Journal and Proceedings
of the
Gender Awareness in Language Education
Special Interest Group

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Editorial Foreword

Welcome to the 11th edition of The GALE Journal in which we offer two long papers and one interview. Kristie Sage and Tomoko Sugihashi present the results of an extensive study of female Japanese university students, one group which studied abroad and took a gender studies course in the U.S. and a control group which did not. How did the awareness of feminist concepts differ in these two groups? What are the hopes and dreams of these students and how do they reconcile their knowledge of and desire for equal opportunity with reality? The writers propose that studying Western hegemonic feminism does not meet the needs of these students, but that global and Japanese feminisms may. This research reflects issues with which many GALE readers grapple: what to teach, how to teach effectively, and the impact of gender studies upon students in their futures. Our next contributor, Elizabeth Williams, offers her analysis of interviews with four male Japanese university students who experienced what they describe as lack of social capital during their study abroad in Canada: they label themselves as being "uncool" and "unattractive" Japanese males who had to work harder than females to thrive overseas. Williams notes that these students were able to overcome negative stereotypes about Japanese men by actively pursuing their own language development. The research raises challenging questions about intersectionality: race, gender, orientation, language, and colonialist history are all issues at play in the students' evaluations of their own experiences abroad, as well as their ultimate success. Finally, Kristie Collins interviews Dr. Emily Gray about #FEAS (Feminist Educators Against Sexism), an activist group of women in academia which seeks to enlighten and educate via humorous interventions. In one example, actual butterfly nets are distributed at academic conferences to symbolize the struggles of non-majority academics desperately chasing after the few opportunities that flit by just out of reach. The papers in this issue, then, are in essence about achieving tangible results in the real world rather than settling for less.

Another activity in which #FEAS engages and which Collins seeks to promote here in Japan is Cite Club. Academics email and post their publications online so that others can quickly access and cite them, thereby expanding the scope of the research. We at the Journal suggest that the works included here form the foundation of a new Cite Club in Japan. We also look forward to continuing research by these writers. For example, if the gender studies course suggested by Sage and Sugihashi is actually implemented, what results will it have upon

students? If Williams extends her research to other subjects (female, LGBTQ+, and so forth), what would the implications be regarding intersectionality? For example, how will students who study abroad in the midst of the #metoo and #timesup movements view issues of approachability and agency in comparison to the students in this research set? What kinds of effects might #FEAS activities in Japan have upon how bias manifests at conferences here? These are all questions that our writers and/or our readers may answer in the future— in this journal, we sincerely hope.

This edition of the journal could not have been produced without the extensive efforts and expertise of a wide array of volunteers, including Reiko Yoshihara as Japanese language editor. Thank you also to the many proofreaders and readers who enable this journal to be double-blind and peer-reviewed, thereby maintaining its academic standards. Many of you also know Aaron Hahn, who has been the editor of this journal while at the same completing a doctorate and teaching at a university. Those who have worked with him are familiar with his cool intellect and unfailing devotion to pursuits of gender awareness in language education. Please join me in thanking Aaron for his years of dedication to the journal which have helped to make it what it is today. Aaron is currently Associate Editor. It is a great honor to follow in his footsteps and I hope that The GALE Journal will continue to publish thought-provoking papers well into the future.

Our authors—and their research subjects—have shown us that they continue to challenge injustice and create opportunity despite obstacles. Don't put down that butterfly net yet: no matter how elusive the prize may seem, the quest for a more just reality must continue. We hope that this research inspires you, as it has done us, on this quest.

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Editors' note, April 2019: An additional article that was previously included in this issue has been removed for further editing. The pagination of other articles has therefore changed from the original posting.

Gwyn Helverson & Aaron Hahn

Global Feminisms Awareness of Students at a Japanese Women's University: Post-U.S. Study Abroad Reflections

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Abstract

This paper investigates the perspectives on feminism of female students from an English department at a Japanese women's university. On return from a pre-requisite study abroad component in the U.S., students were divided into two groups: The Experimental (E), which represents those who took an elective off-campus gender studies course in the U.S., and the Control (C), which did not. An online survey was conducted. This research hypothesized that group E would excel in gender awareness over C group, yet this hypothesis was unfounded. Rather, both groups showed an understanding of the U.S. vis-à-vis Japanese feminism and a desire for future independence. Despite awareness of the limitations imposed upon them by Japanese society regarding female role development, students still possessed ambitions for challenging socio-economic and cultural norms. In order to better prepare graduating female students for their futures, this paper recommends a curriculum which embraces global feminisms–not a hegemonic U.S. one–broached with Japanese feminism to better help them realize their goals.

概要

　　　本稿は日本の女子大学の英語科の女子学生たちのフェミニズムに対する意識を調査したものである。米国留学中にジェンダー・スタディの特別コースを学んだグループを実験群(E)、学ばなかったグループ(C)を対照群とした。データはオンラインでアンケートに回答する形で集められた。本研究では、実験群の学生の方がジェンダー意識が高いと仮説を立てたが、両グループの差はほとんど見られなかった。むしろ、両グループとも、日米のフェミニズムの違いを理解し、将来の自立に対する願望を表明した。女性の役割に関しては、日本社会による限界を意識しながらも、学生たちは社会経済的、文化的な規範に挑戦する意欲をもっていた。卒業していく女子学生たちにより良い将来を準備するために、本稿は「グローバルフェミ

ニズム」を含むカリキュラム―覇権的なアメリカのフェミニズムではなく―を提案する。そして、彼女たちの目標を達成させるためにも日本のフェミニズムを紹介するカリキュラムを提案する。

Literature Review

Brief overview of post-feminism in contemporary Western society. Lacey (2009) argued that, despite equality under the law, women in Western society are subordinated. Aliefendioglu et al.'s (2011) research emphasized that media reflects patriarchal conventions and therefore fails to convey the complexity of women's lives and their associated record of achievements. Mendes (2012) posits that to pursue the goals of second-wave feminism, actions are collective and political (Mendes, 2012). However, Mann and Haufmann (2005) highlighted fractionalization of the wave as a consequence of ignoring differences in race, age, sexual preference, and economic level in society. It remains questionable whether the subsequent third, post, or even neo-feminist movements have addressed this issue. Gloria Jean Watkins (bell hooks), a notable African-American advocate in the field, argues that feminist movements tend to construct simplistic categories of women and men. She stated that there is "… no simple homogenous gendered identity that we could call 'women' struggling to be equal with men" (hooks, 2013). hooks cautions against a feminism which does not challenge "… the structures of imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy…" (hooks, 2013). Sellnow (2010) pointed out that the third-wave did not comprehensively focus on women's issues collectively, rather it provided a platform for identity. Thus, when the third-wave moved into post-feminism, strong individualism was a key feature (Gill & Scharff, 2011, cited by Mendes, 2012). Therefore, the motivation to establish one's own identity by setting one's own agenda and the infinite ability to transform one's life were prioritized (Mann & Huffman, 2005; Mendes, 2012). In doing so, individualism, capitalism, and consumerism were upheld (Mendes, 2012). Simultaneously, a lack of concern for social, political, or other external influences and constraints became the norm. Thus, while post-feminism offered greater freedoms, it was considered politically regressive (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

Wiegman (2002) further criticized that as higher education corporatizes in the West, it centralizes consumerism. As a result, the pedagogical emphases of earlier Women's Studies, such as community service, active learning, and personal actualization, became separated from

feminist politics in favor of the corporate perspective (Wiegman, 2002). Conversely, Love and Helmbrecht (2007) argued that the pedagogy of post-feminism does allow for consumerism in a way that previous versions did not. Yet they recommended that such ideological conflicts be taught because popular images of women, despite advancements in education and work opportunity, are rarely depicted in contexts of social activism. These images should include hitting the glass ceiling, contending with harassment, or contesting working for lower salaries. An example given by Ross (2009) shows how female politicians' private domestic arrangements or dress are prefaced by the media first before taking their speeches about policy seriously. Ross (3009) states that this contributes to the lack of female role model leaders who have been unable to break the mold and win against the odds to act as change agents for emergent and or established career women. Love & Helmbrecht (2007) urge that media images should depict women who do have power and agency. In addition, the media could choose to portray women who are strong and capable, and can in fact be empowered by political engagement and/or work collectively on cultural and social issues. The present momentum surrounding the #MeToo or subsequent Time's Up movements may help to increase media coverage on gender inequalities of workplace harassment and non-equal pay (Rottenburg, 2017; Time's Up, 2017; Ducharme, 2018). Nonetheless, these still-conflicting issues in contemporary Western feminism of individualism vs. political engagement will be discussed later in analysis of the students' responses.

A brief overview: Asian socio-economics and women. Kim's (2014, p. 508) research into modern Asian women indicated that individualizing trends differ from the West, despite Asian nations reflecting Western modernization of social processes. Moreover, Asian women can be freed from traditional gender roles to pursue lives of their own design (Kim, 2014, p. 506). This societal trend is exemplified by career aspirations, economic power, independence, freedom, self-fulfillment and mobility by partaking in transnational culture (Kim, 2014, p. 506). However, within Asia, there remain limitations to female individualization due to a predetermined culture-bound balance. That is, individualism is not considered to be at the heart of Asian culture, nor is it reflected in its regulatory practices (Kim, 2014, p.507). Kim points out that the culture of family, not the individual, is the basic unit of social reproduction (Kim, 2014, p.507). For Japanese, Hofstede Insights (2018) purports that while they may be more

private and reserved than other Asian nations, they are considered collectivistic in nature by Western standards, and experienced in individualism by Asian ones (Hofstede Insights, 2018). Japan also has a more limited extended family system than China and Korea (Hofstede Insights, 2018). Yet Kim (2014, p. 507) laments that it is Asia's gendered labor market inequality which is pervasive and places limits on participation and socioeconomic position of women.

Despite Asian economic growth, decreasing fertility rates and increasing education, the Asia Development Bank (ADB, 2015) report stated that 70% of women are less likely to be in the labor force than men when compared with other world regions. In fact, Asian nations rank at both the highest and lowest levels of closing the gender gap; that is, varying from 80% to 3% respectively for the Philippines and Pakistan (ADB, 2015). The report identifies that even though it is economically sound to increase the presence of women in the workforce, factors including access to the labor force and the carrots of economic growth and education are not substantial enough to draw women in (ADB, 2015). The ADB (2015) surmises that the choice made by women to dedicate themselves to family responsibilities is reinforced by social norms. In turn, their activities and mobility are constrained which then impedes their economic empowerment (ADB, 2015). It will be seen in later analysis that the Japanese students who took part in this research exhibit this state of being highly educated and having individualistic aspirations alongside their sense of commitment to the familial social unit.

Women's workforce participation in Japan. For Japan, the 2016 GGGR measured a drop in Japan's ranking from 101 in 2015 to 111 out of 144 countries (WEF, 2016; Japan Times, 2017). In 2017, a further slip to a rank of 114 was recorded due to reversals in Japan's progress on the Political Empowerment sub index, despite advances on the Economic Participation and Opportunity sub-indices (WEF, 2017, p. 17). The latter index showed increases in gender parity for wage equality of similar work and women's estimated earned income, plus a rise in the share of female legislators, senior officials and managers, and professional and technical workers. While in 2017 Japan was on par with highly developed nations in the three indices of economy, education and health, in the fourth index of Political Empowerment, it was below average (WEF, 2017). The sub-indices show that this is due to women's leadership positions in the political field being significantly lower than in other comparable countries (WEF, 2016).

Goldman Sachs produced a report in 2014, with more specific analysis of women in Japanese society entitled Womenomics 4.0 (Goldman Sachs Investment Research, 2014). One point raised was that Japan's previously infamous M-Curve (the shape which indicated a decreased rate of employment during child-rearing years) is normalizing (Inoue et al. 2016). Thus, the number of women leaving the workforce, particularly in the 25-29 age bracket, is lessening compared with the 1980s, and this trend is predicted to continue in the future. This report also showed that compared with the 1990s, double income households in Japan now far exceed single income households (Goldman Sachs Investment Research, 2014). Notably, in comparison with the U.S., Japan's employment rate for women surpassed the U.S. for the first time in 2014, at 64% versus 63% (Paquette, 2015). Supporting statistics shown in Japan's 2014 Gender Equality Bureau's White Paper were that even though survey responses to the ideals of "a women's desire [is] to focus solely on family" was 33.6% and "balancing a career and family" was 29.7%, this differed from their "actual reality" with responses to the aforementioned at 45.3% and 20.0% respectively (Gender Equality Bureau, 2014).

One confounding and underreported gauge is that for the labor force participation rate of women in Japan (49.6%): the M-Curve does not differentiate between those with regular or full-time positions at 36.7% and non-regular, part-time at 37.1% (with dispatched 2.7% and contract 4.7%) (Inoue et al., 2016 cites the Labor Force Survey 2015. Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication). Therefore, even though 20–40 year olds' participation increased from 1975 to 2015 from 50%–70%, the average is still less than 50%. This is significant because it masks the number of women who are on a career and promotion-based track (*Sogoushoku*) versus those on a non-career track (*Ippanshoku*). Other issues also disincentivized women to have a career such as the spousal dependent tax break (Lewis, 2015; Lewis, 2017). This tax status maintains the male breadwinner model (Gender Equality Bureau, 2014) and influences poor work life balance due to overtime for male employees, thereby increasing women's non-paid work labor at home. Of late, caps in hours (Gender Equality Bureau, 2015), along with "equal work, equal pay" reforms (Japan Times, 2018) are expected to initiate change to this conundrum. Kathy Matsui of Goldman Sachs proposed that Japan can gain more than other nations by raising female labor participation and estimates a potential boost to Japan's GDP of 13% (Goldman Sachs, 2014). To achieve this, Matsui recommended a three-pronged approach that, in brief, seeks to lobby the government

to change the spousal tax deduction incentive, promote greater diversity in the private and [government sector] (especially as it relates to women), and encourage societal change that is more supportive of women's return to the workforce [preferably in full-time capacity] (Goldman Sachs, 2014; Goldman Sachs Investment Research, 2014).

In fact, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe presented at the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2014 in Davos the following Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) for "A Japan in which women can shine" (WEF, 2014):

1. Target 30%* female representation in leadership positions across Japanese society by 2020.
2. Lift the female labor participation rate between the ages of 25–44 from 68% in 2012 to 73% by 2020.
3. Raise the percentage of women returning to work after their first child from 38% in 2010 to 55% by 2020.
4. Boost the supply of childcare facilities with the aim of eliminating children on daycare waitlists (22,741 waitlisted children as of April 2013) by 2017.
5. Increase the percentage of fathers who take paternity leave from 2.6% in 2011 to 13% by 2020 (WEF, 2014).

Nonetheless, as Aoki (2015b) points out, despite companies which exceed 301 employees being obliged to investigate how the aforesaid KPIs are manifested in the work environment, the numerical targets are not mandatory for any company. Yet, Aoki (2015b) argues while it is a small step companies are seen to be making efforts to make their work environments more female friendly. Important also to note however, that the above KPIs were revised down in 2015 (Aoki, 2015a). Yet, these targets were again re-revised more favorably in 2018 for the "Numerical Targets and Updated Figures of the 4th Basic Plan for Gender Equality" published on the Gender Equality Bureau website (Gender Equality Bureau, 2018).

Women's movement Japan. Present contributions to the women's movement in Japan are The World Assembly for Women in Tokyo (WAW!) and The Women's Action Network (WAN). The WAW! Tokyo, held annually since 2014, supports one of the Abe Administration's

policies for Japan, "A Society where Women Shine" (MOFA, n.d.a). The Assembly draws on key figures from the public and private industries in Japan, and also invites leading female figures from diverse nations and institutions. Event hosts are the Government of Japan, Japan Business Federation (*Keidanren*), Nikkei Inc., and the Japan Institute of International Affairs (with involvement also by the Japan Centre for Economic Research). For the inaugural year, Akie Abe, Prime Minister Abe's wife, and Christine Lagarde, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund spoke (MOFA, n.d.a). Moreover, the Assembly is an effective forum for facilitating discussion among attendees from panel to round table formats. Participation is encouraged of female students, business women, health professionals and local government members' and follow-up events throughout the year (MOFA, 2018) are also offered. An outcome of WAW! 2017 Tokyo was the establishment of a Declaration which proposes actions to be taken by stakeholders for unleashing women's power to foster a diverse and inclusive society. The Declaration is a positive step towards aligning Japan with the global society in gender equality since its proposals are to be integrated with the outcomes of international bodies such as G7 and G20, the Beijing Declaration and its Platform for Action, and the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals among others (MOFA, n.d.b).

A non-government movement, WAN, has developed into the Worldwide WAN (W-WAN). Its present director, Chizuko Ueno, Emeritus Professor from Tokyo University, is a notable feminist in Japan. The W-WAN site introduces activities such as feminist movements occurring inside and outside of Japan, and other related topics, including research, culture and information (W-WAN, 2018). Although translated works can be found in various languages, articles are predominantly in English and Japanese. They cover issues specific to the Japanese context which include the employment conditions and situation of temporary female workers, women's roles in the family, and media coverage of women in Japan. In addition, Japan's participation in the International Women's Day or #WithYou domestic movements which stand against sexual harassment of Japanese females in their workplaces are addressed (W-WAN, 2018). W-WAN aims to document and archive materials related to feminism for future Japanese generations (Ito, 2015).

Catalyst: U.S.-centric feminism. Stewart et al. (2011) criticized U.S.-centric, Western feminist imperialism and the subsequent apathy of non-Western feminists as passive recipients

importing ready-made U.S. feminist ideas. In Shi's (2005) book, *A Cultural Approach to Discourse*, the chapter on Political Ethnography identifies the Western bias in social research methodology, stating that critical discourse analysis is neither culturally inclusive nor pluralist. Rather, it demotes uniformity and universalism as the barriers to a broader framework of historical-cultural power relations and advocates that less cultural bias is required to promulgate a true forum for culturally infused political argument (Shi, 2005). Similarly, Stewart et al. (2011) demanded critical reflexivity to encourage the active remaking of cultural texts and create new meanings from different cultural and historical contexts. Ergun (2013) further lamented the lack of adherence to geopolitics and its manifestation in curriculum, which draws from the perspectives of Western feminists and is often taught by Western women and is written in English. Ergo (2013) argued that centering the U.S. from a white Western perspective reinforces an inadequate U.S. hegemony since it deploys stereotypes irrelevant to national and geographic categories.

The Project: Global Feminisms Project. The Global Feminisms Project was inaugurated in 2002 at the University of Michigan in the Institute of Research on Women and Gender (IRWG) by an interdisciplinary group of feminist scholars from China, Poland, India, Nicaragua, Brazil, Russia and the U.S. This project was a collaboration which sought to examine and collect information on women, seeded in their local contexts in terms of historical feminist activism, women's movements, and academic women's studies, and ultimately, to create a document archive that feminist scholar-activists around the world could utilize. In the vein of what bell hooks has put forward, teaching should be liberating, transformative, and achieved through participation (Stewart et al., 2011). At present, the collated data of the Global Feminisms Project suggests that women in different countries throughout the world have similar issues as well as distinct interests with different perspectives and methods (Stewart et al., 2011).

The Global Feminisms Project established that critical perspectives on imperialist and patriarchal forms of oppression, both locally and globally, are requisite. Otherwise, if gender studies are centered on U.S. hegemony, substantive scope regarding economic, political, cultural and military power are reinforced through U.S. gendered structures of global domination, which then become located in the local (Stewart et al., 2011).

One contributor, Maureen Taylor, is a social worker, community organizer and leader for communities in need in terms of food, clothing, shelter, light, heat, and water and the chair of Michigan Welfare Rights (Taylor. & Kramer, 2004). The activist addressed in an interview how feminism is necessary to fight for welfare rights at the community levels, and to alleviate men and women from poverty (Taylor & Kramer, 2004). The interview covered diverse topics including how capitalist models impact government policy to reduce social services such as health or water access, or close down factories for the free market (for example, Detroit in the U.S.) (Taylor & Kramer, 2004). Yet Taylor indicated that through a forum such as the Global Feminisms Project, struggles of impoverished communities and women within them become applicable to international (Taylor & Kramer, 2004).

Another contributing researcher is Malini Ghose, a founding member of Nirantar—a resource center for gender and education in New Delhi, India (Nirantar, 2016)—as well as an invited contributor at the UN Women: Asia Pacific Forum, 2012, in New Delhi (UN Women: Asia Pacific 2012). Ghose argued that women's empowerment is an important skill for gender studies students since education is not neutral (Stewart et al., 2011). The researcher stated that the education of literacy is not enough, and in developing nations such as India there is a need to change power relations at both the social and individual level (Ghose, 2002). Ghose (2002) noted that the absence of women's groups in the NCERT National Curriculum Framework, despite the rising literacy rates of women over men, demonstrates that unless women's struggles are part of the curricula's framework, the aforesaid will continue to be perpetuated and women's knowledge and experience will remain marginalized.

Research Design Background

This paper investigates the reflections on gender awareness or feminism of students from a Japanese women's university following a U.S. study abroad program. This study seeks to answer the research question of whether the students' feminism became more closely aligned with a U.S. hegemonic model or with global feminisms after taking a gender studies course in the U.S. The study hypothesized that the Experimental (E) group, which is the group who attended an off-campus gender studies program in the U.S., would excel in gender awareness over the Control (C) group. However, the qualitative research data collection failed to support this hypothesis, since there does not seem to have been any significant differences between the

E and C groups' feminism awareness. The researchers speculate that since the students attend a women's university, in general they have more opportunities for leadership and for study in this field than at a co-educational university. Nonetheless, from an educational perspective, the researchers are concerned with this U.S./Japan dichotomy and sought to envision the next stage for the students' tertiary education. The Global Feminisms Project provides a solid model to springboard curriculum, and local forums such as WAW Tokyo! or W-WAN can be inserted. Thus, this paper recommends that the concept of this project be adopted and or contributed to by researchers and educators not exclusively to women's universities in Japan, but also in other countries.

Methodology

A women's university in Tokyo, Japan. This study was conducted by educators and researchers at a private Japanese Women's University, located in Tokyo. The university itself, due to not being co-educational, provides opportunities for women's personal and professional and skill advancement and by default group and academic leadership is encouraged of the female students. This university has a satellite campus on the east coast of the U.S. at which several departments have mandatory course components. For this study, the researchers were concerned with the off-campus gender issues course which some students elected to take while in the U.S. It was hypothesized that the students who undertook this course in the U.S., the E group, would have a higher feminist awareness than those who did not, the C group.

Off-campus course at Emmanuel College. This four-week course, Gender Issues in the United States, was especially arranged for the students of the current study. Students taking the course (n=18) were required to have a TOEIC score of 600 points and higher. The class met twice a week for two hours each time on the College campus from mid-January 2015. There were seven classes taught by the instructor, a full time professor at a U.S. college. The purpose of the course was to learn the history of gender problems in the country and contemporary gender problems.

According to the course syllabus, the course was designed to teach the following five topics:

1. The social construction of gender

2. Privilege and oppression

3. Intersectional identities: Gender and race/ethnicity

4. Leadership and gender roles

5. Harassment and violence against women

More than ten readings and five videos were assigned for in and out of the class, together with four written assignments to prepare for discussion in class. One final paper, 4–5 pages long, was based on interviews and analysis of gender issues and roles of one of the five topics provided for the students. Also, female guest speakers from various jobs and careers were invited to talk about their experiences in the fifth and sixth classes, and the students were encouraged to ask questions after their talks. In this way, it seems the course presented many aspects of American gender issues.

Subjects. The department syllabus requires that all students spend time studying at the American satellite campus, and all the subjects mentioned here participated in either the 10-month or 5-month course during their sophomore year. For this study, eighteen students were asked to answer an online questionnaire when they returned to Tokyo in March. Only six students within this E group responded to the questionnaire. The data were collected between the end of March and beginning of July 2015. Another group of students who recorded TOEIC scores of 600 points or above and studied in the American campus with the E group but did not participate in the course was the C group. Eight of them answered the questionnaire in June. Subsequently some of these students were asked a few follow-up questions by the researchers to clarify their input.

The low participation of the E group might have been the result of the e-mail notification system and multiple descriptive English questions provided by the researchers. As for the online system, third-year students often receive a flood of emails, especially at the beginning of the academic year from the curriculum administrators and career guidance groups. The e-mail notification and subsequent reminders may have been overlooked. As for the contents of the questionnaire, providing simpler, multiple-choice questions that are easy to answer and aimed at eliciting specific answers might have been better. Asking the students to

write long, time-consuming answers might have put them off, especially as the questionnaire was sent during their re-acculturation period.

Questions. There were 37 questions about gender awareness (See Appendix). All questions were originally designed by the researchers (the authors of this paper) and were not taken from any previous studies. The researchers were interested to know if these students successfully readapted to Japanese culture, especially with regard to gender issues, after having studied in the U.S. As the students probably saw firsthand different gender roles, their overseas experience might have affected their perception of occupations and, to some extent, dating styles. The questions were divided into the five following categories:

1. Features of jobs: Are some jobs more suitable for females or males?
2. Partner for dating or marriage: Who is responsible for decision making, paying, doing house work, and ideas for their career paths?
3. Career opportunities in Japan and American women leaders
4. Priority for career choices
5. Future self after 10 years and 20 years

Results

There does not seem to have been any significant differences in either group. The input showed that the two groups are both quite liberated, although the E group indicated slightly more independent and career-minded ideas. The specific outcomes to note are described as follows according to the category of the questions. Also, extracts of students' descriptive answers are presented in tables 1–7. They were chosen as representative of students' opinions concerning the questions in the category. The numbers in the second column refer to students' choice on the Likert scale or the number of the multiple choices given for the question concerned. The right column shows their reasons. Note: The comments are copied verbatim and the typing, spelling, and grammar mistakes remain as is. English translations or any additional words by the researchers to clarify the meaning are given in [ ] in italics.

Characteristics of jobs (Q4–15). Both groups show their independence in their work choices, but the C group showed slightly more gender-equal ideas on the whole. Questions (hereinafter Q) 4 through 15 asked about their job prospects and gender tendencies. For example, Q6 asked whether female government officials such as politicians, military officers, or police chiefs can be seen as very normal. Half (four students) in the C group found it very normal, but only one student in the E group answered very normal. As for "female" jobs such as administrative work (Q10), four C students answered that the duties performed by male workers are very normal, whereas only one E student answered very normal.

Regardless of the group, most of the students were gender-unbiased for caretakers and service industries, but stated that these occupations tend to be done by women in Japan. They have observed through the internet and their personal experience that such occupations are done by male workers in other countries far more often than in Japan and suggest that Japanese people and society need to open up their gender-biased job opportunities. Some students challenged the common wisdom and wrote that male workers are actually better for the caretaker and service industries. One student wrote that male Cabin Attendants (CAs) should be thanked more as the work involves pulling heavy trolleys. She also wrote that female CAs should at least wear uniforms more suitable for the work they do, such as moving about the plane and bending and stretching to serve passengers.

Table 1 and Table 2 contain the students' comments connecting gender and job roles: Table 1 for "male" jobs and Table 2 for "female" ones. Q4 asked about *Specialized professions (Lawyers, Accountants),* and Q8 about *Transportation Drivers (Pilots, Truck drivers).* The numbers are their choices on the Likert scale from 1 to 4, with 1 indicating very normal.

As above, students' answers are based on either familiarity through media exposure or images adopted by the society (e.g., E2, E3, C1, and C2), or on the equality concept (e.g., E1, E4, C3, and C7). In the former group, if they are familiar with the image, they seem to think it can be done by females regardless of the job. However, the latter group does not seem to be influenced by the choice of the job and seems to believe in equal possibility. C5 may be confused by the questions, choosing 1 (very normal) even though her descriptive answers do not match the numbers. Q10 asked about *Administrative duties (Answering phones, entering data),* and Q14 about *Caretakers (Nursing, Childcare).* The numbers show Likert scale choices of 1 to 4, with 1 corresponding to very normal.

Table 1

Student Responses to Questions about Females and Stereotypically "Male Jobs"

Rsp.	Q4	Reasons for choice in Q4: Specialized Professions	Q8	Reasons for choice in Q8: Transportation Drivers
E1	1	I don't know why females cannot have those jobs as normal. I think women have same abilities like men so we shouldn't make male-dominated society.	1	it is unusual transportation drivers or pilots are female but I don't feel anything and I encourage them.
E2	1	I sometimes see women who have these jobs.	3	When I image transportation driver, male are coming up with my mind.
E3	3	In fact, many specialized professions are male, but recently, female are focused in a society.	2	I haven't seen female driver when I use some vehicles.
E4	2	I see female lawyers on the TV.	4	I have never see female poilots directly or on TV.
E5	1	Always I imagine lawyers or accountants are male even if I know it is a gender problem.	1	I think it is not normal, also, I feel women leader would become masculinity leader, otherwise they are emotional women leader.
E6	2	In dramas or movies, I can see female lawyers and accountants today.	1	In Setagaya line which I use everyday, there are female しゃしょうさん *[train conductors]* everyday.
C1	1	Females can do the same thing as men. I guess TV dramas influence my answer especially on lawyers.	2	I don't care though I feel those professions are traditionally for boys' dream.
C2	4	男性が多くそのような職に就いていると思うから。*[Because I think men usually have such jobs.]*	4	やはり男性の職というイメージがあるから。*[Because I have images of men doing the job.]*
C3	1	性別ではなく能力で判断するべきであるから。*[Because we should judge not by gender but ability.]*	1	そもそも何故女性を不適格とする（あるいはその職につくための十分な機会が与えられていない）のかが分かりかねる。*[To begin with, I don't understand why women are not appropriate for (or women are not given enough opportunities to) take these jobs.]*

Table 1 (continued)

Rsp.	Q4	Reasons for choice in Q4: Specialized Professions	Q8	Reasons for choice in Q8: Transportation Drivers
C4	1	I don't think females are different from males	1	I don't think females are different from males
C5	1	女性でもこの職業についている人を多く見るから*[I often see women doing these jobs.]*	4	現在珍しいし、女性に務まるのかという不安も正直少しある（パイロット）*[As for pilots, female pilots are still rare to see, and I am slightly anxious if women can take the duties, to be honest.]*
C6	4	The reason why they will talk about important privacy information so, I think that they should contact by directly.	4	The reason why, I have never known women who works these jobs.
C7	1	男性か女性かで向いてる仕事かどうか区別できない。その仕事をやりたいと思ったら誰でもその仕事をやることができると思うから。*[Whether a job is suitable for men or women cannot be differentiated. That is because anyone who wants the job is capable of doing it in my opinion.]*	1	男性か女性かで向いてる仕事かどうか区別できない。その仕事をやりたいと思ったら誰でもその仕事をやることができると思うから。たとえ体力的な面で女性が不利だと考える人がいたとしても、仕事をする本人がやりたいならできるはず。*[Whether a job is suitable for men or women cannot be differentiated. That is because anyone who wants the job is capable of doing it in my opinion. Even if someone thinks women lack physical strength to do a job, I think they can do it if they really want the work.]*
C8	2	female have also posibilities to do this job. I can easily imagine.	2	I 'm not sure about driver, but in practice, nowadays, there are many female who work as pilots.

Table 2

Student Responses to Questions about Males and Stereotypically "Female Jobs"

Rsp.	Q10	Reasons for choice in Q10: Administrative duties	Q14	Reasons for choice in Q14: Caretakers
E1	1	Because i don't want to think men shouldn't have these jobs.	1	Recently companies provide paternity leave.
E2	3	In my image, these jobs are done by women because I see women who have these jobs on TV.	2	I know some male who have these jobs.
E3	2	It is traditionally female jobs in Japan.	3	Recently, many men are caring for children like "*Ikumen*" *[men who actively take care of their children]*
E4	2	I see men who do answering phones or entering data at a hotel or on TV.	3	there were a few men childcare staffs at my kindergarten.
E5	4	もしどこかのコールセンターにかけるとしたら、女性が出ることを期待するから。*[I would expect a woman to answer if I telephoned a call center.]*	1	I see male caretakers, and i do not see any differences with female.
E6	3	It's not strange, but I think female is better at answering phone than male because of their voice tone.	1	When I had experienced internship at nursery school on Boston, there was a man teacher.
C1	1	Men are also in customer services.	3	I am ok with male nursery teachers but many parents think it's not normal and unacceptable, which I think we shouldn't think so. Anyway, in the foreign countries as I answered in 14, male nurses are pretty common, I guess but it's hard to see in Japan.
C2	3	女性の方が受け答えが優しかったり優しいイメージがあるので、比較的女性の方が多い気がする。*[I think females generally do these kinds of jobs because they are thought to be kinder and respond more politely.]*	4	女性は男性より感情的であったり、心理的な分野に強いため、このような職は男性向きではないから。*[Because women are stronger emotionally and psychologically than men in these areas, men are not suitable for these jobs.]*

Table 2 (continued)

Rsp.	Q10	Reasons for choice in Q10: Administrative duties	Q14	Reasons for choice in Q14: Caretakers
C3	2	固定観念があるので実感としては分かりづらいが、男性の低い声がクレーマーを落ち着かせることを期待する。女性、特におばさまのクレーマーは格段に減るでしょう。 *[I have difficulty understanding actual feelings because of my preconceptions, but I think men's lower voice can calm down angry claimants. I should think there would be less complaints from women, especially middle-aged women.]*	1	男性保育士が増えることが、女性保育士の結婚率向上に繋がるように思う。ジェンダーに対する意識は小さい頃から養われると思う。幼児保育／幼児教育の現場に男性が少ない、また男性保育士が少ない事は幼児の意識に少なからず影響を与えるように考える。 *[I think increasing male children's nurses will improve the marriage rate for female children's nurses. Gender awareness will be cultivated from an early age. I think having less male nurses and educators will influence children's consciousness in no small measure.]*
C4	1	I don't think females are different from males	1	I don't think females are different from males
C5	1	現在も主に女性が行っているから *[Because these jobs are done mainly by women.]*	1	現在も主に女性が行っているから *[Because these jobs are done mainly by women.]*
C6	3	The reason why I don't know these jobs. However, it seems looks like women's job. So, I choose it.	3	I think that it's still not normal. However, some men are doing care their children. So, I chose it.

Table 2 (continued)

Rsp.		Reasons for choice in Q10: Administrative duties	Q14	Reasons for choice in Q14: Caretakers
C7	1	男性か女性かで向いてる仕事かどうか区別できない。その仕事をやりたいと思ったら誰でもその仕事をやることができると思うから。*[Whether a job is suitable for men or women cannot be differentiated. That is because anyone who wants the job is capable of doing it in my opinion.]*	1	男性か女性かで向いてる仕事かどうか区別できない。その仕事をやりたいと思ったら誰でもその仕事をやることができると思うから。実際女性が多いと思うが、ひとは性別関係なく一人ひとりその人にしかできない仕事もあると思う。*[Whether a job is suitable for men or women cannot be differentiated. That is because anyone who wants the job is capable of doing it in my opinion. I suppose more women are doing these jobs in reality, but there will be jobs that can be done only by specific people without regard to gender.]*
C8	2	I just can*[not]* easily imagine. These kind of job require a developed communication skill and i think this is what female are good at doing.	3	It can be happened, but women is more good at these job. and i think children prefer female teacher than male.

Notably, it would seem that students' answers were influenced by media exposure (E2 and E4, for "answering phone") but to a lesser extent than the "male" jobs for females observed in Table 1. For caretakers, interestingly, the E group shows familiarity with male caretakers in their experiences (E2, E4, E5 and E6), even though their corresponding Likert scale answers are different. Some students' descriptive answers are contrastive. For example, for "answering phone", E6 and C2 think that females are more suitable because of their softer voice, whereas C3 expects the opposite because of the low tone of male voices. For Childcare, again C2 believes that the job is not suitable for men, whereas C3 proposes increasing male caretakers because that should raise gender-equality awareness from an early age. Four students in the E group experienced male kindergarten teachers and seemed to take for granted having both female and male teachers. C5 may be confused by the questions, choosing 1 (very normal) even though her descriptive answers do not match the numbers and indicate these jobs are usually done by women.

Partner for dating or marriage (Q2–3, 16–21). Most of the students in both groups showed unconventional ideas, wishing to share responsibilities equally with their partner or in proportion to whoever has more time, money or better information for decision making, paying on dates and doing housework. Out of the total of 14, there was only one student who would like her partner to take responsibility for organizing dates (Q2) or paying on dates (Q3), while most students chose 50/50. As for their future career, both groups gave career minded answers. Q20 asked, "*Imagine that you are a married/partner couple, and your partner has a large salary. How important is it to keep your job and not become a full-time housewife?*" They were to rate their answer on the Likert scale of 1 to 4, with 1 indicating very important. Looking closely at E1 student's answer, her Likert scale choice of 4 (not important to keep a job) does not correspond to what she wrote as the reason (I like to work). Excluding E1 student's answer, the average score for both groups was 2.0, meaning even if they had a rich partner, most students would rather keep working. Regardless of the group, most participants show the importance of earning money without relying on their partner's income in their reasons.

Table 3

Student Responses to Questions about Females Retaining Jobs Long-Term

Rsp.	Q20	Reasons for choice in Q20
E1	4	I like to work outside because I hate being at home all day.
E2	2	In Japanese society, male's salary are more expensive than female one, so I think they should make money as much as possible.
E3	3	I don't think job is important
E4	2	honestly, I want to focus on taking care of children if my husband's salary is very high and he earns enoght money to live.
E5	2	Having a job is one of the important thing to live.
E6	1	Because I want to work and earn by myself.
C1	3	We need incomes for lives and if partner's incomes are large enough, that means I can choose working or not working. Not to work is also the right.
C2	2	職をやめる必要はないと思うから。*[I don't think it is necessary to quit my job.]*
C3	2	いつパートナーがリストラされるか分からないし、お金はあればあるだけ良い。 *[My partner could get laid off at any time, and it's better to have more money anyway.]*
C4	2	自分のお金は自分で稼ぎたいし、お互いにリストラや病気のリスクがあるのだから二人で働けばその分リスクが部*[減]*ると思う *[I would like to earn money myself. Also, having two people work reduces the risks should one or the other of us get laid off or fall ill.]*
C5	2	夫の稼ぎによって結婚後も働くかどうか決まるから*[Depending on my husband's income , I would like to decide whether to keep working or not after marriage.]*
C6	2	The reason why it's quite important to avtive in the social area for me. *[The reason is that it is quite important for me to be socially active.]*
C7	1	離婚したらどうするのか、結婚生活がうまく続くとは限らないから。自分の生計は自分でたてるべき。*[There is always a possibility of not getting along in married life or divorcing. So I think I should earn a living myself.]*
C8	2	It's important for me to persue my career, but i can come to work less than before in order to do more housework.

Career opportunities in Japan and American women leaders (Q22–25). Students

in both groups mentioned that American women leaders have more support from the workplace

and family, especially from their partners, and Japan should adapt similar systems to level the playing field. They also think American women leaders are far more assertive, express their opinions without hesitation and often speak more eloquently than Japanese women leaders. These American women look more confident and are respected by the people around them. One student from each group mentioned that they have not met a Japanese female leader up close other than the chairperson of the university and that it would be good to have more Japanese female leaders as role models.

In Table 4, the numbers in the second column are students' choice on the Likert scale for the question: *The Japanese Government aims to increase women in leadership positions in all jobs by "30% by 2020" (Gender Equality Bureau, 2015). How important do you think "30% by 2020" is for Japanese women?* All but one of the E group chose "1" (very important), whereas the C group students chose 1, 2, 3 and 4. Their reasons are presented in the next column. Regardless of the group and the number they chose; all the comments show their frustration towards present-day Japanese society. For example, the comments corresponding to "1" on the Likert scale praise or support this government strategy because of the existing gender inequality, but comments corresponding to "3" and "4" show reluctance and strong doubts about this proposal and whether it will have any effect on society. Two C group students (C7 and C8) were more critical, saying that the Abe Cabinet's 2014 guideline that "30% of leaders should be women by 2020" is just an ideal and that social awareness is unlikely to change drastically.

Table 4

Student Opinions on the Quota Target for Managerial Positions of 30% by 2020

Rsp.	Q22	Reasons for choice in Q22
E1	1	If we are changing about equalities now, our life also are changing for good way and women will be easy to work or take off time.
E2	1	It's very good aim I think. But government should do something effective to achieve it. Actually, it is a tough aim to realize.
E3	1	Japan tend to be lower position for women, so many women complain, so this government policy is important.
E4	1	女性管理職の低い状況は、政府が強制しなければ変えるのは難しいと思う。だからこのように目標を立てて取り組むのはよいことだと思う。*[The initiative to establish a goal and undertake the task is good because changing the low rate of Japanese women in managerial positions will be difficult without government enforcement.]*
E5	1	Having a job is one of the important thing to live.
E6	3	I know Olympics is important, but nether the less we have Olympics or not, we have to increase women's leader. I think Olympics is not relating to this point.
C1	1	女性のことを理解できるのは女性だから。*[It is because only women can understand women's issues.]*
C2	1	実際に日本人女性だからこういった具体的な政策は重要。*[Because we are Japanese women, we need this kind of specific measure.]*
C3	1	The reason why I'm believe that we can do it!
C4	1	女性か男性かで責任がある仕事を任されないというのはおかしい。誰でもその能力があればリーダーになれる。*[It is strange to assign responsible jobs based on gender. Anyone with competence should be able to become a leader.]*
C5	2	Because we should be equal and women can't be weaker than men.

Table 4 (continued)

Rsp.	Q22	Reasons for choice in Q22
C6	2	そんなに大きな数字ではないけど、少しずつでも増えていく必要があるから。*[Although the target number is not that high, the rate needs to improve, even if bit by bit.]*
C7	3	数値だけを引き上げても意味がない。男性女性あるいは性別関係なくすべてのひとが意識を改めることが大事であるように思う。目標を達成したのちに数値が下がるようでは意味がない。いまの管理職世代がお亡くなりになってくれないと難しいように感じる。（彼らはとても考えが古く、頑固であるので）*[I cannot see the point of only raising the number. I think it is important for everyone, regardless of gender, to redefine the idea. It would be meaningless if the rate went down once the target number was fulfilled. I believe it will be difficult to achieve this change before the present managerial generations pass away. (They are stubborn and behind in their way of thinking.)]*
C8	4	I don't think that situation will make a difference. Even women have the leaderships in politics, it's hard to represent ordinal ladies' opinions considering the situation of politicians.

Priority for career choices (Q26–31). Regardless of the group, students seem to be interested in promotion or taking responsible jobs, but some of them abandoned the idea of a career track *(Sogoushoku)* because of an excessively demanding workload. In this category, the Tables 5–7 show students' current choices if they take a career ladder after graduation (Table 5) or start a career in the future after having children (Table 6), and regarding job conditions (Table 7).

Table 5 shows students who chose a career immediately after graduation (Q26) in *Ippanshoku* (Administration) or *Sogoushoku* (Career ladder) and the reasons for their choice. Two students in the E group and three students in the C group chose a career ladder in order to widen their livelihood opportunities and better their salary (E4, E5, C3, C5, and C7), while three in the E group (E1, E2, and E6) and two in the C group (C1 and C6) are not sure which option to choose or the differences between the two. C4 and C8 show reluctance toward choosing *Sogoushoku* because of the amount of hard work.

Table 5

Career Choices After Graduation

Rsp.	Q26	Reasons for choice in Q26
E1	Undecided	I think I can change jobs a lot than before so I can choose both of paths.
E2	Undecided	I do not understand it well yet.
E3	Ippanshoku	I think it's adaptable for me
E4	*Sogoushoku*	To get a job of 総合職 *[Sogoushoku]* is a oppotunity for women who graduate 4 years university or college so I really want to choose 総合職.
E5	*Sogoushoku*	総合職なら転勤があるから。転勤をしていろんなところに行きたいから。 *[Sogoushoku offers job relocations. I would like to go to many places via company transfers.]*
E6	*Ippanshoku*	I thought I wanted to work as *ippanshoku* before, but now I'm thinking which is good for me. *[Initially I wanted ippanshoku, but now I'm not that sure and so I kept wondering which choice is better for me.]*
C1	Undecided	違いが良く分かりません*[I don't understand the difference between the two very clearly.]*
C2	Depends on the company	I usually choose *Sogoushoku*, because I want to have something goals which I go for it. I will get more high motivation. However, it's depend on companies.
C3	*Sogoushoku*	給料がよさそうだから。 *[It seems to offer a higher salary.]*
C4	*Ippanshoku*	Even though, career ladder can get promoted, but when i think of the amount of work, i want to choose administration.
C5	*Sogoushoku*	Because I've heard it offers more money.
C6	Undecided	どちらとも興味があるから。 *[I am interested in both of them.]*
C7	*Sogoushoku*	ある就活講座にて、「あなたよりも無能な男性社員が、将来自分の上司になったとしたらどう思うか？」と問われ、そんな屈辱的なことはないと思った。昇級*[給]*に興味はないが、無能上司の尻拭いをさせられるよりはマシ。 *[I was asked at a job-hunting seminar what I would think if an incompetent male employee became my boss in the future. I thought that would be a most humiliating situation. Although I am not interested in salary raises, I would rather choose (a career ladder) than clean up my incompetent boss's mess.]*

Table 5 (continued)

Rsp.	Q26	Reasons for choice in Q26
C8	Depends on the company	きつすぎる総合職は辛い*[Some Sogoushoku are too tough for me to consider.]*

Table 6 shows students who chose to postpone a career until after establishing a family (Q28), what they intend to do about work after they have children, and the reasons for their choice. Interestingly, all but C3, who answered *Sogoushoku* in the previous question (Q26), did not choose *"Keep working/ keep your job"*, but instead "*Ask family (Mother, grandparents) to help"* (E4, E5, and C7) or *"End career and return as part time only"* (C5). Most students who chose *"Keep working/ keep your job"* (E1, E2, E6, C1, C2, C3, C6 and C8) answered *"undecided"* (E1, E2, C1 and C6) or indicated hesitation about choosing *Sogoushoku* (E6, C2, and C8). Because *"Ask family to help"* implies they want to continue working, there were only two students who would like to change their work style to accommodate child rearing and become a part-timer (E3 and C5).

Table 6

Career Choices in the Future

Rsp.	Q28	Reasons for choice in Q28
E1		I hate to work at home all day long.
E2		I want to keep working and to do it I want to ask for my parents to take care of my children.
E6		I want to work like my mother have done.
C1	Keep working/ keep your job	夫が相当な稼ぎがない限り出来るだけ働いてお金を貯めたい。 *[Unless my husband earns a lot, I would like to work as much as possible and save money.]*
C2		The reason why I think that it's important to get more money for children too.Then, If I could, I wanna help my parents thier children too.

Table 6 (continued)

Rsp.	Q28	Reasons for choice in Q28
C3	Keep working/ keep your job (continued)	もしいい仕事つまり給料がよくて残業も少ないようなワークライフバランスを大事にできるような仕事に就いていたら続けたい。*[If my job offers a good work-life balance, such as a good salary and not excessive overtime, I would like to keep working.]*
C6		一度やめてまた働きたいから。*[After quitting once, I would like to go back to work.]*
C8		働くことが好きだから*[I like working.]*
E3	End your career and return as part time only	I think it's impossible to do both working and caring children because of my body health situation. After raising children to some extent, I want to work as a part time job.
C5		Especially before entering elementary school, I wanna be a full time mom. Hopefully later on, I want to be back to a full time worker, since I am a kind of 三歳神話*[three-year-old myth: i.e. the growth of a child until 3 years is very important.]* believer even I know that is not everything.
E4		after have children I want to live near my parents to ask them to help.
E5		I think it is reliable if my mother take care of my child.
C4	Ask your family to help	Because i think its wise of me to ask adult.because they know things more than me.
C7		高所得な男性と結婚するつもりもできる様子もないので、仕事は続けなければならない。犯罪などが心配なのでデイケアサービスなどは使いたくない。妹は結婚する気がないようなので、自分であれば母に子どもたちのお世話を頼める（兄が結婚したとしても、兄嫁はわたしの母を頼ることはないだろうし）*[I must keep working as I see no possibility or have any pretense of getting married to a man with a good salary. I don't want to rely on daycare services to look after my kids because of concerns about crime. My younger sister doesn't seem to be interested in marriage, so I can ask my mother to look after my kids. (Even if my older brother marries and has kids in the future, my sister-in law would not ask my mother to do so.)]*

Table 7 ranks students' priorities when choosing a job with respect to equal salary with males, equal promotion, career development, maternity leave, and oversea branch. A "1"

indicates most important and "5" least important. The students' priorities vary, but the averaging out of rankings in the E group shows that equal promotion was the most important (1.8) and career development (4.0) and oversea branch (3.6) the least. The C group did not show as clear a distinction in preferences and the averages were 2.38, 2.63, 3.34, 2.88 and 3.62, respectively. The far right column shows the reasons for their preferences. Many of them expressed some anger about the unequal opportunities of promotion and salary.

Table 7

Priorities of Job Choices

Rsp.	Equal Salary	Equal Promo-tion	Career Develop-ment	Mater-nity Leave	Over-seas Branch	Reasons
E1	3	1	4	5	2	I think male have privilege to get great opportunities and male unrespect female. I want to need changing about it.
E2	3	1	4	2	5	I want to have equal work opportunity and get a promotion.
E3	2	3	4	1	5	I want to point out about maternity.
E4	4	2	3	1	5	Promoting full time wokers it is important to have a good system for people who have children.
E5	2	1	4	5	3	It is fair to get same salary if we do same jobs.
E6	4	3	5	1	2	I hope I can work in U.S.
C1	3	1	4	2	5	女性だからという理由で男性と同じ職に就けないのはおかしい。本当は全部一位にしたい。*[It is strange not to be able to get the same job as males because we are women. I'd like to make all of them as No. 1.]*
C2	5	2	1	3	4	The reason why everthing is important.

Table 7 (continued)

Rsp.	Equal Salary	Equal Promo-tion	Career Develop-ment	Mater-nity Leave	Over-seas Branch	Reasons
C3	1	4	5	3	2	女性と男性かだけで給料が違うなんて許せない。*[It is unforgivable to differentiate salary based only on being a woman or man.]*
C4	2	3	4	5	1	If there will be difference of salary, i will get angry. I don't know the reason.
C5	5	4	2	1	3	I would like to use my English skills in the workplace.
C6	1	3	4	2	5	給料は平等であってほしいから。*[I would like the salary to be equal.]*
C7	1	2	5	3	4	順位がつけられない*[It is very hard to rank my preferences.]*
C8	1	3	2	4	5	同じことをするなら同じ給料でない理由がわからない。*[I don't understand why the salary would be different if the work is the same.]*

Future self after 10 years and 20 years (Q32–37). More students in the C group showed a plan with child rearing first and then a focus on career development later. Questions from Q32 to Q35 asked their future prospects in 10 years' time and 20 years' time, and Q36 and Q37 their conclusions about women, jobs and the workplace after completing the questionnaire. Table 8 shows the choices of their future-self after 10 years in the second column and the reasons for the choices in the third column. Answer choices for Q32 are *"Working in an overseas branch," "High level leadership (managing/directing)," "Low level leadership (Coordinating/supervising)," "Full time administrative duties," "Part time work and raising children" and "Motherhood."*

Table 8

Future-Self Image 10 Years Later

Rsp.	Q32	Reasons for Choice in Q32
E1	Working in an overseas branch	I would like to experienve working at overseas branch because I may have different experiences and better experiences than Japanese work places.
E2	High level leadership	I will be single and work very hard!
E3	Low level leadership	I want to have children, but I'm not sure in next 10 years
E4	Motherhood	I want have children before 30.
E5	Low level leadership	If the government succeeds the policy about 30 percent of women leadership by 2020, I have a chance.
E6	Full time administrative duties	I will not quit the job except matanity leave
C1	Full time administrative duties	そもそもまだ結婚できてないと思う。*[To begin with, I would not be able to get married then.]*
C2	Low level leadership	結婚や育児を通しゆっくりと昇進したい。*[I'd like to get promoted slowly while getting married and rearing children.]*
C3	Part time work and raising children	十年以内に結婚はしていたいから。*[Because I hope to be married within 10 years.]*
C4	High level leadership	I just imagined myself for ideal.
C5	Low level leadership	32歳だったらこれくらいかなと思う。*[I think I will be able to achieve this much by the time I turn 32.]*
C6	Part time work and raising children	一番想像がつきやすい未来だったから。*[Because this choice was the most attainable future image for me.]*
C7	Motherhood	I want to be a mother before 30s.
C8	Part time work and raising children	少しでも働きながら子どもを育てることが希望だから。*[Because my hope is to raise children while working even a little.]*

Table 9 shows a comparison of the two groups' answers to Q32. None of the students in the E group chose *"Part time work and raising children",* whereas three students chose it in the C group. From Table 8, we can also see that none of the E students mentioned working part time in their answers, whereas the C students more often indicated childrearing and marriage

in their answers. Further, an E group student chose *"working in an oversea branch"*, whereas none of the C group students made this choice. Based on this comparison, we might be able to suggest that the E group students were slightly more career-minded.

Table 9

Comparison of Choices of Q32

E	C	Choices
1	0	Working in an overseas branch
1	1	High level leadership (managing/directing)
2	2	Low level leadership (Coordinating/supervising)
1	1	Full time administrative duties
0	3	Part time work and raising children
1	1	Motherhood

Other answers in this category suggest that the students wish to have a double-income family, but only two students in each group would like to have a high-level leadership position in 20 years. The rest of the students chose low-level leadership jobs, administrative duties, or part-time work and raising children in 20 years. On the whole, therefore, they all seem to understand the realities and limits of Japanese society, and tend to account for this accordingly in future planning. This does seem to suggest the notion of conforming to present social norms.

Discussion

At first, this study hypothesized that the E group, which participated in the off-campus gender issues studies course in the U.S., would have a heightened awareness of gender issues and or feminisms in comparison to the C group. However, this was not clearly established. In short, against what was hypothesized, this paper highlighted how the Japanese female students' awareness of feminisms was not heightened when they took the off-campus gender issues course, with the C group possessing a similar level of awareness of feminisms to the E group. One difference is demonstrated by almost all of the E group students, who competently

described their survey answers in English, whereas the C group students were more articulate in Japanese. This is considered to be a gain in their second language learning, not an increased awareness of feminisms. Thus, gender issues and feminism taught from a U.S. perspective seem to not impact the Japanese female university students in this study at this time.

Yet, both the E and C groups indicated an awareness of feminisms—U.S. feminism and Japanese feminism alike—that was higher than expected. Further, comments by students from both groups showed that the students have the ambition and a desire to be independent in Japanese society. Nonetheless, they are realistic in terms of the impediments that Japan could be argued to promulgate which discourages some of them from pursuing a notable career (*Sogoushoku*) and juggling, or not, this with a family; instead choosing a job without a career-track and family (*Ippanshoku*).

It could be argued that the students see the distinction between a Japanese feminism, not relative to a U.S. feminism, as a result of the socialization by their culture of origin. This seems to support prior references in this paper to global feminisms scholars in terms of their criticism of a hegemonic, U.S. form of feminism which is seeded in Western and white liberal female dialogue and discourse. The authors proffer that their ability to distinguish between a US and Japanese feminism could be due to the general nature of a women's university in Japan, which by default, provides an environment that empowers women and provides them with opportunities for: determining their own futures, career mentoring, exposure and embeddedness within international contexts, constructive competition, and/or taking advantage of leadership experiences.

On the other hand, the explicitness of feminism taught from the U.S. perspective and in English, vis-à-vis the implicitness of a Japanese feminism at a women's university, gives rise to a different issue. This paper has presented the view that despite the participants' awareness of different concepts of feminisms, they have a less clear idea of Japanese feminism when compared with U.S. feminism. This condition may not only be a result of, but also fuels a hegemonic tendency of U.S. feminism when it is present in curriculum abroad and in Japan. It is argued that this tendency does not serve Japanese female students well, since the local context is not accounted for. Hence, university educational programs which support feminisms from nations other than Japan, yet simultaneously include more extensive coverage of the

Japanese context for feminism, are anticipated to encourage a more positive attitude to feminism in both the local and international contexts.

Future Directions

Women in Japan are facing a very different future as they are increasingly called on to participate more in the workforce. The separation of part-time (*Ippanshoku*) and full-time (*Sogoushoku*) workers, although it excludes some women, has given young females educated at universities in Japan more self-determination.

Despite the aforementioned, the negativity encompassing the persistent low rankings of Japan in the annual Global Gender Gap were reinforced again in 2017. Although Japan has reached near parity with the highest ranked nations on economic, education and health indices, the political empowerment index accounts for a significant and successive slip in Japan's ranking (WEF, 2017). In addition, from the local context point of view, although Prime Minister Abe declared at the World Economic Forum in Davos, 2014 that the government would promote a Japan in which women shine; some actions appear to be contradictory. For example, in 2015, there was a drastic reduction in the Gender Bureau's (2014) quota targets for women's participation and leadership in the private and public sectors from 30% to 15% and 7% respectively (Aoki, 2015a). Yet, in June 2018, these have been re-revised more positively in favor of increased targets (Bureau of Gender Equality, 2018).

The guest speaker for 2017 at WAW! Tokyo, Kristina Georgieva, Chief Executive of the World Bank put forward that data is vital to measuring a society's progress in gender equality. That is, percentages track societies regarding their present state and pathways towards bolstering women's economic empowerment, through education or workforce quotas (World Bank, 2017). Supporting examples included: Afghanistan has increased the number of girls educated to 40% in the last 15 years, and Japan's GDP could improve by 9% if women contributed more to the workforce (World Bank, 2017). Georgieva further highlighted estimates that the world economy could increase between 12 and 28 trillion if there is full female workforce participation (World Bank, 2017).

As bell hooks (2013) asserted, a simple, homogenous gendered identity of women struggling to gain equality with men does not exist. For the Japanese context, this is supported by Mari Miura's comments, who is a political science professor at Sophia University in Tokyo.

Miura believes that Japan has a predisposition towards a lack of support and justice, and moreover, sisterhood. Therefore, this scholar understands why in the Japanese context, women are reluctant to speak up for feminist causes (Yamaguchi, 2018). Chizuko Ueno also highlighted this lack of solidarity among Japanese women in her lecture titled, "Forty Years of Japanese Feminism: What it has achieved...and what it has not" (Ueno, 2015). Nonetheless, Ito (2015) states that Ueno has inspired a younger generation of feminists that it is okay to speak up. Yet, in Yamaguchi's (2018) article, titled, "In patriarchal Japan, saying 'Me Too' can be risky for women," several cases are highlighted when highly accomplished females in varying fields spoke up about their struggles, yet were vilified by some media outlets and women alike for doing so. A case in point is Shiori Ito, an upcoming journalist who alleged sexual harassment by her senior and prominent journalist. This case was hotly debated in the media, which spread the issue to a larger audience, yet ended in the senior journalist's resignation and Ito had to move to London (Daimon et al. 2018).

Thus, it is argued that there is a need for increased awareness of global feminisms and a Japanese feminism in Japan. As Mitsu Tanaka, acupuncturist and a key female figure of the women's liberation in the 1970s in Japan, stated, the movement was neither imported from the U.S. nor similar to it. That is, rather than prefacing equal rights with men, it called for liberation from the gendered role repression of women (Ito, 2015). Therefore, by furthering the women's movement in Japan, greater awareness should be drawn to supportive forums such as the WAW! Tokyo and the W-WAN website. These forums align feminism in Japan with international feminism movements such as the Women's March and spur hybrids such as the #WithYou campaign by W-WAN (W-WAN, 2018).

Yet, feminist issues are wide ranging such as fighting capitalist models implemented by the government which reduce social services in impoverished communities in the U.S., as reported by Taylor. Or as Ghose (2002) highlighted, the problems when national curriculums do not incorporate women's studies despite the ratio of women being educated surpassing that of men in India. Thus, the Global Feminisms Project can create sustainable awareness to Women's Studies, at a global level while simultaneously addressing the national context. For example, in Japan, the long tradition of looking after the elderly in their own homes has been the responsibility of the children and primarily daughters-in-law, yet as more women work and family structures change, Philing (2014) argues that the state must find alternatives. Exploring

issues such as this one in The Global Feminisms Project could provide solutions tailored to the needs of Japanese women

This paper recommends that university programs encourage a curriculum that promulgates debate on and engenders a Japanese feminism. To do so, educators should cover the women's liberation movement in Japan from the past to present, and it should be studied by male and female students alike. Higher levels of student participation in forums such as WAW and/or referencing of W-WAN materials in class should also be encouraged. Not only do these forums showcase the movement in Japan, they also provide diverse standpoints from other nations' positions on feminist struggles. In short, a global feminisms stance could embody the core approach of the Global Feminisms Project. Replicating this model would aid students to bridge the gap between Japanese and global feminisms. Thus, such forums and this project are essential for all nations to promote a collective knowledge of the women's movement globally, and for Japan to reflect back on its progression in the women's movement vis-à-vis the world.

Conclusion

This paper therefore cautions against women's universities in Japan centering their programs on gender and feminist issues which focus exclusively on movements, waves, and or post- or neo-feminism from the U.S. viewpoint. Since the students who participated in this study tend to other U.S. feminism, it is proffered that incorporating gender or feminism issues from the local context of Japan is advantageous. Although data is important to measure progress, the Global Gender Gap Report should not be the only indicator of women's advancement. For specific accounts of present feminist movements specific to Japan, the model of the Global Feminisms Project is undoubtedly more comprehensive because the founders' and contributors' stance is that projects must be developed in the context of debates about how to incorporate new understandings of local and international positions on feminism into the curricula of women's studies. It is therefore important that the administrators, educators, and researchers involved in the facilitation of study-abroad programs and off-campus extension courses take note of projects such as the Global Feminisms Project and envelop its concept into their programs and curricula. Particularly Japanese women's universities could benefit from, on students' return to Japan, the exploration of feminism from a local context as well as its

comparison with other feminisms internationally for a more global perspective. Young Japanese women graduating from university are facing the need to contribute more significantly to the economic landscape of Japan. In addition, they will be part of an increasingly internationalizing society. In referring back to the study, although it had a limited sample size, this merely served to highlight the need for more dedicated and collaborative research on a much larger scale in this field, and particularly in Japan. In conclusion, laying foundations in academia of concepts such as the Global Feminisms Project tied with contemporary forums from the local context such as WAW or W-WAN equips graduating Japanese women with global feminisms frameworks for a value-added contribution to the workforce of both the nation and the global society.

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Appendix

The following questions appeared in the questionnaire. Some answer choices are omitted and there are some missing numbers (e.g. 7 and 9). These are questions (Qs) that pertain to the previous question and ask for the reasons behind the choices made.

1. Did you participate the Gender Study course at Emmanuel College?

2. Imagine you are in a partnership and go on a date, who is usually organizing the date? (E.g. Place, time etc.) Choices: You, Partner, Shared 50–50, etc.

3. Again, imagine you go on a date, who, do you think, is responsible for paying for the date? Choices: You, Partner, Shared 50–50, etc.

4. Jobs for males Qs: The following jobs are often done by males:

   a.) Specialized professions (Lawyers, Accountants). How do you feel if females have these jobs? Likert scale choices: 1= Very normal, 4=Not normal.

5. Explain your choice in Q.4 in 1–3 sentences: If you'd prefer, you can write in Japanese. (Questions 6–9 have the same organization as 4&5).

6. b.) Government (Politicians, Military/Police Chiefs).

8. c.) Transportation Drivers (Pilots, Truck drivers).

10. Jobs for females Qs: The following jobs are often done by females:

   a.) Administrative duties (Answering phones, entering data). How do you feel if males hold these jobs? Likert scale choices: 1= Very normal, 4=Not normal

11. Explain your choice in Q.10 in 1–3 sentences: If you'd prefer, you can write in Japanese. (Questions 12–15 have the same organization as 10&11).

12. b.) Front line service (Waiters, Cabin Attendants).

14. c.) Caretakers (Nursing, Childcare).

16. Look at the following chart. The blue line shows Japan. Compared to USA, the Netherlands and Norway, Japan's average is lower. How do you feel about this? Choices: Surprised, Demotivated, Expected, etc. (Gender Equality Bureau, n.d.)

17. Explain your choice in Q.16 in 1–3 sentences: If you'd prefer, you can write in Japanese. (Questions 18–37 have the same organization as 16&17).

18. Imagine you are a married/partnered couple, and both you and your partner/husband work full time. Who is responsible for the housework? Choices: You, Shared 50–50, 70 (you) - 30 (your partner / husband), etc.

20. Imagine that you are a married/partnered couple, and your partner/husband has a large salary. How important is it to: i) Keep your job and ii) not become a full-time housewife? Likert scale choices: 1= Very important, 4=Not important.

22. The Japanese Government aims to increase women in leadership positions in all jobs by "30% by 2020" (WEF, 2014). How important do you think "30% by 2020" is for Japanese women? Likert scale choices: 1= Very important, 4=Not important.

24. From your experience in Boston, what is your impression of American women and leadership in their jobs? Choices: USA women leaders are stronger; The leadership styles are the same in the USA and Japan, etc.

26. When job hunting in Japan, there are two paths: i) *Ippanshoku* (Administration) OR ii) *Sogoushoku* (Career ladder). Which do you think you will choose? Choices: *Ippanshoku*, *Sogoushoku*, Undecided, etc.

28. In the future, imagine you have children. What do you think you will do? Choices: Keep working/ keep your job (both you and your partner keep working), Ask your family (Mother, grandparents) to help, etc.

30. In your future workplace, rank the following from 1–5 in order of importance to you. (1= Most important, 5=Least important) Choices: Equal income as males, maternity leave, etc.

32. Where do you imagine yourself in 10 years' time (about 32 years old)? Choices: Full time administrative duties, Part time work and raising children, Working in an overseas branch, etc.

34. Where do you imagine yourself in 20 years' time (about 42 years old)? Choices: Full time administrative duties, Part time work and raising children, Working in an overseas branch, etc.

36. Conclusion: After completing this questionnaire, how important is knowing about
women, jobs and the workplace to you? Likert scale choices: 1= Very important, 4=Not
important.

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Perceptions of Desirability and Enactment of Agency among Japanese Male University Students Abroad

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This study utilizes thematic analysis with qualitative interview data to explore how four Japanese men who studied at Canadian universities viewed themselves as (un)desirable conversation partners abroad, and how they enacted agency through joining their host communities by using English. Participants' accounts suggest they were both exposed to and constructed negative discourses about Japanese men as unpopular as friends and/or romantic partners for the non-Japanese students around them. Participants also compared themselves to the Japanese women in their community who seemed to be regularly approached for English conversation by non-Japanese men. Because of this, the four men felt disadvantaged and that they were ultimately forced to create their own opportunities to speak. This study adds to the limited literature on the gendered Japanese male sojourner experience and advocates for the contextualization of sojourner experience within social and historical hierarchies of power.

本研究は、カナダの大学に留学した４人の日本人男性がいかに自分自身を（非）欲望の対象としてみているのか、英語を使いその国で生活することを通していかに行為主体（エージェンシー）を行使していくのかを、質的なインタビューデータを用いて主題分析をする。本研究の参加者たちの語りは、日本人男性たちが留学先では他国からの留学生から友達あるいはロマンティックな相手としては人気がないという否定的な言説にさらされていること、また、彼ら自身がその言説を作り出していることを明らかにしている。また、彼らは自分たちと日本人女性を比較し、日本人女性たちは非日本人男性たちから英語による会話の場面において常に誘われていると考えていた。このような理由から、その４人の男性たちは自分たちは不利な立場にいると感じ、最終的には自分たちが話す機会を作り出さなければならないと感じていた。本研究は、ジェンダー化された日本人男性の留学体験に関する数少ない文献に追加するものであり、社会的、歴史的権力のヒエラルキーの中で、留学経験を文脈化することを主張するものである。

In her book, *Language learning and study abroad: A critical reading of research*, Kinginger (2009) touches on a notion held by many students, language teachers, and educational administrators alike: that study abroad is "a crucial step" (p. 4) in mastering a foreign language. Kinginger also illustrates that within Japan, perceptions of study abroad are specifically connected to the acquisition of English and intercultural communication skills. In recent years, however, concerns are mounting regarding the supposedly increasing number of *uchimuki* ("inward looking") youth who do not appear to have the same interest in international experience as previous generations. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) (2017) has noted a decrease in the enrolment of Japanese students at foreign universities, continuing to intensify fears that young people in Japan are avoiding studying and working abroad, resulting in a decrease in the international competencies necessary to help Japan succeed in a globalizing world (Burgess, 2015). Prompted by concerns about *uchimuki* youth and the need to create "globally-minded talent" (MEXT, n.d.), MEXT implemented *Tobitate* ("Leap for Tomorrow") in 2013, an initiative to publicly and privately promote and fund study abroad for Japanese youth.

The negative discourses of *uchimuki* youth have been challenged by several scholars (see Burgess, 2015), and indeed Burgess (2013; 2015) questions whether this *uchimuki* youth phenomenon even exists, suggesting instead, "it may be more accurate to talk of *uchimuki* government or even society" (2013, p. 93). Conflicting with MEXT's previous anxieties over a lack of internationally-focused Japanese youth, notable numbers of young people still venture outside of Japan for short-term sojourns, such as university exchanges, summer programs, private language school courses and volunteer opportunities. The Japan Association of Overseas Students (JAOS) (2016) estimates that, including short-term language school sojourns, approximately 173,000 Japanese students were abroad from 2014 to 2015. This is a significant discrepancy from MEXT's original estimation of 55,350 in 2013. Moreover, 80% of Japanese study abroad participants choose the United States, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand as their destination (JAOS, 2016). Clearly, study abroad and English use still hold a place of importance for many Japanese young people.

Background: Gender, Japanese Men and Study Abroad
Study abroad has become highly feminised in Japan over the last several decades. In 2017, the

Japan Student Service Organization (JASSO) released a report that estimated that 62% of official Japanese university study abroad participants in 2016 were female. Perhaps because of this relatively high number, gender has been a significant factor in analysing the Japanese female experience overseas. For instance, Kelsky's (2001) interviews with Japanese women invested in study, work, or romance abroad helped popularize the term *akogare* ("desire" or "yearning"), which has since become synonymous with Japanese women's supposed strong desire or longing for Western "things," such as pop culture, the English language, or even Western (often White) men. Several subsequent studies have suggested a broad mutual romantic interest among heterosexual Japanese women and White (generally English speaking) men (e.g. Bailey, 2007; Kennet & Jackson, 2014; Piller & Takahashi, 2006). At the same time, some scholars have problematized a static view of *akogare*, urging for a nuanced analysis of Japanese female experiences and desires that emphasizes agency and does not essentialise or sexualise Japanese women (see Kitamura, 2016; Kobayashi, 2007; Kubota, 2011; and Takahashi, 2013).

The popularity of English study abroad among Japanese women is a thought-provoking comparison to studies whose female participants seemed to fare worse than their male counterparts overseas. For example, gender is observed as a salient category of the study abroad experience in studies such as Polyani (1995), Rawlins (2012) and Talburt and Stewart (1999), where American women overseas reported sexual harassment that negatively affected their sojourn. The impact of damaging experiences such as this has even been suggested to hinder the foreign language development of women (Polyani, 1995). In direct contrast to these women's struggles, Hassell (2006) and Isabelli-Garcia (2006) suggest that the foreign environments of study abroad tend to create contexts more supportive of males, resulting in increased ease of gaining the target language in comparison to their female counterparts.

Perhaps due to their significantly smaller presence overseas, Japanese men are largely underrepresented in study abroad research. This may also be due to the assumption that the male experience is the standard experience, structuring women as "the other" who are worthier of study (Taga, 2005). Kato (2007) furthermore observes a trend among Western feminist academics in researching the lives of Japanese women. She later argued that neglecting Japanese men overseas may result in "a monolithic depiction of men as if they were all equally content with Japanese society" (Kato, 2015, p. 222). Such essentialism has potentially damaging effects for researchers, educators, and Japanese sojourners alike.

Fortunately, some critical studies from recent years have shed light on experiences and perspectives of short-term male Japanese sojourners. For example, Churchill (2009) presents the case study of Hiro, a Japanese high school student who studied in the United States. Hiro, being the only male in his program, did not spend much time with the female Japanese students at his school and instead developed close friendships with his non-Japanese classmates. This resulted in more opportunities to use English than the Japanese females in his program, who he described as tending to group together. Kato (2013; 2015), who has conducted extensive work with Japanese youth abroad, interviewed Japanese males who were participating in *jibun sagashi* (self-searching) study abroad and working holiday programs in Australia and Canada. These "'self-searching migrants'" (2015, p. 221), viewed their time abroad as potentially damaging in relation to their career in Japan and, in turn, to how society perceives them as successful adult men. Participants appeared to negotiate discourses of Japanese masculinity in relation to their social class and personal goals throughout their time abroad. Lastly, Takayama's (2000) interviews with young Japanese men studying at private English language schools in Vancouver contrast with Hiro's experience depicted in Churchill (2009). Within his participants' accounts, Takayama (2000) observed *akogare* for Western people and pop culture, and a distant attraction and admiration of White women in their host community. However, when reflecting on seemingly unattainable standards of Western hegemonic masculinity, participants concluded they were undesirable conversation partners for White women and believed they had fewer opportunities to use English than the Japanese women in their community.

Research outside of study abroad has portrayed negative discourses about heterosexual Japanese men similar to Takayama's (2000) participants' concerns (e.g., Appleby, 2013; Kelsky 2001; Takeda, 2012). Here, Japanese men (generally assumed to be heterosexual) are feminized and desexualized through Orientalist images and comparisons to Western men. This diverges sharply from the Western Orientalist discourse that sexualizes and eroticises Japanese women (Kato, 2007; Takahashi, 2013) and proposes that Japanese men could be positioned as less favourable conversation partners in Western study abroad contexts than their female counterparts.

This speculation raises the question, does desirability give the Japanese women studying overseas different types of chances to join in their host communities and develop fluency in their target language than their male counterparts? As is attempted to be

demonstrated in this article, community building and language use are not merely a matter of one's gender, but also the complex interactions within hierarchies of power and the identities projected onto individuals in addition to the identities they claim. This paper presents four case studies of young Japanese men who studied in English-medium programs at Canadian universities in order to explore the Japanese male experience overseas in relation to gender, speech and identity. Their stories reveal feelings of marginalization due to their status not simply as non-native English speakers, but more so as combinations of being Japanese and male. Ultimately, all four participants believed they had fewer opportunities to use English than their Japanese female classmates because they believed that they were not approached as much for conversation. When faced with this disappointment and feelings of inequality, these men displayed agency through actively creating opportunities to use English and joining favourable communities both on and off campus.

Methods and Participants

The data from the four men in this study draws from a larger sample for a doctoral dissertation of in-depth qualitative interviews with 18 Japanese men who have studied and/or participated in working holiday visa programs in a variety of countries. These men ranged in age from 21 to 34. The wider study seeks to help fill the current gap in literature about the international experiences of Japanese men, particularly through the lens of participant perceptions of gender and masculinity during their time abroad. Although data collection and analysis were not yet complete at the time of writing this article, I was surprised that in response to the question, "Do you think your time abroad was different than that of the Japanese women around you?" 12 of the 18 participants claimed they were spoken to by members of their host community much less than their female counterparts. Subsequently, all 12 men were concerned this may have negatively affected their chances for language learning and developing social networks. For this reason, the topic of Japanese men's chances to use English and their participation in social networks overseas was analyzed.

In order to present detailed experiences of participants in this article, analysis was limited to four participants. The four men's case studies were chosen for this article because of their similarities in age, program length and purpose, and country of study. All participants were exchange students at Canadian universities during their undergraduate degree for one academic year, with the main purposes of improving their English and intercultural

understanding.

The following table gives an overview of participants and their study abroad program. All participant names are pseudonyms, chosen by the men themselves. Their universities and any individuals they refer to have also been given pseudonyms to maintain anonymity as per research ethics guidelines.

Table 1

Participant Profiles

Name	Age	Study abroad location in Canada	Program year
Ryota	24	British Columbia	2014–2015
Natsuki	25	Ontario	2013–2014
Tom	21	Alberta	2016–2017
Haruki	21	British Columbia	2016–2017

Data was collected through semi-structured qualitative interviews from June 2017 to March 2018 in the Kansai and Kanto regions of Japan. Galletta and Cross (2013) argue that semi-structured qualitative interviews can both be used to gather data based on participant experience and be linked to existing theories. This method of data collection was selected because the wider goal of this research was to learn about the Japanese male experience overseas through the interviewees' narratives alongside analysis of the discourses in their accounts in connection to current theory and literature. Such interviews are often selected to elicit "rich descriptions" (Roulston, 2010, p. 136) from participants, and yet numerous scholars have warned against the danger of deleting the researcher role in the production and analysis of data (e.g., Potter & Hepburn, 2005; Wooffitt & Widdicombe, 2006). Takeda (2012), for instance, illustrates the bidirectional nature of the research interview and the need for research reflexivity by analysing his subjectivity as an unmarried Japanese man interviewing married Japanese women about their international marriages in Australia. He concludes that his identity affected his interactions with participants and their husbands, and importantly, he was jarred by how participant utterances went so far as to influence the way he viewed his own identity. I, too, have found it essential to practice reflexivity in the way that my own identity as a North American White English-speaking woman impacted my interactions with participants and the

way I analyse data. These issues will be further addressed in the Conclusion section of this article.

Research interviews spanned from 35 minutes to 1.5 hours and interviews took place in cafes or family restaurants accessible to participants and myself. Both Japanese and English were used in the majority of interviews. English translations are italicised and presented beside the Japanese in square brackets when necessary. All translations have been checked with a Japanese-English bilingual colleague. Within the interview excerpts, participants are represented by the first letter of their name, whereas the researcher, myself, is represented by "L."

After transcription, interviews were analyzed using inductive thematic analysis, "a process of coding the data *without* trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's analytic preconceptions" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83, emphasis in original). This involved creating codes that represented both similarities and differences in data, and then grouping codes into themes. I also aimed to look at the unique aspects of each participant throughout their overall narrative. The transcripts were then specifically analyzed again regarding three questions: (1) How did the participants view their opportunities to speak English? (2) What factors did participants believe affected these opportunities? (3) How did participants react to their frequency of opportunities to speak English?

Results

Theme 1: *Moteru*, social capital and chances to speak. My analysis suggests that the four participants regularly viewed themselves and the other Japanese men around them as having fewer chances to use English in their host communities than their Japanese female classmates. To address how participants viewed their opportunities to speak English, selected themes from their accounts will first be summarized and then give excerpts from participant narratives will be analyzed. Due to space constraints, a limited number of excerpts from interview accounts were selected to be presented. The following is a table of transcription conventions used to represent interviews.

Table 2

Transcription Conventions.

(.)	Short pause
(2)	2 second pause
@	Laugh
@friends@	Words spoken in laughter
::	Elongated sound
friends	Emphasis

When participants were asked if their experience diverged with the Japanese women around them, one of the first comments all men gave was that they felt Japanese women were desirable romantic partners in their host community, but that Japanese men were not. This conclusion was made after seeing Japanese females being approached in English by non-Japanese men firsthand, or hearing stories of a similar manner. All four expressed envy of the Japanese women, since their encounters were perceived as accomplishing two important goals for study abroad: opening social networks and increasing chances for language development.

A word that three of the four participants used to describe Japanese women overseas was *moteru*, a term that implies popularity, generally with the opposite sex. The Japanese women in the host communities were seen as being particularly *moteru* with non-Japanese men, who were often described as "White men" or "Canadian men". Participants painted Japanese women as attractive, petite, non-aggressive, and amenable, articulating them as desirable conversation partners—or even romantic partners—for English-speaking men in their host communities. In contrast, the term *motenai* (the negative form of *moteru*) was used in reference to Japanese men abroad.

Both excerpts below took place after participants were asked to summarize their study abroad program and location choice. This was followed by slight variations of the question: "Do you think your study abroad experience was different than the Japanese women at your host university? If so, how?"

Example 1: Ryota. Ryota is an active and friendly young man who now works in a busy company in Western Japan. Ryota spent his first semester at his Canadian university in sheltered English language classes for students specifically in his exchange program before finishing his last semester in "mainstream" university courses. He reflects fondly on his study abroad experience but was quick to discuss issues of race, gender, and language that he believes to be discriminatory both in Canada and in Japan.

After briefly summarizing his study abroad program and the courses he took, we began to discuss the differences between his experiences and his observations of the experiences of Japanese women in his cohort.

R: So it might be a bit different but this uh:: I feel, I felt like guys are mostly gather like Asian guys. Mostly only Japanese guys. But girls are with, like other students from other countries or other the students are not only women but men. So I so I mean I think like still we have some difference between men and women. Women and especially Japanese men, Asian guys, like, Japanese men still looks like young. Like younger than White. Or like um, the other guys other like yeah, European or like uh:: you know or (2) but girls, they look are different. なんと言えばいい？なんか男には(.) 日本の男は正直若く見えたりとか。なんか、その、外国の目からちょっとかっこよく見えなさそうな [*How can I put this? Like, for guys (.) like Japanese guys look honestly young. Like, they seem kind of uncool in the eyes of foreigners.*]

L: Hm hm.

R: 特にモテないしね。 [*They are particularly unpopular.*]

L: なるほど。 [*I see.*]

R: という [*to say*] from the other ladies from the other countries. けど [*but*]、この [*these*] ladies, Japanese women are different. They're really famous among other country guys. And so that's why they got many chance to learn English from the people from other countries.

Further emphasizing the difference in frequency between Japanese men and women being approached by English speakers, Ryota commented:

R: 女の子はもう、どんどんこう話しかけられる。自然と、男の子から。ただ普通にしてても、男の子ってあまり女の子から喋りかけ[られない]、日本でもは特にけど [*Girls are already like, aggressively spoken to. Naturally from boys. It's just that normally guys [aren't] spoken to by girls. In Japan it's also like that.*]

L: うんうん [*Yes yes*]

R: 女の子<u>から</u>声かけるよりかは女の子は男から声かけられるは多い。 [*More than girls speaking <u>to</u> boys, there are more cases of girls being spoken to by boys*]. That's why I feel like girls have a better chance to learn English, more than guys. だからなんというか。[*So, how should I say this?*] It was obvious to, difference between guys and girls.

For Ryota, the difference between the experiences of the Japanese women and men around him was "obvious", with the former having plenty more chances to learn English due to their *moteru* status that resulted in them being regularly approached by men from their host community. He suggested that Asian men in general appear younger and uncool in the eyes of *gaikokujin* (foreigners, or "non-Japanese"), attributing to the rarity of being spoken to by non-Japanese women. This restricted access to an important group of interlocutors, whether friendly or romantic, who could assist with language acquisition and community membership. This disparity led Ryota to conclude that his combination of nationality (Japanese) and gender (male) resulted in less appeal as a conversation partner and decreased his chances for interaction and English language use. At the same time, he acknowledged that in Japan women are also approached more by men than vice versa, suggesting gendered practices in both countries where men are expected to take initiative in starting a conversation.

Example 2: Tom. Tom is a third-year student at a well-known private university in Western Japan. He recently returned from an academic year at a large university in Alberta where he spent his first four months at a university-affiliated language school before transferring to mainstream classes where he studied education and drama. Tom is a confident and enthusiastic man who hopes to become an English teacher in the future.

We spoke about Tom's Canadian university classes at length before I asked him about any possible differences between his time in Canada and the time of his Japanese female

classmates.

> T: There's not a lot difference. But I think Japanese woman is easy to make friends.
>
> L: Oh okay.
>
> T: Yeah. Cuz I think the men in Canada likes Japanese girls.
>
> L: Hm::
>
> T: Yeah so.
>
> L: Oka::y. So so the men in Canada, non-Japanese men? Were interested.
>
> T: Yeah.
>
> L: Mmhm. Did you see like that? Or did you hear it?
>
> T: I saw that so yeah. I think that in the party, if I just only stand there. No one no one talk to @me@
>
> L: @
>
> T: Yeah. But, if Japanese woman, Japanese girls, yeah many guys talk to her, or yeah so yeah. I <u>have to</u> talk to other foreigners to speak English. But the girls don't have to do that.

Tom echoed sentiments of Ryota's account through his description of attending a party in Alberta. During this party, he realized that he had to actively approach people for conversation but believed this was not a requirement for Japanese women because "many guys" talked to them. This *moteru* status seemed to have provided the women with the social capital to both increase their opportunities to develop their English language skills and expanded their social networks. As a Japanese man, however, Tom felt he was not afforded this luxury and that he had to take assertive steps to use English and join desirable communities around him. The necessity to assertively pursue interlocutors is a topic that will be explored in more detail in the next theme.

It is necessary to contextualize the first theme within heterosexual desire and relationships, given that within participant accounts, men were presented as attracted to women and women were presented as attracted to men. Ryota and Tom clearly perceived disparities between their experiences as "Japanese men" and their female Japanese classmates in terms of English use and social networks. Both participants described how Japanese men did not possess the same social capital as Japanese women, especially in regards to popularity with the opposite

sex. They claim that this seems to have negatively affected the rate at which they were approached by English speakers and in turn limited their language development in comparison to their female counterparts. Japanese women, on the other hand, were constructed in accounts as desirable conversation partners, especially for men in their host communities. These women appeared to have more access to English and thus more chances to improve their language skills. In this way, the women's social capital may have assisted them in making new friendships or romantic relationships abroad.

It is critical to note that in participant accounts, Japanese women were seen as largely passive in their chances to learn English. In other words, the women were described as having men (and sometimes women) *come to them* for conversation, friendship, or romance. Although there is not space to expand on this topic, Morita's (2004) and Takahashi's (2013) in-depth case studies with Japanese women at universities in Canada and Australia respectively are valuable references here. Both studies problematize the essentialist and Orientalist notion of Japanese female passivity by demonstrating the ways in which female Japanese participants negotiated their identities as non-native English speakers and actively participated in their host communities to join social and academic networks.

Theme 2: Agency and community building. As Tom stated in his interview, when he wanted to speak with someone in his host community, he did not wait to be approached but instead believed he had to take the initiative himself. This realization is the next significant finding from these case studies. All participants became convinced that in order to make the most of their time abroad and to improve their English language skills, they needed to actively pursue or create communities that appreciated them. This meant taking frequent risks and assertively approaching interlocutors when necessary. The agency described by the four men in their interviews illustrates that they not only resisted negative discourses about Japanese men that they perceived in their host communities, they also strove to create identities as valued community members while in Canada. Interview accounts from Natsuki and Haruki are presented to explore this theme.

Example 1: Natsuki. Natsuki, who was a busy graduate student at a top Japanese national university, was studying education with the hopes of being a teacher in the future. He participated in study abroad programs in both England and Canada during his undergraduate

degree. Because he spent only 5 weeks in London, his academic year in Ontario was the main focus of our interviews. Natsuki expressed that his lack of confidence in his English abilities during the early days of his study abroad created the biggest barrier to his speaking. He eventually became friends with Jim, who was a Native American international student interested in Japan and Japanese culture. They went on road trips together, visited Jim's family and hung out on campus. Yet the most prominent moment when Natsuki felt legitimate membership in his host community was through a conversation with his political science professor. Students had the option to visit the professor's office to receive feedback on their final paper and Natsuki decided to go.

N: なんか [*like*] very interested in my score and the second semester so I almost finish my study abroad. So, よし、行こうって思って。[*I thought, okay! Here I go.*] I decided to visit to his (.) office. で行った時になんか paper 書いてて、あ、すごいすごいよかったや。ずっとすごい、やって。もう、あまり教師だからもう話すのは怖い。そう。[*When I went, like, "Ah! Your paper is great, great!" He kept saying great. But because he was a teacher, speaking to him was pretty scary. Yeah.*] I hesitated to talk with him because he was he is professor. And he only speaks English. ね。自信はなかったから。[*right? Because I didn't have confidence.*] And I don't have any confidence for my English. そう。すぐ帰りたかった。そう。[*Yeah. I wanted to go home right away. Yeah.*] As soon as I got my paper, I wanted to (.) To leave. As soon as possible. ね？[*Right?*]

L: Ah::

N: でも教師が、ちょっと、待ってみたいな。で、let's talk about the Japanese politics って言われて。[*But the teacher said, like, wait a second. And he said "let's talk about Japanese politics".*]

L: いいな！[*That's great!*]

N: え：：みたいな。え：：俺はそんなに知らない日本の<u>政治</u>のこと [*It was like, wha::t. Wha::t, I don't really know about Japanese <u>politics</u>*]

L: Ah

Y: I didn't know the Japanese politics. もう座れと言われて[*He go ahead and sit down*] So get seat, he <u>said</u>. @Okay@

His professor's status as a specialist in the field and a native English speaker made Natsuki very hesitant to speak with him about Japanese politics, exemplified by Natsuki's urge to leave immediately after receiving his feedback. Despite these concerns, Natsuki realized the value of the interaction in relation to his language skills and relationship with his professor. In the end, he and the professor ended up speaking for about an hour.

Natsuki described his initial feelings after the meeting:

N: その後、あ、みたいな。よかったと思った。[*After that, it was like, ah. I thought that was good.*] So, this was a good memory of my studying abroad. My studying abroad. And I thought なんやろう。 [*Let me see.*] My studying abroad was very good <u>experience</u> for me and 本当に良かった。だから留学して良かった：：ってその瞬間思った。 [*It was really good. So that was the moment I thought I'm gla::d that I studied abroad.*]

L: いい：：ね。 [*That's goo::d, isn't it.*]

N: その帰り道は今も忘れたことない。 [*I will never forget that trip home.*]

Natsuki's decision to engage his professor in a difficult discussion despite his fears of language deficiencies and lack of background knowledge illustrates an investment not only in himself as an English speaker, but also his ability to position himself as a legitimate member in his political science class. Similar to Ryota and Tom in the first theme, Natsuki believed that Japanese men are approached far less than Japanese women abroad and must therefore make an effort to create their own communities. Nevertheless, he combatted his feelings of marginalization through this memorable moment of visiting his professor's office hours.

Example 2: Haruki. Haruki was introduced to me by Tom since both men were attending the same Japanese university. Coincidentally, Haruki took part in the same program as Ryota, but just two years later. Haruki was studying sports science and hoped to one day continue his studies at the graduate level outside of Japan. In line with the other participants in this study, Haruki expressed his belief that the Japanese women around him had more ease in making friends and in dating overseas. Haruki claimed this did not bother him at all as he had a close-knit friendship group of diverse students at his university who he met through

participating in a Japanese-English language club at his university and through volunteering.

After Haruki shared an overview of his study abroad experience, he was asked, "What were some of the best things?" about his time in British Columbia. Haruki shared his experience as a volunteer coach for a well-known baseball team of Japanese Canadians in his host community.

H: Best things? Best things. (4) That's difficult @ I can't decide what's the best thing.

L: That's okay. Maybe not <u>the</u> best, but <u>some</u> of the best.

H: Um, obviously the volunteer in the JC Baseball Club was a good experience for me. Because I learned, not only English, but the:: culture. Not only culture but they were the Japanese Canadians, so they have the same essential [essence] as the Japanese and Canadians, Canadians. Both culture they <u>have</u>. So I learned a lot. From them.

L: What kind of things did you learn about, if they have kind of those two identities?

H: Uh huh. So, obviously we are in Canada. But they have a typical Japanese culture in baseball. In Japan, both teams do like, お辞儀? [*bowing*] Before entering the

L: Is that like bowing?

H: Yeah. Before entering the ground. Or even after, before and after the games. But in Canada whole team don't do that. But JC do that in Canada. That was an interesting for me.

Haruki deliberately chose this volunteer group because it blended his love of baseball with opportunities to expand his social circle while using English. In addition to developing his language skills, Haruki was intrigued by the bicultural players' combination of customary Japanese and Canadian baseball practices. Haruki appeared very active in creating his own social networks in Canada and in doing so he resisted negative discourses about Japanese men or Asian men as *motenai*. His participation as a coach for JC Baseball Club is an excellent example of this, considering his clear position of authority over the native English-speaking players. Moreover, his role of coach afforded him opportunities to share his knowledge of baseball in English as an authentic and valued member of the JC Baseball Club.

The examples from Natsuki's and Haruki's accounts demonstrate the initiatives that participants took in order to both create opportunities to speak and the steps towards legitimate community membership that followed. Keenly forging social relationships–"*jibun kara*"

("from myself") in Natsuki's words– was an essential component of their study abroad. Even Natsuki, who appeared to have the least confidence in his English skills, put aside his anxiety to engage in a challenging communicative encounter. These four men's accounts demonstrate that their own perception of their lower social capital as *motenai* Japanese men was not an insurmountable obstacle to gaining English skills and developing social networks. In fact, it may have inspired them to actively seek out opportunities for language and personal development while overseas.

Discussion

In the previous section, the goal was to present representative excerpts from participant accounts in regards to the research questions. Analysis of the first theme of *moteru*'s role in chances to use English raises two broad yet noteworthy issues: (1) Heterosexual Asian males' experiences with hegemonic Western standards of masculinity and (2) the sexualisation and essentialism of Japanese women. It is very unfortunate that the scope of this paper cannot include an analysis of the latter subject. However, the former issue will be analysed through a gendered framework that demonstrates how hierarchies of race and gender at times create contradicting expectations for Japanese men, particularly when looking at their opportunities to speak and what is expected of them within communicative acts. Next, the second theme of agency and community building highlights the importance of resistance to undesirable identities and determination to participate in desired communities.

Japanese men as undesirable romantic partners. I found all of the four men in this study to be friendly, attractive and intelligent, and therefore it was difficult for me to imagine them being *motenai* abroad or in Japan. However, as introduced early in this paper, previous research parallels the participant perceptions of heterosexual Japanese men as unappealing romantic partners in comparison to Western men. Such discourses include positioning Japanese men as sexist, controlling and unromantic, whereas Western men (often depicted as White, English speaking men) are seen as sensitive, chivalrous, and open-minded. For instance, while interviewing Japanese women married to Australian men, Takeda (2012) noted one interviewee's degrading comment prompted the realization that as a Japanese man, he was "theoretically and culturally located in the discourse of chauvinist Asian man as opposed to the theoretically sensitive western man" (p. 294). Similar comments arose during Appleby's

(2013) interviews with White male English teachers in Japan, many of who positioned themselves as more desirable romantic partners for Japanese women than the average Japanese man. Furthermore, Japanese men may be seen as unacceptable romantic partners for Western, particularly White women. Kelsky (2001) and Simon-Maeda (2011) provide examples of this through sharing their experiences both in Japan and in the United States where their relationships with their Japanese husbands were questioned on the basis of the men's supposed romantic and physical inferiority.

As Takeda (2012) demonstrates, these negative discourses do not go unnoticed by the Japanese men they surround. Takeda claims to have "lost [his] speech" (p. 294) when he felt marginalized by his Japanese female participants or their Australian husbands. The four men in the current study likewise critically approached negative images of Japanese men abroad, and yet they also participated in the discursive construction of these negative images. Such images contained neocolonial discourses that portray Japanese men as both effeminate and brutish in comparison to White men (Kato, 2007). For example, average Japanese men were described as shy, lacking social skills, and less romantic and gentlemanly than the non-Japanese men in their host communities. Additionally, as introduced by Ryota, physical appearance was a large contributor to being *motenai*. Ryota believed Japanese men look particularly young, which he suspected was unappealing to non-Japanese women, and Tom and Haruki described the average Canadian man at their host university as being taller and more muscular than most Japanese men. These feelings are reflected in Takayama's (2000) interviews with young Japanese men studying in Vancouver, who stated that in general, Japanese men were too short and thin to be attractive partners for non-Asian women. Takayama (2000) argues that discourses concerning Japanese men both desexualized and feminized them, shedding light on areas "where gender becomes significant in the neocolonial discourse that surrounds the Japanese male students in North America" (p. 110). Regarding the current study, participant accounts replicate expectations of hegemonic Western masculinity and show how negative discourses of Japanese heterosexual men intersect to construct a hierarchy of desirability that is directly connected to opportunities to use English. Within this hierarchy of desirability and speech, participants perceived Japanese men at the bottom, far below their female counterparts.

Another noteworthy issue apparent in participant accounts is the contradictory standard of gendered communication among men and women. In general, participants' overseas

program requirements indicate that they had similar English proficiency levels as the Japanese women in their host universities and yet, all four men claimed their limited English held them back from forming social relationships. Japanese women, however, were not seen as being restricted by their language skills in their friendships or romantic encounters. This double standard articulated by participants could convey a gendered presumption that men act as the instigators of conversation while women act as recipients.

Takayama's (2000) participants' conclusions of the impossibility to speak with Canadian women and Takeda's (2012) reflection on his own loss of voice in the face of marginalization prompts the question: Did the participants in the current study ever miss opportunities to speak because they believed themselves to be unworthy conversation partners? For instance, Haruki actively spoke about the *akogare* in Japan for Whiteness and claimed that he disagreed with this preferential and essentializing treatment. Yet, he also recognized within himself a deep-seated admiration for "*hakujin*" ("Caucasians") that he could not easily overcome. Perhaps the participants in this study confronted similar feelings during their time abroad, leading them to feel inferior and stifling their ability to speak.

Actively constructing participatory identities. Unlike previous literature that saw many study abroad environments as more conducive to male language learning, this study suggests participants occasionally felt socially isolated from their host communities because they are men. However, worries of being *motenai* did not ultimately inhibit participants from actively resisting unwanted identities and engaging with communities where they felt valued. In fact, as suggested earlier, perceiving their lack of opportunities of being approached for conversation may have helped inspire this agency to create their own chances to use English. Participant's assertive construction of communities overseas can therefore, also be viewed in contrast to the discourse of Japanese *uchimuki* youth.

Norton's (2000) influential research with immigrant women learning English in Canada in the early 1990s demonstrated the ways in which a single individual can enact a variety of identities depending on the interlocutor, context, and investment in the particular social encounter. Identity, she claims, is not singular or stagnant, but instead fluid and potentially "a site of struggle" (p. 127) when an individual is positioned in unwelcome or surprising ways. In other words, the four men in this study may believe Japanese men are *motenai* because they felt themselves positioned as *motenai* through witnessing the experiences

of Japanese women and encountering damaging discourses about Japanese men. They further expressed that this status limited their chances to use English. However, Norton also notes that "the subject…is not conceived as passive; he or she is conceived of as both subject of and subject to relations of power within a particular site, community and society: the subject has human agency" (p. 127). Participants exemplify this negotiation of agency through their active involvement in English speaking communities that led them to develop a sense of personal value. They exercised their agency to varying extents and in different situations. Such diversity in experience supports Kato's (2013; 2015) argument that the international narratives of Japanese men are complex and multi-layered, and should not be viewed in a homogenous manner.

Conclusion

While this study specifically examines issues of ethnicity and gender in the narratives of four Japanese men who visited Canadian universities, my analysis argues for the contextualization of sojourner experience within broader hierarchies of power. Morita (2004) reminds academics and educators that investigating any particular group–such as this study's combination of "heterosexual," "Japanese" and "male"–cannot be viewed as "static, homogenous categories" but sojourner experience should instead "be analyzed as it is embedded in the local context of the community practices in which they participate" (p. 567). Likewise, Norton (2000) states, "ethnicity, gender and class are not experienced as a series of discrete background variables, but are all, in complex and interconnected ways, implicated in the construction of identity and the possibilities of speech" (p. 13). The analysis of participant accounts illustrates shifting intersections of nationality, ethnicity, language and gender as Ryota, Natsuki, Tom and Haruki negotiated discourses of language, Japaneseness, gender roles and masculinity in their host communities. All four accounts contain perceptions of discrimination about Japanese men, and yet all four participants eventually assertively pursued opportunities to use English in communities that they found personally meaningful. This resulted in them genuinely enjoying their time at their host universities.

Due to the limited participant accounts analysed for this study, these results clearly do not represent the experience of all young Japanese men who have studied in Canadian universities. Also crucial to note is that all four participants identified as heterosexual. A Japanese male member of the LGBTQ community may interact with discourses of masculinity

and gender roles during his study abroad in a very different manner than Ryota, Natsuki, Tom and Haruki. Including participants from the LGBTQ community would diversify perspectives on discourses of *moteru* in connection to opportunities to use English and further challenge perceptions of Western hegemonic masculinity.

Lastly, a White Canadian female researcher such as myself interviewing Japanese men about their study abroad in my home country raises several questions. Firstly, how comfortable were participants to share negative experiences they may have had in Canada, or criticisms of their time abroad? Likewise, when speaking about issues of masculinity, gender roles, and romance, would participants have shared different information with a male researcher? Next, and very importantly, the notion of *akogare* and its intertwinement with hierarchies of power in relation to Whiteness and desire also need to be critically examined, particularly given my status as a White, native English speaker. Clearly, the ways in which my identity affected the construction of interviewee accounts necessitates further (and constant) researcher reflexivity.

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Conversation with Emily M. Gray

Interview by Kristie Collins
Reitaku University

Originally from Walsall, UK, Emily M. Gray is a Senior Lecturer in Education Studies at RMIT's School of Education in Melbourne, Australia. Her research and teaching interests include sociology, cultural studies and education. She is particularly interested in questions of gender and sexuality and with how these identity categories are lived and experienced within social institutions. Her key research interests align with questions related to gender, social justice, student and teacher identity work within educational policy and practice, and with wider social justice issues within educational discourse and practice. Emily is co-founder, with Mindy Blaise and Linda Knight, of Feminist Educators Against Sexism, or #FEAS, an international feminist collective committed to developing arts-based interventions into sexism in the academy. #FEAS itself came out of a funding project from the Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE), and from workshops with women academics who experienced everyday sexism or structural sexism in their working lives. This interview explores how #FEAS developed from a closed Facebook group of three members to an international collective of eight hundred members, looks at what kinds of activism they undertake, and considers actions that feminist educators in Japan might choose to adopt in their own personal and professional contexts.

KC: *What do you do in #FEAS workshops?*

EG: So, we designed some interventions that we performed at the AARE Conference in 2016, and the first thing that we did was we sent two articles—one was by Sara Ahmed and another was by a woman named Heather Savigny and we got the participants to read those articles beforehand, sort of as a discussion point, and we also got people to write an account about how they may have experienced sexism or what they thought it looked like within a higher education context. And we also had a presentation from a woman called Sue Grieshaber, and she's done research on women professors in Australia, with a colleague Carmel Diezmann,

and one of the things that they've found is that women often talked about success in terms of "luck" or "chance," "being in the right place at the right time," or "being lucky to have the support from a partner," or something like that, but often in a way that wasn't about their own skill, and that it was purely by "chance" or "luck." And from that, we played with the idea of academia being like a game and decided we would invent bingo cards that we would hand out at the conference, so we designed our Sexist/Anti-Sexist Bingo, and we had prizes and everything. And it had stuff like, you know, "I was mansplained today," but also, "somebody asked me a great question," or, "I've been to an all-female panel," that kind of thing. And then we got people to condense those experiences into sentences, which then became the punchlines for our "Not Funny Comedy" routine.

KC: *What was the response to your first interventions at the 2016 AARE conference?*

EG: I think it was really interesting, like, a colleague said she'd never seen anything "go off"—that's a very Aussie term—as well at AARE. People were wearing our t-shirts, and also, we had the business cards, and people would put them in their lanyards, and they'd also use our logo in their

PowerPoints, which would then get people saying, 'Oh, what's that about?' We also used Facebook, as well as Twitter, and an email account to say 'Who's presenting today? Do you want anyone to come?' and 'If you do, are there any questions you'd like to be asked?' So we ended up providing a support network—with, particularly, early career people who may not be very experienced or confident—and I think it's a really good way to be supportive feminists. So, that was one response. And, as I said before, we did the stand-up comedy routine, and after

we'd done that, a young woman came up to us and said, 'That was really powerful. I had thought I'd been bullied at work, but after seeing that, I now realize that it was sexism. It was all based on my gender.' And she hadn't picked it up. Until she saw that, and heard all of those, "punchlines" that—you know, they're **not** funny—but then experiencing this, out loud, it made her realize, 'It was sexism that I experienced.' So that was probably one of the best bits of feedback that we got, like that old "consciousness raising" where people were able to see it. And recognizing when they saw it. This was, don't forget, that this was pre- #MeToo, so none of that had happened, like, it was on the cusp of happening. So, I think that, now, sexism and feminism are much more a part of everyday parlance than it was even two years ago.

KC: *Agreed. The #FEAS website and Facebook page highlight a variety of methods you are using to challenge sexism in the academy and in other educational spaces. Can you tell us more about the "Cite Club" and "Power Dressing" and explain how these actions empower feminist educators?*

EG: Yeah, I'd love to! So, "Cite Club," that came about because we—again, from conferences and from reading within our discipline—noticed that there's a particular trend about drawing from male philosophers to talk about women's lives and we were like, 'That's not on,' and it was also inspired by an academic—she's Australian, actually, but she lives in England—called Sara Ahmed, and she writes about feminist citational practices and how important it is that you use women's work to talk about women's lives, or gender scholars, feminist scholars—they don't have to be women—and, so, it was inspired from that work. And also by an indigenous American—who lives in Canada—academic called Eve Tuck, and she has developed this blog (Critical Ethnic Studies, 2015) that's about the importance of citing people of color, particularly to talk about people of color's lives or indigenous people's lives, so, we thought we should set something up, and then—you know I like movies—so, I thought, why don't we call it "Cite Club" [laughter] and the first rule of "Cite Club" is that you **do** talk about "Cite Club" [laughter]! So, what that is, it's an email list that, well, once a month I do a call for recent publications—and we're not just interested in academic texts but, also, if anyone's done media releases, or blogs, or creative works—and I'll compile a list and send it around to the members of "Cite Club." It also goes on our website which also has a repository,

and it's been running for thirteen months and, again, we may have had, like, ten people to start with, and now we have a hundred and twelve.

KC: *Wow. That's great.*

EG: It just keeps growing. And I think, again, to try and showcase early career people, and also people that might publish in a language that's not English. We're happy to send that around as well, and that's work that's often completely ignored by, you know, "the West," basically, or the English-speaking world.

KC: *That's fabulous. And that will be important for those of us over here that may be doing work in Japanese.*

EG: Yeah, absolutely. So, that's the "Cite Club," and "Power Dressing," that's a series of photographs. We take it around to conferences and events where we speak about #FEAS. And it's this kind of "power jacket," like a kind of 1980s—shoulder pads, reversible, so you can have either an animal-print side or a silver side—and that came about because one of the people on our Facebook page had just gone to some kind of academic leadership conference and one of the sessions was called "Dressing for Success," and we were like, 'Oh, my god…' Because, like what decade is it, you know?! [laughter] We thought of "Dynasty" and those '80s soaps, and the idea of a "power dressing woman," and how, you know, if you wanted to be taken seriously, you had to dress right?! This is a way to "gently" mock that idea that you need to look a certain way. So, we get people to do a powerful pose when they've got the jacket on and people have used those for their academic profile picture.

KC: *I love them. And really, the thing is, everybody in the pictures really do look like they are owning their power! It's so cool.*

EG: Yeah! And it's a way to kind of think about that as well, how, like, as an academic performance, what that power might look like.

KC: *Yes! So, what are some of the highs and lows you have encountered as a collective since starting the project in 2016?*

EG: Okay, highs, I think just how much interest we've had, and how the community has taken on a life of its own, particularly on the Facebook site? You know, it's not reliant on the three of us posting stuff—there's discussions and things happening all the time, and I think just how much positive feedback we've got from it. And people saying that they like it because it makes an important point but it's also about having fun. And kind of having a laugh and being subversive, but humorous. I think that's been amazing. Low points… there's a couple of things. There've been a couple of things that have happened on the Facebook page that were a little bit… well, I've had to do a lot of moderating work around people's views about things, you know, that are feminist issues. For example, around trans people and whether trans women are legitimate subjects as women or not, which was kind of dismaying because I thought we may have moved past the point where that was even a thing you'd need to talk about. So, that's been—I wouldn't say it was a "low point" but it was something that made me think about the discussions that you have and how you have them and where you have them. And there's also been stuff, like, going for funding […] I can't really talk too much about it, but, basically, research offices having issues with the word "sexism" in research and with stuff they're affiliated with—universities here are very concerned about their brands. And so they often swing into brand management mode…

KC: *Have they been more open to it since the whole #MeToo campaign?*

EG: I would say they're even more cautious now. Because the last thing any of them want is to be thought of as a sexist institution, or somewhere there's not—that hasn't got this

happy image of how much they're doing towards gender equality. When in actual fact, they're not doing very much at all.

KC: *When, in fact, by teaming up with you, it would show that they **do** take it seriously!*

EG: Yeah. So, you know, to coincide with #MeToo, there was a report published in Australia called "Change the Course" which was about student experiences of sexual harassment and assault, so that has also made universities really cautious because they all want to be seen as places that want to stamp out that behavior but, to me, they're very reactive. I'd say that the low point is just the climate that we're in right now—and I don't know what it's like in Japan—but it's just **so** conservative over here at the moment…

KC: *Us too! That ties in perfectly with the next topic. Tell us why #FEAS is needed in Australian universities in 2018.*

EG: There are huge inequalities, still. A lot of that tends to be discipline specific, so any of the STEM subjects—engineering, that kind of thing—tends to very male-dominated, very hard places, still, for non-cis-white-men to be. So, for us (#FEAS), it's not just about women, but it's about all minority groups that we would stand in solidarity with and say, you know, universities aren't made by or for people who aren't cis white men, unfortunately. There's still inequalities, and everyday sexisms are still a reality for a lot of people…you know, as a queer person, I experience that differently to my indigenous colleagues or my straight women colleagues. But I think that those sexisms exist and they are really pervasive. And they're very difficult to challenge, and I think that's one of the biggest problems for us, is that universities are happy to challenge sexual harassment and to have all of this publicity about what they're doing, but what they won't address is the nearly everyday sexism that creates the conditions where more kinds of insidious forms of harassment and assault can happen. And it's the one thing, it's the hardest thing—that kind of cultural change is so hard. I think it often just gets into the, 'Oh well, look what we [have done], we've got your gay pride flag' or, 'We have a PR video featuring a transgender student.' But those other things remain in place.

KC: *Japanese universities—as well as most areas of Japanese society—are overwhelmingly run by men, and women hold less than 13% of faculty positions at research intensive universities across the nation (Assmann, 2014). Earlier this year, sexist entrance policies were revealed at Tokyo Medical University, as it was discovered that officials have been manipulating female applicants' entrance examination scores since 2011 in order to limit the number of women entering the medical program. What advice would you offer to feminist educators in Japan who would like to protest or stand up to institutionalized sexism in the Japanese academy?*

EG: Well, I guess, solidarity is a really good thing? So, join us, join our Facebook page, join our "Cite Club," tell us your experiences. Just having a space where you can talk about it can be really helpful. And also, just speaking back to it where you can—obviously, you have to pick your battles—but gathering momentum, getting groups going at your institutions, getting women together, making university management answer hard questions about why these types of inequalities are still so acceptable… I really do think there's power in a collective. You've got each other's backs—you may not always agree all the time—but, at the end of the day, you're there to say, 'Well, I want that question answered as well.' Or, 'I want my university to answer those questions,' you know, like, 'Is Tokyo Medical University the only university where this happens, or are there others?' So, keep asking questions, and just keep it in everyone's face.

KC: *How does your involvement in #FEAS impact on the way you design and deliver your courses to undergraduate students?*

EG: I don't know, actually, because I've always taught feminism. I've always found a way to shoe-horn it in somewhere! I wouldn't say it's changed how I design and deliver courses, but it's maybe given me more confidence, and to be able to say to students, 'Well you can look me up,' and 'Here's some other work that I do.' I think it's maybe made me feel more confident in doing that, and now there's this big network of people that are also doing that work, so you feel like you're not on your own.

KC: *Do you have any particular resources that you would recommend to feminist educators in Japan who want to introduce diversity, inclusivity, and social justice issues to their students?*

EG: Well, firstly, I'd like them to give me some resources from Japan, and to know who's doing this work in Japan—I'd love to know that.

KC: *Cool—thank you!*

EG: I guess it depends on what you're teaching, but there are several people that I would say are go-to's: Sara Ahmed, she's written a book, I think it came out last year, called *Living a Feminist Life* (2017), that's a really great book; I also, because I'm in an Australian context, use the work of indigenous scholars and indigenous feminists, so there's a book I like that's called *Talkin' Up to the White Woman* (2002), by Aileen Moreton-Robinson. I really like her work. As you know, bell hooks, you could go to… I love poststructuralist feminism, so, Judith Butler—I mean, that's quite hard [laughter]—there's so much! There's a lot out there.

KC: *When you teach feminism to your students—well, do you have a class on feminism?*

EG: It's on gender, but what I do is a quick history of, mainly, "Western" ideas about how it is we came to study gender. So, I look at feminism as a movement and then we look at the issues with that movement—that it was too white, too heterosexual, too, "Western perspectives"—and then we look at other ways of thinking about feminism, and thinking about intersections. [For my course] I use an introductory text called "Gender" by Margaret Vickers, and it's part of a reader called *Education, Change and Society* (2017), and then other readings change from year to year depending on what's topical at the moment.

KC: *What's next for #FEAS?*

We've got a couple of conferences coming up at the end of the year, so we're going to design some new interventions, and we're also hoping to go for some kind of bigger funding.

Just continuing with what we're already doing, as well. We've recently run an event called "#FEAS Feminist Salutes" where we wrote postcards to say thank you to feminists that may have made an impact. It could be a teacher or, I sent one to that young Swedish woman that stood up on the plane (a student activist who managed to stop the deportation of an Afghan man in July 2018 by refusing to take her seat for takeoff), and I think we're going to run those events again. It's a nice way to come together, and do something about just being grateful and saying thank you.

KC: *And what's next for Dr. Emily Gray?*

EG: Well, just continuing on with #FEAS, and I've also got my own research agenda, which at the moment is looking at the possibilities for teaching about diversity and inclusion in practice-based disciplines, like teacher education or nursing, in different governmental configurations. So, I'm working with some colleagues in Sweden at the moment, thinking about what's possible there, what's possible here, and how some of the same issues around gender and race appear in those contexts, differently. But how they're the same. You know this creeping conservatism—it's not even creeping, it's like a sledgehammer [laughs]—this conservatism is happening over there as much as it is here. But it looks very different.

KC: *Excellent. Will you come visit us here in Japan?*

EG: Absolutely!

KC: *GALE will definitely give you a warm welcome when you do. Thank you for your time and for sharing your insights and experiences.*

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