-time housewife), as well as between those with career plans of types 4 and 5 (Type 1, 2, 3 > 4, 5 and Type 4 > 5). Students with career plans of types 1, 2, and 3 wanted to work until they were over 55 years of age, although students with career plans of types 4 and 5 indicated a limit of 44.22 years and 26.85 years, respectively. For students with a type 4 career plan, the indicated final retirement age is likely to refer to the age they retired after returning to their jobs for the second time.

The next question was regarding the age that students thought that they would actually be able to work until. Students with career plans of types 1, 2, 3, and 4 answered in a fashion similar to the last question. However, students with type 5 career plans answered "34.16 years." Therefore, these results suggest that even though students may want to quit their jobs and become full-time homemakers at a young age, they think they will actually have to continue working until they are over 30 years of age.

Future salary
We also examined the difference between actual and expected annual incomes in the first year of a job by career plan types, by conducting an analysis of covariance. No significant differences were indicated. The average figure of the first expected monthly salary was ¥189,000 (~2,362USD) (*SD* = 5.98), and the average annual income in the first year was ¥2,576,800 (~32,210USD) (*SD* = 94.78).

Marriage age and partner's age
Participants were questioned regarding the age they thought they would marry and the expected age of their partner. After omitting students with type 1 career plans ("unmarried, working"), an analysis of covariance was conducted. There were differences among both of these expected ages by career plan type ($F_{(3, 401)} = 9.82$, $p < .001$; $F_{(3, 401)} = 5.15$, $p < .01$). Post-hoc testing using Tukey HSD showed significant differences. Students with type 2 career plans expected to marry later compared to those with career plans of types 3, 4, and 5, and those with type 3 career plans expected the same in relation to those with type-5 career plans. Students with career plans of types 2 and 3 indicated a higher age for partners compared to those with type 5 career plans (see Table 2).

Table 2
Marriage Age and Partner's Age by Career Plan Types

	Marriage age			Partner's age		
	Mean (years)	*SD*	Results of post-hoc testing	Mean (years)	*SD*	Results of post-hoc testing
2. Married working without children	28.67	4.29	2 > 3, 4, 5	30.03	4.07	2, 3 > 5
3. Married working with children	26.60	2.32	3 > 5	28.94	2.89	
4. Married and work suspended for childrearing	26.04	2.01		28.35	2.81	
5. Full-time housewife	25.49	2.20		27.59	2.60	
Total	26.27	2.36		28.52	2.91	

In addition, significant differences were found between university and junior college students for both ages ($t_{(98.36)} = 2.10$, $p < .05$; $t_{(98.66)} = 2.62$, $p = .01$). The results showed that junior college students hoped to get married at a younger age compared to university students.

Partner's salary
Participants were queried about their potential partner's expected annual income should they get married in the future. A significant difference by career plan type was found ($F_{(3, 384)} = 3.75$, $p < .05$). Post-hoc testing using Tukey HSD indicated that students with type 5 career plans (full-time housewife) wanted their partners to earn significantly more compared to those with type 4 career plans (married and work suspended for childrearing as can be seen in Table 3).

Table 3
Partner's Annual Income at Marriage

	Mean (yen)	*SD*	Results of post-hoc testing
2. Married, working, without children	4,284,600	177.99	5 > 4
3. Married, working, with children	5,007,600	298.73	
4. Married and work suspended for childrearing	4,643,500	170.19	
5. Full-time housewife	5,858,700	311.57	
Total	4,976,200	256.73	

As for the question about their partners' expected average annual income "after marriage until the time they retire", we could find no significant differences by career plan type. However, students with type-5 career plans (full-time housewife) continued to indicate the highest answer ¥7,572,600 (~94,658USD) of all students with career plan types: students with type-2 career plans (married working without children), those with type-3 career plans (married working with children) and those with type-4 career plans (married and work suspended for childrearing) expected ¥6,900,000 (~86,250USD), ¥6,847,000 (~85,588USD) and ¥6,456,900 (~80,711USD) respectively. The average of expectation of students with all career plan types was ¥6,809,900 （~85,124 USD) annually.

An analysis of covariance reported significant differences by departments on partner's annual income at marriage, and after marriage until their retirement ($F_{(4, 391)} = 3.45, p < .01$; $F_{(4, 382)} = 3.77, p < .01$). Post-hoc testing using Fisher's LSD showed that students in the Department of Literature expected their partner to earn significantly less annual income upon marriage. Conversely, after marriage, students in the Department of Pharmacy wanted their partners to earn significantly higher average incomes (see Table 4), amounting to about ¥9,000,000 (~11,250USD) annually. This large difference between students' expectations by departments was striking.

Table 4
Expected Partner's Annual Income by Departments

		At marriage			After marriage		
	n	Mean (yen)	*SD*	Results of post-hoc testing	Mean (yen)	*SD*	Results of post-hoc testing
1. Literature	179	4,529,900	155.93	2, 3, 4 > 1	6,298,600	273.72	4 > 1, 2, 5
2. Sports & health	48	5,395,800	225.49		6,367,400	269.46	
3. Biology & environment	57	5,335,100	301.62		7,585,500	500.25	
4. Pharmacy	40	5,951,000	471.91		8,959,500	907.84	
5. Junior college	72	5,028,600	261.91		6,495,700	371.73	

Partner's retirement age
Students expected their partners to continue working until they reached an average age of 61.91 years (no significant difference by career plan types was evident), although they personally wanted to retire at a much younger average age of 46.75 years.

Children
Respondents indicated that they wanted to have 2 children on average (excepting respondents with career plans of types 1 (unmarried, working) and 2 (married, working without children).

We investigated whether Japanese women college students are fully aware of the economic realities they face and are planning careers based on these realities or not. Following this survey, we conducted a survey with different students from those responding to survey 1 to examine whether students are motivated to learn about economic and social realities in gender classes.

Method: Survey 2 (See Appendix B)
Participants
A preliminary survey was conducted in February 2011 at a women's university and a junior college in the Kansai area. After omissions for missing data, the analysis was carried out for 156 female students. Participants ranged from first- to fourth-year students from various departments including English, Japanese, Pharmacy, Sports and Health, and Biology and the Environment.

All of the participants had attended at least one gender studies class. The survey was actually conducted during one such class. The degree of exposure to gender studies, however, varied for each participant. Moreover, for first-year students, the concepts taught in gender studies may be quite new. In order to prevent any bias among participants between the two surveys, we asked a different group of students to participate in each survey.

Questionnaire
Each participant was given a paper-based questionnaire in Japanese, which included questions pertaining to their year of study and department, as well as questions related to gender studies. The latter also questioned what they learned in gender studies classes, including class activities. This survey only analyzed topics and students' interests concerning gender studies. Topics given as choices for participants in the questionnaire were based on the contents of Nakagawa's (2005) book entitled *Gender Issues Today,* used as a textbook in some Japanese universities.

Results
Most popular topics
Participants rated 16 topics using the following 5-point scale: *very interested* = 5, *somewhat interested* = 4, *neutral* = 3, *not interested* = 2, *not interested at all* = 1. The results are shown in Table 5. "Housework, children, and family" was the most popular topic, followed by "gender and work," and "domestic violence." The least popular topic was "sexual freedom and reproductive rights."

Table 5

Interests by Topics

Topics	Mean	SD
Housework, childcare, and family	4.13	0.75
Gender and work	4.03	0.85
Domestic violence	3.89	0.81
Story of an African woman suffering from HIV	3.74	0.82
Beauty and gender stereotypes	3.69	0.88
What's in a name? A name change through marriage	3.56	0.95
Heterosexism	3.50	0.89
Gender and health	3.46	0.85
What is gender?	3.38	0.73
Sex work	3.38	0.84
Language and gender	3.37	0.87
Gender socialization	3.34	0.82
Hidden wires	3.32	0.97
Gender and the environment	3.31	0.85
Masculinity and men's movements	3.17	0.84
Sexual freedom and reproductive rights	3.08	0.78

Differences in interests

Interest in each topic differed significantly depending on whether the respondents were university or junior college students, department and their year of study. For example, university students showed a marginally significantly higher score for "language and gender" ($t_{(28.82)} = 1.79$, $p < .1$), and a significantly lower score for "domestic violence" ($t_{(35.11)} = -2.57$, $p < .05$) compared to their junior college counterparts. While analyzing responses by year of study, a significant analysis of covariance supported an overall difference on the average score of all topics ($F_{(3, 147)} = 4.20$, $p < .01$). As a result of post-hoc testing using Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference (HSD) test, there were significant differences among first-, second-, and fourth-year students, showing that interest in gender-related topics increased drastically from second to fourth year (see Figure 1).
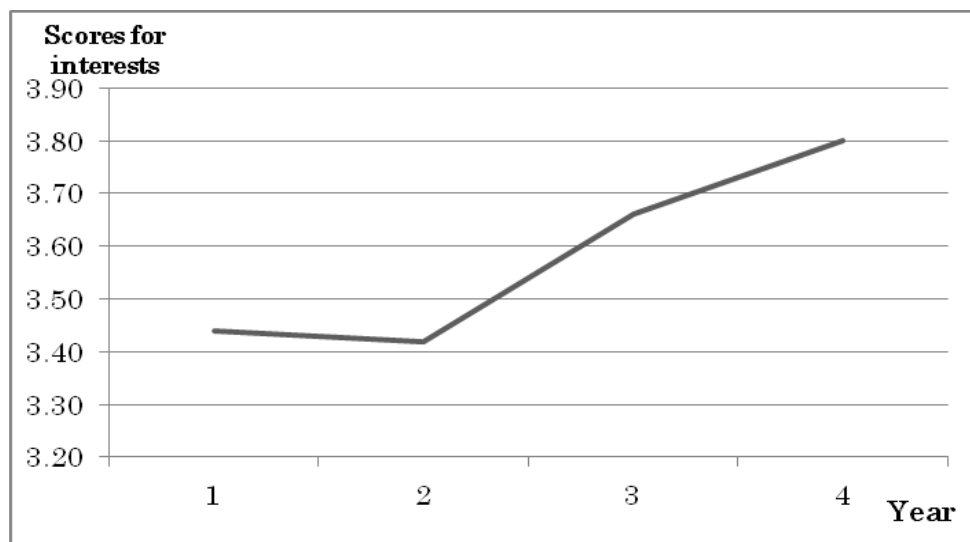
Figure 1. **Difference in interests by year of study**

For detecting differences in interest by department, an analysis of covariance indicated a marginally significant overall difference in the average score of interests ($F_{(4, 146)} = 2.26$, $p <$ .1). Post-hoc testing using Tukey's HSD test indicated that, on average, students in the Department of Literature were significantly more interested in gender-related topics compared to those studying pharmacy. In addition, significant differences in interest by department was also evident for "gender socialization" ($F_{(4, 146)} = 3.99$, $p < .001$), "language and gender" ($F_{(4, 146)} = 4.80$, $p = .001$), "housework, childcare and family" ($F_{(4, 146)} = 5.20$, $p = .001$) and "gender and work" ($F_{(4, 146)} = 2.48$, $p < .05$) (see Table 6).

Table 6
Differences in Interests by Departments

Topic/ Department	(Score)	Literature	Sports & health	Biology & environment	Pharmacy	Junior college	Results of post-hoc testing
Gender socialization	Mean	3.55	3.67	3.00	3.00	3.15	1 > 3, 4, 5
	SD	0.87	0.52	0.60	0.59	0.75	
Language and gender	Mean	3.58	3.83	3.22	2.78	3.10	1 > 4, 5
	SD	0.96	0.75	0.60	0.55	0.72	2 > 4
Housework, childcare, and family	Mean	4.25	4.67	4.17	3.50	4.05	1, 3, 5 > 4
	SD	0.66	0.52	0.72	0.71	0.89	2 > 4, 5
Gender and work	Mean	4.14	4.50	3.87	3.61	3.85	1, 2 > 4
	SD	0.87	0.55	0.69	0.85	0.81	
Mean of all topics	Mean	3.57	3.58	3.53	3.21	3.54	1 > 4
	SD	0.50	0.31	0.45	0.29	0.52	

Note: There were significant differences in interest by departments on the above topics.

Degree of change of ideas and interests regarding gender issues
Participants also indicated the extent to which gender studies changed their ideas and interests using a 5-point scale: 1 = *not changed at all*, 2 = *may have changed*, 3 = *not concerned either way*, 4 = *somewhat changed*, 5 = *have certainly changed*. An analysis of covariance indicated a significant degree of change in interest for the given topics, including "what is gender?," "gender socialization," "housework, childcare and family", "gender and work," and "gender and health"(see Figure 2). In other words, indicated topics of interest also indicated student perceptions of how likely they are to change. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that participants interested in gender issues concerning society and family might change some of their ideas and attitudes, provided they were to study these topics.
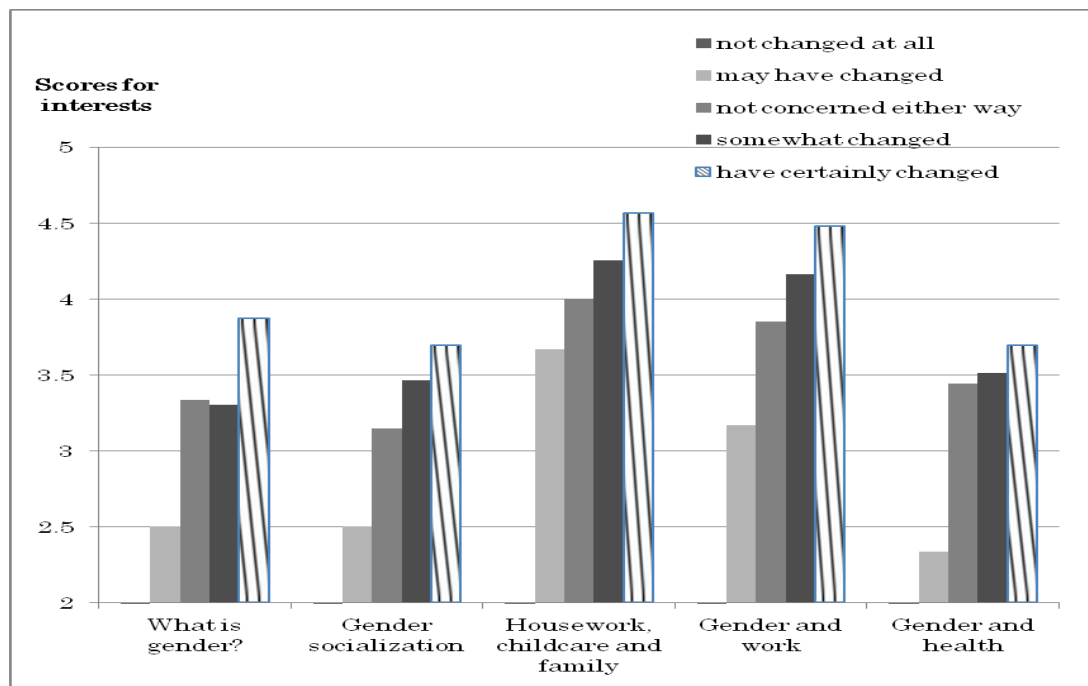
Figure 2. **Relation of interests of topics and degree of change of idea**
Note: There were significant changes on the above topics as a whole.

Issues important to Japanese women
Responses to an open question showed that participants regarded "women's working lives," "the labor market," "financial and/or psychological independence," and "having realistic expectation of future husband's income potential" as issues of significant importance to young Japanese women.

The results suggested that the student interest in gender studies increases by age and year of study. This is probably because students in the higher grades have accumulated more knowledge of gender issues from gender studies classes and must also plan for their future after graduation, and thus approach gender issues more seriously. In addition, it was found that participants were most interested in gender topics on family and work, and that the more interested students were in a topic, the more they felt that learning about it had changed them. At the same time, students felt the need to be financially and psychologically independent, and developed more realistic expectations of their future husbands' income potential. Therefore, gender issues concerning family, work, and money were clearly important.

Summary and Discussion
To summarize the result of survey 1, students were divided into two groups: those who wanted to continue working on a full-time basis after childbearing, and those who hoped to leave jobs after they gave birth and eventually return to work (full-time or part-time) later in their lives. In reality, only a quarter of mothers continue working on a full-time basis. Therefore, it seems that only a few students who participated in our study will be lucky enough to return to full-time work. In other words, most female students will likely end up working part-time after childbearing as do the majority of Japanese women, regardless of their intentions.

As for the annual income they wished to earn, students appeared to be well informed. That is to say, on average, female students claimed that they would earn ¥189,000 (= $2,363) as the first expected monthly salary, and the figure was quite realistic. The reason the female students in the survey 1 were realistic was probably because they were preparing themselves to enter the labor market after graduation, and were therefore apprised of information about starting salaries.

However, students expected much higher incomes from their future partners, despite hoping to marry fairly young partners. To be concrete, on average, participants wanted their partners to earn ¥4,976,200 (= $62,202) when they got married, despite noting that they wanted to marry a fairly young partner (28.52 years). In reality however, for example in 2010, men who graduated from universities (25–29 year olds), and graduate schools (30–34 year olds) earned ¥2,528,000 (= $31,600) and ¥3,099,000 (= $38,737) as the average annual income, respectively (the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2010); the average annual income of these men (25-34 year olds) was ¥2,813,500. Moreover, they expected their partners would earn ¥6,809,900 (= $85,123) yearly after marriage. On the contrary, on average, the men who graduated from universities and graduate schools earned ¥5,238,000 (= $65,475) until retirement (the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2010). It is clear that students expected unrealistic annual incomes, by approximately ¥2 million (= $25,000) upon marriage, and ¥1.5 million (= $18,750) after it.

This suggests that students had little knowledge about the incomes of males in general, and therefore, their financial expectations from men were extremely unrealistic.
In particular, of all career types investigated in our study, students who hoped to be housewives in the future (16.0 %) appeared to be most ill informed in terms of financial matters, given that they wanted to marry and retire early, and yet expected their partners to earn very high incomes. Although the students who hoped to continue working after marriage without having a child (3.5 %) were not as unrealistic as those who wanted to be housewives, they nevertheless appeared to have little knowledge about men's incomes, as they too expected them to earn much higher incomes than the norm. A similar tendency was found among students studying pharmacy; they wanted their partners to earn ¥5,951,000 (=$74,388) when they got married, and ¥8,959,500 (=$111,994) yearly after marriage. According to comments they wrote using the space for "Other comments" located at the end of the questionnaire, many of the students come from families whose mothers are pharmacists and/or whose family members often work in the medical field, and therefore, they wanted to maintain their standard of living post-marriage.

Almost all students hoped their partners continued working until they retired at about 60 years of age, although they themselves wished to retire much earlier, 46.75 years old. It is therefore a concern how they would be able to manage financially in the event of unexpected happenings, such as a divorce or their husband's death; in 2005, the divorce rate of women was 5.2 % while that of men was 3.3% and the rate of separation by death of women was 3.0 % while that of men was 13.9 % (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2005).

The results of the survey 2 suggested that the interest of students in gender studies increases by age/grades. According to a study by Ikeda (2007), the students who have attended the gender-related classes tend to get motivated to learn and feel the need to think about their future lives seriously. Therefore, the accumulation of knowledge on gender issues is considered to have much influence on female students. In addition, it was found that participants were most interested in gender topics on family and work, and that the more interested students were in a topic, the more they felt that they had changed through learning about the topic. Actually, present gender-related classes in Japanese universities often focus on gender-based division of labor in family and work (Naitou, 2003). Still, gender education

on employment is not provided enough (Hounoki, 1997). Moreover, because the students in survey 2 felt the need to be financially and/or psychologically independent, gender issues concerning work and money were clearly important.

Conclusion

As some previous studies, mainly conducted in the US have already pointed out, women with better educational backgrounds do not necessarily have a good knowledge of money and finances, and unfortunately, Japanese women are no exception. The main reason for this state of affairs is the lack of opportunity to learn about money and finances; women are seldom educated in these matters either by their families or at school. Such a gap in education was also implied by the need to be financially and psychologically independent indicated by students in this study. Our students need to be introduced to this subject so as to secure and to maintain a decent life for both themselves and for their families, and to be active and well-informed participants in the Japanese economy.

This study was limited to examining female students' attitudes to work, family, and money from the perspective of gender. Further studies are required to investigate female students' knowledge about the Japanese economy and the financial market in order to seek additional pointers towards planning an ideal financial education for them, and to strengthen their financial literacy.

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Appendices
Appendix A
Survey 1

女性の就労と結婚に関するアンケート
所属＿＿＿＿＿　＿＿＿＿年＿＿＿＿組

> **お願い**
> 　　回答する場合、「〜歳」または「万円」と言いきって下さい。「〜歳から〜歳」、
> 　　「〜万円から〜万円というような曖昧な回答の仕方は避けて下さい。

就労について
（１）理想の就労形態は以下のうちどれですか。○で囲んで下さい。
①非婚就労型　②（結婚後）子どもなし就労継続型　　③（結婚後）子どもあり就労継続型
④結婚・出産時中断・再就職型　　⑤専業主婦型

（２）何歳まで働きたいと考えていますか。
　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿歳

（３）実際には何歳まで働くと思いますか。
　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿歳

（４）あなたの初任給は月額でいくらになると思いますか。
　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿万円

（５）あなたの初年次の年収はいくらになると思いますか。（ボーナス等を含む額を書いて
　　　下さい。）
　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿万円

結婚について
（６）結婚するとすれば、何歳で結婚したいですか。

　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿歳

（７）結婚時、結婚相手の年齢は何歳が良いですか。

　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿歳

（８）結婚時、結婚相手に求める年収はいくらですか。

　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿万円

（９）結婚後、結婚相手には何歳まで働いてほしいですか。

　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿歳

（１０）結婚後、結婚相手が退職するまでに期待する平均年収はいくらですか。

　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿万円

（１１）子どもは何人ほしいですか。

　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿人

その他について

（１２）日本人女性の平均寿命は何歳だと思いますか。

　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿歳

その他のコメント（答えにくかった質問やその理由など）

Appendix B
Survey 2

ジェンダー学関連科目を学ぶ学生の関心領域に関する調査
所属＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　＿＿年＿＿組

1. あなたはこれまでどのようなジェンダー関連科目を履修しましたか。以下の科目の番号に〇をつけて下さい。
　　（以下の表にない科目を履修した人は、科目名をわかる範囲で書いて下さい。）

1	女性学ゼミ	6	グリム童話の中女性たち
2	女性学ゼミ	7	音楽と女性
3	ジェンダーとアイデンティティー	8	その他（　　　　　　　）
4	女性と教育	9	その他（　　　　　　　）
5	ジェンダーと社会	10	その他（　　　　　　　）

2. あなたが履修したジェンダー学関連科目ではどのようなトピックが扱われていましたか。

ある大学教員らが、『今日のジェンダー問題』という教科書を改訂し、内容を新しくする予定をしており、学生らがどのようなトピックに最も高い関心を持っているのか知りたいと考えています。下記の2~6の質問に答えて下さい。

3. 以下のトピックはその教科書ですでに扱われているものなのですが、あなたはどの程度これらのトピックに関心がありますか。各トピックについて、「とても関心がある」なら5、「やや関心がある」なら4、「普通」なら3、「あまり関心がない」なら2、「まったく関心がない」なら1を書いて下さい。

とても関心がある	やや関心がある	普通	あまり関心がない	まったく関心がない
5	4	3	2	1

1	ジェンダーとは	
2	ジェンダーの社会化	

3	ことばとジェンダー	
4	家事、育児、家族	
5	ジェンダーと労働	
6	名前に潜むもの（結婚に伴う改名について）	
7	ドメスティック・バイオレンス	
8	HIVに感染したアフリカ女性に関する報告	
9	セックスワーク（性労働）	
10	美とジェンダーに関する固定観念	
11	ジェンダーと健康	
12	男らしさと男性運動	
13	異性愛	
14	性の解放と生殖に関する権利	
15	ジェンダーと環境	
16	隠れた影響力（ジェンダー的経験に関する詩）	

4. あなたは、これらのトピック以外にどのようなトピックに関心がありますか。

5. これまで学んできたジェンダー学関連科目の授業の中で、あなたが最も好きだった授業内容は何ですか。

6．5の回答について、その理由を書いて下さい。

7. 日本人女性にとって最も重要なジェンダー問題（または課題）は何だと思いますか。

8．以下の活動は授業でよく用いられるアクティビティです。あなたはどの程度これらの活動が好きですか。各活動に対して、「とても好き」なら5、「やや好き」なら4、「普通」なら3、「やや嫌い」なら2、「大嫌い」なら1を書いて下さい。

とても好き	やや好き	普通	やや嫌い	大嫌い
5	4	3	2	1

1	自分で本や資料を読む	
2	ペアディスカッション	
3	グループディスカッション	
4	クラス全体での意見交換	
5	論文を書く	
6	個人で行うプレゼンテーション	
7	グループで行うプレゼンテーション	
8	（その他　　　　　　　　　　　）	

9. ジェンダー関連科目を履修することによって、あなた（の考え方）はどのくらい変化したと思います
   か。「とても変化した」なら5、「やや変化した」なら4、「どちらでもない」なら3、「あまり
   変化していない」なら2、「まったく変化していない」なら1を書いて下さい。

とても変化した	やや変化した	どちらでもない	あまり変化していない	まったく変化していない
5	4	3	2	1

10. 9.の設問 に対して、「とても変化した」の5、または「やや変化した」の4を選んだ人へ。
    どのように変化したか、具体的に書いて下さい。

☃❈ご協力ありがとうございました。☃❈

Three Men Talking: Using Psychoanalytic Theory to Explore Masculinities and the Desire to Acquire English

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Abstract

Over the past decade, L2 motivation research within mainstream SLA has gone through a major transformation by subsuming all of the various strands of motivation theory into a grand theory of L2 identity. Even so, the relationship between gender and the acquisition of a second and foreign language and how the acquisition of a L2 relates to the learner's identity have yet to be satisfactorily addressed. This paper seeks to remedy this lacuna in the literature by considering how psychoanalysis can provide an alternative approach to understanding gender, subjectivity and the desire to acquire a foreign language. The psychoanalytic theory of Jacques Lacan is used to interpret how gender and subjectivity are constructed and maintained in a discussion between three men in a pre-departure EAP program.

要旨

この十年に渡って第二言語学習のモチベーション研究が大きく変わった。主流の第二言語学習モチベーション研究者が今までの多様な観点や論説を第二言語アイデンティティ論の傘下に入れて研究している。しかしアイデンティティを中心にしても未だどのようジェンダーが第二言語学習に関わるかと説を唱えていない。本論文ではJ.ラカンの精神分析学がどのように英語習得する欲動とジェンダーを紹介し三人の男性留学生がディスカッションでどのようにジェンダーと主観性と欲動が構成されていると分析する。

Introduction

For a country that continues to be steadfastly patriarchal, stubbornly entrenched in the values of group cohesion and conformity, and ranked relatively low on most international measures of gender equality, contemporary Japan, nonetheless, seems to tolerate and even indulge in a mind-numbing quantity of gendered identities. While it seems that a new masculinity is proclaimed by pop psychologists and promoted by the media on nearly an annual basis, many voices have also been heard that decry the feminization of men and the ongoing crisis of masculinity that is portrayed as an essential element of the recession that has now entered its third decade.

Even though a multiplicity of gendered lifestyles are nurtured by the media, these genders are accommodated in subordinated and marginalized positions within a system that continues to be dominated by an enduring core of traditionally defined masculinity. A recent poll of men's attitudes toward gender and identity revealed that for the vast majority of men, "being a man" in Japan remains largely what it has been in the past—having a full-time job and providing for one's family—and it is this core socio-cultural construct of what may be called "hegemonic masculinity" (Tanaka, 2009). It is also the structure against which men continue to measure, fashion, and negotiate their own masculinity and a structure, which

ensures the continuance of unequal socio-economic groupings of men over other men and women in a society.

The education system is fundamental to the hegemonic processes of all societies; for Japan, the learning of English figures prominently in this system. In fact, English permeates almost every aspect of Japanese culture, being an integral part of educational advancement and curricula, hiring and promotion within major companies, as well as the ongoing discourse on globalization and Japanese uniqueness (for discussions of the totalizing ideology of *nihonjinron* see, for example, Befu, 2001). Thus, we would expect that gendered identities are also bound up in some way with the learning of English. And it is this theme—how motivation to acquire English is specifically gendered in Japanese society and how a psychoanalytic vocabulary can be employed to explore these issues—that is the focus of this paper.

First, I will briefly consider how gender has failed to be satisfactorily theorized by researchers in Second Language Acquisition (SLA), particularly by those who are interested in learner motivation to acquire foreign languages (L2). Second, I will propose that a theory of subjectivity (based in continental philosophy and psychoanalysis) might better capture the relationship between the subject's desire and the socio-economic and cultural milieu. Finally, I will present a few excerpts of data from my ongoing research project on the desire of men to acquire English in study abroad contexts.

The Gendered Subject of Desire and Second Language Acquisition:
Mainstream Motivation Research in SLA and Gender
Theory building and experimentation in SLA are founded on the belief that any human being has an equal capacity to acquire an L2, and like L1 acquisition it progresses along a fixed path of development. That said, it is remarkable that there is such variation in the outcome of learning of an L2 in comparison to one's native language. These variations are generally studied under the rubric of "individual differences" (For general overviews, see Arabski & Wojtaszek, 2011; Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Skehan, 2003; and Skehan, 1989).

One "difference" which tends to be omitted by major surveys of individual differences is that of gender. This is not to say, however, that the differences between male and female learners have failed to draw the interest of researchers in the field. Much of the literature on individual differences in L2 acquisition between males and females has been done in connection with other individual differences (most notably learning strategies and motivation), but because of the contradictory evidence from the use of the same psychometric instrumentation with different populations of learners, the results of this research has been inconclusive and, in general, unenlightening. (See, for example, Ehrman & Oxford, 1989; Gass & Varonis, 1985; and Maubach & Morgan, 2001 on strategies; and Corbin & Chiachiere, 1997; Dörnyei & Clement, 2001; Ehrman & Oxford, 1989; and Warden & Lin, 2000 on motivation).

More recently the current doyens of mainstream L2 motivation research have charted a course of research that directly links L2 motivation with issues of identity. Dörnyei's (2009) model of the "L2 Motivational Self System" is an attempt to subsume all of the foregoing strands of L2 motivation research by proposing that the hypothetical construct of motivation is comprised of three components: the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and the L2 learning experience. In short, learners project an image of what they would like to become by acquiring the L2; progress toward the actualization of this imagined future self is advanced or hindered by the learner's understanding of those things that are necessary to achieve this goal. This process is set within the learning context (both at the micro and macro level), which also influences success at becoming the ideal L2 self.

Given the importance that researchers have placed upon motivation in the process of acquisition, it not surprising that in its current incarnation motivation research has now shifted to the topic of identity and the L2 self. Yet the most striking thing that has sprung from this repackaging of motivation as a study of identity and the L2 self is that gender does not seem to be of any interest, is not even mentioned as an element of identity, and thus is not seen to have any impact upon the L2 self. When motivation is defined by Dörnyei (2005) as, "concern[ing] the fundamental question of why people think and behave the way they do" (p. 66), this lack of engagement of the role of gender in motivation by him and his followers seems to imply by omission that gender is marginal to how people construct their identities.

Desire and Gendered Subjectivity

If a philosophical position can be ascribed to SLA, it is one which is grounded in the analytical tradition, and thus emphasizes the study of psychology and behavior from a positivist and empirical point of view which governs the main of Anglo-American social psychology (for a thorough introduction to the themes and perspectives of social psychology, see Kruglanski & Higgins, 2007). Though the individual's mind and behaviors are influenced by his/her reaction to the external world, motivation is a construct of the mind which has a unique independence from and genesis apart from the social world.

Psychoanalytic theory, in contrast, emerged within a continental philosophical tradition that focuses instead upon the subject and consciousness (Ellenberger, 1970; Ffytche, 2012). For psychoanalysis, consciousness is only one part of the human "psyche," which encompasses the unconscious, internalized societal norms, and the mechanisms that regulate the individual. In his overview of SLA motivation research, Dörnyei (2001) summarily dismisses the influence of any psychical matter that is not available to consciousness on the motivation of the learner, clearly articulating the bias of SLA by saying, "most of the significant thoughts and feelings that affect learning achievement in prolonged educational settings are conscious and known by the learner" (pp. 9-10). As a result, the role of the unconscious as a source for the reasons why individuals make the acquisition of an L2 a goal and how they go about learning it have been largely ignored by researchers in the mainstream of SLA.

For Lacan (2006), the coexistence of the unconscious and the conscious underscores that the subject is internally contradictory—it is decentered by definition in that it locates its desire not exclusively in itself but equally in the Other. Desire, as Lacan famously declares, is the "desire of the Other" (*le désir de l'Autre*) meaning that desire is both the desire for the Other but also the desire that is the Other's. Agency is animated by the unconscious and the motor which energizes the individual is his/her desire whose function is a "want-to-be" (*manque-à-être*), implying that the subject is inherently lacking, and desire is the desire to fill that "hole" in the self. What comes between the individual and his/her attempt to recapture this illusory image formed in the Imaginary is language. Within the Symbolic Order the individual becomes a socialized being by taking up a subject position. Language, Lacan argues, alienates us, but at the same time it is necessary for us to become subjects. While the accession to language bestows upon us as individuals a place in the world in relation to other individuals as we take up subject-positions that were made before our existence, these positions have no a priori relationship to us. Instead we must fit ourselves into them in order to function as socialized beings. At the same time, desire drives us to seek out and regain a lost whole, a project that is doomed to failure as the symbolic realm of language is never exact. We want to think of ourselves as unique and ahistorical beings, but this is never possible because it is language that has already constituted the way that we interact with other people in society before our births.

Subjectivity and gender has always been a controversial topic for Lacaninan psychoanalysis. As Ellie Ragland (2004) argues, the misunderstanding of Lacan's ideas on sexual difference can be unraveled when sexuation is seen as a psychical difference rather than a biological difference. In Lacanian psychoanalysis, sexual difference is defined by the relationship of the subject to the Other and the symbolic; this difference is psychical rather than biological (Ragland, 2004). For Lacan the two neuroses, obsession and hysteria, represent the prototypical masculine and feminine structures respectively. In the most extreme form of the masculine structure, the obsessive-compulsive, Fink (1997) argues, "[d]*esire is impossible in obsession*, because the closer the obsessive gets to realizing his desire…the more the Other begins to take precedence over him, eclipsing him as a subject. The presence of the Other threatens the obsessive with what Lacan calls 'aphanisis,' his fading or disappearing as a subject" (p. 124). For the obsessive-compulsive, the urge is to remove or annihilate the Other thereby removing the Other as an impediment to taking the object. Although when taken to excess obsession will become debilitating to the individual, even for the "normal" individual there will always be the tension between the underlying structure of desire and societal rules and norms setting limits upon behavior. Lacanian psychoanalysis remains overly opaque and provocative to many; however, it is by reading these texts against real data that many of the obscurities can be cleared up. This is the goal of the next section of this paper.

Data Analysis
Background
The data in the present study were collected from 15 students who were enrolled in a pre-departure ESL program at a technical college in Osaka, and consisted of written narratives, one-on-one interviews, a guided group discussion, and a follow-up interview. For this paper, one of the group discussions between three men (Takayuki, Yasunari and Hiroyuki) was analyzed. The individuals who participated in this study were recent high school graduates who for varying reasons had decided not to continue their education at Japanese universities and instead intended to apply to universities and community colleges in North America.

In the section of the discussion under consideration here, the three men are responding to a question that asked them about their future goals with regard to their study of English.

The Desire of the Other: Making Them Say "Wow!"
Takayuki takes the first turn and talks about his goal of working in the visual arts. […] They have a great impression, the posters that you gaze at, like that, and movies, the trailers for movies, the trailers, there are movies that you feel, "Wow! I really want to see it," aren't there? That kind of movie, I want to make them and communicate with people. […] My final objective is to make the things I want to with Japanese sensibility and make foreigners say, "Wow!" Like that. Doing this, at the same time I can make use of English. […] It's like killing two birds with one stone.

Takayuki draws our attention to Lacan's formulation of desire as "the desire of the other," and the complementary ways in which this formulation encapsulates the relationship between the subject, the object, and the other. First of all, Takayuki expresses his desire to acquire the object, English, an object that is possessed by the other, foreigners. Secondly, he also draws out the constituent of desire that is the desire to possess the desire of the other. As Takayuki says, "making things that will make them say 'Wow!'"—desire is equally a desire to control or direct the desire of the other and to be the all and everything of what the other desires. This dovetails perfectly with how Lacan develops his idea of the gaze (*le regard*) by highlighting that the cause of the subject's desire (*objet petit a*) originates in the object—at a

blind spot from which the object is gazing at the subject. As Lacan (1998) says, "You never look at me from the place I see you" (p. 103)—which is expressed in Takayuki's goal of making theatrical trailers. The complex nature of the relationship between the subject, object and the other is encapsulated in the idiom Takayuki uses to summarize what his goal is by learning English: it is like killing two birds with one stone (*isseki nichō*). The object of desire is never simple. Nor is it ever capable of being satisfied; desire merely reproduces itself—just like Takayuki's dream of making film trailers—things which inhere in themselves that desire is, on the one hand, a simulacrum (the trailer is not the film itself) that postpones satisfaction, and on the other hand the object of desire is always (and for Lacan, by definition) infinitely replaceable.

In the Name of the Father: The Prohibitive Function of the Father

Yasunari takes the second turn and begins by speaking at length about his bad relationship with his family, a situation that increasingly worsened as his performance in high school deteriorated. Even now in the pre-departure program, he says that his family and others mock him for not being able to speak English.

[…] As for me, up until now, since I've played around, until now, it's been the first time I've been able, been able….It's like a pattern, isn't it? So, and then I was really scolded. […] People said [bad] things about me…rather a lot. If I am able to do it, it [being able to speak English] would be really cool and if they took a look again at that idiot [me] they would say "He can really do it [speak English]." …My goal is to show them." My father said repeatedly, "Quit school!" Really, he did. Because I didn't study. So there were rather a lot of times that we fought. About the future, recently with my father [we've fought about] the future. "What will become of you in the future?" Well, of course, a small child is always watching his father's back, isn't he? [My father] is always observing various things, he's really glum, that guy […] two or three years [ago] he started [studying English], somehow, for his job. It's that he uses English. But it's not that his English is good. Like Indians, somehow, and Arabs. Normally, he's speaking in Japanese, Japanese, "*ai amu a suchuudento*," like that. It's like that. You can't understand it. If you only hear that kind of English, you can't come to understand it. It's not perfect, and as he speaks like that I'm laughing at it. He's thinking, "I'm really cool," like that. Well, my father has gotten a bit older and well, it's not easy for him. Like that.

As if responding to Takayuki's exposition on the structure of desire, Yasunari links his desire to acquire English to his relationship with his father. Lacan speaks of the father's two conflicting functions under the formulation "the name / no of the father" (*nom/non du pere*): the protective function, associated with the naming function of the father in that the father gives a place to the subject in the symbolic order, making it possible for the child to enter social existence, and the prohibitive function, which imposes the law and regulates desire by intervening in the imaginary dual relationship between the mother and the child. The latter of these functions is clearly articulated in how Yasunari positions his father between himself and his object of desire, English, the acquisition of which is linked to his academic success and future vision of himself. Yet, Yasunari's relationship with his father is ambivalent. As Yasunari clearly states, it is his father who is denying him his object of desire by exhorting him to quit, but at the same time Yasunari sees his father from a traditional position of a child who wants to show filial piety by acquiring English, successfully studying abroad and, most likely, returning to get a job to support his family. By doing this, Yasunari will be able to get everyone to see him as being cool and showing them that they have been wrong about him.

Shooting Guns and the Protective Function of the Father
The final response to this discussion question is given by Hiroyuki.

Hiroyuki: […] As for me, as for English, in the future, uh, English, somehow, anyway, as for my objective now, my objective now is to, anyway, uhh, university, be able to go to a university, and go there and not have any troubles. […] Of course, since long ago my dream was to become a police officer, a police officer, somehow, a normal, not like the *koban* over there, that type of police officer, somehow, but a position that is involved with international crime. Even in Japan, really. I want to get that kind of position and somehow, I want to confront evil, like that. […]

Yasunari: And then, you have to say "Fuck you!" to criminals? Or some sort of dirty words, right?

Hiroyuki: Well, it's in Japan, so, uh, yeah, yeah, but in an international office, right?

Yasunari: Because it is international, of course.

Hiroyuki: Well, yesterday, somehow yesterday, somehow there was something happening, wasn't there Uh, Tokyo, somehow, [it was] a quiet residential area, and then, there was a big arrest, a Korean.

Yasunari: You're kidding!

Hiroyuki: A residential neighborhood, and then, and then, well, two shots were fired, the police shot, and, well, they injured them, but like that, like that, I want to catch [criminals], in that kind of [situation].

Yasunari: Before you know it, you might possibly be dead you know. Isn't it a rather dangerous job?

Hiroyuki: It probably is, right? I want to try to shoot a gun. If you're a man, if you're a man, if you're a man one time, well, even if you don't become a police officer, you can shoot one in Korea, when I went there recently, well there was a place where you could shoot a gun. I didn't shoot one, but it was that there were places where you could shoot them. Shooting ranges, anyone, if you are over 18. That too, anyway, guns, well, I have an interest in them. It's not that, but one time I want to shoot one, like that. I think in my life, you see, America, well, if I go to university [there], of course and I graduate from the university, a big, somehow, I think it will be a big plus for me, I…

Yasunari: It will, it will.

While Takayuki introduces the structure of desire and the decentered subject within the theme of work, and Yasunari takes us back to how the subject and desire arise in the Imaginary and Symbolic orders (particularly the prohibitive function of the father standing between the subject and the object of desire), Hiroyuki introduces the protective function of the father. Hiroyuki begins to answer the question but finds himself without the words to express what his goal is for acquiring English. He then switches to allegorical mode of speaking in which he contrasts Japan with other (foreign) countries. Japan is peaceful, but not quite giving him the ability to see it as a rich existence. This is juxtaposed with the foreign

(here, Korea) which is dangerous and endangering to peaceful Japanese neighborhoods. Japan needs to be protected, but at the same time it can only be protected by a man who has faced foreign danger.

The imago of the father here is represented by Hiroyuki, using the universal prototype of the policeman, through which the protective function of the father is articulated. Hiroyuki relates a news story about an arrest of members of a Korean gang in Tokyo and muses that he, too, would like to be in on the arrest of criminals who upset peaceful neighborhoods. Hiroyuki then states that he wants to shoot a gun, and moreover, claims that if you are a man you should shoot a gun, explaining that there are shooting ranges in Korea where you can try shooting. He metaphorically links this to his upcoming study abroad as his one chance to prove that he is a man.

In the several lines that follow, Hiroyuki talks about acquiring English as a opportunity to improve himself and then maybe even taking time off from being a policeman to join the Overseas Youth Cooperative. Hiroyuki laments the current state of Japan and the fact that even though Japan is a peaceful nation, he himself has not experienced a "rich" (*yutaka*) life. After Takayuki agrees with this, Hiroyuki talks at length about his current study habits expressing that he often wastes time, ends up watching TV instead of buckling down to his studies and procrastinates with his homework assignments, contrasting himself with other, hardworking students. In the end, Hiroyuki sums up that he wants to be able to really speak English and experience other cultures abroad. In other words, as Hiroyuki concludes, he wants to be able use English to study international relations. Finally, he and the other two men come to agreement that they all want to "make use of it" or "become alive" (*ikashitai*). In the original Japanese, this verb, *ikashitai,* could also mean "look cool" or "look great, both of which echo various opinions that all three men express throughout the discussion.

Real Versus Imagined Selves
These envisioned future selves are in stark contrast to what each of the men has been in the past. Not conforming to the stereotypical life story of the normative male student, each of these men has opted out of this type of life either of his own volition or because of his past behavior. Both Takayuki and Hiroyuki had participated in study abroad programs in high school, and it was due to those experiences that they became interested in going to a university outside of Japan. Yasunari, on the other hand, had a troubled life and studying abroad was more or less a last ditch effort for him to further his education at the tertiary level. Regardless of having backgrounds that deviate from the cultural narrative of becoming a man in Japan, one interesting thing is that through talk with men they forge subjectivities that fit within the boundaries of normative masculinity. Studying abroad is important for young adults in Japan in that it is seen by the majority of students as an experience that will not only improve their language skills, but more importantly will change them in some other significant way. For all the men in this study, a study abroad program was seen to be a vehicle for getting back onto the fictive track of normative masculinity and to better integrate into Japanese society.

Deeper Aspects of Masculine Structure
More complex than merely mouthing or performing an orthodox masculinity, this discussion also reveals deeper psychological aspects to masculinity. In his follow-up interview, however, Hiroyuki confessed that his expressed dream of becoming a police officer had no direct relevance to his current career goals; in fact, after he left the program he went to the United States and studied to get a pilot's license, his actual long-held dream. How

stereotypical images of masculinities become wound up in the co-construction of masculinity through conversation reveals how true desire becomes displaced and frustrated when subjects take up the task of creating public selves with objects of desire that are legitimated by dominant ideologies and the subject positions that are created by them. I would argue that what Lacan (1998) calls the "fundamental fantasy" is what is at the core of each man's desire. For Lacan, the subject is plagued by anxiety that his pleasure or enjoyment (*jouissance*) is never enough; there is always tension between satisfaction and dissatisfaction. As men, just when we think we possess our object of desire we feel that we are still dissatisfied. Masculine structure of desire consists of turning the Other into an *objet a* and mistakenly thinking that it can fully satisfy our desires.

In the discussion, Hiroyuki sums up what this desire fundamentally is to all three men: to "be a plus" (*purasu ni naru*) in their lives. This idea of something being missing returns repeatedly throughout the conversation. Takayuki reveals that what he desires is to have his work recognized by foreigners. In other words, not only does he want to be desired by the Other in possessing something which the Other desires and will grab their attention, but he also yearns for that to complete him and make him into his imaginary image. Yasunari echoes this desire in a mutated way. Clearly Yasunari harbors a lot of aggression toward his father whom he figures as directing his behavior. Recall that Yasunari sees his father as both pushing him to study as well as at the same time commenting that Yasunari will ultimately give up. This object of desire, English, is then appropriated by Yasunari as a way of taking power away from his father. They both want the same object of desire, but the father's attempt at getting it is portrayed by Yasunari as incomplete: his father will only ever be able to speak English as if it were Japanese (i.e. with stereotypical Japanese pronunciation). Thus, Yasunari is caught in a bind between desiring what his father wants (assuming the desires of the Other is an inevitable aspect of the formation of desire) and denying that object to his father. The unresolved rivalry between Yasunari and his father and Yasunari's inability to separate from his father's desire led Yasunari into a cycle of failure (conflict with father figures such as his bosses at part-time jobs and his teachers) and violence. Eventually, Yasunari left the school and never went to study abroad.

Conclusion

To a great extent the masculinity constructed by the three men throughout this discussion and further expressed in the interviews and other data collected from them over a ten-month period echo the sentiments of other men of the same age at universities in Japan who have participated in my research (Squires, 2007; Squires, 2009). Though each man's experience of becoming a man in Japan and within its educational system is unique, a common theme repeated by almost everyone is the longing to be recognized or, more specifically, having others express an interest in them through their achievements. While motivation research in SLA tends to develop increasingly complex and minute descriptive analyses of learner motivation, I would argue that at the core there is an underlying structure of desire that is gendered in both its intersubjective and intrasubjective aspects.

Psychoanalysis may offer us a number of ways in which to integrate and more deeply explain the relationship between gendered identities and the way they are constructed and maintained through social practice. Even so, several points that need to be fleshed out have become clearer as I have worked with different individuals, including the relationship of the psyche to the body, the interaction between the social world and psychical structures, and the integration of psychoanalytic theory with other theoretical frameworks such as Marxism and discourse analysis. Through a combination of perspectives I hope to be able to come to a

richer understanding of the connections between gender and the desire to acquire foreign languages.

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Gender differences in the motivations of non-English majors to study English: Report on a Pilot Study

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Abstract

Classroom dynamics and societal influences affect individual student's motivations, and are factors, which challenge native English instructors. Often students at university are seemingly disinterested in English, with a tendency to be un-talkative, shy and unmotivated. In non-major English university classes, males typically outnumber females, students have different learning styles, and some English language instructors have different expectations than those of their Japanese counterparts. This can create a de-motivational learning situation for both students and instructors. This paper, based on a pilot study, begins to address these causes and the differences in low motivation levels between both male and female non-English majors.

概要

授業における力学や社会的影響が、各々の学生の動機／やる気に大きな影響を与えている。これはネィティブスピカーの英語教師にとって、大きな課題となっている。大学生達は、英語という科目に対して、それほど興味を示さない場合がしばしばある。また、英語専攻ではない学生達の英語の授業においては、男子学生が女子学生を数の上で上回り、学生達は異なる学習スタイルを持っている。さらには、ネィティブスピーカーの英語教師は、学生に対して、日本人の英語教師とは異なる期待を持っている。このような状況は、学生や教師の動機／やる気を下げることに繋がる可能性がある。この論文では、 このような状況の事例と、男子学生と女子学生の動機／やる気の違いについて議論する。

Introduction

Past research (Ehrman and Oxford, 1990; Ellis 1994; Kissau, 2005; Kobayashi, 2002; and Van de Gaer et al, 2006) indicates that females generally are both more motivated to study a second language as well as achieve higher grades in their language classes than males. However, in situations where second language learning is valued as a male-centered activity, particularly in a situation where the learning of an L2 is necessary for males to provide for their families, males often achieve higher scores than females (Havey, 1994; Rockhill, 1993; Schmidt et al, 1996; and Siebert, 2003). Research in the Japanese context suggests (Hashimoto 2002; Kobayashi, 2002; Rubrecht, 2004) that females typically do better in English than males. Our understanding of why these differences exist is still inadequate.

This report is a part of a pilot study that hopes to explore these issues to deepen understanding of these differences. It focuses on identifying motivational differences of students studying second-year English and analyzes motivation in relation to gender. The overall pilot study focused primarily on the motivations to study English in general of both first- and second-year non-English major students (Yoshikawa 2010a, 2010b). The aim of

this report on the pilot study was to identify the general differences in motivations of second-year female and male university students when studying English.

Background and Previous Research
One of the problems that many students face when learning a second language is that of societal perceptions and influences. Both Kissau (2005) and Kobayashi (2002) show how second language learning is often constructed as a feminine pursuit. For this reason, some males feel either victimized for their desire to learn, or feel that the content of the language course is geared towards females. Another point to consider is that in a male-dominated economy, the learning of a second language is often viewed as way for women to advance professionally (Kobayashi, 2002; Rubrecht, 2004). While Kissau's (2005) research was based on male motivation in the learning of French as a second language in Canada, Kobayashi (2002) focuses on female motivation to learning English as a second language in Japan. Both however, have similar outcomes: the learning of an L2 falls primarily into a female sphere in both societies.

There are several possible explanations as to why language learning is frequently constructed as a feminized academic choice for women. Firstly, Sunderland (2000b) argues that the learning of an L2 is not without social perceptions. It is not unusual for societies to consider females better language learner than males. Like Kobayashi (2002), Sunderland (2000a) agrees that language learning is typically viewed as a female pursuit in Japan. They both state that language learning is typically connected to the education field, which Japanese society views as an acceptable career choice for women, and as a result the study of an L2 is an acceptable subject for females. This connection is important as the study of an L2 could conceivably gear females to enter the socially acceptable field of education by becoming teachers themselves. However, an alternative view which Kobayashi (2002) develops and Sunderland (2000b) hints at is the argument that the very fact that women are marginalized in Japanese mainstream society is a social element which has led to women's positive attitudes towards English. From this stance, for women, a working knowledge of an L2 would give them an edge in a male- dominated sphere. This argument would therefore suggest that in a publicly male- centered society, such as Japan, the learning of an L2 is one path that many women take in order to advance in society.

Rubrecht (2004) offers a different stance. He points to traditional values in Japanese culture where directness is discouraged and reserve in speech is socially admired for females more than for males. English is a language where speakers often voice personal opinions, and it is uncommon for "native" speakers of English, when together, to be comfortable with silence. These attributes are both undesirable in Japanese culture, particularly for females in a public setting. It would then follow that in a male- centered society, where "males are usually the outspoken ones" (Rubrecht, 2004, p. 16), second language learning would present more restrictions for Japanese females than males whenever classroom pedagogies reflect mainstream gender ideologies. This does not seem to be the case, however, as Hashimoto (2002), Kobayashi (2002), and Sunderland (2000a) are seemingly in agreement with Rubrecht (2004). They conclude that studying English allows Japanese women the opportunity to step out of the restrictions of their culture, and through the use of English they can develop the freedom to voice their opinions and live their lives more freely. This would then indicate that within Japanese society, the learning of a L2 does offer benefits to women.

Methodology of the Pilot Study
The Participants
During the 2010 - 2011 academic year, evaluations of the motivation to study English were gathered from both first- and second-year students. All students were enrolled in non-major English classes, at a university in the Kansai region of Japan. The overall aim of the larger pilot study was to address issues related to student motivations in studying English and to create a challenging and interesting L2 learning atmosphere (Yoshikawa, 2010a). In order to achieve this and to further understand the motivational needs of students, this then led to the breakdown of students according to year. This part of the pilot study focuses solely on the responses of the second year students, and divides their responses according to gender. Of the 66 second-year students, there were 18 females and 48 males. All of the students were enrolled in a weekly four-skilled compulsory English class and were between the ages of 19 to 24 years old. All students belonged to the same academic major, Economics. The students were all enrolled in classes taught by the author, which accounts for the small size of the study. Students before the end of the spring term are required to take the TOEIC test. Those with a high score are then transferred out of the department's language classes to the Language Center. However, those that remain in the department's language classes, at the time of this survey, were not subsequently divided accordingly to proficiency level.

The Questionnaire
A structured bilingual questionnaire was utilized. The questionnaire was developed in part from a review of Gardner's Attitude/ Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) and the MacIntyre and Charos (1996) Willingness To Communicate (WTC) survey. Furthermore, additional questions, which were of particular interest to the author were also included. The questions were first deemed as relevant for the students' level and interests, whether perceived or not. Then these questions were selected in regards to students' motivation to learn English and their anxiety with learning English. The questionnaire consisted of three sections. The first section sought to assess the students' backgrounds by asking their age, year of study, and their gender. The second section was primarily concerned with student anxiety towards studying English. The third section was concerned with student motivations to study English. The questions were translated from English to Japanese by a bilingual native speaker of Japanese. It is noted that when translating questions from one language to another literally, some meaning may be altered (Griffee, 1998). Therefore, the translator focused on the literal meaning of the question alongside the cultural meaning of the question so as to obtain an accurate as possible Japanese translation of the question. A five-point Likert scale was used to elicit the information from the students. However, for ease of analysis I merged the categories of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' and of 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'. This report of the pilot study focuses only on sections one and three of the survey. Section three included both a questionnaire, as well as provided space for students to make additional comments.

As stated above, the original pilot study was implemented in the 2010-2011 academic year. Students in both first- and second-year taking compulsory English classes in the university's School of Economics were asked to participate in this research. The results were divided according to gender and were then analyzed to compare female response with male responses. These responses were examined to see if there were any significant statistical differences between the two groups using an ANOVA analysis, and to lay the foundations for future, more in-depth research. The survey was administered towards the end of the second term of study. Students were given 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire and were instructed that their responses were to be anonymous. While the instructions on the survey

were in both English and Japanese, verbal instructions to complete the survey were given only in English.

Results and Discussion

An ANOVA was performed to check for any differences between the genders based on their expressions of motivation. The items shown in Table 3 where chosen as these were the responses that generated the greatest amount of differences between the genders. Table 3 shows that only item 1 is statistically significant. By conventional criteria, the analysis of the survey result percentages alone suggests that females do have stronger extrinsic and intrinsic motivations when studying English. While the other items are statistically insignificant, this is most likely due to the fact that the survey population was very small. In sum, the results of the ANOVA for gender differences indicate that some consideration should be taken into account when planning lessons to ensure that the material covered is potentially useful for students' futures in terms of leisure use and their careers.

Table 1
Extrinsic motivations values

Items		A	N	D
1. Learning English will help me in my future career.				
	males	82	14	4
	females	83	6	11
2. I need English to fulfill the university graduation requirements.				
	males	83	14	3
	females	94	6	0
3. I think that English is a global language.				
	males	79	21	0
	females	89	6	5

Note: The values represent percentages. All percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number, and therefore may not add up to 100. A= the collapsed scores for Strongly Agree and Agree; N= Neither agree nor disagree; D= the collapsed scores for Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Table 2				
Intrinsic motivations values				
Items		A	N	D
4. I want to understand English movies/ videos/ music.				
	males	79	17	4
	females	88	6	6
5. I want to be able to read English books and magazines.				
	males	69	19	12
	females	83	11	6
8. I want to travel to English speaking countries.				
	males	73	25	2
	females	94	6	0
9. I feel that studying English is mentally challenging.				
	males	29	38	33
	females	0	44	56

Note: The values represent percentages. All percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number, and therefore may not add up to 100. A= the collapsed scores for Strongly Agree and Agree; N= Neither agree nor disagree; D= the collapsed scores for Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Table 3
Significance of the difference of items between the genders

Item	Significance level (p<.05)
(1) Learning English will help me in my future career.	0.005
(3) I think that English is a global language.	0.131
(5) I want to be able to read English books and magazines.	0.257
(8) I want to travel to English speaking countries.	0.577

Discussion

Traditionally, social and cultural contexts in Japan have displayed many patriarchal features. The arena of foreign language learning has also been viewed as a "feminine" subject. Continuing from this traditional stance, the work of women was often marginalized in comparison to the work of men (Kobayashi, 2002; Rubrecht, 2004). Therefore, is it not surprising that females at the university level would express a stronger extrinsic motivation to study English as seen in Table 1. Over the last decade increasing numbers of Japanese females have entered more untraditional career roles such as business entrepreneurs or in the political arena. According to Kobayashi (2002) females in Japan have a stronger desire to learn English, due to the fact that they believe knowledge of English would enhance their careers professionally, and give them an edge in a predominately male-centered society. This can be seen through items 1 and 3 from Table 1, where females more strongly agree with these extrinsic motivation forces to study English.

In a global market, where Japan is facing increasing competition, why would women express a stronger extrinsic motivation than men? One would expect males particularly those who are studying Economics and who hope to enter the business world, to have the stronger extrinsic motivation to learn English. One theory suggests that fear can explain why males are not as motivated in learning a second language. Males may fear "negative societal appraisal" (Kissau, 2005, p. 85). Hegemonic societal norms assert that women should be good at languages while men are supposed to excel in maths and science. While this explanation is satisfactory for students' immediate situations, it is not satisfactory for future goals, where in the international business market a working knowledge of either English or another second language is increasingly becoming a requirement. That students are aware of this fact is indicated in items 1 and 3 of Table 1. Students acknowledge that a second language is necessary in the business world, as one student wrote under the comment section of the survey "To get promotion my father had to get TOEIC. He didn't get it." What this suggests is that while the father had the business skills, he lacked the second language skills necessary for promotion. Being able to use English in the workforce would potentially benefit males as much as females. However a knowledge of English or another foreign language is only beneficial in the workplace when combined with other work skills. A knowledge of English alone, as outlined above, does not undo the restrictive nature of career alternatives. While Kobayashi (2002) argues that the positive attitudes towards the learning

of English enable young Japanese women to take more risks, she does not deny that there are pressures for females to become good housewives and mothers. However, due to less restrictive professional norms and societal constraints, many women in Japan are freer to take risks, which in turn allows them greater personal freedom. Although she does not state so outright, it seems that Kobayashi (2002) is expressing the idea that through learning English, females develop societal values associated with women of English speaking countries, as women of these countries have fewer social constraints. This would then offer a partial explanation of why females also express higher intrinsic motivation in the study of English (Table 2). It would then appear that using English allows Japanese females a greater degree of freedom of expression, both personally and professionally.

In Japanese society, many job advertisements often indicate the requirement of knowledge of English; however, the employers do not require their workers to actually use English. This would suggest that English language knowledge, in effect, has become part of the selection process for hiring new recruits. As Brown (2004) notes, students are more interested in studying English to find a job in the first place. This would then indicate that many males learn English solely to find a job. This would explain the stronger extrinsic motivation to study English as seen in Table 1, but for females it may be a career move. Over the next few years, as Japan continues to struggle with economic issues, it will be interesting to see how university students' attitudes change towards the learning of second languages, and in particular how these changes are seen according to gender.

Aside from employment issues, there are, however, several other possible explanations why intrinsic motivations for studying English are overall stronger for females than males. Firstly, in tough economic times spending on luxury items decreases. While many females would like to travel as indicated in item 8, the reality is that traveling far abroad is expensive, and if they do travel, they are unlikely to travel out of Asia. One female student reported in the comment section of the survey that although she would like to go to England, she does not have enough money, so she and her friends will go to Korea, "where we will have to use English because they [the Koreans] don't speak Japanese". This indicates that these students consider English to be a language of mutual understanding. As both Kobayashi (2002) and Rubrecht (2004) aptly put it, many young Japanese women are interested in English because they want to learn about various cultures. This is further analyzed by Kobayashi (2002) who states that the reasons for travelling abroad are different for females and males. She explains that typically, young Japanese women travel abroad for enjoyment, whereas Japanese men are more likely to travel to English speaking countries for work-related reasons. Perhaps women see a greater immediate use for their language skills for traveling while they are young and single, while for males the use of English for work is a possible situation in the distant future. For female students then, their motivations to study English are both fueled by intrinsic and extrinsic motivations.

Secondly, using a foreign language such as English may allow students to express themselves in ways that might not be acceptable in their first language. Sunderland (2000b) asserts that the learning of an L2 can be culturally liberating for some L2 speakers. In particular, English allows Japanese females, Hashimoto (2002) and Kobayashi (2002) argue, a freedom of expression, which they do not have in Japanese. This may be confirmed by a student who reported, "I can say things [in English] that I can't in Japanese." Therefore, the desire to understand English movies, videos, and music, as well as to read English books and magazines (items 4 and 5 from Table 2) could be seen as a way for students to develop vocabulary and their conversational skills. Another student commented that reading helps to "up my vocabulary". These activities suggest that some students, who are aware of their poor communications skills, are seeking ways to improve them, which would account for the

strong intrinsic value placed on leisure activities as a way to improve their overall English skills.

Some students feel that English does not mentally challenge them as expressed in item 9 of Table 2. The results here are interesting as they could suggest that females do not consider that they are learning any new material in class, or conversely that males consider the subject matter covered in class to be too difficult. Another view could be that while students may not wish to study English, the lack of challenge does not bother them, or that due to a lack of challenging material in class, English does not interest them. Aoki (2011) suggests that the reason for this could be students' low aspirations, and that students often do not exert effort in their university studies. In either situation, the fact that many students do not feel challenged in English class indicates that the material covered is not at an appropriate level for them. The present pilot study indicated that many students believe that English is the common language of interaction in the globalized market, and that a working knowledge of English would be beneficial in their future careers. In consideration with survey item 9, it would suggest that students would like to see their English course adjusted. In addition, students' personal reasons for studying English are more closely related to its entertainment value. The challenge then is to create a class for non-English majors that fosters a learning situation which not only meets the students' leisure activity goals, but is encompassing so as to lay the foundation for their future, and possible career usage.

Limitations

This pilot study has several limitations. First, it has a very small scale. In addition there is the imbalance of gender among the participants; males comprised of 73% of the study whereas females only comprised of 27% of the study. As the data was collected at only one university in Japan, it is highly probable that different results could be obtained with different and larger population samples. Analysis of survey questionnaire items also made me aware that some items were phrased in too general a manner. A future study would use more focused statements that could yield more than speculative interpretations. Finally, as with all questionnaires on motivation, the participants were asked to self-report or to analyze themselves. This is then subject to the participants' own perception of themselves, and how they would like others to perceive them. As Hashimoto (2002) warns, questionnaires are subjected to distorting influences such as self-flattery and seeking the approval of the surveyor. Therefore, the motivation factors in this study may not be replicated in other situations. Nevertheless, research on the topic of student motivation is important as it does have direct consequences on pedagogical practices, and the findings from this pilot study could lead to a larger more-focused study where practical classroom practices could be both suggested and implemented.

Conclusion and future research

This pilot survey sought to address the relationship between gender and motivation of second-year Economic students towards the studying of English at university. In the primary analysis, the results suggest that there are gender differences in motivations to study. What is interesting from these results is that in a traditionally and still predominately male-dominated course of study, Economics, females express stronger motivations to study English than males. In both extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, the young women sampled in the survey expressed a higher motivation than the young men. Male motivation in English study seems to be more extrinsically based. Due to the fact that this pilot study had a small sample size, caution should be exercised in generalizing the results beyond this student population.

Additional research is required to verify if these results could be replicated in other contexts including: a larger study; students in different majors or at other universities; and students from different income groups.

In an EFL setting such as Japan, where males comprise the majority of the work force, a working knowledge of English is becoming more important for successful interaction in the globalized market. Therefore, it is surprising that males in the Economics department do not express higher extrinsic and intrinsic motivations. It will be interesting to see how the current economic situation in Japan fuels the demand for more competent English speakers in the workforce and how this in turn will influence males' attitudes toward language learning. In this pilot study both genders do agree that English would be beneficial for their future careers. However, this present survey did not attempt to question in what way students felt it would be beneficial for them. How the students envision using English in their careers and how this differs according to gender remains to be seen in future surveys. Once this is fully understood, it would be possible to create a pedagogy which meets students' motivations, where the classroom situation motivates students towards a learner-centered situation and encourages student autonomy.

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