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

Editorial Foreword

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Acknowledgments

Citation

Editorial Foreword

Welcome to the new decade. The 20s are here, along with the 12th volume of the GALE journal. In this edition, we offer four long papers and five book reviews, all of which mirror challenges and triumphs related to gender issues in the past ten years. Here in Japan, readers surely recall when Prime Minister Abe unveiled his Womenomics plan with its goal of 30% female representation in leadership positions by 2020. Those targets have not been realized, to say the least. In fact, some Japanese women work in environments in which they have been told that they should wear high heels— but not glasses— to the office. When politician Yoko Ogata brought her baby to a council meeting after repeated requests for onsite childcare were ignored, her colleagues criticized her. The single mother and child poverty rates have continued their ascent while accounts of harassment have been summarily dismissed by the powers that be. Tragically, the number of female medical school students would have exceeded 30% if not for subterfuge: officials had been deliberately lowering females' entrance exam scores, apparently for years, to artificially maintain a 70/30 gendered ratio. Those of us who are educators in this country will recall the expressions of palpable shock on students' faces when they realized that Japan's supposedly different-but-equal gendered society was, in actuality, rigged. Unsurprisingly, Japan has thus dropped 11 places to the 121st position amongst 153 of the world's nations participating in the most recent Global Gender Gap Index.

There were, however, some inspirational gains. Women mobilized to march on the Diet to demand child care facilities. Feminist student groups are promoting the concept of consent, and Flower Demos to support victims of violence are being held in cities across the country every month. Same-sex partnerships are now recognized in 31 municipalities and 1 prefecture in Japan. Child custody issues are bring addressed. Attempts to transform

corporate culture so that all workers can actually access their legally mandated parental leave are underway. Diversity and anti-harassment programs are being announced one after the other, and journalist Shiori Ito won damages in the first round of an infamous rape case. To further this momentum well into the new decade, please mark December 2020 in your calendar when GALE and Kyoto JALT will co-host a joint seminar on harassment.

The works in this volume of the journal also seek to proffer solutions to gendered issues. In the first paper, *Female foreign language teachers in a Japanese labor union: Are needs being met?*, Julia Kimura astutely details the difficult history labor unions and feminism have had. Kimura interviews three subjects to further explore how a union here in Japan could serve the best interests of its female members. In the second paper, *Gendered differences in self-determined English learning motivation in a Japanese high school*, Olya Yazawa applies self-determination theory to high school students in EFL classes. Yazawa describes the phenomenon of female students being more motivated and autonomous while males struggle, and suggests changes in curriculum to rebalance this gender divide. In the next paper, *The academic precariat*, Reiko Yoshihara utilizes poststructural feminist analysis in her study of the experiences of a female Japanese academic employed part-time at various universities. Insecure work environments created by neoliberalism are compounded by Japan's sexist gendered policies: women especially are seen as disposable labor rather than valuable resources. Yoshihara convincingly argues, as has also been put forth by Kimura, that both progressive labor and gender policies are needed to improve the tenuous position of female academic precariats. Finally, in *Career development strategies for female educators,* Susan Laura Sullivan and Julia Kimura provide an elaborate guide as to how women, particularly non-Japanese women in tertiary EFL, can achieve success despite systemic discrimination. The authors present sobering data on current conditions, yet emphasize that

individuals can forge ahead by accessing the many means of support available to them right now.

One must wonder, will the highly motivated school girls of Yazawa's study later face the same lack of opportunity to utilize their talents in the workforce that Yoshihara's subject experiences? If so, will labor unions and professional networking organizations assist them in their quest for fair treatment, as Sullivan and Kimura have explained is possible? The papers in this journal analyze current conditions unflinchingly, yet ultimately offer hope that, with concerted effort, gender parity *is* possible— someday.

The journal is fortunate to be able to offer five reviews of recent publications. Antonija Cavcic discusses *Women of a Certain Age* (edited by Jodie Moffat, Maria Scoda, and Susan Laura Sullivan)**,** a striking collection of essays in which successful Australian women reflect on their life trajectories. How do these older women deal with marginalization and continue to make their voices heard? In the second review, Herb J. Fondevilla examines *Diva Nation: Female Icons from Japanese Cultural History* (edited by Laura Miller and Rebecca Copeland), another accessible book in which the lives of divas quite literally from mythological times (the goddess Izanami) to the modern day (artist Yoko Ono and transgender TV personality IKKO) are explored. Joanna Hosoya critiques the engaging *Gendered Power: Educated Women of the Meiji Empress' Court* by Mamiko C. Suzuki. How did three leaders from imperial Meiji court culture attempt to modernize within a state system that was grooming women for the "good wife, wise mother" role? These Meiji Era divas are tenacious, but it is noted that education, and especially, language, were in some ways used to hold women back. Despite gains for upper class women, class divisions continued. Certainly, these themes appear repeatedly in the papers presented in this journal as well.

In the next review, *Beyond the Gender Gap in Japan* (edited by Gill Steel), Winnifred Lewis Shiraishi praises the scholarship therein. Japan's political system is proven to be

diversifying: numerous researchers compellingly analyze recent gains in political representation and comment upon the effectiveness of local governmental policy towards gendered issues such as the low birth rate. Finally, in the last review, Kathryn Tanaka lauds the latest work by Jackie J. Kim-Wachutka, *Zainichi Korean Women in Japan: Voices,* as a significant contribution to the lacuna: marginalized women of ethnic Korean descent literally speak of the ways in which they manage their lives under multiple oppressions while dealing with contemporary gendered issues such as aging and care for the elderly.

Through the publication of the meticulous research and thought-provoking analysis of these authors, we at the journal hope to ensure that voices are heard. Every work in this edition illustrates how those who are marginalized still strive for success; that is, for their contributions to be acknowledged and valued. As Cavcic notes in her review, "Perhaps it is through reading the accounts of women struggling in the face of adversity that one can pluck up the courage to continue to try to make change." In this volume, the voices represented are predominantly English- and/or Japanese-speaking women of a certain educated, privileged class. We continue to aim for diversity so that all genders, ethnicities, identities, orientations and classes are represented. Change *is* happening. Thank you for being a part of this transformation.

Once again, we are grateful to our Japanese editor, Reiko Yoshihara, for her conscientiousness and expertise with the Japanese abstracts. This journal could not be published without the focus and commitment of numerous volunteer reviewers and proofreaders, listed in full on page 2. As you may be aware, the former Editor and current Assistant Editor, Aaron Hahn, is stepping down after years of dedicated service to the journal. He will be missed. We thank Aaron, and all of you, for the many invaluable contributions you have made which enable the journal to continue to thrive.

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Female foreign language teachers in a Japanese labor union: Are needs being met?

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Abstract

Feminism and labor have long had a difficult relationship. However, it is worthwhile identifying ways in which unions and feminists can work more closely together in order to achieve gender parity. For this research, I interviewed three female foreign language teachers who are rank-and-file members in a Japanese labor union that primarily organizes foreign language teachers. To varying degrees, all three women see the value of union membership. As more peripheral members, all three also offer ideas on how members can participate more fully in union activities. Also to varying degrees, they identify as feminists, which might serve to illustrate how unions and feminists need to work together more closely for the benefit of all.

概要

男女同権主義と労働の関係は複雑だが，労働組合と男女同権主義者が，男女間の平等達成のためより密接に協働する方法を明らかにすることは有意義である．本研究では、3名の女性外国人教員と対談した．3名は主に外国語教員をまとめている労働組合の一般組合員である．程度の差はあれ，3名とも組合員であることに価値を見出している．また末端の組合員として組合活動により深く参加する方法も 提案する．また自分たちが男女同権主義者であるとみなしており，そのことが全員の利益となるよう，組合と男女同権主義者がいかに連携する必要があるかを説明する一助となり得ている可能性がある．

Women around the world continue to stand up and advocate for themselves and for each other in regards to equal opportunity and rights. If 2017 was the year of the feminists' #metoo movement (McCandie & Mulvey, 2018), perhaps women in the labor movement can also draw strength and inspiration from it to advocate for themselves and each other more strongly in their unions.

Unions in Japan are mandated by the Trade Union Law (1949) to protect and improve all members' working conditions. Sadly, they do not always rise to this challenge (Broadbent, 2005, 2007) or they inadvertently work against the interests of some members (Weathers, 2004). In particular, we must reassess if and how labor unions meet female members' needs, including protection and expansion of their rights as workers (Endo, 2012).

Gender disparity is prevalent in various domains, including businesses, labor unions, and in education. It affects female CEOs (Fitzsimmons, Callan, & Paulsen, 2013) and in higher education in Japan, a gap remains between the number of qualified females and the number of full-time female professors (Hayes, 2013). Furthermore, as I will explain later, as a frame of reference, Martin (2014) and Milkman (1985) have shown that gender disparity is a problem in labor union leadership in the United States as well. Although it is easy to imagine that women might acquiesce to men and not feel entitled to take on leadership roles, they might also sometimes take on leadership roles out of a sense of guilt when the opportunity arises because there is a risk that a position will end up being occupied by a man who may or may not have the best interests of women in mind.

Union density around the world has been declining, and most unionized workers are male blue-collar workers. Therefore, unions could take advantage of the opportunity to recruit members, particularly in the service industry where workers are predominantly female and pink-collared. In the case of Japan, women do not have the same workplace opportunities as men: they have difficulty re-entering the workforce after taking time off to raise children, as well as difficulty balancing work and family life once therein (Gelb, 2000; World Economic Forum, 2018). They have much to gain from a union representing their unique interests. In this article, I describe a study in which I examined how a labor union in west Japan has met female rank-and-file members' needs. The union primarily organizes foreign language teachers, and most members are not Japanese. My participants all come from inner-circle countries, which will be explained later.

Intersectionality

The term intersectionality was first introduced by Crenshaw (1989, 1991) and popularized by American scholars including Collins (1998, 2015) and McCall (2005). For the purposes of this article, I look to Crenshaw (1995) who initially coined the term to draw attention to the

numerous ways in which race and gender shaped the multifaceted dimensions of black women's experiences in the workplace. This intersectional framework allows us to examine how race, gender, sexuality, and/or nationality can work together to oppress women (Collins, 2002), and therefore shape experiences. Even in the twenty-first century, race continues to play a role in how we structure and represent the social world (Omi & Winant, 2014), and if social categories continue to exist in the twenty-first century, researchers must be mindful of how power relationships are analyzed.

One flaw of the theory was articulated by Carbado (2013) when he worried that scholars may have misinterpreted intersectionality, giving examples of how equality frameworks had perpetuated normative gender identities. However, Davis (2008) was able to show how one weakness of the theory, its ambiguity, can also be a strength. Intersectionality shows the various ways in which social forces interact to shape multiple dimensions of experience (Crenshaw, 1995 as cited in in Luft, 2009). It is interesting to note that although intersectionality describes micro-level processes of identity, it ultimately reflects "the notion of interlocking oppressions [which] refers to the macro level connections linking systems of oppression such as race, class, and gender" (Crenshaw, 1995 as cited in Luft, 2009, p. 492). Another appeal of this paradigm is that we can define intersectionality structurally by "how patterns of subordination intersect in women's lives," and politically by "how subordinated groups … frequently pursue conflicting agendas" (Crenshaw, 1995, pp. 538-360, in Fitts, 2009).

The framework was formulated to illustrate how black women's workplace rights in the United States were being overlooked by the civil courts after the 1964 Civil Rights Act had been passed (Crenshaw, 1989). Black women tended to fall through the cracks in the United States legal system. In race discrimination cases, courts viewed discrimination in terms of gender- or class-privileged blacks, but in gender discrimination cases, courts focused on race- and class-privileged women. Crenshaw walked readers through three civil court cases in the United States which illustrated how the courts framed and interpreted the plaintiffs' experiences. Hence, even though Crenshaw had developed the intersectional paradigm to highlight a paradoxical situation brought about by the Civil Rights Act in which black women were overlooked in hiring practices, an intersectional approach to account for race, gender, and class can be applied to research on power relationships. The participants in

this particular study are non-Japanese women in the labor movement and these various aspects of their identities must be considered. It is easy to imagine how, in my study, participants' identities as non-Japanese women in the labor movement could fall into a similar multiple jeopardy.

As mentioned, according to Davis (2008), one paradoxical strength of the theory of intersectionality is its ambiguity. She went on to say that academics are often more interested in forging a novel theory in new territory than in filling in the gaps of an existing one. I would also add that a new and ambiguous theory can be open to interpretation, for better or for worse. Furthermore, an ambiguous theory can have more applications than a more well-defined, albeit restrictive, one. Perhaps because it is ambiguous, intersectional feminism is able to address the many differences among women, including social class, race, and abilities, to name a few.

As with any theory, intersectionality is not perfectly understood, nor is it even perfect. Carbado (2013) has also implored us to stop policing how other scholars interpret and apply the term, and instead proposes expanding the boundaries so that scholars in various disciplines can make use of this misunderstood but versatile theory. In my research, I am convinced that intersectionality can account for the disparity of women in leadership roles in my labor union, but for the purposes of this paper, I will demonstrate how intersectionality can help examine whether female rank-and-file members' needs, described further below, are being met by the union.

Women and Organized Labor

Before I describe my own research on non-Japanese women in the labor movement, I will provide some background on women's historically difficult relationship with organized labor both inside and outside Japan. By the labor movement, I am referring to organized union (and political) action that serves unionized workers' shared political and economic interests (Byrd, 1996).

Labor unions can help promote their female members' interests in particular by ensuring that women can both take maternity leave and go back to work later, as well as enjoy gender equality in employment (Endo, 2012). Unions have also been shown to help members balance work demands with family demands by offering parental leave to both

mothers and fathers (Budd & Mumford, 2004). Unfortunately, male chauvinism and patriarchal norms have long been a part of the labor movement (Acker, 2006; Martin, 2014) and male trade unionists have historically held negative attitudes towards women. Until recently, in Japan, unions have tacitly supported enterprises' gender discrimination (Kumazawa, 1996, 2018; Weathers, 2004).

Furthermore, feminism has had a difficult relationship with unionism in the past, as Dye (1975) and Milkman (1985) have illustrated in the United States. Women in unions have had to downplay their feminism in order to reassure (male) leaders that women's interests would not be elevated above all workers' solidarity (Dye, 1975). Furthermore, female union activists did not directly identify with feminists because of a perceived gap in class: women in unions were typically working class whereas feminists were seen as academics. Furthermore, women in unions perceived the feminist movement as more individualistic, but, by nature, the solidarity movement was more collective (Milkman, 1985).

Labor's attitude towards women

As in many other developed countries, unions in Japan are doing an inadequate job of looking after women's interests. Japanese union leaders are reluctant to organize contingent workers such as temps, part-timers, and contract workers (Broadbent, 2005; Fujimura, 2012; Gould, 1984; Suzuki, 2008). Unions neglect members of the contingent workforce because, like management, most unions see contingent workers, most of whom in Japan are women (Broadbent, 2005; Gould, 1984; Weathers, 2004), as buffers that protect the company and its regular, (i.e., full-time, permanent, and unionized, usually male) employees. Furthermore, unions would need to spend more of their resources, such as time and money, protecting contingent workers than they spend on permanent full-time employees (Weathers, 2005). Finally, contingent workers are more difficult to organize than permanent full-time workers because of their high turnover and sadly, they might not be interested in joining a union because they are resigned to low pay and other poor working conditions as well as a lack of stability.

Women occupy well over half of these non-regular positions in Japan (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, n. d.) and when unions do recruit female members, they sometimes not only neglect to look after women's interests, but go as far as to work against

them. There is no single main or clear-cut reason for this, but Gordon (1998) described how Japanese government social policy reinforced the foundation of traditional roles for men and women. According to Kumazawa (1996, 2018), in Japan, in a branch of a bank in Fukuoka, a union failed to force the bank to set a uniform pay scale for men and women because of the traditional mindset of its male members. Therefore, even in presumably progressive organizations such as unions whose purpose is to look after its members, much work remains to be done about changing attitudes towards women (Endo, 2012; Lopez, 2004; Milkman, 2016; Zacharias-Walsh, 2016).

Organized labor in Japan

Labor unions in Japan carry out important activities that not only support members as a collective, but individual members as well (Takeuchi-Okuno, 2012). Unions support their members collectively by negotiating wages and other working conditions, and they also help individual members by resolving disputes involving harassment or dismissals, for example. Enterprise unions, which organize the majority of unionized workers, benefit their members by bringing up issues that affect their members, and for the most part, have developed good relationships with management (Fujimura, 2012). As I mentioned earlier, however, these unions are generally indifferent to issues affecting part-time workers and are therefore reluctant to organize them (Suzuki, 2008). Fujimura (2012) has provided us with an overview of enterprise unions in Japan, which comprise the majority. According to the author, one main difference between unions in Japan and those in North America and Europe is that unions in the West tend to organize workers by trade. On the other hand, the unit of organization of labor unions in Japan is the company, rather than the industry. This organizational style is seen by some as a quintessentially Japanese trait, which becomes even clearer when one realizes that following the turbulent 1950s and 60s, the relationship between labor and management evolved from one of conflict resolution to one of collaboration and cooperation. Naturally, day-to-day problems are bound to occur in any workplace, and Fujimura (2012) recommends that management training programs cover how to create a good relationship with the (in-house) union. Although the overwhelming majority of unions in Japan are enterprise-based (Suzuki, 2008; Weathers, 2004), a new style of organizing has evolved and a minority of unions are now community-based rather than

workplace-based. I will briefly review Suzuki's description (2008) of some community-based unions in west Japan.

The term community union was first coined by Takagi (1988, as cited in Urano & Stewart, 2007). The aim of community unionism is to organize workers whose employment is unstable, through individual enrollment, thus allowing workers who are not eligible to join an enterprise union the opportunity to be represented by a union. Though there are some common features between community-based unions in Japan and those in some other industrialized countries in the West, organizers of community-based unions in Japan have yet to fully harness the potential power of coalition-building with other community-based organizations. In Suzuki's opinion (2008), the reasons for this include the fact that neither civil society nor industrial relations institutions are as developed in Japan as they are in the West. Nonetheless, community-based unions in Japan have had successes because, according to Urano and Stewart (2007), traditional forms of unions (i.e., enterprise unions) and methods of organizing workers have satisfied the needs of the regular workforce in Japan. However, according to the authors, organizers of community unions have had some success organizing non-regular contingent workers as well, in particular those who came from South America and were of Japanese descent. In their paper, they described the difficulties that a union in east Japan has had with organizing non-Japanese workers, whose employment tends to be more precarious than that of Japanese nationals.

Addressing the issue of teachers' unionism in Japan, Ota (1985) discussed specifically political teacher unionism, and the Japan Teachers Union in particular, which is affiliated with the Japan Communist Party. The author compared this teachers' union with other professional organizations that teachers in Japan tend to join. Basically, he divided organizations that teachers join into three groups: professional associations, which are based on teachers' professional concerns including promoting and maintaining professional quality and conduct of members; second, economic unions, which seek to provide economic benefits for their members through collective bargaining; and third, political unions, which show an interest in members' overall welfare. Aspinall (2001) wrote a book on the very same union that Ota (1985) studied. Aspinall also described the union's relationship with the politics of education in Japan, first, by outlining different theories that scholars have applied to the

Japanese political system as a whole, and then showing how power is distributed throughout the Japanese education system.

Even more specific to the present study, Weathers (2010a) and Nakane (2010) have researched the union that I am examining, and they both described the union as being successful, in spite of its small size. Its membership is only in the hundreds (Weathers, 2010a) but what the union lacks in size, it makes up for in strength and innovative organizing.

Women and labor unions in Japan

Weathers (2004) looked specifically at the issue of women and labor unions in Japan. He explained how the formulation of Japanese labor policy promotes deregulation and liberalization of employment practices more than it solves fundamental problems, such as disparity, negatively affecting non-regular workers (e.g., part-time workers, temps, and contract workers), most of whom are women under 35. Though unions are involved in formulating government labor policy and have helped improve outcomes as a result of participating, it is baffling that though unions gained so many concessions from enterprises, the policy that was formulated did not adequately address contingent workers' most pressing problems.

Broadbent (2005) provided an overview of unions in Japan that have been created by women and for women. Broadbent (2007) also described similar unions in both South Korea and Japan. Though she did not mention a theoretical framework, she outlined how these unions came to be organized, and explained these unions' organization and structure, services, and activities, and the impact these unions have had on members' lives as well as on society. She also described some of the problems these unions face. In South Korea, the government does not recognize more than one union per workplace. However, in Japan an enterprise can, in principle, be forced to negotiate with more than one union, although the de facto position of some companies is to deal with one majority union. Another problem that unions in these countries face is that because they have relatively few members, they lack economic resources (Broadbent, 2007) which becomes an obstacle to the ultimate goal of organizing. Though these unions represent a small number of workers and are limited in their ability to conduct collective bargaining, these women-only unions fulfill a need because they

organize contingent workers, namely, part-time and temporary workers, most of whom are women.

Research Methods

The research site

The participants in this study are members of a labor union in west Japan. The *Saizen* Union (name changed to provide anonymity), which was established in 1991, is part of the National Trade Union Council, a federation of labor unions. Membership in the National Trade Union Council sets the *Saizen* Union apart from community unions because, through its parent organization, it has the right to meet with the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. Like any union, its purpose is primarily to oppose illegal and unfair dismissals and restructuring in the workplace, in addition to supporting the peace movement. Because I have been a relatively active member since joining, I have established relationships with both leaders and rank-and-file members. The chair of the union and other officers have kindly allowed me to observe and interview them for a previous project (Kimura, 2013); therefore, the chair trusts me and has granted me sufficient access to conduct this study. Fortunately, other researchers including Nakane (2010) and Weathers (2010b) have already researched the union, so obtaining permission was not at all problematic.

The union primarily organizes foreign language teachers, most of whom are English teachers from inner-circle countries including the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Australia. The term "inner circle" was first coined by Kachru (1985, 1989) to mean developed countries where English is used as a first language idealized by learners of English because of status. (Richards & Schmidt, 2002). The union is made up of approximately 70% men and 30% women. It is not clear if this ratio reflects the population of foreign language teachers in west Japan who are non-Japanese. According to Huang's figures (2018), 67% of foreign faculty come from China and Korea and 17% hail from the United States, 8% from the United Kingdom, and 3% hail from Australia. Also according to Huang's estimate, non-Japanese men outnumber non-Japanese women by 4:1. Most of the union members are white-collar workers, but from personal communication with the treasurer, who is responsible for maintaining the database of members, I discovered that less than two percent of the membership are employed in blue-collar jobs as of December, 2017. Naturally,

this balance does not represent the population of Japan as a whole. However, it might represent the demographic of foreign union members in west Japan.

Participants

The participants are firmly situated in the context of female foreign language teachers in west Japan who are members of the organized labor movement. None of these three participants, all females, have held an official post in the union, which satisfies two of my criteria for participant selection. In addition, participants also needed to be teachers of a foreign language.

Participant selection. I approached women in my union whom I know as rank-and-file members about participating in my study. In addition, I asked the chair of the union to make recommendations, as well as asking participants to recommend other participants, a selection technique that is known as snowballing.

Participant profiles. Angela is an American who first came to Japan in the 1990s as an exchange student. She later came to live and work here and now teaches English at a university and at a trade school. She also runs a non-profit organization. Norma is also American. She came to Japan in the 1980s and taught in various positions, including at cram schools and elementary, junior, and high schools before teaching at a junior college. She is now semi-retired and teaches English at private and public universities. Winnie is Canadian and came to Japan over 20 years ago to teach English and now is a lecturer at a private university. She is also active in professional organizations, but the other two women are not.

Data Collection

The collection of data analyzed in this study started with the first interview, which was conducted in September 2017. The final meeting with all participants was during the focus group discussion, which was conducted in April 2019. For the purpose of triangulation, I also relied on my researcher's journal, which did not directly influence my conclusions, but certainly helped me to formulate and articulate my thoughts over the course of the project.

Interviews

This study is primarily informed by interview data. Before conducting the focus group discussion, I interviewed each participant once. Like Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), I believe that when we adopt a qualitative approach to interviewing, we attempt to understand the world from our participants' point of view (an insider's emic perspective). I conducted semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Roulston, 2010; Seidman, 2006; Spradley, 1979) as a means of data collection. Participants allowed me to make digital audio recordings of one in-person interview each and I took supplementary notes by hand. Interview data are also supplemented with additional information gleaned from observations and interactions with participants and recorded in my research journal. The shortest interview lasted 21 minutes and the longest one lasted 54 minutes. I transcribed the most relevant exchanges in the interviews by myself into Microsoft Word documents.

The purpose of the interviews was to gather general background knowledge about the participants and their motivations for joining the union. Grand tour questions (Spradley, 1979), such as, "When did you come to Japan?" or, "How did you come to join the union?" provided me with an understanding of the participants in the context of being foreign language teachers in Japan, as well as in the context of the union. This information can be used to provide points of reference that I pursued in a focus group discussion, which I hope to conduct in the future. Especially as a feminist, the intent is not to hijack interviews, but to place the emphasis on my (female) participants' stories without imposing my perspective (Hatch, 2002).

Focus group discussion. In addition to conducting a focus group discussion for the sake of triangulation, talking to the participants together yielded both more and richer data. Participants met and further clarified issues that had come up in interviews and they also compared opinions on feminism and the value of union membership.

Researcher's journal. One last source of data is my researcher's journal. I keep a research journal using Microsoft Word. The journal serves as a record of the data that I have collected, and more importantly, it can serve as a place where I can conceptualize, articulate my thoughts, and test out new ideas. Because of the ephemeral nature of the spoken word and

of thoughts in my mind, it is important to record them in a timely manner before they vanish into thin air. Including data from a researcher's diary is not as uncommon as one might think. In applied linguistics research, diary studies have been used to collect autobiographical data on language learning by Casanave (2012) as well as Schmidt and Frota (1986), for example. Diary entries can be considered to be sources of data for narrative inquiry, and this approach appeals intuitively to researchers who are concerned with self, identity, and individuality (Barkhuizen, 2015). Identity is certainly an important part of the intersectional feminist approach.

Journal entries did not directly inform findings as much as expected. However, journaling is still a valuable tool which helps researchers to think by writing. Some more mundane entries were search engine findings, as well as general thoughts on research in general, such as linking projects that are currently underway.

Analysis

Analysis is said to begin at the transcription stage (Duff, 2008). However, before beginning transcription, I listened to interview and focus group discussion recordings repeatedly. This helped me get a feel for the data and it helped to decide which parts were relevant, and therefore worth transcribing. Transcription is best done by the researcher, rather than outsourcing, because it provides a feel for the data and is conducive to more inductive analysis. I occasionally had to further correspond with participants in order to confirm interpretations.

Does the union meet these women's needs?

Yes. Angela has been in the union the longest of all three participants, so she has seen first-hand how the union fights for workers of all nationalities. For example, at the union's annual meeting a Filipino woman stood up and talked about what was happening at the food factory where she was working. The Filipino member was crying as she explained her and her coworkers' situation and that stuck in Angela's mind. She realized that the union not only helps foreign language teachers. Therefore, because union membership is open to any worker of any nationality, Angela tells friends that union members, both Japanese and non-Japanese,

champion workers' rights, but admits that not everyone she talks to really understands or appreciates what the union does as well as she does.

Perhaps. Norma is the newest union member among the three participants and has not yet seen any evidence of the union fighting discrimination: "Right now I'm not aware of the union doing anything. Or I'm not aware of any problems." However, after some thought, Norma did admit that the union might be able to fight age discrimination. She wonders if the union might one day be able to take on age discrimination cases among university faculty. As for her views on feminism, she felt that women should have the same opportunities as men and earn equal pay for equal work. Sadly, she gets the impression that there is no solidarity as women among female non-Japanese teachers, the same feeling she had when working in universities back home in the United States. Even though Norma has a less rosy image of the union than Angela does, she sees the value in membership and contributes in small but meaningful ways such as participating in collective bargaining with her employer, as well as in union meetings of her workplace branch.

Yes. Winnie describes herself as participating in union activities by paying her dues, going to seminars, and keeping up to date by reading the news that the union emails its members. She sees the value of joining the union and, in fact, rejoined the union after having left Japan for some time. She is interested in participating and learning more, but knows that this will come with time. She is not yet fully aware of how exactly the union fights discrimination, but again, believes that she can become more familiar with what the union does by participating more over time.

Discussion

It is easy to imagine that these women see the value of union membership simply by virtue of their being union members. If they did not see the value of joining the union, they would not hand over their hard-earned money for dues and comply with membership requirements including attendance of certain meetings. However, exactly because these women are relatively new and rank-and-file members, they are not immediately aware of the many ways in which they can participate and learn more about what the union does. They have notions and some first-hand eyewitness accounts of the union fighting discrimination and they are also aware of the union's victories, which, outside of the interviews, two participants told me

that they have told friends about. The founder of the union often says that word of mouth is the most effective way to organize by encouraging colleagues and friends to join.

Unfortunately, because the participants in this study are all busy professionals, they do not have enough time to devote to union activities as they would like. Perhaps rather than committing time to union activities, rank-and-file members might be able to provide the union leadership with more of an outsider perspective and think of new ways in which the union can better organize foreign language teachers in the region. It would certainly be worthwhile if other unions were able to elicit rank-and-file members' opinions and in particular, those of expats and migrant workers—both men and women, on effective organizing so as to help the labor movement around the world.

Limitations

My conclusions should be interpreted in light of the study's limitations. The main source of data was interviews with participants. Triangulating these data with a focus group discussion helped with corroboration. Space limitations also restrict the amount of data I collected and analyzed. Another problem was what I perceive as reticence on the part of one of the participants. Paradoxically, it is the participant I know best and see the most outside union activities. Winnie's interview was the shortest of all three I did with the participants, which might indicate a degree of reticence. Perhaps I could have elicited more information from her by formulating better interview questions, but fortunately, she was more forthcoming in the focus group discussion. Finally, it would be interesting to trace participants' attitudes over time, which would require more time to conduct a longitudinal study.

Conclusion

In this study, I examined whether a union in west Japan that primarily organizes foreign language teachers meets female rank-and-file members' needs. Through talking with rank-and-file women of the union, I not only got a sense of the value that they saw in union membership, but I also learned their ideas about participation in the union. Moreover, I saw that because they are rank-and-file members and not officers who have to attend meetings on a monthly, as opposed to an annual basis, some members are not aware of the many ways both large and small that they can support the union and the labor movement. As suggested

by the three participants, showing how the union's rank-and-file members can help recruit both more men and women to ultimately build a stronger labor movement will be worth investigating in the future. Specifically, educating members on how to promote the benefits of union membership and how to talk to prospective members would be worthwhile. In addition, wider use of a variety of social media might help the union reach a wider demographic including younger language teachers as well as those who are newer to Japan.

Acknowledgements

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Gender differences in self-determined English learning motivation in a Japanese high school

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate different aspects of student motivation in learning English in the Japanese high school context. Student motivation was measured by a new scale based on self-determination theory, developed specifically to assess Japanese learners by Agawa and Takeuchi (2016). The participants consisted of 368 students from a Tokyo metropolitan high school. Male students showed significantly higher amotivation and lower identified regulation. The qualitative part of the study explored students' perceptions of the English classroom, their aspirations and motivational goals, and revealed that females' motivation was more self-directed and autonomous, while males' motivation was more controlled by external and academically-driven goals. Based on the prior psychological findings, high school teachers in Japan are encouraged to employ such teaching techniques as project-based learning to enhance self-determined motivation in both genders.

概要

本研究の目的は、日本の高校生徒が英語を学習する動機にはさまざまな側面を調査することでした。生徒のモチベーションは、自己決定理論を援用して作成した阿川と竹内の新しい尺度で測定されました。参加した東京都立高校の生徒 368 名の回答を分析対象とした。内的調整と外的調整の性差は明らかになりませんであった。しかし、統計的に有意であったのは男子の高い無動機と低い同一視的調整であった。この調査の定性的部分では、生徒の英語教室に対する認識、願望、動機付けの目標を調査し、女性の動機付けはより、自律的であり、男性の動機付けは外発的および学問的に駆動される目標によってより制御されることを明らかにしました。本研究では、自己決定理論として、日本の高校教師には、両方の性別で自己決定されたモチベーションを高めるために、プロジェクトベースの学習などの教育技術を採用することが奨励されています

Most teachers and researchers agree that motivation is a driving force of successful language learning (Dornyei, 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Deci & Ryan, 2008). However, Japanese students do not seem to be highly motivated to learn English, and are not showing increased language skills, despite the country's current emphasis on English education and motivation (Agawa & Ueda, 2013; Kikuchi, 2015). Under such circumstances, it is important to re-examine factors influencing English language learning motivation in Japanese settings and to identify the ways educators can help students become more motivated and engaged in learning English.

Literature Review

Self-Determination Theory of Motivation

Original theory. Self-Determination Theory (SDT) (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Deci & Ryan, 2008) is a popular theoretical framework employed in contemporary research on language learning motivation in the Japanese context. Deci and Ryan, the originators of this theory, believe that intrinsic and extrinsic motivation do not exist separately from each other, like two opposing poles, but that there are mutual transitions between them. These transformations are temporal, and regulated through internalization. Internalization moves learners along a continuum that runs from external to self-regulation. SDT focuses on different types of motivation residing inside the continuum of learner self-determination or, in other words, autonomy. According to SDT, motivation ranges from non-self-determined and controlled to highly self-determined and autonomous. There are three main types of motivation according to this theory: amotivation, extrinsic, and intrinsic motivations (Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2002; Deci & Ryan, 2008).

The main source of most autonomous intrinsic motivation is innate interest in the performed activity (Gardner, 1985). Students are motivated to learn English because they find the process of learning itself enjoyable. They like the sound of English, the entertainment factor in the classroom, and other various aspects that make the process of learning English enjoyable. There is no particular reward or goal in learning for the students except the excitement of the process. In contrast, extrinsically motivated students are persistent in their studies because they are interested in the final goal following the activity, such as good grades, praise, diploma or certificates, and not necessarily in the process itself. Finally, amotivation, the least self-determined motivation, is a state where students have no

personal interest, intention, nor competence to do the educational task. They put no value in engaging in activities related to the task, and often fail to control the outcome (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

According to SDT, different internal processes regulate each type of motivation. Amotionation has no regulation. Students have no intention and no control over the learning process when amotivated. Extrinsic motivation is driven by external, introjected, identified, and integrated regulations. External regulation is the most externally controlled and the least self-determined among the four regulations within the extrinsic continuum. Students are motivated only because of the future rewards or a fear of punishment of non-compliance. With introjected regulation, students gain more self-control and ego-involvement in the educational process. They do not want to "lose face" in front of their peers and teachers; they try to comply because everybody around them does too. The most autonomous regulation inside extrinsic motivation is integrated; the second most common is identified, both of which employ internal sources of control such as interest, awareness, and conscious valuing of the process and outcome.

Identified self-regulation takes place when the person experiences a sense of her own choice of the activity, accepting external goals and values that previously regulated its implementation by now identifying with them. Through the identification process, the person accepts the regulation as her own. Here the controlling-controlled dichotomy that was present at previous levels is removed. The person begins to consider the behavior, which she previously committed under the influence of external regulation, as important for herself. For example, a student does her English homework because she herself begins to appreciate the results (good grades) or wants to understand English better. If, in the case of introjected regulation, the students did her homework because "good students should do this," then in the case of identified regulation, she does it because she sees meaning and attaches value to this action: I did my homework, so it easier for me to participate in the next English lesson. The learning becomes valuable.

The fourth level of external regulation, integrative, involves the integration and assimilation of all current identifications. Deci and Ryan believe that this most mature level of extrinsic motivation can be achieved no earlier than adolescence. It symbolizes the end point of the process of internalizing external requirements. Together with intrinsic motivation, it constitutes the basis for an individual's self-deterministic functioning.

Regulation (management) of activity through integration is very similar to intrinsic self-motivation, which is also highly autonomous. However, the difference lies in the fact that intrinsic motivation is characterized by interest in the activity itself, whereas in integrated self-regulation, interest does not necessarily dominate.

Finally, intrinsic motivation is regulated by intrinsic regulation, or as already mentioned above, by pure joy and interest in the activity (Ryan & Deci, 2000). It is the most self-determined or autonomous type of regulation. Students' motivation to learn English can lay anywhere inside the SDT continuum from amotivation to intrinsic motivation. The closer it is to intrinsic motivation, the more self-determined the motivation to learn is.

Recent changes in SDT. Initially it was assumed that only intrinsic regulation would show a steady positive relationship with academic achievements (Deci, 1980). However, it later emerged that identified regulation showed a comparable level of correlation with achievement as intrinsic regulation (Ratelle et al., 2007), which led to the identification of so-called autonomous motivation—and, opposing it, controlled motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2008).

In the last two decades of SDT research, SDT theory itself has become more nuanced. Without rejecting the importance of different constructs of external motivation, the authors of the theory, relying on the idea of internalization they formulated earlier, suggested rather that it is valuable to look at separate regulations, and to differentiate autonomous and controlled motivation. The first includes, along with intrinsic regulation, identified and integrated regulation, i.e., well-internalized forms of external motivation. The second consists of external and introjected regulation. With autonomous motivation, people experience their own desire and independent voluntary initiation of their actions, while with controlled motivation they feel pressure, feeling that something or someone encourages them to think, feel, and behave in a certain way (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Both autonomous and controlled motivation energize and direct the actions of people. However, the latter is associated with less persistence, negatively affects vitality, and leads to a decrease in psychological well-being.

The new dichotomy introduced by the authors of SDT, in essence, meant the abandonment of the idea of a continuum of external and internal motivation, which often could not be confirmed empirically. Indeed, as a rule, external and introjected forms of

regulation showed similar negative correlation with persistence in learning and psychological well-being. At the same time, the identified regulation showed close similarities with intrinsic motivation in the way they both affect learning motivation. Integrated regulation has had difficulties with item validity or has been identified as an irrelevant construct (Fairchild, Horst, Finney & Barron, 2005; Mallett, Kawabata, Newcombe, Otero-Forero, & Jackson, 2007). In studies of learning and work motivation carried out in recent years, an appeal to this last SDT division, highlighting autonomous and controlled motivation, was noticeable. These studies showed that autonomous motivation contributes to a better understanding of the learning material, greater creativity, increased perseverance in the activities performed, greater productivity, and less burnout in the workplace or school, as well as a healthier lifestyle, higher self-worth, and psychological well-being (Deci &Ryan, 2008).

Basic Psychological Needs

One of the main research questions in SDT is the degree of influence external social factors such as awards, external assessments, limitations, and interpersonal interaction between all people involved into the learning process have on self-determined motivation. Central to this question are two ideas: 1) the idea that three basic needs underlie autonomous motivation and ensure an individual's optimal functioning, creative achievement, and psychological well-being, and 2) the idea of the qualitative origin of various types of extrinsic motivation (discussed in the subsections above) that regulate an individual's behavior.

According to the authors of the theory, three basic psychological needs—autonomy, competence, and relatedness—determine the degree of self-determined motivation for all humans, as well as their psychological well-being and healthy personality development. The need for autonomy means the need to experience choice and determine their own behavior. This is a universal need to feel like an actor, a willing subject of the undertaken activity, an initiator and cause of one's own actions, and to act in harmony with one's integrated self. At the same time, this feeling of autonomy in one's behavior and one's life is not equivalent to being independent from others. The need for competence refers to the desire to feel the optimal level of challenge and to be effective in coping with the tasks presented by the environment. The need for connections and relatedness with other people is the desire to have a reliable connection with significant people and to be understood and accepted.

Since these needs are innate, initially present in all people, the question is usually not about the degree of individual difference in the intensity of each need, but about the extent of a person's frustration (or satisfaction) with part(s) of his environment. Of particular importance in the theory is the need for autonomy, and it is precisely this point that is most actively investigated by the authors of SDT and their followers. Learner autonomy is considered an essential fuel that ignites motivation to learn foreign language. There are many ways teachers can support students' autonomy in the classroom. Teacher's attitude, behavior, teaching style, and identity are all considered influential factors (Oxford & Shearin 1994; Peirce 1995, Dornyei 2009, Dornyei & Ushioda 2011). Moreover, research has proven that it is students' perceptions of their teachers rather than the teachers' actual behavior that has a direct influence on student motivation (Ferlazzo, 2011). Dickenson (1995) states that learners' perceptions of personal control over their autonomy in the classroom are vital for their motivation to learn foreign languages. Murphy and Hurd (2011) argued that the teacher's most essential role in the classroom is to create an autonomy-supporting environment for the students. Previous empirical research has already proven a strong positive relation between psychological need satisfaction and motivation (Karatas et al, 2015; Murphy & Hurd, 2011; Spratt et al, 2002). In order to support students' autonomy, teachers are commonly advised to consider students' voices and opinions about the learning process and provide a choice of material and learning styles in their classrooms.

SDT Measurements

Researchers commonly use a self-determination index to measure the degree of autonomy in student motivation. This index is calculated by assigning different weights to different types of motivation and regulations students perceive themselves as having, and then calculating the average score (Vallerand, 2001). The latest version of an SDT scale adapted for Japanese students that includes different constructs of their motivation was created by Agawa and Takeuchi (2016). Their questionnaire was reported to have higher validity and reliability than the one developed by Hiromori that had previously been widely used (2006). It includes statements measuring amotivation; external, identified regulations; intrinsic motivation; and perceived autonomy support. The authors didn't develop items to measure introjected regulation, since external and introjected forms of regulation have been consistently shown to be similar in their negative relationship to self-determination (Agawa & Takeuchi, 2016).

The measurement of integrated regulation has still not been successfully incorporated into any educational SDT scale based on previous research findings, suggesting that this type of regulation is not a valid construct of motivational behavior (Fairchild, Horst, Finney & Barron, 2005).

Language Learners

Learners of foreign languages differ in a wide range of characteristics, among which are gender, age, cognitive aptitudes, psychological traits, and personal interests. The present study is specifically focused on the links between the gender of language learners and other psychological traits. Numerous studies have compared foreign language learning motivation and acquisition between male and female learners (Ellis, 1994; Williams, Burden & Lanvers 2002; Csizer & Dornyei 2005; Kissau 2008, Xiong 2010). Ellis conducted a study on students learning French as a foreign language showing that females had higher scores and more positive attitudes towards French than males (1994). Csizer and Dornyei, in their study of 8000 Hungarian students learning foreign languages, concluded that male students were less motivated to learn a foreign language than female students (2005). Kissau, in his study on young Canadians studying French, revealed that males were less intrinsically motivated than females (2008). Xiong reported that girls were more intrinsically motivated to study than boys (2010). A similar study in the United States among 303 college students learning French revealed that female learners reported greater self-efficacy, interest, value, and enjoyment in learning French than male learners (Mills, Pajares, & Herron, 2007).

Several studies in psychology, linguistics, and sociology have argued that there are psychological or biological differences between men and women that might influence learners' motivation to learn a foreign language. Costa Jr. and McCrea (2001) reported in their multicultural research that women scored higher in such psychological traits as neuroticism, agreeableness, warmth, and openness to feelings. At the same time, men reported themselves to be higher in assertiveness and openness to things and ideas. If women and men differ significantly in such traits as extraversion, openness and interest in and agreeableness with people, their perceptions of the degree of control or autonomy in learning environments and the people involved in them, such as peers, teachers, and parents, can also differ. Being warmer and more agreeable to people can help a person feel more in control of their surroundings than when being introverted and closed. Therefore, I believe the women's

success in learning languages, earlier explained by the researchers as due to higher interest and higher intrinsic motivation, can be also explained by their more autonomous perception of their learning environment due to the psychological traits discussed above.

According to these findings, I expect that learners of English in Japan would demonstrate not only a gender gap in personality traits, but also a consequently noticeable difference in autonomous and controlled motivations in English language learning.

Based on the literature review above, the main objective of this study is to answer the following questions:

1. Do male and female students differ in their levels of self-determination (autonomous motivation) to learn English?

2. Do male and female students differ in the choice of activities they prefer in class based on their gender differences?

Methodology

Participants

The study was conducted in a middle rank Tokyo metropolitan high school. All first- and second-year students were asked to participate in this study at the end of the 2017 academic year, with more than half of them choosing to take the questionnaire ($N = 386$; 178 males, 208 females). By the end of the year, the respondents had received approximately 100 hours of communicative instruction led by foreign teachers of English and co-taught with Japanese teachers of English, and 200 hours of grammar-translation instruction taught solely by the Japanese teachers. All of the students experienced having classes with three different foreign teachers of English (two female teachers and one male, aged from 25 to 38 years old) from Russia, New Zealand, and the USA, and seven local teachers (three females and four males, aged 26 to 60).

Instruments

The school principal had obtained the participants parents' consent prior to the study, using designated official school forms. The research was explained to the students orally and they were asked for their cooperation in it. They took an online survey in Japanese with a consent form and a questionnaire adapted from the Agawa and Takeuchi' SDT scale (2016). The first part of the questionnaire consisted of 20 motivational items from Agawa and Takeuchi

unchanged. Six items addressed intrinsic motivation and identified regulation correspondingly. Three items were prepared for external regulation, and five for amotivation. The responses were reported on a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (not at all true) to 5 (very true). Items relating to autonomy need satisfaction from the original scale were adopted to address students' need satisfaction separately with Japanese English teachers (JTE) and native-speaking English teachers (NEST). All items were written in Japanese and randomly ordered for each participant (see Appendix A). The last part of the questionnaire consisted of a narrative frame: "The things I want my teacher to do in my English classroom are following..."

Results

Quantitative Results

Data derived from the motivational part of the questionnaire was analyzed using SPSS software (2017). Identification was reported as the strongest motivational regulation (3.8) among all the students, with external following second (3.12), intrinsic third (3.06), and amotivation receiving the lowest score (2.2). A self-determination index (SDI) (Vallerand, 2001) was calculated by assigning a weight of +2 to intrinsic, +1 to identified, -1 to external and -2 to amotivation. The ISD for the total sample was 2.5. With a zero score being in the middle of the self-determination continuum, the positive index of 2.5 can be interpreted as autonomous motivation rather than controlled.

A further correlation analysis was conducted to find out if any independent variables, such as gender and proficiency, were correlated with the motivational items. There was no difference between proficiency levels among different genders. Both groups appeared to have statistically similar Global Test of English Communication (GTEC, 2018) scores. The average GTEC score according to the official school record was 408 points, which is in the middle of Primary Level 3 (GTEC, 2018). English proficiency had positive and statistically significant correlations with the following variables: student year (Pearson: .181 sig: .000), autonomy need fulfillment with NEST (Pearson: .120, sig: .02), intrinsic motivation (Pearson: .240, sig: .000), and identified regulation (Pearson: .173, sig: .001). Proficiency was negatively correlated with external regulation (Pearson: -310, sig: .000) and amotivation (Pearson: -.317, sig: .000). Within the data of this study, higher English proficiency level was

correlated with higher autonomy, satisfaction with native teachers, high intrinsic and identified regulations, and lower external regulation and amotivation.

Two small correlations were found with gender and amotivation ($r = -.143$, $p = .005$), and identified regulation ($r = .106$, p $= .038$). Males appeared to be slightly more amotivated in this study, and females had slightly higher identified regulation (Table 1). Further descriptive t-statistics test in the group confirmed the conclusions of the correlation analysis (Table 2). Because identified regulation and amotivation reside on opposite sides of the SDT continuum, the SDI for males was expected to be much lower than for females in this study. Overall, the mean SDI for females in this study was 2.86, and the score for males was 1.92 (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1. Group Statistics

	gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
IDN	1	178	3.7500	.72578	.05440
	2	208	3.9071	.75014	.05201
AM	1	178	2.3438	.98209	.07361
	2	208	2.0769	.86981	.06031
SDI	1	178	1.9294	4.15909	.31174
	2	208	2.8686	4.51899	.31334

Table 2. Independent Samples Test

| | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | t-test for Equality of Means | | | | | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
	F	Signif.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Err. Diff.	Lower	Upper
IDN	.005	.943	-2.081	384	.038	-.157	.075	-.305	-.009
AM	1.880	.171	2.831	384	.005	.267	.094	.082	.452
SDI	2.589	.108	-2.111	384	.035	-.939	.445	-1.814	-.064

Qualitative Results

Finally, in the last item, the students were asked to describe things that they wanted their teachers to do in the classroom. Of the total participants, 99 females and 98 males wrote comments wrote a range of responses. After assigning different tags and filters, the author found that males and females had generally similar wishes and common desired themes for the language classroom, such as "authentic topics," "foreign way of thinking," and "culture." However, there were some differences, too. Almost half of the females (n = 45) wrote that they wanted more intrinsic fun and communication in the classroom: "I want to talk," "one-to-one talking," "chatting in English," "conversation," "card games," "Mario game in English", "singing songs," "playing games," and similar responses were common. Only about half that number of males (22) expressed that they would like to have more "talking," "pair" and "group work," "singing songs" and "playing" in the classroom.

At the same time, only 12 females identified academic skills, such as "listening," "pronunciation," and "presentation," as important in their comments, while twice as many males (26) wished for more academic skills training in the English classrooms. Comments included: "I want foreign teachers to teach me pronunciation," "I need more test preparation," "Entrance examination test preparation," "Eiken 2 level preparation," "business presentation and interview skills," and "grammar and writing."

Discussion

This study confirmed the findings of earlier researchers that there is indeed an autonomous/controlled dichotomy in self-determined motivation. Autonomous constructs such as intrinsic and identified motivation positively correlated with English proficiency levels. At the same time, controlled external regulation and amotivation negatively correlated with proficiency. The quantitative results of this study also revealed that males in Japanese high school were less autonomously motivated to learn English than females. Boys expressed more amotivation and less identified regulation—a major component of autonomous motivation. The qualitative analysis of the open-ended items also revealed that males were more academically goal oriented, as they expressed interest in studying separate language skills and grammar in order to better prepare for tests.

The fact that males claimed that they wanted more test preparation and more academic study does not necessarily mean that they knew what was best for their interest, and more importantly, what their real needs were. Is test preparation really what male students mainly care about? According to SDT, substitutes for frustrated psychological needs in the form of "external goals" are likely to develop in students whose autonomy is not satisfied in the classroom (Deci, 1980). Teaching styles that reduce males' autonomy need satisfaction and societal pressure to succeed might lead them to develop higher extrinsic aspirations, and extrinsic goals such as passing an Eiken or entrance examination tests.

The quantitative results show that English language proficiency has a direct positive correlation with autonomous motivation. Potentially, higher autonomous motivation can help to sustain high academic achievement. And while proficiency levels in this study did not differ between genders, the nature of the students' motivation clearly did. If the goal of secondary educators in Japan is only to prepare students to pass university entrance exams, then proficiency is all that we educators should ever worry about. In that case, a gap in autonomous motivation among high school males and females with no gap in the proficiency might indicate that an intervention would not be necessary. But as was mentioned above, the self-determined nature of motivation is largely responsible for not only academic achievement but also for the overall well-being of students. Thus, the more autonomous their motivation to learn English is, the more emotionally healthy and positive the students feel. Therefore, it is very important for educators at all levels to provide enough autonomy support to enhance self-determined motivation.

Jones and Jones (2001) in their study of males' motivation reported that foreign language lessons do not offer enough opportunities for males to explore new ideas. As mentioned in the literature review above, females repeatedly score higher in warmth, openness to feelings, and interest in people, while males are reported in multiple research studies to be more open to new experiences and ideas. In this study, more females than males (45% vs. 23%) reported to have a great interest in simple communicative activities, (会話 *kaiwa* in Japanese). These findings support the research mentioned in the literature review and suggest that in order to motivate males, simple "talking in English" is not enough. Since male students may express more interest in tangible things and ideas rather than in people, guided discussions of such things and ideas should be incorporated more in language instruction. Group and pair work can be used not only for basic communicative practices, but also for project-based learning. Project-based learning can be "things-oriented" and allow males to share ideas, use modern technology, solve real-world problems, and thus enhance their interest and consequently allow them to achieve more autonomy in learning English.

Conclusion

This study is another step toward better understanding what motivates Japanese English learners in pre-tertiary levels. This study investigated gender differences and how they affected L2 English learning motivation. Male and female participants did not report significant differences in intrinsic and external regulations. However, more male students reported higher amotivation and lower identified regulation. Since amotivation and identified regulation reside on opposite sides of the SDT continuum, and identified regulation is a major factor in autonomous motivation according to the controlling-autonomous dichotomy, females in this study appeared to be more self-determined or autonomous than males to learn English.

Finally, it can be said that autonomy-enhancing teaching practices should not focus on benefiting any particular sex, but rather on combining techniques and approaches to enhance self-determined motivation in all students regardless of their gender. All students can benefit from teachers who maintain a fun and exciting atmosphere in the classroom and foster intrinsic motivation and identified regulation. Test preparation is a very important goal of Japanese high school education. However, by incorporating project-based activities in as little as one-fifth of the English language instruction time, dedicating one lesson a week to peer

collaboration, communication, and discussion of ideas, the author hopes English teachers in Japan can help students become more self-determined, as well as increase the range of emotional expression available to them.

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Appendix A

(For the SDT motivational items see Agawa and Takeuchi)

Autonomy need scale items modified for this study:

外国人先生の授業では、自分の努力が実ったという充実感が得られることがあると思う。

外国人先生の授業では、「できた」という達成感が得られることがあると思うロ

外国人先生の授業での自分の頑張りに満足している。

外国人先生の授業では、和気あいあいとした雰囲気があると思う。

外国人先生の授業では、閉じ教室の仲間と仲良くやっていると思う。

外国人先生の授業のグループ活動・ペアワークでは、協力し合う雰囲気があると思う。

日本人先生の授業では、自分の努力が実ったという充実感が得られることがあると思う。

日本人先生の授業では、「できた」という達成感が得られることがあると思うロ

日本人先生の授業での自分の頑張りに満足している。

日本人先生の授業では、和気あいあいとした雰囲気があると思う。

日本人先生の授業では、閉じ教室の仲間と仲良くやっていると思う。

日本人先生の授業のグループ活動・ペアワークでは、協力し合う雰囲気があると思う。

The academic precariat: The narrative of a Japanese female part-time EFL instructor in a neoliberal university context

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Abstract

This paper reports on a narrative study exploring the account of Naomi (a pseudonym), a female part-time EFL (English as a foreign language) instructor in several Japanese universities. Faced with market-based neoliberal rationalism, Japanese universities have responded by hiring short-term, part-time instructors who are regarded in this study as members of an academic precariat. This study employs feminist narrative research and utilizes poststructural feminist analysis of the narrative to help define what it means to be a female part-time university instructor in Japan. By situating Japan as being at a unique intersection between neoliberal market society and gender dynamics that are more conservative than other developed nations, I uncover difficulties, struggles, and hidden emotions of a Japanese female part-time university instructor. Naomi's narrative substantiated how a neoliberal university context and a Japanese cultural gender ideology affected her teaching and research, and moreover, all aspects of her life.

概要

本研究は英語の大学非常勤講師である日本人女性ナオミ（仮名）の語りを探究するナラティヴ研究である。日本の大学は市場中心的でネオリベラル的な合理主義に直面し、多くの短期契約の非常勤講師を雇用することによってこの状況に対応している。大学非常勤講師はアカデミック・プレカリアートとみなすことができる。本研究はフェミニスト・ナラティヴ・リサーチに依拠し、ポスト構造主義的フェミニズム分析を使う。ポスト構造主義的フェミニズム分析を行うことによって、日本の女性の大学非常勤講師ということが何を意味しているのかを明らかにする。ネオリベラル的な市場主義社会と他の先進国よりも遅れをとっているジェンダー問題の特異な交差に日本を位置づけるによって、日本人の女性大学非常勤講師が抱える困難、葛藤、隠れた感情をナオミのナラティヴを通して明らかにする。彼女のナラティヴは、ネオリベラル的な大学の環境や日本の文化的ジェンダー・イデオロギーがどの

ように彼女の授業、研究、ひいては、彼女の人生に影響を与えているかを明らかにしてくれる。

Of late, some surprising but, at the same time, sorrowful news was reported in Japan: a promising female researcher committed suicide in 2016 (Komiyama, 2019). After she received her Ph.D., she taught part-time in Japanese universities and vocational schools and earned less than 2,000,000 yen per year. She lived with her parents to save her money for research. Although she applied for tenure-track positions, she failed over twenty times. To escape from this precarious situation, she married a man she met through the Internet. However, her marriage did not last even one year. Two months after she wrote in her diary that she wanted to do her life all over from the beginning, she killed herself. She may have felt anxious, isolated, and in despair under her insecure work circumstances and might have subjected herself to stifling Japanese cultural gender norms. Should her experience be regarded as a tragic, private matter? I consider her life experience to some extent as that which might be shared by other female part-time university instructors in Japan and similar contexts.

In this article, I argue that a neoliberal university context and a Japanese cultural gender ideology affect a female part-time university instructor's professional life particularly with reference to the concept of the academic precariat. The class of precariat was born in a market-based neoliberal context. As Harvey (2005) and other critics of neoliberalism (e.g. Giroux, 2008/2009; Standing, 2016; Steger & Roy, 2010) have noted, since the 1970s, the world economy has moved aggressively toward globalization based on competitiveness and individualism. The neoliberal society with a zero-sum drive toward profits has produced inequality in wealth and power and served individual and corporate interests rather than the public good. In the drive for market efficiency, cost reduction—including low-cost labor and flexible labor practices—has become a monolithic obsession. According to the British economist Guy Standing (2016), the "precariat" is defined as people lacking labor-related security such as labor market security, employment security, job security, work security, skill reproduction security, income security, and representation security. Standing (2016) continued to note that as a result of being ill-treated, the precariat tends to exhibit anger, anomie, anxiety, and alienation under insecure work circumstances, which he called "the

precariatised mind" (p. 21). These emotions do not operate in isolation, but rather work reciprocally and simultaneously.

The wave of neoliberalism has been extended to educational systems, as well. According to the education thinker and renowned scholar Henry Giroux (2008/2009), "universities adopt the ideology of the transnational corporation and become subordinated to the needs of capital, the war industries, and the Pentagon" (pp. 46-47). Faced with a neoliberal rationality, universities have responded by raising tuition, entering into more and more research partnerships with industry, and hiring a larger number of purportedly short-term, part-time university instructors (Fisher, 2009; Seal, 2018; Shumway, 2017). Japanese universities are no exception to this trend. Under the name of teacher mobility and young scholar development, in 1996 the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) proposed that Japanese universities should introduce a contract instructor system (MEXT, 1996). MEXT's proposal and a market-driven neoliberal trend led to the hiring of a large number of limited-term, full-time contract instructors and part-time instructors to reduce personnel cost (Nagatomo, 2012a; Poole, 2010; Rothman, 2019). According to "School Basic Data (*Gakko Kihon Chosa*)" provided by MEXT, part-time university instructors constituted 27.2 percent of total teaching staff in 1960, 35.9 percent in 1970, 39.0 percent in 1980, 42.1 percent in 1990, 47.7 percent in 2000, and 51.6 percent in 2016 (MEXT, 2016a). The ratio of part-time instructors to full-time instructors in Japanese universities is on a steep upward trend. Under neoliberalism, as Rothman (2019) has argued, part-time university instructors are regarded as workers characterized by their capacity to maximize human capital and adjust to precarious work conditions and job insecurity.

I attempt to uncover difficulties, struggles, and hidden emotions of a female part-time university instructor in Japan through the narrative of a Japanese woman, Naomi (a pseudonym), who was a part-time EFL instructor in several Japanese universities. The narrative provides rich data for examining the striking range of constraints and struggles a female part-time university instructor faces in her career in Japanese society where certain types of neoliberal rationality and gender ideology are valued. I hope this study helps, even if partially, to understand Japanese female part-time university instructors' difficulties and struggles through Naomi's narrative and thereby contributes to furthering research on

contingent faculty issues created by the market-driven neoliberal university context and the gendered nature of Japanese academe.

Female Part-Time University Instructors' Lives in Japan

In Japanese higher education, there are three types of professional positions: tenure-track, contract, and part-time (Nagatomo, 2012a; Wadden & Hale, 2019). Tenured faculty include professors, associate professors, and assistant professors, and they hold the right to stay permanently at the university. Tenured faculty's administrative work includes serving mandatorily on departmental and university committees, attending faculty meetings, coordinating curricula, advising undergraduate students, interviewing job candidates, reading and evaluating graduate applications, writing various kinds of reports, and more. Contract faculty are instructors who may teach a full-time load of classes, become involved in parts of administrative responsibilities and curriculum, receive better salary than part-timers, and have office space at their universities. While they are designated under the category of assistant or associate professors, they have limited-term contracts. Part-time/adjunct faculty are those who teach part-time in one or more universities. Although part-time university instructors have no administrative responsibilities, they do not have long-term job security or opportunities for promotion to a tenured position. They generally receive no health care or other benefits, no real chance of earning full-time positions, no severance pay if dismissed, no say in curriculum or school policies, no keys to the supply cabinet, and so on. Often they do not even have any office space at universities. They are not treated as valuable resources to be nurtured, but as cheap, exploitable, and disposable labor.

According to the report of the University Teachers' Union (2007), the average part-time instructor's salary was 3,060,000 yen (approximately 27,321 US dollars) per year. Such a person taught 9.2 classes (90 minutes per class) per week at different universities, which was significantly more than tenured faculty's load. From my 10 years' working experience as a part-time EFL university instructor for 10 years, part-time EFL instructors usually teach 12 to 15 classes (90 minutes per class) per week and go to four or five different universities. In Japanese universities, no matter what students major in, they have to study English as a general requirement. Therefore, compared to other subjects, English language teaching in Japanese universities is a large job market.

While both male and female part-time university instructors share some issues, the work circumstances of female instructors may significantly differ from those of male instructors. Several studies have shown that female faculty in Japan—both tenured professors and part-time instructors—are severely underrepresented in higher education (Japan Association of Private Universities and Colleges, 2011; McNeill, 2007; Nagatomo, 2012a, b; Ohri, Kurita, Ono, & Mizuki, 2014). Some female instructors, including tenured and non-tenured faculty, report having been victims of sexual and/or academic harassment in Japanese universities, having difficulty balancing family and professional life, and facing inappropriate treatment based on gender differences in workplaces, research environments, and hiring and promotion procedures (Japan Association of Private Universities and Colleges, 2011; Nagatomo & Cook, 2019; Yoshihara, 2018).

In 2016, 23.7% of the tenured and 30.8% of the part-time instructors in Japanese universities were held by women (MEXT, 2016b). Although it is often said that quite a few women engage in part-time positions in Japanese universities, there is no specific data to show the reality of the female part-time instructors (Nakano, 2015). Nakano (2015) explained that although the statistics (e.g., *Gakko Kihon Chosa* and *Gakko Kyoin Tokei Chosa*) issued by MEXT provided the categories of tenured and part-time instructors in Japanese universities, some tenured professors teach part time for an additional salary. Nakano's 2014 survey of the Japan Association of National Universities noted that while 22.5% of part-time instructor positions in Japanese national universities were held by women, 53.1% of the part-time instructors who did not have tenured positions were women. Although the statistics above are limited to national universities, there must be quite a number of women who engage in part-time positions without tenured positions in private universities as well. Although there are no data at the national level specifically about the ratio of female to male part-time EFL university instructors, Ohri (2014) reported that according to her impression, the rate of women in the part-time English language teaching profession is considerably high. One reason for this is that women's choices of majors and programs of study still tend to follow traditional patterns, with more than one-third of all women enrolling in education and humanities courses involving English literature and language (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet, 2018). As a consequence, quite a few women engage in English language teaching. Another reason why women tend to engage in part-time university teaching positions might

be the influence of Japanese cultural gender ideology. I will explain this phenomenon in more detail in the next section.

Japanese Cultural Gender Ideology

Gender ideology refers to beliefs regarding the appropriate roles, rights, activities and responsibilities of men and women in society (Gibbons, Hamby, & Dennis, 1997; Kroska, 2007; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016). A traditional gender ideology typically stresses biological differences between the sexes and highlights the family division of labor, which defines the man's role as a breadwinner and the woman's role as a homemaker/housewife (Kroska, 2007; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016). An egalitarian gender ideology highlights equality between men and women in both private and public spheres (Kroska, 2007; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016). More egalitarian gender ideologies correlate with socio-economic development and are found in developed, industrial countries (Brewster & Padvic, 2000; Gibbons, Hamby, & Dennis, 1997).

Although Japan stands among other developed, industrial countries, traditional gender ideology is discursively enacted in Japanese society. According to the *Global Gender Gap Report 2018*, Japan ranks 110th out of 149 countries in terms of overall gender gap (World Economic Forum, 2018). Japanese women's status is shockingly low among developed countries, in that Japan ranks at 79th in women's labor force participation, 129th in the percentage of female senior officials and managers, 108th in the percentage of women's professional and technical workers, and 130th in the percentage of women in parliament. Even though Japanese women have gained access to higher education and are supposed to receive equal pay for equal work as well as maternity and childcare leave, women tend to exit the workforce in their late twenties and early thirties and place priority on family and home (Mackie, 2003; Nakano, 2011; Nagatomo, 2012b; Ueno, 2009). After they complete the first stage of domestic work (i.e. childrearing), they tend to return to the workforce as temporary, peripheral and replaceable members of the workforce (Ezawa, 2011, Ohinata, 1995; Ueno, 2009). As a result, the number of professional women is not growing, which is the case in Japanese academe as well.

LeBlanc (1999) interestingly noted that the woman's role as a housewife is more highly valued in Japan than in the United States. Japanese housewives tend to sacrifice career

ambitions to function as the center of the family and serve as family representatives who fulfill interpersonal obligations within the community. A woman's status as a full-time housewife (or a secondary wage earner in marriage) and a man's status as a breadwinner are culturally positioned as complementary and equal to each other (Ezawa, 2011; Iwao, 1993; Mackie, 2003). Although the number of full-time, stay-at-home housewives is decreasing and the number of housewives who are secondary wage earners in marriage is increasing, a gender ideology in which a man is the breadwinner and a woman is a housewife or a secondary wage earner is deeply rooted (Ohri, 2014; Ueno, 2009; Vogel & Vogel, 2013). Such fixed gender roles are more often considered equal in Japan if the benefits and costs of each role offset each other over the long-term course of the relationship. Such understandings of equality still create an idealized image of women as housewives. On the other hand, unmarried women with no children can be treated coldly by Japanese society (Ohri, 2014; Sakai, 2003). Junko Sakai's 2003 bestseller *The Howl of the Underdog* [*Makeinu no Toboe*] satirized the stigma that is attached to unmarried thirty-something women in Japan. She criticized the Japanese tendency to value or devalue a woman in accordance with her marital status: no matter how educated and successful a woman may be, if she is unmarried by the age of 35 she is designated a "loser" in Japanese society. Ohri (2014) also noted that in a Japanese society where traditional gender ideology is upheld, marriage is still attractive to single women because it guarantees their status and gives them societal credit. As such, the *Makeinu* phenomenon has not changed even now in 2019.

In my view, Japanese cultural gender ideology often does not appear as domination. Instead, it seems largely consensual and acceptable to most in the community. The gender ideological assumptions are constantly re-enacted and circulated through discourse as commonsensical and natural. The taken-for-grantedness and normalcy of such assumptions have been what perplexes or blurs power differences and inequality in society (Lazar, 2005). The "naturalness" myth maintains gender norms and materially disempowers women. Women who are highly educated and have professional jobs, including university instructors, might not escape from such gender ideology in Japan and give up on becoming tenured professors. That the proportion of women in the part-time English language teaching profession is considerably high (Ohri, 2014) is relevant to the current gender ideology in Japan.

The Significance of Feminist Narrative Research

As for the question of what feminist research is, Brooks and Hesse-Biber (2007) stated, "By documenting women's lives, experience, and concerns, illuminating gender-based stereotypes and biases, and unearthing women's subjugated knowledge, feminist research challenges the basic structures and ideologies that oppress women" (p. 4). As means to understand women's lives and experiences both individually and socially, narratives help feminist researchers explore the multidimensional lives of women (Brooks, 2007; Fraser & MacDougall, 2016; Olesen, 2005; see also Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1995). In this sense, feminist narrative research is a useful methodology for my study because it allows for an understanding of how sociocultural contexts, including gender ideology, shape the career trajectory of a specific Japanese female part-time EFL university instructor and reveal how the contexts limit or oppress her at the macro- and micro-level.[1]

Feminist narrative research can focus on a single event, an experience, or an entire life (Chase, 2005; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007; Riessman, 2008). Like many feminist qualitative researchers, I focus on women's experiences as resources (Brooks, 2007; Foss & Foss, 1994; Reinharz, 1992) and treat women's personal narratives as "essential primary documents for feminist research" (Personal Narratives Group 1989, cited in Chase, 2005, p. 654). In my research, I illustrate my participant's personal experience to uncover female part-time instructors' anxiety, frustration, pressure, and even despair in their academic and personal lives. Although my participant's experience cannot be generalized to female part-time instructors' experiences, her experience signals a relevance to counterparts in similar contexts. In an academic society, people are apt to think that it is merely "personal trouble" when part-time university instructors complain about work circumstances. However, the "personal troubles" that female part-time university instructors illustrate should not be regarded as personal and private issues. Rather, the troubles occur in the interrelations between adjunct working conditions and cultural gender ideology.

Therefore, I draw attention not only to personal experiences but also to sociocultural contexts that form my participant's narrative, involving the existential conditions, the environment, surrounding factors and forces, and people around the individual (Bloom, 1998; Olesen, 2005). As Woodiwiss, Smith and Lockwood (2017) note, "in doing feminist narrative research, researchers need to look, not only at the stories being told, but also at the contexts

within which women make sense of and narrate their lives and the resources available to them to do that" (p. 5). Fraser and MacDougall (2016) also state that "doing feminist narrative research means taking care to link the personal with political while understanding the effects of social problems in ways that do not hyperindividualize, denigrate, and pathologize the people who experience them" (p. 244). In doing feminist narrative research, I focus not only on a part-time university instructor's experience as a woman but also the complex relationship between her personal experience and sociocultural contexts involving neoliberal market-based university contexts and Japanese cultural gender ideology.

To examine Naomi's narrative, I employed a poststructural feminist analytic approach. From a poststructural feminist view, a woman's experience is regarded as something that is shaped by gendered discursive practices (Leavy, 2007; Scott, 1992; Weedon, 1997) and gender is regarded as something that is performed within discursive fields (Butler 1990). That is, gender is not a rigid, limited concept but is constantly playing in the multiple power relations that exist in any situation (Lather, 1991; Ropers-Huilman, 1998; Weedon, 1997). I looked closely at Naomi's narrative constituted in the multiple power relations that exist at any particular moment and in any situation. Poststructural feminist analysis allows us to understand differently knowledges and situations that have been until now assumed to be "natural."

Research Participant, Data Collection, Data Analysis, and My Research Positionality

Research Participant

Naomi was a mid-thirties, part-time EFL university instructor with eight years of teaching experience when I first interviewed her. She had completed a master's degree program at an American university located in Japan, where she majored in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages). After she graduated, she started to teach EFL as a part-time instructor in several Japanese universities. While doing that, she started a doctoral degree program at the same university where she had earned her master's degree. After teaching English as a part-time instructor for ten years in two different universities, she left teaching because she obtained a full-time position at a private research institute. She thought she would be able to use her research skills and looked forward to committing herself to stimulating research projects. However, the job at the research institute was not what she

expected. She realized that teaching was more attractive and returned to English language teaching one year later.

Data Collection

Data collection included a background questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, email exchanges, and follow-up interviews from August 6, 2014, through August 10, 2017, all of which were in Japanese. Since Naomi and I took the same course in our master's degree program in 2004, we have continued communicating about both personal matters and professional activities. However, the first official contact for this research project was on August 6, 2014. At the beginning of the study, a background questionnaire was administered to ascertain Naomi's professional and academic background. To explore in more depth how she entered and once left the university teaching profession, I conducted four audiotaped interviews. Each interview took approximately one to two hours. The interview data were transcribed word for word into an 87-page database. I did not transcribe all of the paralinguistic and non-linguistic features of speech as I wanted only to ascertain thematic elements from her narratives. I also used email communications data. There were hundreds of email exchanges concerning this study, as well as other issues involving our own research, professional and work-related activities, and some personal matters.

Data Analysis

To determine thematic elements, I followed Riessman's thematic analysis (2008): familiarization with data, identifying common thematic elements, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final report. Riessman emphasizes that in thematic narrative analysis, the researcher should preserve "the sequences, rather than thematic coding segments" (Riessman, 2008, p. 74). She stresses the importance of sequence and detail for interpretive purposes. Although there are multiple approaches to analyzing narratives, including coding-categorizing methods (see Holstein & Gubrium, 2012), Gergen (2003) has warned that an "analytic method of deconstructing stories into coded piles" could undermine "the aims of the research" (p. 272). To explore Naomi's narrative in relation to multiple power dynamics that exist in any situation, Riessman's wholistic thematic analysis was used in this study.

Aligning with my research questions, I began to examine the data set and generated a list of preliminary categories while looking to identify recurring patterns and salient themes. Following iterative readings of the data set, I combined, delineated, and refined categories. I narrowed the analysis until axial categories emerged, which led to the following themes: Naomi's "precarious" situations and Naomi's desire to marry.

My Researcher Positionality

I consider myself a feminist qualitative researcher and identified my own insider status with respect to this research. Many feminist qualitative researchers support subjective principles of research (see England, 1994; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1995; Oakley, 1981; Reinharz, 1992). They, and I, believe that it is important for researchers to integrate themselves into the research process, incorporate their own values, theory, ontology and epistemology, and reflect upon their participants' experiences and references as seen from the inside.

I am familiar with and identify personally with my participant's situation including being born and brought up as a woman in Japan, and having teaching experience in Japanese universities as a part-time EFL instructor. After ten years of teaching as a part-time university instructor, I obtained a tenured position in a private Japanese university where I am working now. I am aware of the huge gap between a tenured position and a non-tenured position, each group working under different labor conditions. Even though, with respect to my former status as a part-time EFL university instructor, Naomi's struggles and discontent might differ from mine, certain commonalities and continua between us "help the research move along more smoothly and allow for more in-depth analysis" (Park, 2009, p. 64).

Findings

Naomi's "Precarious" Situations

Naomi, as a part-time EFL university instructor, repeatedly expressed her disappointment with the low salary, lack of benefits, and absence of research funding. She taught eight classes (90 minutes per class) per week and earned about 2,400,000 yen per year but had no other benefits. Compared to other part-time EFL university instructors in Japan, she limited her weekly load, because she was working on a doctoral degree program at the same time.

What she was concerned with most was the lack of research funding. In Japanese universities, tenure-track faculty usually receive a research budget from their university and use it for books, travel expenses for conferences, and other research-related expenditures. They also have more opportunities to apply for and get additional research grants that part-time university instructors cannot. As Naomi repeatedly noted, the lack of research funding hurt her research and impacted negatively on her motivation. She told me that she could not afford to travel to international conferences or even to conferences within Japan.

> As you know, our graduate school holds a colloquium every year. That year, the colloquium was held at the Osaka campus, not the Tokyo campus. The professor said, "If you receive a research budget, come and join the colloquium in Osaka. But if you don't have this benefit, you don't need to because a round trip ticket to Osaka is not cheap." I wanted to go there but I couldn't afford it. (Interview, April 29 2016, translated by the author)

Because of the lack of a research budget, Naomi also avoided buying academic books. Instead, she borrowed books from a university library and made copies if necessary.

> Naomi: I usually borrow books. We [instructors] usually borrow books for two months in a university. It is very helpful.
> Reiko: Yes, we can borrow them for quite long. So, you rarely buy books?
> Naomi: I don't buy them. When I really need any, I make copies. (Interview, October 3 2015, translated by the author)

Naomi made the same comment when I interviewed her on April 29, 2016. These conditions of her employment clearly affected her research career and motivation to research and made her feel discouraged.

As for teaching, she expressed discontent about teaching repeaters' EFL classes and lower English proficiency-level classes. In Japanese universities, English has been regarded as a compulsory subject. No matter what their majors are, Japanese university students are required to study English as a general education subject. If they do not pass these English

classes, they are required to take the classes again until they pass them. Part-timers are often asked to teach the classes with the lowest level and least-motivated students. She expressed discontent and discouragement as follows:

> I think part-time university instructors are often asked to teach repeaters' English classes. For classroom researchers, these kinds of classes cannot be research objects. It's just troublesome. If we were asked to teach many of these classes, we would get tired of teaching and feel very discouraged. (Email communication, May 1 2016, translated by the author)

Not only part-time instructors but also tenure-track instructors feel the same way. Most repeating students are unmotivated to study English and are often absent from class. This reality discourages instructors from teaching them passionately. However, the difference between tenured professors and part-time instructors is that while tenured professors can often avoid teaching these classes, part-time instructors can hardly say no because they might lose their job.

Naomi also discussed institutional issues such as contract renewal, schedules, and assigned courses. Although the procedures for renewing, scheduling, and assigning part-time instructors' courses are different in each university, some universities inform part-time instructors of the schedule and assigned courses well in advance, while others inform them just before the semester begins. Naomi related a story that she had heard:

> Another part-time instructor told me that one part-time instructor failed two thirds of the students in her English class because they didn't study at all. She might be a hard grader. Then she was not asked to teach the course the following year. What I'm concerned about is that I try not to bother full-time faculty about classes or teaching. I don't ask them questions such as "I don't know about this. Could you tell me what to do?" I try to be quiet. Even if I raised questions about courses and curriculum, they wouldn't listen to me. (Interview, April 29 2016, translation by the author)

Naomi tried not to be annoying and sought to obey university requests even if she disagreed with them. It can be assumed that many part-time university instructors feel and do the same as Naomi because they do not want their class load reduced or to lose their contract. They have no choice but to comply because they do not want to risk losing their jobs.

As for finding a tenured position, Naomi was very disappointed and illustrated how hopeless she felt about her lack of success in the following way:

> [Although I applied for tenure-track positions,] I failed so many times. I thought I wouldn't be suitable as a teacher. When I talked about it to one teacher who got a tenured position, he said, "It's very usual. I sent my CV to about a hundred universities." He had graduated from a very prestigious overseas university. Would I have to send my CV to hundreds of universities like him? How long would it take for me to get a tenured position? (Email communication, April 9 2016, translated by the author)

Many part-time university instructors share similar anxiety and despair, to a greater or lesser degree. Whenever Naomi failed at job interviews for full-time teaching positions, she lost confidence in herself as a good teacher. Such anxiety and despair for the future of her career made her decide to leave teaching once and take a full-time job at the research institute.

Naomi's Desire to Marry

Female part-time university instructors encounter a variety of work circumstances that differ from those of male part-time university instructors. When Naomi once left teaching, I asked her directly what made her leave the profession and work full-time in a private research institute. She responded as follows:

> I wanted to get a tenured position (but I was not able to). The reasons why I left teaching are as follows: I am unmarried, the job in a research institute would be worthwhile and fulfilling, I would work on research with other researchers, and the full-time job would give me better benefits and treatment. (Email communication, April 9 2016, translated by the author)

She continued to note, "If I had married and had a child, I might have continued to teach English as a part-time university instructor" (Email communication, April 9 2016, translated by the author). In the subsequent interview, I asked her why whether she was married or not mattered. She explained,

> Naomi: I think that a teacher should be a person with an admirable character. As I said before, students asked me if I am married. If I were married, I would say in a dignified manner, "Yes, I'm married." I would give advice about various things from a mature teacher's perspective. But I feel inferior because I work part-time and am unmarried.
> Reiko: Does your self-esteem go down?
> Naomi: Indeed, it does. (Interview, April 29 2016, translated by the author)

Every time I interviewed her, she told me that she really wanted to marry. In the interview of June of 2017, I asked her if she still wanted to marry even if she got a tenured position. She paused for a moment and responded, "If I got a tenured position, I don't think there would be a desperate feeling to get married like now" (Interview, June 23 2017, translated by the author). When women have professional jobs, if they are unmarried and without children, people consider them "special" and "exceptional" in Japanese society (Ueno, 2013). This results in dividing women into "elites" and "non-elites" (Ueno, 2013). Under these circumstances, while Naomi sought a tenured position in a university, if she had no chance to get such a position, she wanted to at least be a part-time university instructor who had marital status.

Her desire to get married also stemmed from peer pressure. While she did not receive any pressure from university colleagues, advisors, or scholarly fellows regarding marriage or parenting, she did receive pressure to get married from her relatives and even from her students. Naomi was often asked by her students how old she was and whether she was married. She gave an example of student attitudes as follows:

> Naomi: It was almost five years ago. I was asked by a student, "How old are you? Are you married?" When I told him my age, he said, "Yikes."
> Reiko: Something like "you're an old maid" or "you're already over 30."

Naomi: Yes. He said, "Almost 30 years old. It's undesirable." (Interview, October 3 2015, translation by the author)

These students' questions and comments seemed to place additional pressure on her. She wondered if students would ask the same questions and make the same comments if she were a male instructor.

Discussion

This study illustrates how a neoliberal university context and a Japanese cultural gender ideology influenced Naomi's professional life and how she held complex emotions in teaching part-time in Japanese universities. Her account of a desire to marry was caused by the "precarious" situation of a part-time university instructor and a Japanese cultural gender ideology. The "precarious" working conditions involving lack of job security, underpaid salary, no research funds, and very few chances of earning a full-time position affected her teaching and researching, and once led her to resign from her teaching post. Standing (2016) noted that "the precariatised mind" includes anger, anomie, anxiety, and alienation, and in fact, Naomi expressed anxiety, discontent, discouragement, and even hopelessness because of her conditions of employment. She also felt weary and powerless because she had no choice in the classes she would teach and no opportunity to comment upon school policies, including extra-curricular duties. She had to adjust to unwanted teaching conditions out of a simple need to survive. In order to escape from these situations, Naomi wanted to marry.

Naomi's desire to marry also reflected a Japanese gender ideology in which a man is a breadwinner and a woman is a homemaker/housewife or a second wage earner. Naomi internalized this gender ideology as quite legitimate and natural. She regarded her unmarried status as inferior and immature as far as she was a part-time instructor. As Ueno (2013) noted, women who have professional jobs are considered "elites," "special," and "exceptional" in Japan even though they are unmarried. This kind of gender ideological assumption is largely consensual and acceptable in Japanese society. The naturalness and normalcy of such assumptions made her consider herself non-elite and socially incomplete because she was an unmarried, part-time instructor (see Lazar, 2005). Ohri (2014) noted that in a society like Japan where highly differentiated status and gives them societal credit.

Naomi's desire to marry resonates with Ohri's argument—marriage implies both social approval and social accomplishment—and Komiyama's (2019) newspaper story. Naomi would have been prepared to perform a gender identity that accommodated the master cultural narrative in place in her world—that marriage is the central axis of identity for women in Japan.

Also, the conversation between Naomi and her male student illustrated patriarchal and male-centered ways of looking at society form women's subjugated experience (see Leavy, 2007; Scott, 1992; Weedon, 1997). Her male student asked her about her age and marital status and she did not refuse to answer the question. In Japanese society, it is not unusual to ask others about their age and marital status. Therefore, Japanese students might frankly ask male instructors about their age and marital status, but they might not show the same level of judgment for being single.[2] Such gendered discourse disempowered Naomi not to respond to her male student dismissively or neutrally, nor refuse to answer her student's question. It removed power from her role of instructor and positioned her as "just" a woman who needed to respond to the male student. This conversation also evidenced that power dynamics exist everywhere and do not operate solely in a macro, top-down fashion. Rather, power circulates in a network of micro-power relations in society whose members are often complicit in their own disempowerment (see Weedon, 1997). Thus, the prevailing gender ideology is hegemonic and is routinely exercised in myriad social practices.

Concluding Thoughts

Several studies have uncovered gender bias and unfair treatment experienced by female instructors and researchers in academia inside and outside Japan (for a detailed discussion in Japan, see Japan Association of Private Universities and Colleges, 2011; Nagatomo, 2012b; Nagatomo & Cook, 2019; McNeill, 2007, Ohri, Kurita, Ono, & Mizuki, 2014; for outside Japan, see Hart, 2011; Lester, 2009; Li & Beckett, 2006; O'Meara, 2015). Given that quite a number of women engage in the English language teaching profession in Japanese universities, the issues which emerged from Naomi's narrative should be seriously considered in the TESOL field in Japan. The combination of a part-time instructor's "precarious" situation and a Japanese cultural gender ideology encourages Naomi to escape to marriage and impacts her professional life (see Komiyama, 2019; Ohri, 2014). This study

reveals her anxiety, discontent, constraint, and disappointment. The working situations of female part-time university instructors may vary from country to country; however, to some extent, Naomi's hidden emotions might be relevant not only to female part-time university teachers in Japan, but also to members of the academic precariat in similar contexts in other countries.

The time has come to rethink the meaning of education as well as to reclaim the public good and matters of justice and equality. Education is supposed to produce human capital, which is supposed to make people more employable (Bourdieu, 1986) so that both they and society can reap the benefits. For progressives, a university is a place to pursue social equality and justice. Administrators, department heads, tenure-track faculty, and university policy makers should think more critically about female faculty members' situations and perhaps construct policies and practices that can open the door as widely as possible for non-tenured female faculty in their departments and their universities. To do so, Japanese academia must terminate inappropriate treatment based on gender differences, adopt positive action for gender equality, and create a woman-friendly environment. It is crucial to create ways to empower and encourage non-tenured female faculty, for example, by providing research budgets, reconsidering class assignments, and building mentoring programs.

Acknowledgements

Notes

[1] One of this article's referees offered a criticism: that the article is lacking because it does not include male part-time university instructors' data. Regarding this point, including male part-time university instructors' data would aid in revealing gender biases in higher education. However, while gender studies focuses on the differences between men and

women, feminist research centers on women's lives and experiences to increase knowledge based thereon. I have chosen to pursue feminist research in this article.

[2] In a society like Japan which continues to uphold its traditional gender roles, women are expected to marry and have children and men are expected to be the breadwinner in a marriage. Male academic precariats may therefore also have different experiences, including pressure because of their low salaries. They might not feel like "real" or "mature" men, just as Naomi did not feel like a "mature" woman.

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Career development strategies for female educators

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Abstract

Within Japan, resources exist for foreign women in English language academic circles wishing to advance their careers. However, there are also obstacles to progress, as much of the workforce system favours male employees over female. While this disparity is not limited to Japan, many female educators within the country may not be aware of support groups, networking opportunities, methods to strengthen curriculum vitae (CV) and help for women with families—among other forms of assistance—all of which can contribute to professional development. Systemic gender bias can affect utilisation of such resources by way of limited information and availability, thereby adding to disparity. This essay reviews some of the long-lasting causes and effects of gender inequality in Japan and, by highlighting useful materials and services for female academics, it addresses and attempts to remedy some of this imbalance. The paper suggests that knowledge of support systems and bolstering confidence at personal, specialist and networking levels can help women progress in their careers despite the continued existence of gender bias.

概要

日本国内で、英語教育学分野で自分のキャリアを進めていきたいと願う外国人女性のためのリソースは存在する。しかし、前進を阻む障害もある。なぜなら、雇用制度が女性教員よりも男性教員を雇うことを好むからである。この男女の差は日本に限られたことではないが、国内にいる多くの女性教育者が、多様な支援形態の中でも特に、支援グループ、人脈拡大の機会、履歴書をより良いものにする方法、家族を抱える女性への支援—これらの支援はすべてキャリア・アップにつながる—があることに気づいていない可能性がある。制度的なジェンダー差別のため、情報や可能性が限定され、上記の支援体制の活用に影響し、結果男女格差が広がる可能性も

ある。本論文は日本の長期にわたるジェンダーの不平等の原因と結果を概観し、女性研究者のための有益な資料やサービスに焦点をあてることで、この不平等に取り組み改善を試みる。また本論文では、ジェンダー差別は存在するけれども、支援制度の知識や個人・専門家・ネットワークレベルでの自信の高め方が女性のキャリアを前進させることにつながることを提示する。

Within Japan, foreign women in English language academic circles wishing to advance their careers might find it difficult to do so for a variety of reasons, including hiring practices and cultural expectations. Among Japanese women in the 15 to 64-year age group, a little over two-thirds are employed, with slightly more holding part-time jobs than full-time (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2019a). About 85% of men in the same age group are estimated to be employed (World Bank, 2019), with the majority having full-time work (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2019a). In 2017, more than three-quarters of academic teaching positions were held by males (OECD, 2019, p. 4). Hayes (2013a) estimated that non-Japanese women made up approximately 10-30% of tertiary posts in disciplines related to language and that the majority of the appointments were non-regular labour (p. 134; see also OECD, 2019, p. 4). The results are lower pay for women, and gender gaps in terms of promotion, job security, and opportunity (Broadbent, 2002; Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2019a; Hara, 2018; OECD, 2019). One study concentrating in part on Japanese STEM careers, including academic, stated "the average annual salary of females is about 80% of the males in almost all age groups. This gender difference is thought to be largely due to differences in employment statuses and job positions" (EPMEWSE, 2013, p. 9; for similar global figures see West, Jacquet, King, Correll, & Bergstrom, 2013). The higher the positions, the fewer were held by females (2013, p. 9; see also Hayes, 2013b, OECD, 2019). This disparity is reflected in the annual World Economic Forum's (WEF) Global Gender Gap Report (GGGR), where Japan has consistently ranked outside the top one hundred listings, despite being a G7 nation (2018; Siripala, 2018). Areas of particular concern are low "Economic participation and opportunity" and "Political Empowerment" (WEF, 2018, p. 139).

In addition to the conditions explained above, related reasons for underrepresentation in the work force and female domination of part-time positions can be connected to taxes,

child-rearing expectations, lack of childcare, and societal rules in Japan (Broadbent, 2002; Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2019a; 2019c; Hara, 2018; Hayes, 2012; Landsberry & Kanai, 2019; Nagatomo, 2012a; Oishi, 2019; Simon-Maeda, 2004). It is culturally and systematically expected that women will start a family and leave the workforce (Hara, 2018; Osawa, 1995, as cited in Broadbent, 2002). Males are more likely to be streamlined into "career-track paths" than females, who are likely to be directed into "non-career based" paths whether they choose them or not (Hara, 2018; Osawa, 1995, as cited in Broadbent, 2002; Takami, 2018). In many cases, women encounter fewer career advancement opportunities and have fewer rights and ways to defend them for a number of reasons, including unions being more likely to represent full-time workers, and childcare laws not fully covering part-time or contract workers (Broadbent, 2002, 2007; General Union, n.d.; Nakazato, Nishimura, & Takezawa, 2018). Japan does not mandate equal pay for equal work, notwithstanding recent and future changes to legislation (Kanki, 2019; WEF, 2018, p. 140). The difficulty of re-entering the workforce and progressing within it after childbirth—despite regulations against maternity harassment and laws promoting equality—stymie advancement (Hara, 2018; Hayes, 2012, 2013b, Homma, Motohashi, & Ohtsubo, 2013; Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training, 2016; Landsberry & Kanai, 2019). In fact, the GGGR lists female "discouraged job seekers" at 74.1% and males at 25.9% (WEF, 2018, p. 140). Currently, the percentage of women who *do* continue working after giving birth remains at forty percent, a figure that is on the rise but still lower than in other developed countries (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2019a). A 2013 BBC article stated that seven in ten working women in Japan leave their jobs after the birth of their first child (Wingfield-Hayes). 2014 Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office figures put the figure at 46.9% (2019a).

Policies have been in place for some time to close gender gaps, but the latest reports show that, even though there is progress, disparity and lack of opportunity remain (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2019a, 2019b; Hara, 2018, WEF, 2018). Nonetheless, there are methods, support groups, networking opportunities, general career tips, and help for women with families available, all of which can aid professional development at the tertiary level. This essay will explore a number of them, and provide practical advice on how best to approach professional growth for foreign women teaching English, or in English, at the

university level in Japan. The authors of this work acknowledge that systemic gender bias exists, and wish to indicate that the paper aims in part to help counter such discrimination. It is hoped that readers approach the work understanding that current estimates for countries to reach gender parity in the East Asia/Pacific area, which includes Japan, is 171 years (WEF, 2018, p. viii), and that methods of determining suitable candidates for jobs and definitions of the same need overhauling for any real chance of parity to be achieved (Hayes, 2012; 2013b). A recent LinkedIn report analysing global data on its employment networking site discovered that recruiters open women's profiles 13% less frequently than those of men. This partiality negatively affects the career progression of women (Ignatova & Tockey, 2019, p. 10). It would not be surprising if the figure was higher in Japan. The career development resources which are suggested in this paper to counter such trends are not exhaustive, and do not explore in-depth solutions to this prejudice at an institutional level. However, they do expand upon issues related to seeking professional assistance at a personal, local, and national level. Additionally, this paper suggests that awareness of support-systems and building confidence at individual, specialist and networking levels can help women succeed.

Networking and advocacy

Networking and advocacy are traditional ways of procuring employment. Advocacy is whereby one person or group supports, recommends, or represents another, such as endorsing a jobseeker for a position. Generally, men are more likely than women to use and access these methods (Hayes, 2013b; June, 2018; Nagatomo, 2015; Oesch & von Ow, 2015; Yu, 2013). In fact, the LinkedIn report states that despite employee recommendations being highly regarded by employers, women using LinkedIn's system are "26% less likely than men to ask for a referral to a job they're interested in—even when they have a connection at the company" (Ignatova & Tockey, 2019, p. 8).

Word of mouth can maintain a privileged status quo *and* encourage diversity, in that employed minority groups can inform same-group peers about opportunities as they arise, thereby increasing the possibility of wider representation in the workplace, though not necessarily a wider distribution of power. Similarly, if the majority group networks mainly amongst their same-group peers, then status quo will be maintained (Hayes, 2012; Oesch & von Ow, 2015; implied by Ryan in Hislop, 2019; Yu, 2013). Networking is also more likely

to be available to men than women, including among foreign university instructors in Japan. (Appleby, 2014, 2018; Hayes, 2013b; Nagatomo, 2015; Simon-Maeda, 2004; implied by Yu, 2013).

Many positions in Japan are secured through old boys' networks with relatives of alumni being favoured for places in certain universities, particularly if the universities are prestigious (Brasor, 2017; Hayes, 2013b; Schieder, 2019; Suk, 2018). Considering that males dominate the workforce, and girls are often discouraged from seriously studying (Brasor, 2017; Nagatomo, 2012b) or have been denied paths to study (Schieder, 2019), the status quo in terms of gender or social stratum is likely maintained. As such, organisations which positively seek to provide academic *and* social opportunities for women are important. For example, Women Educating, Learning, and Leading (WELL) was formed in part to remedy the isolation many female educators felt within male-dominated workforces (McMahill, 1998). More generally, institutions such as the Japanese Association of Language Teachers (JALT), and Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET), are places where all members can network with peers, contact possible employers, access volunteer options, and learn about publications and presentations—all of which can enhance career opportunities. These two organisations, due to their member make-up and the fact that more males are employed at the tertiary level than females, are in many aspects more representative of patriarchal practice and policy than not (Kobayashi, 2014). However, they still provide many benefits for all members. Gender bias and efforts to address it in the case of JALT are discussed below.

Social and Academic Women's Groups

> I can say that [the Association of Foreign Wives of Japanese (AFWJ)] has helped me simply as a network of women to share experiences with. Other foreign wives have also been a valuable source of professional mentoring—which is often sadly lacking in the male-dominated world of academia—especially when I was transitioning back

to the workforce after more than five years at home with the offspring. (Quenby Aoki, personal communication, July 22, 2019)[1]

Networking and advocacy can help develop confidence (Ryan in Hislop, 2019). Lack of confidence often deters women from applying for jobs or advancing within them (June, 2018; Mohr, 2014; implied by Nagatomo, 2016; implied by Yu, 2013). Globally-speaking, LinkedIn states women are 16% less likely than men to apply for a position advertised on their site after viewing it and, overall, answer one-fifth fewer recruitment postings than men. Paradoxically, according to their research, women have a 16% greater chance of securing employment on application, and the likelihood of being hired for a senior position is 18% greater (Ignatova & Tockey, 2019, p. 8). Keeping such information in mind, organisations such as For Empowering Women in Japan (FEW), WELL, and AFWJ can function as support centres and sources of knowledge. There are Japanese equivalents, often with English access, such as the National Women's Education Center, the College Women's Association of Japan, and the Japanese Association of University Women.

Although some of these organisations focus more on maximising professional opportunities for women than others, all have a commitment to gender equality, and are populated with a number of skilled women, many of whom are employers, interview committee members, and holders of supervisory positions, among other roles. These associations host seminars, meetings, discussion groups, and conferences, all of which can help build personal contacts, academic skills, and business acumen, thereby increasing chances of employability, both in terms of availability of and suitability for positions. Several have mentorship programmes or policies, or regard the above as a form of mentorship (FEW, n.d.; Japanese Association of University Women, n.d.).

Although speaking from a male viewpoint, Froese (2010) outlines the positive impact belonging to a tennis club in Japan had on his relationships, including academic ones, and McCrostie speaks of the importance of connections (2010). Ho writes of the importance of socialising in terms of career development and identity for working women (2015), as does

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[1] All information and quotations from personal communications were included with permission of the original authors.

Nagatomo (2016) regarding academia in Japan. At a more formal level, mentorship and mutual encouragement groups, such as a women's leadership salon and seminar held at a Tokyo University (Guajardo, 2017), actively promote the sharing of knowledge among female university staff and facilitate the growth of leadership roles (Ohtsubo, Ogawa, Sato, & Hirata-Kohno, 2018).

The majority of paid full-time employment in Japan is filled by males, thus the work environment can be isolating for women (Nagatomo, 2012a, 2016; McMahill, 1998; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Yu, 2013). Marginalisation can impact upon career advancement and satisfaction (Nagatomo, 2012a, 2015, 2016; Yu, 2013). It is important, therefore, to find support and role models away from the workplace if they are not accessible within. Seeking out groups, meetings and acquaintances with whom one can create "bonds," "bridges," and "links" can enhance psychological well-being and lead to taking advantage of opportunities as they arise (Agyeman, 2015; Ryan in Hislop, 2019). This kind of social capital can help develop the confidence women need to branch out in their careers.

Groups of Academic Support: JALT, JACET, SIGs

JALT and JACET give support to those seeking to further themselves professionally as tertiary level educators, including providing information on publishing and presenting, both of which contribute strongly to academic CVs. For some women, isolation stems from *not* being the dominant or represented group in the workplace, and from the time needed to raise children and do housework. It can result in uncertainty as to where to locate resources, even at a base level. Additionally, there may be self-doubt whether these resources are even meant for them, and female educators may find themselves at a disadvantage regarding the robust publication and presentation record so often needed to procure employment (Hayes, 2012, 2013b; June, 2018; West et al., 2013). On the basis of numbers alone, females are neither the membership nor the chief faces of groups such as JALT, and are less likely to be able to attend meetings and participate in committee work because of the nature of their employment and family commitments (Carruth, Cook, Hatashita, Mori, & Wang, 2015; also related, Hayes, 2012, 2013b).

JACET focuses on college English teaching. JALT's services are not limited to tertiary English educators, however, many of its members and content are related to EFL.

Both organisations have conferences, local chapter meetings, and SIGs (special interest groups), participation in which can enhance one's employment potential. For example, the annual International JALT conference has featured workshops such as "Publication Strategies for Academic Job Seekers" (Miller & Parrish, 2017). Furthermore, a Job Information Center provides opportunities for members to meet with JALT volunteers, who can advise on how to write CVs, focus research, and interface with academic programs and employers. Employers are also encouraged to patronise the centre (JALT, 2017). All this provides prospective employees with a variety of work-related and professional development options. Moreover, informational posters, such as "Volunteering with JALT Publications", are not uncommon onsite (Head, Hauser, & Clements, 2017). Features of this specific poster included the benefits of volunteering, such as "enhanced professional networks" and "buffed-up CVs" (p. 70). JALT's Writers' Peer Support Group can also assist any writer, beginning or otherwise, along the path to publication (JALT, 1996-2019)

In 2015, JALT proposed a number of solutions to address issues women have had in terms of accessibility or representation. Response to a membership survey suggested providing more childcare at conferences and meetings (see below) to facilitate participation, and to also offer peer mentorship for publications and presentations for members seeking to develop their abilities (Carruth et al. 2015).

SIGs

JALT and JACET SIGs are special interest focus groups where members can network, develop skills, and enhance employment prospects through volunteering, presenting and publishing. Educators can submit articles for consideration to the newsletter and journals published by SIGs, and doing so increases the chances of CVs reflecting the publishing and public face of potential employees. Therefore, female educators should take advantage of the benefits of submitting work to them (Glick, 2002).

Some SIGs, owing to content and membership, might provide more support for women than others. For example, the Gender Awareness in Language Education (GALE) SIG has consistently worked towards better female representation in publications and presentations, not exclusively on the topic of gender. Its members were involved with the formation of both WELL (GALE SIG, 2014), and the *Equality in ELT in Japan* (ELTJ)

website (2018). The latter website hosts a database of female academics detailing their areas of expertise and willingness to present (McCandie, 2018). Furthermore, GALE has a higher female (59) to male membership ratio (23) (GALE SIG Membership Chair, personal communication, January 10, 2019). In comparison, the membership of the largest SIG in JALT—CUE—consisted of 340 males and 206 females as of December 2018 (CUE SIG Coordinator, personal communication, January 5, 2019).

Yu (2013), citing theories linked to identity and the concepts of "in groups" and "out groups" defined by demographics and social classifications, writes that when one group has low "presence" in the workplace, the interaction between this group and the dominant group is likely to be restricted (p. 3). Even when at an unconscious level, unequal distribution of power, benefits, and opportunity occur. Therefore, the status quo of gender-imbalance in the workplace is maintained. This idea of one group *not* being the preferred norm for public representation can be extrapolated globally to publishing. In this manner, a gendered status quo perpetuates the loss of alternative voices and experiences (IOP Publishing, 2018; Murray et al., pre-print 2018; Royal Society of Chemistry, 2019; West et al., 2013). According to one study surveying JSTOR articles across twenty-one years, the rate of female-authored publication in education (46.35%) is higher than other disciplines, but is still less than 50% of all articles published in the field (West et al., 2013, p. 2; see also IOP Publishing, 2018; Murray et al., pre-print 2018; Royal Society of Chemistry, 2019). Furthermore, peer-review gender bias in science fields exists, depending upon the sex of the reviewer and the writer (IOP Publishing, 2018; Murray et al., pre-print 2018; Royal Society of Chemistry, 2019). The bulk of reviewers and editorial staff are male. When review boards are more diverse, more female-authored papers are accepted for development and subsequent publication (IOP Publishing, 2018; Murray et al., pre-print 2018; Royal Society of Chemistry, 2019). Accordingly, knowing that some SIGs could be more approachable becomes increasingly important when seeking support and publication. The experiences women have within the workforce—in both their research and professional paths—might be more easily accepted or understood by those of the same gender who potentially fathom the same obstacles (IOP Publishing, 2018; Murray et al., pre-print 2018; Royal Society of Chemistry, 2019; implied by Hayes, 2012; implied by Homma et al., 2013).

Certainly, this is not encouraging women to abandon research in areas other than gender. Rather, it is advising them to look at avenues disposed to accepting their work—after due process—and disposed to providing relevant assistance. This is especially true if they find spaces closed off due to organizations having frameworks which might skew male to their exclusion.

Research indicates that women generally apply for fewer jobs than men, and feel the need to be 100% qualified for the position when they do. In contrast, male job-seekers apply more often, and often do so even if their qualifications do not fully meet the specifications (Ignatova & Tockey, 2019; Mohr, 2014). Thus, there is the possibility that women also underestimate their skills in submitting work for publication. There are many groups that will help beginning writers develop their publication records to improve employment prospects (JALT, 1996-2019; Miller, 2011a). CUE, GALE and LiLT SIGs, among others, have multiple publications. CUE holds an annual conference and LiLT holds one bi-yearly. GALE provides scholarships for members to attend conferences on the proviso they present (GALE SIG, 2019). Presentations and possible subsequent publications are both academically desirable in terms of career progression. Others in the TESOL/TEFL and related areas, such as JACET or overseas organisations also have any number of publication and presentation opportunities.

JALT, SIGs, and Childcare at Conferences and Meetings

I brought my son to work and to presentations. I just did it. I didn't ask anyone for permission. I never got a negative attitude from anyone. Everyone loved seeing him. He was good at entertaining himself when I presented, and one of my fondest memories after one of my presentations at a chapter event was when my son said, "Wow, mom! You're really cool!" (Mary Nobuoka, personal communication, August 9, 2018)

It has been stated that, "If [primary] carers are not given the opportunities to attend conferences, then their careers fall further and further behind" (Griffith, 2017, para. 9). JALT and SIGs have worked on improving friendliness toward families. The International JALT conference implemented a guardian system in 2018. For the duration of the conference, and

for no additional cost, a guardian of choice can accompany caretakers and their children. This system, thereby, affords a greater possibility of involvement at all levels for attendees with family. Additionally, a family room, which is essential for breast feeding and general family needs, is available throughout the conference. (JALT, 2018; L. Ohashi, personal communication, 7 August, 2019).

The Bilingualism SIG and Kobe JALT chapter have in the past secured childcare for special events (2011). Other chapters and groups have also provided childcare or the chance to organise it for special events (JALTCALL, 2019; JALT PanSIG, 2019; Kobe JALT, 2013; Osaka JALT, 2007). These examples do not reflect the entirety of options and are not perfect solutions, but do indicate instances of tackling the childcare conflict, which has been mostly specific to women until recently, by one of the major language teaching associations. Nonetheless, while writing this paper, childcare information was difficult to locate on some sites despite knowing services were available, perhaps reflecting unconscious bias in terms of prioritising which information is deemed most important, and therefore most prominent, by organizers.

Alternatives to Onsite Childcare: Family Support Centers

Having a family often means that not only do women have fewer chances to attend conferences, but also to access other career opportunities, which may ultimately hinder professional progression and development (Carruth et al., 2015; Hayes, 2012, 2013b; Homma et al., 2013). Childcare is often not available at conferences nor in everyday life, and when available it usually comes at a financial cost. One short-term solution is Family Support Centers. In many Japanese cities, for a small fee, parents can call upon carers, such as retirees, for emergency or incidental childcare. For those caretakers for whom it is impractical to bring children to conferences or similar gatherings, this might help resolve such situations. These centres have saved many families when both partners work, particularly those who do not have an extended family in Japan (A. S. Hofmeyr, personal communication, August 9, 2018; Japan Association for the Advancement of Working Women, n.d.a, n.d.b; Nakano City, 2010). This system would also benefit single parent families in similar situations.

MEXT, Research and Family

Since 2006, MEXT has offered financial support to universities and other institutions which actively provide assistance to female researchers to reach their full potential in their fields. Assistance comes in many forms, such as balancing life-work matters/events, and providing professional support and development in terms of research skill development (MEXT, n.d.; Homma et al. 2013). The support centres on STEM subjects and researchers, but the benefits from institutions which participate in the "Program to supporting [sic] research activities of female researchers" can benefit all female academics (MEXT, n.d.). For example, some universities which actively seek and employ female candidates have noticed a progressive "spillover effect" in the hiring of female candidates outside of the desired recommended quota across the years (Ohtsubo et al., 2018; see also Hayes, 2012). This encouragement and representation can have a powerful effect. For instance, within the Japanese STEM field, one three-year study noted that when organisers of symposiums were male, only ten percent of the invited participants were female. When they were organised by both men and women, the percentage of invited participants rose to thirty-two (Homma et al., 2013, p. 531; Ohtsubo et al., 2018, p. 14). If more females are represented and given equal access to research and job opportunities, then it seems there is a ripple effect whereby their future numbers in professional fields increase, albeit minimally in many cases (Hayes, 2012; Ryan in Hislop, 2019; suggested by Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office figures, 2019d; suggested by MEXT figures, 2016). This should also apply to female educators in EFL and related fields.

Participating universities also help practically with childcare concerns. By way of illustration, the University of Electro-Communications (UEC) has an Office for Diversity and Inclusion. Practices in place are a nursery for the staff's children, and a free temporary nursery for staff for events held at the university. The office has a program where academics affected by the time restrictions of "…pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, or nursing…" can apply for support to continue their research (n.d.). Other participating universities have similar structures (EPMEWSE, 2003-2019; Ohtsubo et al. 2018; Tohoku University, n.d.). MEXT continues to support this program, although current information is in Japanese only (MEXT, 2019). Information in English is current to 2015 (MEXT, 2015). As government policies encouraging women to remain in the workplace proceed, the effect of women being

more visible and having more opportunities in research and academic spheres will hopefully apply not just within individual institutions, but spread more widely.

Unions

> [O]ne of the things that's always stuck in my mind is that at one of the meetings years ago, there was a Filipino woman who stood up and was talking about what was happening at, I guess, the food factory where she was working and all the things that the union did and she was crying and explaining and that always really stuck in my mind. (Wow.) Oh! It's not just teaching…it's everybody and that was really a powerful…example... (Member, personal communication, September 12, 2017)

In addition to joining professional organisations, many teachers join a labour union. The General Union primarily organises foreign language teachers in the Kansai and Tokai regions, and Tokyo NAMBU organises workers in the Kanto region.

Unions hold meetings and host events where one can network and learn about the working situation in other academic institutions. The purpose of unions is to protect the workforce by looking after members' interests, and protecting and improving working conditions (Aspinall, 2001). Some unions fight for issues affecting women in particular, such as helping female victims of discrimination or harassment. They also fight for parental leave. Larger unions have women's auxiliaries and work to bring women's issues into the labour agenda, and to bridge the gap between unionism and feminism. Historically, this relationship has been strained, although some unions have long worked to improve women's wages and working conditions (Kimura, in press; Milkman, 2016). However, in the last century, many worked against women's interests and were reluctant to organize women because women were seen as taking jobs from men (Kimura, in press; Milkman, 1985). To mitigate this problem, some women in Japan formed women-only unions (Broadbent, 2005, 2007). Nevertheless, from the 1970s unions worked on issues affecting women, including affirmative action, child care, and equal pay for equal work (Milkman, 1985), although there are cases, as stated in the introduction, where they are less likely to represent female members, attributable to women being overrepresented in part-time positions. Nonetheless, unions still offer many benefits for female workers.

In an effort to provide workers with more stable employment, the Abe administration implemented a policy paving the way for contingent workers, such as part-time, dispatched, and contract workers to gain permanent contracts (Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training, 2016; Wagatsuma, & Kobayashi, 2018). In response, many universities offered one-year contracts, renewable a number of times, falling short of the five-year plus one day, causing instructors to seek work elsewhere once the contracts expired. Considering women make up the bulk of tertiary temporary, casual or contract workers (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2019a; Hayes, 2012, 2013a, 2013b; OECD, 2019), and that institutions often view their contribution as less important than men (Nagatomo, 2015), this situation can impact their career trajectory and overall financial and professional stability more than their male counterparts (Hayes, 2012, 2013b). In addition to possibly being overlooked for permanent positions, or not having their contracts renewed in favour of male coworkers, many may not qualify for maternity or childcare leave, and benefits such as bonuses would not be available to them (General Union, n.d.; Nakazato et al., 2018).

Some unions work with employees and universities to negotiate this situation, and collective bargaining is sometimes called upon to negotiate permanent positions. Involvement with a union and awareness of labour laws and rights will enhance women's protection of their positions, and this is obviously an important factor for stability and advancement. It is particularly relevant to pregnancy and childcare, as so many careers falter due to the expectation that women bear the brunt of child-rearing, housework, and elder care to the detriment of their careers. But, generally speaking, as more women than men are contracted workers, and some universities are sidestepping long-term responsibilities in job security under new laws, having a means to protect and insist upon workers' rights is important.

Joining a union in Japan is easier than in many countries and courts are quite sympathetic to issues that affect workers. Therefore, female academics who wish to protect or progress their careers against favouritism or workplace practices that disadvantage them have some recourse to do so via a union. Many internal issues, such as sexual harassment or discrimination, are not dealt with fairly in-house (McMahill, 1998; implied by Nagatomo, 2012b, 2015; implied by Yu, 2013). Unions can help in these cases. Women can also make themselves aware of the role of the Labor Standards Office, which can represent their

interests if they are not union members and have concerns about their contracts. There are measures women can take to protect or advance their positions by utilizing these institutions.

Women's rights are human rights, so naturally union policies address concerns of all sexes and orientations, but some policies, such as those addressing issues which affect working parents, campaigns tackling sexual harassment, and those scrutinizing the Equal Opportunity Laws in relation to women, are germane to their needs. These policies are important for career progression, because they allow women social, physical and mental recourse when their workplace is not ideal in terms of recognizing factors which could limit progression. Additionally, many women suffering from sexual harassment are more likely to leave a job than stay (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2017), and even if they stay, their progress might be hampered if they complain, particularly if their harassers are superiors (Human Rights Watch, 2018; Simon-Maeda, 2004; U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2016). Finally, unions can have positive effects on pay disparity between the sexes—even more powerful than minimum wage laws (Blau & Khan, 2003). Considering the above, women have much to gain from joining one.

Make the Opportunity

[As] the saying goes, we make our own luck. I have made mine through creative writing. (Suzanne Kamata, in press, para. 19.)

Many opportunities need to be created if not readily available. Smaller undertakings at a community level can lead to broader implications, such as demonstrating that job candidates are committed to community and to interests that could benefit a future employer (Froese, 2010; Ho, 2015; McCrostie, 2010). Proactivity can create circumstances conducive to professional advancement (Froese, 2010; Ho, 2015; Kamata, in press; McCrostie, 2010).

Showing willingness and ability to connect with the general community demonstrates an individual's prowess at working with and relating to worlds beyond the personal, and is a general Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology aim (MEXT, 2013). Many job applications request that candidates detail their experience in both academic and community contexts (McCrostie, 2010; Miller, 2011a, 2011b; Pellowe, 2002-2018). Again, this applies to both sexes, but as females are more likely to have internalized "imposter

syndrome" in which they denigrate their own skills and experience, or their activities are viewed as less serious because of gender bias, they should not sell themselves, their interests, or relationships short (Hayes, 2012, 2013b; Sin, 2017; Sin, Steven, & Richard, 2017; also implied by Nagatomo, 2012a; implied by Yu, 2013). What might appear to be a hobby devalued by the dominant face of society (implied by Yu, 2013) can lead to connections beyond the hobby itself. Khoo, a female Australian researcher, writes of study proposals having a greater chance of catching the interest of prominent academics in relaxed situations, such as surfing, when compared to outlining them at conferences to the same people, because competing interests are at a minimum (2011). Within Japan, a colleague is often asked if she is available to teach, albeit at a casual level, when spending time in the organic farming community (J. Bailey, personal communication, November 25, 2019). An EFL academic and ikebana practitioner feels that including her ikebana teaching licence on her CV indicates sustained commitment to potential university employers (M. Nobuoka, personal communication, 2019). A male contact wrote of a university position lead developing from a discussion about football (A. Boon, personal communication, November 25, 2019). Similarly, lateral application of skills held in one field to another can bring transferable benefits (Kelly, Strauss, Arnold, & Stride, in press; Ronsen, 2018; Smith, 2014). Kamata (in press) writes that her professional creative writing career has worked in conjunction with securing EFL/EMI employment, in one case leading to a university job offer even before she held a higher degree. Ironically, she could not accept due to needing to care for her daughter, who was born with multiple disabilities (in press, para 7).

In a similar vein, female academics planning events at their institutions or connected institutions, such as symposiums in fields related to their research, or organizing showcases of student work and presentations, can reflect dedication to both student bodies and employers and create connections with the wider community. For instance, if they have been unable to attend conferences or presentations—due to commitments, career prejudice, or other factors—they can work to be the names behind undertakings closer to home, thereby *making* the opportunities to professionally advance. This can be valuable to gain and maintain secure work, and qualify for promotion.

A case in point is a half-day event highlighting students' learning styles co-organised by one of the authors of this paper. Supported by both Shizuoka and Hamamatsu JALT

chapters (2016), the event featured nine students from two universities, a language school, a high school and a master's program. Additionally, the conference and reception were chaired by university students from the author's institution.

The university was shown actively working with other schools to explore the topic of learner autonomy and strategies. The meeting provided a unique opportunity for collaboration among the local community, and for the students. Instructors from other academies expressed interest and support for future events. Some professionals involved had first made the author's acquaintance through a creative-writing group she co-founded. Capitalizing on and developing one's skills, strengths and *interests* can open up new prospects, and impact on other areas of professional life. This can help circumvent unconscious bias or tangible obstacles to advancement, such as distance and family commitments.

Publications, Presentations, Grants, Volunteering, Qualifications, Useful Skills and General Tips

Volunteering as a JALT special interest group (SIG) coordinator has given me the opportunity to learn leadership skills and gain professional mentoring from a wide variety of people. As a result, senior professors at my new university praise my professional work ethic and acknowledge that my education and Professional Development experience will contribute to decision-making that will create a better learning environment for the students. (Wendy M. Gough, personal communication, July 18, 2019)

Without publications, employability decreases, as does the likelihood of career advancement (Glick, 2002; McCrostie, 2010; Miller, 2011a, 2011b; Pellowe, 2002-2018). Anecdotally, colleagues on hiring boards have stated that publications matter, and often count for a number of points on a CV when applying for a job (Glick, 2002; McCrostie, 2010). Many job applications for Japanese tertiary institutions require applicants to state their publications, presentations, and wider educational/community involvement. Publications hold the most weight (Glick, 2002; McCrostie, 2010; Miller, 2017; Pellowe, 2002-2018). Women short of time can aim for newsletters, SIG journals, and media that may be more receptive to work

from female academics or beginning researchers. One should submit widely if possible, and ideally aim for the type of text that will grant them the maximum number of points, such as individually-authored research papers in refereed journals. However, particularly for those who have the extra responsibility of raising a family, tailored articles for certain markets may be one way to proceed if publication records need expansion. For example, reviews are not regarded as highly as vetted research articles, and do not carry the same number of points when potential employers are assessing a CV, but count as publications nonetheless, and are worth considering (Miller, 2017).

Most conference proceedings may be regarded as publications, consequently a presentation with the paper submitted to the proceedings can contribute twice to CVs. Furthermore, many organisations are working to address gender imbalance in terms of participants, so it is advantageous for female academics to apply when appropriate, particularly as many universities are specifically hiring women in keeping with the current Gender Equality Policy (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2017), (Ohtsubo et al., 2018). For example, a call for proposals from Niigata JALT in 2015 and again in 2019 clearly encouraged female presenters (M. Cook, Program Chair, personal communication, October, 2015; 21 October, 2019), and as vetting chair for the 2018 CUE conference, one of this paper's authors endeavoured to create an intersectional list of readers for abstracts to ensure greater diversity in assessment. Clearly, the end result is dependent on availability. The ELTJ database also focuses on encouraging change (McCandie, 2018) .

In addition to publications, higher educational qualifications and Japanese language ability will enhance career options, especially in terms of tenured positions where committee work is often required, as will university teaching experience (Nagatomo, 2016). Furthermore, proficiency can help establish and maintain amiable relations with administrative and academic staff, and widens the scope of what one might be asked to teach (2016). Although many full-time positions—whether they be permanent or contract—require a higher degree, not all part-time positions do. Therefore, if aspirants gain university teaching experience while also gaining qualifications, there is a greater chance of securing more permanent employment (Paulson, 2007). Many universities run community-level courses as well as core and extra-curricular programmes, and teaching them is another way to gain university instruction experience. University affiliated email addresses can also be a plus to

such roles. These give professional weight to both job applications and submitting work (Glick, 2002). If one is unable or unwilling to secure or use an institutional email address at their place of part-time employment, aspirants could investigate whether their university alumni provides one.

For those already working more permanently at tertiary institutions, research grants are available and give weight to a CV, and can count for "points" in more than one category: The researcher gets credit for the grant, publications and presentations made on the research. These points are often tallied when applying for a position or promotion, so awareness of ways to combine research interests with professional is judicious. As stated above, particularly in the STEM areas, MEXT and a number or universities are encouraging females to develop and continue their research.

Volunteering for language and teaching-related groups increases wider educational and community involvement. For those less confident or with family, some roles within JALT have fewer physical and time commitments than others. Depending on a chapter's size, Membership Chair is one of them (Miller, 2015). Yearlong, there are conferences in Japan. Volunteering to read abstracts is less time-consuming than many tasks, and can be added to an academic CV (2015). The Vetting Chair can be a less stressful position than others, depending upon the conference (2015). As one gains confidence undertaking smaller goals, chances to tackle roles with greater responsibility increase, thereby displaying one's leadership, organisational, collaborative and communicative skills. All of these are sought-after factors in the workplace, and particularly as Japan endeavours to increase women in leadership and managerial roles, and employment in general (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2017). Many SIGS and organisations also offer scholarships or grants to applicants who receive no other funding (JALT, 2019). Those fluent in Japanese have a wider scope in terms of volunteering positions. Educational and social organisations all over Japan, such as, but not limited to, JACET, SIETAR, WELL, AFWJ, Japanese Association of University Women, and more will benefit from and be of benefit to someone who is multilingual.

Conclusion

When typing the terms *salaryman* or *career woman* in *Katakana* into one of the most popular search engines, the returns for salaryman are ubiquitous; the number one and two suggestions being games involving salaryman characters, and the third being the word itself leading to a Wikipedia page (in Japanese), including news articles about salary, taxes, work and the day-to-day concerns of working men. Career woman also has a Wikipedia page, but many of the articles returned are about whether she is a "*dekiru onna*"—a woman who can do it all. An article listed on the front page when the former term was entered asks whether being a career woman earning a competitive salary affects chances of marriage and whether she would be viewed as too pushy if holding a position of authority ("Kyariaūman no tokuchō", 2018). These stereotypes of what a woman should or should not be persistently affect and undermine individual and societal perceptions of women. In English, typing only "career wo…" into the search engine will return "career woman". The stories are likewise about definition, albeit seemingly more critical in nature when reflecting on stereotypes. Typing "career ma…" into the most popular search engine will return "career management". The notion that a professional career is generally an assumed and unquestioned part of male identity is underscored, but is so absent from traditional perceptions of female identity that women undertaking paid work require delineation.

Such systemic—and often unconscious—discrimination, in conjunction with societal expectations, is reflected in the fact that in terms of both the number of women in paid work and in remuneration, parity is yet to be achieved. In 2012, Hayes estimated it would be another 100 years before Japan reached gender parity, and as the GGGR shows there is some way to go, even if Japan has moved incrementally toward closing the gender gap (WEF, 2018). However, the GGGR also suggests that the rate toward equality can increase globally with dedicated efforts by "…policymakers and stakeholders…" (WEF, 2018, viii; see also Hayes, 2012, 2013b).

Such efforts become apparent, both in action and result, when women are visibly and equally employed across a wide spectrum of industries, jobs, and positions. This paper particularly identifies ways female academics in Japan can increase their presence and advance in the tertiary sector through networking, advocacy and taking advantage of other forms of support. It also outlines the role teachers' unions play in safeguarding working rights and conditions for all members, and states that certain unions can assist women with

problems in the workplace, thereby defending their right *to* work. Additionally, MEXT is actively encouraging workplaces to honour existing labour regulations in terms of parental and childcare leave, and also urges institutions to extend assistance for women with family beyond these stipulations, particularly in research fields. Unions and the Labor Standards Office can provide support when needed on these aspects.

Another way to nurture a healthy career trajectory and cement female participation in the labour market is to actively engage with professional organisations for language teachers. Doing so can enhance CVs and thus desirability to prospective employers. Invisibility and absence of opportunity can be partially addressed by being proactive. Women who have families or work irregular hours might consider volunteer enterprises that can be executed at home such as translation or editing. Undertaking them can bolster CVs and allow women to maintain a healthy work/life balance. In addition, volunteering adds to the service category on a CV. Women can publish and present their research to like-minded professionals through several avenues, often accessible through these organisations. Nationally, the assistance available to female researchers in STEM fields can also benefit other researchers, and is worthy of enquiry.

Clearly, the stakeholders—in terms of gender and by number—most negatively affected in the workplace are women. Certain policies of the current Japanese government inadvertently work against women's interests, and workplace and societal practices can and do put up any number of obstacles to professional growth. However, women can both assist themselves and reach out to support others so as to significantly improve their chances at career success and to assuage the impact of discrimination. Support comes in many different forms, ranging from the social capital of organisations such as WELL, AFWJ and FEW, and their Japanese equivalents, to the exploration of content and career possibilities provided by organisations concerned with education, language, and culture—many of which feature information and advice specific to women's concerns; from web resources such as ELTJ which make women's voices and achievements more prominently known, to the provision of scholarships, research aid, forums, workshops and panels from any number of institutions and individuals on the topic of gender and professional development.

These forms of mentorship—attempting to dissolve prejudice, and further progress—exist, and can make a difference. Blanket change might not be seen in our generation, but

when women manifest their presence on the professional field, their roles in the workforce become apparent to others, and opportunities not currently obvious nor available to all women will ideally be more accessible as a matter of course—and as an undisputed right.

Acknowledgements

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Book Reviews

***Women of a Certain Age*. Moffat, Jodie; Scoda, Maria; and Sullivan, Susan Laura (Eds.). Fremantle, Australia: Fremantle Press, 2018. 176 pp.**

Reviewed by Antonija Cavcic
Teikyo University of Science

Having just turned 60 and in her first stand-up comedy appearance after a 15-year hiatus, Ellen DeGeneres returned to the comedy scene with her Netflix-funded special *Relatable* in 2018. Challenging the ephemeral nature of Hollywood fame and youth, she opened the show with the following lines:

> It's been 15 years since I've done stand-up and when I decided to do this special, a friend of mine was at my house and I told him, "I'm gonna do stand-up again." And he said, "Really?" And I said… "Yes, why?" And he said, "Do you think you're still relatable?" I said, "Yes, I do think I'm still relatable. I'm a human being."
>
> (DeGeneres, 2018)

While relatively straightforward, this excerpt encapsulates one of the running themes throughout *Women of a Certain Age*—the tendency for women to be dismissed as they age. Essentially a compilation of "Fifteen very different life stories by women from all walks of life," *Women of a Certain Age* goes beyond mere storytelling. With incredibly tragic and genuine accounts of discrimination, estrangement, abuse, harassment, and rejection, each author's fragility and strengths are highlighted throughout the book. While some authors question ageism, gender equality or sexuality, others deal with matters of race, religion and ethnicity. At the core of these stories is each author's complex journey to personal growth while struggling with matters of identity or searching for a sense of belonging.

Knowing that many of the authors are based in Australia or had some experience of living in Australia, one might assume that the content is quite parochial. For instance, Anne Aly, Mehreen Faruqi and Maria Scoda's migrant stories challenge the idea of a "'typical' Anglo-Australian lifestyle" (Moffat, Scoda & Sullivan, 2018, 11), while Jeanine Leane and

Pat Mamanyjun Torres's pieces highlight their struggles as Indigenous women (or First Australians) and explore Australian identity from quite a different angle. Nevertheless, despite of the diverse backgrounds of the authors and their rich histories, the content is surprisingly accessible—that is, it is made by women from all walks of life *for* women from all walks of life.

In this sense, *Women of a Certain Age* is far from just a collection of older women's accounts of invisibility. It begins on a somewhat somber note with Charlotte Roseby's survival story as a person living with cystic fibrosis. "I'd always thought I would be good at dying […] Now I'm too late to do it young and too old to do it looking like a beautiful angel" (p. 21). Subjects such as illness, death and mortality may not be particularly cheerful, but this book's raw honesty rather effectively reels the reader in and prepares them for further dark accounts of women struggling against adversity. The accounts which follow are narratives of broken families and/or reconciliation with fathers, secondary victims of sexual abuse, abusive partners, experiences of miscarriage and loss, experiences of discrimination in the tertiary sector/academia; and, of course, accounts of sexual harassment in the workforce or struggles in male-dominated sectors (such as engineering). In contrast, the final few contributors close the book on a more positive note. That is, these chapters are narratives by women who are actively challenging the norm and defying adversity: women "of a certain age" who continue to protest or remain sexually active, who welcome sadness and question the cult of happiness, and who have embraced growing older rather than simply accepting it. These are the stories of Australian women, yet they are universal. However, to what extent do these narratives reflect or represent the lives of women in Japan?

Japan's gender equality rankings are consistently low in contrast to Australia. Incidentally, one of the authors contributing to *Women of a Certain Age,* Susan Laura Sullivan, is currently based in Japan. Her piece 'Seeking singular single older women,' in particular, sheds light on the expectations placed upon women here. Take, for instance, this excerpt in which she highlights the constant pressure on unmarried women to conform to gender roles, "Questions about my supposed husband or partner occur on occasion. Setting people right about not having a partner can be uncomfortable […]. When I arrived in the early 90s, I thought I'd returned to 1950s Australia" (108).

That was the 1990s. Has anything changed? For Sullivan, while the "Christmas Cake" notion (being stale and unwanted after the 25th/turning age 25) is no longer as prevalent in Japan, many pregnant women continue to leave work due to company and cultural pressure (p.109). But there is so much more. There are so many issues to address. Not a week goes by in Japan without news of university scandals that discriminate against female applicants, ministers linking single women to the low birth rate, or major magazines ranking universities by the perceived sexual availability of female students. Will it cease? One can have hope, and the voices of women who have broken the silence can certainly make a difference. Perhaps it is through reading the accounts of women struggling in the face of adversity that one can pluck up the courage to continue to try to make change. On this note, with its readability and its poignant, punchy and well-paced prose, not only is *Women of a Certain Age* relatable, but it is ever relevant to Japan. Nonetheless, one thing it lacks is, for instance, a transgender contributor's voice. Furthermore, not all, but many of the authors are relatively well-educated and successful women. As a result, some of the authors' contributions read like inspirational autobiographies written for middle-class women. With a few more contributors from lower socio-economic backgrounds, the text might have a wider audience reach and give the silenced a platform to be heard.

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Diva nation: Female icons from Japanese cultural history. **Miller, Laura and Copeland, Rebecca (Eds.). Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018. 242 pp.**

Reviewed by Herb L. Fondevilla
Aoyama Gakuin University

Editors Laura Miller and Rebecca Copeland present a significant and inspirational anthology that provides much-needed scholarship on the extraordinary women of Japanese history and culture. This work makes for enjoyable reading even for non-academics with its accessible and evocative language, yet maintains academic rigour with contributors from various fields such as literature, Asian studies, linguistics, cultural studies, history, fashion, popular culture, and gender studies. *Diva Nation* retells the stories of "divas," commonly defined as a distinguished and glamorous female singer, performer or personality; or, simply, a prima donna. *Diva Nation* re-evaluates this definition by augmenting the performative dimension of the diva as someone who "is not always acceptable," a woman who "refuses to behave, to follow the rules, to act with decorum" (2). The diva flourishes in a state of challenge and distress, and refuses to be disregarded. This volume is a welcome addition to Japan's rising feminist movement as younger generations of women continue to strive to make their voices heard.

An essay by Laura Hein prefaces *Diva Nation* by providing a brief background into the motivation behind the volume, as well as a discussion on divahood. The anthology is then divided into ten essays; each focused on a diva from the annals of Japanese history and culture, from foundation myths to superstar athletes. Diva Nation follows in the footsteps of other scholarly books on transgressive females such as *Bad Girls of Japan* (2005), also edited by Miller along with Jan Bardsley, which focused on identifying and understanding the predicaments of so-called female 'deviants' of Japanese society such as geishas, fashionistas, schoolgirls and pop music idols. It aims to reflect on why these women were labeled as "bad girls," and how society felt justified in doing so. In this vein, *Poison Woman* (2007) by Christine L. Marran also deliberated on the perception of traditional gender roles and sexuality in Japan through the lives—and, in some cases, crimes—of historical women who captured the nation's imagination as it transitioned from the Edo to Meiji era.

The book presents ten essays that demonstrate the transgressive force of divas, all of whom defy the boundaries of their gender, role in society, image, and even geography. The essays on the goddesses Izanami and Izumo no Okuni demonstrate the power and complexity of women who tried to supersede limitations by using their bodies as forms of protest and performance, yet met tragic endings. While their stories illustrate male privilege as well as female rage, these figures are redeemed by their tenacity and refusal to be erased from history. Control of women's bodies and imagery is explored by Miller in a detailed and well-researched essay on the legendary shaman-queen Himiko, whose timeless mystery and charm even today is exploited through festivals, events, and even souvenir items such as cellphone straps, stuffed toys, liquor, bean-paste buns, (56-62) and diets (63-69). While the image of Himiko may have fallen into the hands of producers and marketers, Mao Asada holds and maintains her own. Masafumi Monden's contribution examines how Asada does so via her image as the epitome of ideal Japanese femininity with her politeness, hard work, and diligence. Conversely, Carolyn Stevens profiles the artist Yoko Ono as an uncharacteristic example of Japanese femininity, a feminist and activist who distinguished herself by transcending established geographic, social, cultural, political, and aesthetic borders as an international public figure.

Women may have been traditionally seen as healers, and the story of Misora Hibari attests to the healing power of intense emotional expression in a culture that values grit despite suffering. Christine R. Yano describes the career of cross-dressing Hibari as "Japan's pathway to recovery," symbolising her use of "national resources of grit and determination" (99). On the other hand, IKKO provides encouragement to women through her personal experiences and expertise on fashion and beauty. Bardsley dissects the significance of traditional notions of gender and feminism by challenging the reader through the story of the transgender diva and her influence on neoliberal and gender-variant persons in Japan.

Additionally, these essays challenge notions of gender, gender roles, and gender identity in Japan and the entrenched perception that women should remain "good wives and wise mothers." *Diva Nation* discusses and challenges traditional representations of women, and is an ideal starting point for considering subjects related to gender roles, including identity, feminism, sexism, and the roles men play in discussions around these subjects. This volume enhances the study and scholarship of Japanese feminism by offering multiple

standpoints, and is a timely addition to the current discussions of women's rights, particularly in contesting ingrained sexism in Japanese society. The chapters are well ordered, and represent divas from different time periods and their influences starting from the very beginning; from the creation myths to a kabuki dancer in the first four essays, to modern divas known for their artistry and talent on stage and television, and finally to contemporary divas who defy and challenge traditional concepts of gender, femininity, and gender performance.

The afterword, featuring manga by *manko* (pussy) artist Rokudenashiko; however, seems hastily put together, and I would have liked to read an actual essay on the artist, her works and what she represents, as her story seems a perfect fit for the book.

Diva Nation will greatly enhance classroom discussions in that it will appeal to university students with its analysis of divas, including relatable and familiar personas, and as such certainly deserves a place on any gender scholar's bookshelf.

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Gendered power: Educated women of the Meiji empress' court. **Suzuki, Mamiko C. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2019. 175 pp.**

Reviewed by Joanna Hosoya
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This scholarly feminist book is organised around an examination of the lives of three educated women reformers who emerged from imperial Meiji court culture. A chapter is allotted to each woman. Two of these women, Empress Haruko and the socialite and educationalist, Shimoda Utako, instituted women's educational reforms with the backing of court and parliament. The other, Nakajima Shoen, was a poet, orator, and social critic who aspired to inspire wider participatory democracy and consequently spent some time in jail. Suzuki constructs a complex, contextualised account of the contribution of each subject by elucidating aspects of Meiji Period history and identifying particular dynamic political, cultural and personal influences.

Gendered Power analyses the many political and societal tensions that these women experienced when publicly promoting a modernised civilian role for women. In addition to explaining the forces for change during this period, the author, Mamiko Suzuki, also examines the social and political constraints on the expansion of women's citizenship.

This is a fascinating exploration of gender and power which provides insight into the reasons for changing ideas about womanhood during the Meiji Era, using contemporaneous commentaries as well as scholarly references. In the chapter on Nakajima Shoen, the use of Shoen's own writings enables reconstruction of a unique woman's perspective of lived history. The book may appeal to curious feminists or historians interested in the Meiji Era, teachers of women's or gender studies, and those who have an interest in the historical development of gender-role expectations or gendered policy in Japanese education. It also provides further context for understanding the formation of women's language in Japan.

Suzuki engagingly analyses how changes in court composition and the possession of an elite education enabled her protagonists to contribute to changes in Meiji women's status. However, with regard to educational reforms, the author points out that there were many contradictions implicit in women from the imperial court circle implementing modern, government sanctioned education systems for women. The most glaring contradiction is that

Meiji schooling both increased women's opportunities to write, teach, and work in approved fields such as nursing and teaching, and limited them by the *ryosai keno* [good wife, wise mother] ideology. The latter framed the purpose of women's education as equipping women to support their menfolk, families, and the empire. Hence, the sections of the book about women's educational reforms demonstrate that it was possible for women with cultural capital to simultaneously usher in an era of greater empowerment, while also being actively complicit in women's subjugation as secondary citizens, thus frustrating the ambitions of other women.

Nonetheless, Suzuki gives all three women credit for their agency, demonstrating through careful referencing how they endured tenuous and ambiguous social positions to effect substantial and lasting change. The information is detailed and elucidates chains of cause and effect. For example, the Empress, according to Suzuki, was only saved from being deposed due to childlessness by the reinstitution of royal concubinage. Her continued appearance by the Emperor's side was largely thanks to the diplomatic imperative to give women a Westernised public presence during an era when powerful women such as Queen Victoria held sway. Despite this initial marginalisation, she went on to build up a position of central authority and influence, leading women into expanded roles. Contextual historical details such as these build up an appreciation of the tenacity of these three individuals and the opposition they faced in raising the social opportunities of women.

The chapter on Nakajima Shoen includes sections and quotes from newspaper sources from the time and commentary from the *genbun no ichi movement* [the literary movement for unification of written and spoken language], which demonstrate how the very source of these women's empowerment—a classical education—could be used against them; literary mastery of *kanbun* [Japanese annotated classical Chinese] was associated with literature, politics, history, and legal jargon and could be considered "ugly" in a woman. Quite possibly these sections could be used as the stimulus for classroom discussions.

Suzuki also explains the literary and social significance of Shoen's writing. When marriage to the speaker of the House of Representatives gained her entry to observe parliament, Shoen's accomplished diaries—snippets of which are provided—give readers a woman's account of politics. Suzuki observes both her social privilege and the strength that Shoen gained from having a nurturing mentor relationship with her own highly literate

mother. On the other hand, diary excerpts and disparaging contemporaneous and posthumous commentary show the marked degree of gender discrimination Shoen experienced.

In contrast, Shimoda Utako and the Empress experienced success in promoting women's education due to this goal being aligned with Imperialist ambitions. Utako became the dean of the Peeress School, traveled abroad to study women's education, and founded the Women's Imperial Association and many girl's schools. Suzuki notes ironically that Utako introduced the *hakama* [traditional trousers] for greater freedom of movement for her female students, yet also promulgated "the old-fashioned woman"—a model of womanhood derived from ideal women in the past. The latter brought her into conflict with women of the Bluestocking society who were seeking wider political and voting rights.

In an illustration of further paradox, Suzuki demonstrates how Utako, the celebrated educational pioneer, despite her privilege and willingness to disparage women's rights, had to weather public shaming by misogynist socialist elements in the media who wished to discredit her imperial connections by alleging promiscuity. Chapter three includes salacious examples of how the theme of sexually compromised or promiscuous female teachers or students was developed in the media and in fiction to discredit Utako in particular, and the enterprise of women's education in general.

This book demonstrates the outstanding influence that certain women wielded during the Meiji Period, particularly upon women's education and their opportunity for active social engagement. We also learn the difficulties that they overcame. Despite celebrating their achievements, Suzuki points out that the changes in women's participation in society did little to alter class and gender divisions. Suzuki leaves us to ponder the concept of "empowerment" as it relates to modern society, concluding that a few women achieving power over or above others is no guarantee of change in general practises of discrimination against women.

This work can help readers develop an appreciation of elite Meiji women's agency in negotiating an expanded role for women, and an understanding of the importance of women's education. Additionally, readers will have an increased appreciation of the complex unfolding of competing directions in the policies, attitudes, and practices within Meiji Era politics, society, and education. Finally, they will also have a chance to think about how macro level and micro level influences interplay with the will of three different protagonists in history.

Although ultimately, of the three women, only diarist Shoen comes alive again due to her own voice leaping off the page in her own words, the book brings robust vitality to modern readers' perceptions of the tumultuous Meiji Era.

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***Beyond the gender gap in Japan*. Steel, Gill (Ed.) Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2019. 275 pp.**

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Beyond the Gender Gap in Japan is a collection of scholarly articles investigating gender roles—particularly for women—in the private and public spheres in Japan. It shows how public actions such as policy making are reflected in private choices by individuals and their families. In turn, private choices may be heavily influenced by public policy. The lines are often blurred as the Japanese government and policy makers make the Japanese family a part of the Japanese state, which in turn benefits the Japanese corporate system.

The first section, *How Women Live (and Want to Live),* takes on the personal choices individual Japanese women make in regards to marriage, family and work. The common thread among these studies is the restrictive options in navigating family obligations and expectations in regards to relationships. The choices women make with regards to marriage and/or having children are affected by the realities of work culture and family pressures. Gill Steele's article, "Women's Work at Home and in the Workplace," provides the thematic background for the rest of the articles. It discusses the state construction of the modern family (26) which "was rooted in the idea of gender role divisions, with male full-time salaried workers married to full-time housewives" (27). By explaining this concept of the family as envisioned by the state—and the belief that state and corporate realms benefit from this model—we can have a better understanding studies on women, gender, politics, and work discussed in this volume. The corporate culture of Japan, which includes lifelong employment, seniority-based promotions, and frequent relocations, (28) relies on the rather inflexible model of worker husband/stay at home wife. Kumiko Nemoto's "Why Women Won't Wed" serves as almost a companion piece to the first article in which the women profiled discussed their careers; their struggles for gender parity in the workplace and how this also affected their marital choices and desire for hypergamy in mating choices. Yuka Ogasawara's "Working Women's Husbands as Helpers or Partners" thematically pulled together information from the other articles on women and their lifestyle choices by studying the ways in which married men adjusted or did not adjust their roles and social exceptions

when they had wives working full time (83-99). Ogasawara uses these results to discuss the ways in which Japanese government policies support or do not support parenting choices (95-98).

The second section, *How and Why Women Participate in Politics,* focuses on women's attitudes towards political engagement. Linda Hasunuma's "The Politics of Care and Community: Women and Civil Society" researches women's involvement in NGO's, NPO's, and faith-based organizations. This includes the recovery efforts after 3/11 and the larger discussion about nuclear power and environmental impact (103-120). Kimiko Osawa's "The 'Silent Majority' Speaks Out: Conservative Women Defending Convention" provides a study of conservative women which defines "conservatism" in Japanese terms. It also provides insight on their views of feminism or "anti-feminism" and how they balance their traditionalist view of women's roles in the family with their own political participation. Yuki Tsuji's "Women and the Liberal Democratic Party in Transition" discusses the challenges facing women LDP candidates including financial commitments and political ties. Finally, Susan Pavloska's article, "Tokyo's First Female Governor Breaks the Steel Ceiling," gives an overview of the ideas and challenges facing Koike Yuriko, the first female governor of Tokyo (153-168). I found this section interesting because it provides a glimpse into how Japanese women define 'feminism' and what it is or is not. Osawa's article on conservative women was an intriguing choice given the current global political trends towards nationalism and a redefined conservatism.

The third section, *How Public Policy Tries to Influence Private Behavior,* shows how specific policies by the government are geared to influencing family life to further state goals. Hiroko Takeda's article, "'Life' as a Political Agenda" traces historical attitudes towards family and state in Japan mixed with theoretical discussions of gender politics. Mayumi Nakamura's article "One Size Fits All? The Implications of Differences in Regional Fertility for Public Policy" wades into the issue of Japan's declining birthrate and public policies that respond to it. Liv Coleman's "Japan's Womenomics Diplomacy" provides an interesting analysis of the ways in which Japan's policies for women abroad-UN sponsored groups and the like are used to counter the image of Japan as "sexist" and, more importantly, as "|modern" and western. The articles were solid, but I questioned the cohesion of this section. For example, I felt that the Coleman article fit more suitably with Pavloska's analysis of

Koike or with the latter section focused on politics. I wasn't quite certain as to the larger connection between public policy and private behavior beyond these anecdotal studies. The final section, *Uneven Change in Women's Representation,* ties together the threads of the first three sections with an examination of women in formal politics by analyzing the statistics regarding women holding political offices in Japan. Sherry Martin's article "Japan's Growing Base of Women in Elected Office" (215-228) studies the statistics regarding women in political office in Japan; Gregory W. Noble's "Staffing the State with Women" (229-246) looks at women in Japan's non-elected government ministries; and Yoshiaki Kobayashi and Yuta Kamahara's article, "Changing Legislature, Changing Politics: Quotas, Electoral Systems, and Political Representation" (247-264) addresses the electoral systems itself; its gender representation; and the effects of gender representation on public policy. Their conclusion seemed to favor the concept that more women equals more progressive social policies; however, the current nationalist trends may question that assumption. This section is perhaps the least accessible to a non-expert in the field mainly because it does require some understanding of, or at least familiarity with, how the Japanese state apparatus functions. In that sense, perhaps an article or introduction addressing that structure would have been useful.

This book covers a wide variety of topics and approaches to gender studies in Japan. As a lecturer in a school of international relations, it is valuable in creating curricula that discusses these topics. Most of the articles can be understood by those who are not specialists in gender studies or politics, making them ideal as an introduction to these topics. This text would be a good fit for graduate students with a high level of English proficiency wishing to develop their own research skills as the text provides clear case studies based on current issues. Furthermore, for those educators engaged in civil activities—organizations, local events—this text provides a framework in seeing how various social institutions work together. As a reader, I found the analysis of formal political participation—elected and appointed—to be particularly insightful. The Japanese political system can be difficult to grasp, but these articles were clearly written and accessible. On the whole, this was a fascinating volume to explore.

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***Zainichi Korean women in Japan: Voices (Routledge Contemporary Japan
Series)*. Kim-Wachutka, Jackie J. Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2018. 276 pp.**

Reviewed by Kathryn M. Tanaka
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In the wake of the passage of an anti-hate speech law in Japan in 2016, there has been a
notable increase in English language media attention to issues faced by minorities, prominent
among them discrimination and prejudice faced by people who are ethnically Korean who
live in Japan, or Zainichi. Human rights issues this population faces are slowly gaining more
attention in both domestic and foreign media, with the most recent example of a graduate
student of Korean descent filing a human rights complaint at Hitotsubashi University in
Tokyo against Professor John F. Mancuso, who is alleged to have used derogatory speech
against ethnic Koreans in his English language classes. It is also noteworthy that the majority
of this media attention has been on the actions and the words of men.

However, it may not be overstating the case to say that there is a dearth of English-
language academic scholarship about ethnic Koreans in Japan, despite the popular media
discussion. Of course, there have been several studies that have addressed the issue, such as
John Lie's 2008 text, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan) (Global, Area, and International Archive)*
or David Chapman's 2007 *Zainichi Korean Identity and Ethnicity* (Routledge Contemporary
Japan Series). There have also been notable recent moves to consider art and ethnic Koreans
in Japan in English, such as the fabulous book of literary translations edited by John Lie,
Zainichi Literature: Japanese Writings by Ethnic Koreans (Institute of East Asian Studies,
University of California, Berkeley, 2018) or Oliver Dew's 2016 work, *Zainichi Cinema:
Korean-in-Japan Film Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan).

Within this context, Jackie J. Kim-Wachutka's *Zainichi Korean Women in Japan: Voices*
is an important and timely contribution to the growing body of scholarship, filling a scholarly
and popular lacuna by centering her work on women's narratives and the gendered
experience of being ethnically Korean in Japan. The work is grounded in anthropological
research, with its heavy reliance on interviews, but the author draws on literature and
published testimonies as well. The text is also marked by intimacy; the author describes her
approach to interviewing for her previous work, 2005's *Hidden Treasures: Lives of First-*

Generation Korean Women in Japan (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers): "They sat and spoke directly with me, a woman they considered almost a distant relative from their 'homeland'" (21). This approach allows for a sharing of stories and, as Kim-Wachutka states, results in "a very personal collaboration between me, the interviewer, and the women I interviewed" (21). That intimacy echoes in this text as well, making this an engaging study that is accessible to both scholars and undergraduates.

The centrality of the women's stories is foregrounded through the simple subtitle. Despite the breadth of materials woven into her study, the text never wanders far from the voices and stories of the women the author interviews. While the author provides astute analysis of what the women say and situates the interviews within social and political contexts (such as the gendered burden of aging or caring for aging parents, memory and cultural identity, and education or schooling), the words of the women are paramount in the text.

Furthermore, the text is remarkable because of the number of issues the author weaves into her analysis. Adopting an intergenerational approach allows Kim-Wachutka to examine how concerns shift as the demographics and identity of the group changes. It also allows her to bring her work into dialogue with social issues given attention in the Japanese media. For example, for many years now, media and scholarship in Japan have drawn attention to problems of care-giving and aging, and Kim-Wachutka devotes a portion of her text to the challenges of aging, ailing, and dying in a country that has never truly felt like home. In her analysis, Kim-Wachutka highlights the unusual difficulties faced by the Zainichi community in caring for the aging population and in doing so adds an important new dimension to a social problem that has been given a great deal of attention.

Another example of the important new ground her work breaks is in her use of literature. Although the interviews with women are undoubtedly the foundational texts of her book, it is noteworthy that the author also draws on literature by Zainichi women, with a chapter dedicated to the heretofore neglected women's journals *Hōsenka* and *Chi ni fune o koge* (Chap. 5). As John Lie has noted, Zainichi writers have won prestigious literary awards such as the Naoki Prize or the Akutagawa Prize several times over, yet "[s]ave perhaps for a recent surge of interest among South Korean scholars, however, there is nary any recognition of Zainichi literary achievements" (Lie, 2008, 2), a lacuna he aims to correct with his edited

volume of translations of Zainichi writers. Kim-Wachutka's use of interviews together with the introduction of Zainichi women's writing makes for a powerful volume that is an important contribution to Zainichi literary studies.

Ultimately, this text adds significantly not only to the growing body of studies of ethnic Koreans in Japan, but also to gender studies, minority studies, studies on care or aging, diaspora studies, and will be of interest to any academic interested in nationalism or ethnic heritage and identity. The chapters can easily stand alone and would pair well with other works as assignments for undergraduate students.

This book will be of particular use to scholars who teach gender studies, minority studies, or human rights issues here in Japan. As Kim-Wachutka summarizes the thoughts of writers and readers in her discussion of Zainichi women's writing, "for subsequent generations, the concepts of "Zainichi" and "women" must not be limited within the context of a binational historical entanglement but must be considered as part of a broader conversation involving the global collective of marginalized women" (227). With her focus on the women's interviews, the women's stories, and the women's voices, Kim-Wachutka makes an important contribution to how that conversation begins.

References

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