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

Journal Editorial Board

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Editorial Foreword

Thank you for reading this year's GALE Journal, a publication that marks the expansion of the editorial team to include co-editor Kristie Collins and associate editor, Aaron Hahn. We are confident that the journal will continue to grow in scope and content, and this trajectory is evident as this year's volume makes such an impressive contribution to gender scholarship in Japan.

Four book reviews cover a fascinating spectrum of gender exploration, ranging from the media's role in downplaying feminism's relevance to contemporary society; to the development of feminist movements here in Japan; to the motivations and desires of female Japanese ELL students in Australia; to an analysis and historical overview of the comfort women debate. Tanja McCandie starts off the review section with a thorough and critical response to Susan J. Douglas's *Enlightened Sexism: The Seductive Message That Feminism's Work Is Done*, probing the author's criticism of perceived apathy in contemporary feminist activism, and calling into question the role of the mass media in supporting or thwarting feminist agendas. Gwyn Helverson surveys Laura Dales' *Feminist movements in contemporary Japan*, and praises it for its comprehensive analysis of feminism in Japan from post-war to present day. Dales presents a well-researched overview of the past half-century of Japanese feminist movements, and includes chapters detailing the development of Japanese feminist NPOs, Tokyo's Love Piece Club (an online site and sex shop for women), and the anti-marriage views of TV celebrity and writer Haruka Yoko.

Turning to an in-depth study of Japanese English Language Learning (ELL) students, Kimie Takahashi's book, *Language Learning, Gender, and Desire: Japanese Women on the Move*, delves into Japanese women's *"akogare"* (longing, desire) for English as the language most associated with the West. Herbeth L. Fondevilla provides an insightful review of Takahashi's work, and notes the timeliness of its publication as Japan attempts to bolster English competency levels and female labor participation rates as it prepares to host the 2020 Olympics. The review section concludes with Gwyn Helverson's appraisal of C. Sarah Soh's *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*, a book, which strives to expose the misconceptions and errors, made by both sides of the ongoing comfort women historical conflict.

Three feature papers shed significant light on interconnections between identity formation, language, and gender, especially among young people in Japan. Judit Kroo's paper explores a range of interesting issues from pragmatics, gender, and cultural studies in her analysis of data on "soshokukei-danshi" or herbivore men. Many of us enjoyed hearing Judit

present on this topic at the IGALA conference in Vancouver last June. Her paper fleshes out those presentation themes with a detailed analysis of the use of first person pronouns among Japanese males—including popular culture sources such as "*idoru*" pop group SMAP—with reflections on implications for masculinities and identity formation in contemporary Japan. The same theme arises in the work of Brian Birdsell. Brian provides a wealth of statistical survey data to help readers gain a deeper understanding of the current status of study abroad as a gendered phenomenon. Many links are identified between language motivation, gendered identities, and openness to experiences in foreign or multicultural environments.

While many students experience multicultural environments only when they travel abroad, Salem Hicks reminds us that there are university campuses in Japan where students from a wide range of cultural backgrounds are studying together. Unfortunately, efforts to integrate foreigners into "mainstream" culture here are sorely lacking, especially for female students from abroad. Salem offers timely reflections on the need to make the socio-political environment more truly gender-neutral and to improve the quality of educational experience for female international students. Her hope is that those students will resist masculinist discourses that impoverish their life chances. Their resistance and activism, along with efforts such as this year's volume, may make some small contribution to the struggle for a more egalitarian gender order.

Kristie Collins
Robert Ó'Móchain

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Alternative masculinities:

Soshokukei-danshi "herbivore men" and first person pronoun usage

Judit Kroo
Stanford University

Abstract

This study examines the socially constructed category of Japanese *soshokukei-danshi* (SKD, or "herbivore men"). Quantitative and qualitative analysis of variation in the use of Japanese first person pronouns, which are commonly treated as gendered, was conducted using a data set taken from scripted and non-scripted television and film material. Scripted material included characters explicitly identified as SKD, while non-scripted reality television data includes a Japanese idol often identified as SKD. Results of the study suggest that the one-to-one mapping of first person pronoun use to gender stereotypes cannot account for the observed variation patterns and that such lexical items may best be mapped across different axes, e.g., formality and distance between speaker and interlocutor. This study further demonstrates how SKD-identified speakers engage in reflexive projects, re-envisioning what Japanese masculinity means apart from normative heterosexual characterizations, extending understanding of how maleness is (re)-negotiated through language and suggesting new avenues for Japanese second language pedagogy with respect to so-called "gendered" lexical items.

概要

本研究は日本の「草食系男子」という社会的に構築されたカテゴリーを考察するものである。台本付き、及び台本無しのテレビ番組や映画から集めた会話資料から揃えたデータを使い、話し手のジェンダー意識の表れとして見られている日本語の一人称代名詞の使い方における変化を定量分析及び定性分析する。台本付き資料は草食系男子であることが明らかなキャラクターを含

み、台本無しのリアリティ・テレビ番組データはしばしば草食系男子と呼ばれているアイドルが入っている。本研究結果が示唆することは、一人称代名詞の使い方とジェンダー・ステレオタイプの一対一の関連付けは観察された複数の変化のパターンを説明できないということ、故にこの様な語彙項目は話者と対話者間の形式的関係や距離感等、異なった軸を中心に位置付けするのが最善であろうということである。本研究が更に論証しているのは、草食系男子と確認される話者たちが如何に再帰用法に携わり、日本語の男らしさの意味を規範的性的特徴から離れて見直したり、男らしさが如何に言語を通して再定義されるかについての理解を広げたりするということである。又、第二言語としての日本語教授法において所謂ジェンダー性のある語彙を教えるに当たっては新たな道があるということを示唆するものである。

Shobu tsuyoi battingu, kesshi no burokku nado, Yano-san no atsui puree ni wa kono kotoba ga niau. Soshokukei-danshi ga motehaya sareru sakkon da ga, yappari 'hisshi no pacchi' ga niau dansei no ho ga watashi wa suki da.

Strong, fighting batting, desperate blocking and so on, these phrases suit a forceful player like Yano-san. In recent days, there's been a lot of talk about *soshokudanshi* , but I much prefer a man who could aptly be described by the phrase 'hisshi no pacchi' [going all out].[1] (Asahi Shinbun, 08/02/12, translation by author)

Introduction

The term *soshokukei-danshi*, or "Herbivore Men," has in recent years become a catchall term in Japanese society to refer to men judged to be somehow less masculine than their peers, especially with respect to their engagement in romantic relationships. Along with other similar terms describing "male types," e.g., *nikushokukei-danshi, or* "Carnivore Men", or the more bizarre *asupara beekon danshi, or* "Bacon-wrapped Asparagus Men," the socially constructed category of *soshokukei-danshi* (hereafter SKDs) appears to be part of larger social discourses surrounding contemporary Japanese masculinity.

In this paper, I consider inter- and intra-linguistic variation amongst young male speakers of Japanese, within the larger socially constructed discourse surrounding the category of SKDs. I will analyze both scripted and naturally occurring language, looking specifically at a movie, *soshokukei-danshi,* featuring an SKD male character, as well as the reality television program SMAPxSMAP, which includes a broad range of what might be termed "male types."

Looking specifically at first person pronouns, which have traditionally been treated as gendered, I demonstrate that although these lexical items continue to be perceptually salient sites of variation with respect to the construction of a range of masculine stances, actual patterns of use diverge significantly from socially accepted stereotypes. Additionally, where significant variation does arise, it is not clear that the use of particular first person pronouns is doing gender performance work. Rather, close qualitative analysis of the use of these lexical items indicates that alternative, non-gendered characterizations of such lexical items is not only warranted but would in fact provide a better overall account of the data. In the final section of this paper, I provide some examples of such potential alternative characterizations. While these characterizations are preliminary and would no doubt benefit from revision, they nonetheless provide insight into the social and pragmatic meanings and contemporary ideologies that younger speakers attach to the use of these lexical items.

Moreover, more than just offering a better, more nuanced, understanding of the use and meaning of first person pronouns generally, the results of the present study may also have implications for second language Japanese pedagogy, specifically in how teachers approach the presentation of lexical items such as first person pronouns and other lexical items commonly treated and taught as gendered. Educational materials associated with second language learning of Japanese frequently reproduce traditional understandings of such lexical items. Without a doubt, such characterizations are useful for introducing students to these kinds of lexical items. However, students, especially intermediate and advanced students, might benefit from more complex and nuanced characterization of such materials.

The construction of social types

While the term *soshokukei-danshi* (SKD) is often used in Japanese mass media publications as though it were referencing an obvious, readily definable social group,[2] ordinary speakers of Japanese may be less certain of who exactly SKDs are or, when it comes to male speakers, of whether or not they themselves might be considered SKD.

This uncertainty is unsurprising if we treat SKD-ness as a social construct, no different from other socially constructed categories—for example "Japanese schoolgirl speech," as

described by Inoue (2004) and Nakamura (2007). Such categories can be described as "imaginary" in that they are the result of media and meta discourse processes that are themselves part of larger societal discourses.

For Inoue (2004, 2006), the category of Japanese schoolgirl during the Meiji period (late 1800s to early 1900s) was part of a larger discourse of Japanese modernization, one result of which was the creation of the category of "women's speech," which became a way to index "traditional Japanese-ness." In the following, I will extend Inoue's analysis slightly and argue that SKD-ness is a constructed category like "women's language." Such categories, despite being discourse constructions, are nonetheless highly salient—they can do significant social meaning work for speakers who use them as handy reference points in talking about their own and others' speech, social standing, social characteristics, and so on.

Inoue (2004) used the term *indexical inversion* to describe the construction of socially meaningful categories, for example, the discourse surrounding the category of Japanese schoolgirl, especially the publication of criticisms and analysis of so-called *teyo dawa kotoba* "schoolgirl language." The term *teyo dawa kotoba* comes from some of the sentence final particle linguistic markers that were considered to be especially noteworthy elements of this "language." Inoue's point is that the category of "Japanese schoolgirl speech" as a *socially salient discourse* came about through media and meta discourse surrounding this category, discourse that crucially presumed the existence of a category (hence the term indexical inversion). Whereas indexical processes often attach social meaning to some linguistic variable, the indexical inversion that Inoue describes is, in a way, a reverse of this process.

An example of the process of social meaning being attached to linguistic variables can be found in Eckert (2000), which describes how varying degrees of participation in the Northern Cities Vowel Shift can index orientation towards or against the high school as an institution. In this case, use or non-use of a particular variable points to or indexes a set of social meanings and social stances. In contrast, with respect to *teyo dawa kotoba*, the social meaning of "Japanese schoolgirl speech" points to particular linguistic variables. The social category thus precedes and points to particular linguistic variables rather than the other way around (Inoue, 2004).

Distinguishing the physical entities that comprised the category Japanese schoolgirls, i.e., Japanese females who attended school, and the social construction "Japanese schoolgirl," which served as a sign indexing a set of social conditions, Inoue's analysis demonstrates that not only is the category of "schoolgirl speech" a construction, but indeed, "the significance of the schoolgirl as a cultural category lies in its semiotic quality, which works as an empty signifier mobilized to index the shifting social and historical condition of Japan's modernity and modernization" (Inoue, 2004, p. 46).

Following up on this, Nakamura (2007) convincingly shows that even as the category of schoolgirl is a social construction, the media and meta discourse surrounding the category—for example, the literary depictions of "bad schoolgirl" characters whose language is replete with *teyo dawa kotoba*—can have very real effects. Consumers of texts containing such depictions can take these linguistic variables up for themselves, re-appropriating them as signs of resistance or rebellion against institutions (for example, school) and thus making these illusory languages "real."

Nakamura (2007) also isolates and analyzes the processes via which the notional category of "women's language" is a construction that is inextricably bound up with other socio-political processes, in particular the nationalistic empire-building ideologies that were particularly salient during the Meiji period. She goes on to show that the documenting of young women's language was bound up in similar processes, and that, at the same time, critics set about "describing" or "documenting" this language, they also participated in discourses criticizing it as corrupt, peripheral and deviant. Crucially, these two processes, description/documentation on the one hand and criticism on the other, proceed concurrently, so that, in effect, the category of "young women's language" was constructed and at the same time made peripheral or deviant. Charting the early trajectory of the so-called *genbun icchi* "unification of written and spoken language" movement, which took place during the Meiji Era (1868-1912), Nakamura (2007) argues that the movement, which focused on reforming the Japanese writing system to bring it closer in line with the so-called *kogo* "spoken language," was part of larger modernization processes in Japan. Crucial to this construction of *hyojungo,* the so-called "standard language," was deciding what linguistic items "counted," i.e., what would be taught in school and included in textbooks of correct usage.

Like Nakamura (2007), Inoue (2004, 2006) is also interested in the intersection of political ideology and language. Using a wealth of archival materials, Inoue demonstrates that at the beginning of the period during which *genbun icchi* was being debated and discussed, no direct mention was made of a separate "women's language." It was only later, as policy makers, academics and others began the process of deciding what counted as *hyojungo* – and what didn't – that the category of "women's language," came into being as a category *against which* the standard language was defined. Further, as Nakamura (2007) points out, it was not only women's language against which the standard was defined – so-called *hogen* "dialects" as well as non-middle/upper class speech were also considered peripheral and not part of the standard, so that the standard ended up being defined as the speech of educated, middle and upper class men, specifically from Tokyo (upper middle class speech from Kyoto, being deemed too weak and not "masculine" enough to count as "standard language").

On Nakamura's analysis, a "standard language" thus requires a non-standard, peripheral language—the language that deviates and *is not* the standard—to stand in opposition to it. Constructing a standard results in the parallel construction of a non-standard, peripheral, and deviant language. Furthermore, the processes by which standard-periphery oppositions are constructed encompass not only broad categories, but also work, recursively, within categories themselves—speech categories are deemed "standard" with respect to other (more peripheral) categories but concurrently deemed "peripheral" with respect to particular (more central) categories.

It is worth pointing out that the same processes which were salient in the formation of *hyojungo,* might also apply to the constructed "Japanese language" that is taught and disseminated via second language educational materials. Necessary to the process of teaching what counts as "Japanese" is also excluding whatever doesn't count, that is to say, of constructing "invalid Japanese" against which correct Japanese can be defined. Needless to say, these prescriptive processes of inclusion and exclusion can have the effect of reinforcing particular linguistic ideologies (for example, gendered ideologies) with respect to linguistic variables and can furthermore reproduce an understanding of the use or non-use of variables that is not consonant with the language as it is actually spoken.

The social construction of SKD-ness

Much as Inoue (2004, 2006) and Nakamura (2007) made use of careful historical analyses of the construction of the category of *teyo dawa kotoba*, i.e., Japanese schoolgirl speech in Meiji-Era Japan, it seems relevant to consider from a historical perspective the socially discursive processes by which the SKD category was constructed, as well as the extent to which it is perceptually salient in contemporary Japan.

Importantly, although the term *soshokukei-danshi* is itself rather "new," having been first coined in 2006 to describe alternative male consumption patterns, earlier work, e.g., Okamoto (1995), describes women being encouraged to find "Goat Man" type partners, i.e., partners who wouldn't consider their wives as mother-figures and would be equal partners, helping out with household tasks and child care.

Unlike the category of "Goat Men," which was only ever used to describe men in the context of married life, the range of contexts that were salient with respect to "SKD-ness" grew to include non-normative attitudes towards romantic relationships and dating. I use "normative" here in the sense of conforming to a context-dependent, albeit socially constructed social standard or model. Following a series of articles in female-oriented fashion magazines, SKD became a catch phrase for men who were unsuccessful when it came to

romantic relationships. Moreover, being SKD, apart from just being unsuccessful in romantic situations, also became linked to a host of secondary social characteristics that were associated with what I shall describe as non-normative masculinity. Building on the definition of "normative" given above, I take "non-normative masculinity" to be the set of social characteristics that deviate from the normative social construct of masculinity in a given context. Such characteristics include knowing a lot about desserts (since liking sweets is considered to be a feminine characteristic in modern Japanese culture), lack of interest in participating in *nomikai* "drinking parties" and, when participating, not drinking to the same degree as non-SKD cohorts. This broadening of the term SKD and its use to index characteristics secondarily associated with non-normative masculinity, of course, results in some confusion over what SKD actually "means" apart from somehow being perceptually not quite masculine enough.

Although broader patterns of socially constructed "alternative masculinities" are beyond the scope of the present work, it is important to keep in mind that in spite of the relative novelty of the term SKD itself, the larger social discourse of which it is a part has been prominent for much longer. Likewise, the characteristics that are said to mark these social types are completely separate from the social category under which they are subsumed and have their own completely separate histories. The important point is that while "Goat Man," unlike SKD, is grounded in the cultural ideologies of the Japanese family, it nonetheless bears a striking similarity to the characterization of SKDs in that both "types" are characterized by a rejection of what we might call traditional Japanese heterosexual masculinity.

In the above discussion, I commented on the broadening of the SKD category from its original reference to the sphere of material consumption. To more concretely describe this process, we might say that while the category of *soshokukei-danshi* may have originally been used to describe behavior in the consumer marketplace, the current media and meta discourse around SKDs rather focuses on lack of success in what Eckert (1996) has called the heterosexual market. Eckert describes the socio-ideological construct of the heterosexual marketplace as a normatively masculine dominated social order in which sexual relationships are negotiated as commercial transactions and participants attain varying degrees of power in the market depending on their ability to perform normatively gendered social roles. Of course, this broadening of the category does not mean that the performance of particular consumption behaviors is no longer salient in the media and meta discursive construction of the SKD category. The point is rather that modes of consumption are seen as a natural consequence of more central characteristics, namely, lack of manliness and romantic failure/disengagement.

A good example of the shift in meaning described above can be found in the depiction of SKDs in the 2010 film *Soshokukei-danshi*, a comedy presented in the guise of an anthropological analysis of stereotypical SKD behaviors. Divided into 19 chapters, the film assigns each SKD characteristic a rating on a five star scale depending on how salient the characteristic is to SKD-ness. Consumption-based characteristics—for example an intense interest in food, especially desserts—are uniformly awarded three or fewer "stars." On the other hand, characteristics having to do with an inability to perform normative masculinity—for example, romantic ineptitude on a group date or becoming unwitting (and unwilling) prey for aggressive women, commonly referred to as *nikushoku-joshi, or* "Carnivore Women"—are awarded five stars.

This shift in the discursive construction of the SKD category is similarly evident in the meta discourse that speakers who self-identify as SKDs engage in, consonant with the analysis given in Nakamura (2007), arguing that stereotypical discourse representations (for example, in novels) can affect the actual language used by speakers who identify or are identified with those categories. Working within this framework, it is difficult to be certain to what extent speakers' meta-discourse representations of the category of SKD-ness are influenced by media-discourse representations of SKDs, which, of course were crucial to the construction of the SKD category in the first place.

Consider the following quote, which was taken from a televised interview with a speaker called Roshinante, who is the moderator of an SKD-specific community board on the Japanese social networking site Mixi. For Roshinante, "SKD-ness" has very little to do with consumer behavior—rather, it is about redefining what counts as "masculine" (which of course is a re-contextualization of the critical media discourse that constructs the SKD category as non-masculine):

1. *Chotto, ano, oneigai shite mo ii koto ga aru n de areba, tatoeba sono issho ni hanasu toki ni desu ne, "ore wa 50-dai, 60-dai tte, ore no sedai wa" to iu hairikata ja nakute, "jibun wa" to iu shugo wo desu ne. Jibun ni shite itadakeru to ittai ichi de mukiatte itadaku to tabun sono kotoba tte ano nikushoku toka sooshoku toka sedai toka kankei naku, todoku mon desu ne.*

   If there was something that I could ask it would be that I would wish that, for example, when we talk together, rather than starting with words such as "I'm in my 50s, I'm in my 60s... And in my generation", and using the masculine pronoun "ore," we would rather use the pronoun "jibun"—"as for myself." If we could change the [literal] subject of the sentence to "myself" and if we could treat each other as individuals, then perhaps this whole *nikushoku* and *soshoku* and generational thing would become irrelevant and we could communicate better. (Tokumitsu, 2010)

In the quote above, Roshinante emphasizes that the individual, *jibun* or "oneself," is a better point of departure for interpersonal relations and communications than social categories such as SKD. Replacing social categories with some notion of individual selfhood would, suggests Roshinante, render categories like s*oshoku* and *nikushoku* irrelevant. Implicit in this formulation of the meaning of SKD as parallel to *jibun* means that the SKD category has grown beyond a descriptor of consumption behaviors to encompass something that might in a very non-specific, non-theoretical way be termed "identity." Parallel to this, advocating for the irrelevance of SKD-ness suggests that for Roshinante, the SKD category is artificially constructed.

Socially constructed languages

As discussed in the previous section, Inoue (2004, 2006) has described the social processes that led to the construction of the category of Japanese schoolgirl speech. Restating Inoue's argumentation somewhat, we might also say that in the construction of Japanese *teyo dawa* schoolgirl speech during the Meiji Period, a set of critical social meanings became attached to the use of particular lexical items, leading to the identification of these lexical items with a particular (constructed) social type.

Whether or not young women who attended school during the Meiji Period actually used these lexical items is, in many ways, beside the point. What are crucial are the (never-ending) processes of association by which use or non-use of lexical items come to stand for "being" something, for example "being a normal woman," or "being a normal man."

It is also important to keep in mind that just as linguistic items always have the potential to lose their salience as sites of gender performativity, items that are non-salient with respect to gender performance can become salient.[3] This process of continual social meaning making and re-making continues to be important for the use/non-use of particular lexical items and the constructed categories of "masculinity" and "femininity."

Mizumoto's (2001), comparative analysis of the use of particular sentence final particles (SFPs) in dramas and naturally occurring conversation is especially pertinent with respect to this point. Analyzing the discordant perceptions of SFP use between female speakers and male interlocutors, Mizumoto convincingly demonstrated how lexical items may become sites of contention and struggle with respect to the meanings that they index, and through this struggle, either acquire or lose their relevance for the performance of not only gender but a whole range of alignments connected to various social constructions.

Specifically, Mizumoto (2001) found that young female speakers avoided using feminine characterized SFPs because they strongly associated them with their mothers and

grandmothers, i.e., with older female speakers. On the other hand, male interlocutors' perceptions of these SFPs were overwhelmingly positive—they strongly associated use of these SFPs with femininity, sexiness and girlishness. What makes this finding relevant is that it emphasizes that in this case, female perceptions of the social meaning of SFP use are along an axis of young to old, whereas for male speakers, SFP use indexes a completely orthogonal, as in potentially related but irrelevant, set of social meanings that are gender-based rather than age-based. Thus, speakers and their interlocutors may index entirely different (and in this case orthogonal) sets of social meanings with respect to a single linguistic variable.

The above discussion was intended to establish the complexity and difficulty of accurately characterizing lexical items that might be salient for gender performance. This is important not only because the analysis of such lexical items has a long history, but also because, as described above, these types of characterizations are often used when producing teaching materials. Furthermore, although recent studies (e.g., Matsumoto, 1996; Matsumoto, 2002; Matsumoto, 2004: SturtzSreetharan, 2004) have questioned the easy "gendered language" label attached to these lexical items, replacing the terminology surrounding them has proved difficult, not least because many Japanese speakers' meta-linguistic conception of particular forms is in itself gendered.

Among the lexical items previously considered to be important sites of gender performativity, and the focus of this paper, are first person pronouns (FPPs).[4] Building off of the points raised above, in introducing first person pronouns as a site of gender performance, it is important to reiterate not only that they may lose salience as sites of gender performativity, but also that speaker/interlocutor *perception* of the use of particular linguistic variables may be orthogonal to gender performance even in cases where speakers or interlocutors continue to associate them with *stereotypical* performance of gender. Further, it is not always the case that speakers will have identical perceptions of the social meanings indexed by use of a particular linguistic variable.

As Miyazaki (2004) has discussed with particular reference to the language of Japanese junior high school girls and boys, Japanese first person pronouns are commonly thought to be marked for gender so that males and females are "supposed" to use different first person pronouns. The table below highlights the range of first-person pronoun options available to speakers in Japanese along with a commonly used characterization based on gender and formality. In this table, the same pronoun can occupy multiple positions depending on the sex of the speaker.

Importantly, the characterization of first person pronouns presented below, taken from Miyazaki (2004), is consonant with how these lexical items are typically treated in language

education materials, e.g., the highly regarded *Genki* Japanese language textbook series (e.g., Banno, Ikeda & Ohno, 2011).

Table 1

Japanese First Person Pronouns

	(Masculine Characterized)	*(Feminine Characterized)*
Formal	*Wataskushi* *Watashi*	*Watakushi* *Atakushi*
Plain	*Boku*	*Watashi* *Atashi*
Deprecatory	*Ore*	*0*

Miyazaki (2004, p. 257)

Use of first person pronouns in actual discourse is, however, much more complex than represented in Table 1. Sunaoshi (2004), for example, describes the use of the deprecatory pronoun *ore* by female farmers in Ibaraki prefecture, even though the characterization in Table 1 shows no deprecatory first person pronouns characterized as feminine, presumably because women are not supposed to use such "coarse" language.

Miyazaki (2004) also demonstrates that the use of particular first-person pronouns is not limited to particular genders (i.e., it does not index gender directly). Rather, as speakers navigate the complex social structures, group relations, and power dynamics within and amongst peer groups, they strategically employ particular first person pronouns as a way of constructing particular social stances. For example, a boy who is perceived, and understands himself to be "weaker," might use the plain first person pronoun *boku* in the presence of boys who perceive themselves and/or are perceived by the group at large to be "strong," even as the "strong" boys always use the deprecatory *ore*. However, in the presence of his own peer group, this same "weak" boy might use the *ore* form—taking a stance that, according to Miyazaki, allows him to reaffirm his masculinity.

Miyazaki's (2004) findings resonate with other studies (Sunaoshi, 2004) that also demonstrate the importance of understanding the specific context in which speakers adopt particular stances, situating use of particular linguistic variables squarely in the communities to which speakers belong. In all of these analyses, use or non-use of particular variables does not index femininity or masculinity directly; rather, patterns of use/non-use index

characteristics—for example, dominance or powerlessness—that themselves might be linked in the minds of the speakers to femininity or masculinity.

It is difficult to over-emphasize the importance of treating the relationship between lexical items and gender performance (or the performance of characteristics associated with gender) as temporally and contextually contingent, so that lexical items always have the potential to lose relevance with respect to these kinds of performances. Consequently, it is crucial to establish that the lexical items chosen for study (in this case FPPs) are still important sites of variation for the meta and media discourse representation of masculine gender performance. Furthermore, it is important to show that FPPs are relevant for the discourse representation of *different kinds of* masculinities—that is to say, that they are salient with respect to the media and meta discourse construction of masculine categories like SKDs.

To examine this discourse, I will use the movie *Soshokukei-danshi* (Herbivore Men), briefly described in the previous section. Overall, use of FPPs by male characters in the film *Soshokukei-danshi* suggests that FPPs continue to be highly relevant to the media and meta discourse representation of masculinities. Use of FPPs by male characters in the film is restricted to *boku* and *ore*. With respect to *boku*, distribution of this FPP across speakers suggests two tendencies. In line with the findings described above for SFPs, *boku* is associated with SKD-ness, but extreme use, or what might be described as *overuse*, of *boku* is associated with being *non*-SKD and of being an *otaku* "nerd." Recall that in contrast to well-meaning, but somewhat "clueless," SKDs, *otaku* are characterized as anti-social.

With respect to the film as a whole, there are four tokens of *boku* by the SKD character and only one token of *boku* for all other non-SKD/non-*otaku* male characters. Further, this single use of *boku* occurs during a scene in which a non-SKD male character is trying to reason with female characters and claim that participation in a traditional Japanese play is a "man's job" and inappropriate for women. On the other hand, the four tokens of *boku* by the SKD character are spread across the entire film. In contrast, the non-SKD *otaku* character uses four tokens of *boku* during a single conversational sequence. Apart from a brief appearance in a scene in which he unsuccessfully tries to ask a female character out on a date, this is the only scene in which the *otaku* character appears, and therefore his high rate of use of *boku* is even more noteworthy and highlights the difference between him and the SKD character

Turning to *ore*, the SKD character's use of this FPP appears to be strategic and appears to signal a stance of *differentiation* with respect to his interlocutors. The film contains six tokens of *ore* by the SKD character, so that the overall FPP profile of the SKD shows mixed use of

 in *ore* and *boku,* whereas *ore* is the standard FPP used by all non-SKD/ non-*otaku* male characters.

Looking more closely at the use of *ore* by the SKD character, consider a scene where three male characters, including the SKD character, are on a group date to a bar with three female characters. Whereas the rest of the party orders beer, the SKD character orders a cassis-orange cocktail. In this instance, use of *ore* emphasizes that although the SKD character is ordering a non-masculine drink, he is not himself non-masculine. This use is consonant with the characterization of the SKD character as distinct from the *otaku* character, as described above, i.e. that the SKD character is not entirely unattractive to women, even if he is a bit clueless. Thus, even if the SKD character's choice of drink is different from that of the other male characters, positioning him outside the group, the use of *ore*, along with the content of the utterance suggests that the speaker does not want his interlocutors to make a big deal out of this choice.

2. ***Ore** no koto ki ni shinaide kudasai.*
   *Don't worry about me [**ore**].*

Crucially, when I claim that the use of *ore* by the SKD character strategically distinguishes him from his interlocutors, I am not making a claim about the semantics or pragmatics of *ore* in general, but about the use of *ore* in this context. For the non-SKD male characters, where *ore* is standard, use of *ore* might be doing something completely different, because it must in those instances be compared to FPP drop instances. That is to say, for non-SKD characters, the relevant distinction might be between use and non-use of an FPP, rather than between uses of particular FPPs.

With this in mind, I would like to argue that Table 1, which orders FPPs along gendered axes, can only ever be an approximate representation of the construction of gendered identities achieved by choice of lexical items. While these categories may be perceptually salient in the minds of *some* speakers, their continued reproduction is dangerous. Even when we hedge our explanations of categories with verbiage emphasizing our awareness of the "constructed-ness" of lexical items as gendered, by reprinting these tables again and again, we end up contributing to the maintenance of the categories that we are trying to deconstruct and, as described above, contributing to the manner in which these lexical items are taught to second language learners.

Furthermore, even though we take pains to problematize the gendered characterizations of these lexical items, by continuing to use gendered categories as a jumping off point, we end up limiting the scope of our potential analysis and fall into the trap of continually

reproducing an analysis that merely establishes and then problematizes gendered characterizations without ever truly moving the analysis forward.

Case study: The language of SMAP

In the preceding discussion, I have described how the category of SKD is constructed through media and meta discourse, calling attention to the similarity between the processes by which this construction and the construction of the category of so-called "women's language" take place (Nakamura, 2007; Endo, 1997; Endo, 2001; Inoue, 2004). These studies emphasized that the category of "women's language" is constructed through media and meta commentary about "women's language," in a sense, orthogonally to the reality of the actual linguistic practices of Japanese women. In these accounts, actual linguistic practices are shown to be distinct from constructed linguistic categories, even as these same constructed linguistic categories are presented as accurate portrayals of actual linguistic practice.

The depictions of patterns of variation between SKD and non-SKD characters in the film *Soshokukei-danshi* in effect reflected distinctions that are part of the construction of the SKD category as somehow distinct from other categories, e.g., normatively masculine men or *otaku* "nerd" men. However, the set of SKD linguistic practices that are depicted in the media and the linguistic practices of actual, living Japanese males who might be called or call themselves SKD are (obviously) not the same, even though the SKD category remains perceptually salient for these actual living, breathing Japanese speakers. The importance of this point cannot be overemphasized and has important implications not only for how we understand the pragmatics and social meaning of linguistic variables but also for how these linguistic variables are introduced and taught to second language learners.

In this section I will look at the linguistic practices of a Japanese pop band, SMAP, one of whose members, Kusanagi Tsuyoshi, is commonly identified as an SKD. As the previous discussion has emphasized, it is important not to presume that the socially constructed category of SKD speech is based on reality. Therefore, all utterances by members of SMAP were coded for use of FPPs. Use of these lexical items was then compared between the members of SMAP in order to get a sense of the patterns of FPP use by these speakers. This kind of analysis also gives a sense of the contexts in which FPPs are being used by SMAP members, and that, in turn, affords us a stronger understanding of the social and pragmatic meaning of FPPs.

Formed in 1988, SMAP, which stands for Sports Music Assemble People, is one of the longest surviving boy bands in Japan. Besides their musical activities, the members of SMAP also pursue solo projects—Kimura Takuya, for example, is one of the most famous actors in

Japan. Furthermore, their group activities comprise not just singing, but also hosting the chat show SMAPxSMAP. Indeed at the moment, this show is their primary group activity. SMAPxSMAP's distinctive feature is that the members of the group will often cook meals for celebrity guests. These meals are cooked onstage while one member of the group interviews the celebrity guest. The members include Masahiro Nakai (the leader of the group), the aforementioned Kimura Takuya, Kusanagi Tsuyoshi (who has been characterized as an SKD), Inagaki Goro, and Katori Shingo. The data in this study comes from a special episode of this program in which the members of the band went on a special one-night trip, first to Universal Studios Japan in Osaka and then to Arima Onsen, a famous hot spring near Osaka, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of their debut as a group. Footage of the trip is intercut with the band's reflections on the trip as well as supplemental material.

It is important to keep in mind that participants were at all times aware that they were being recorded and that these recordings would be broadcast across Japan. Nonetheless, the conversations feel, or perhaps are meant to feel, unstaged and "off the cuff." Indeed, at one point, the program announcer described how the cameras were meant to be hidden in order to allow the group to interact as they would in "real life." Thus, although it is true that participants' speech is not entirely natural, I would nonetheless argue that it can serve as a valid source of data for contemporary patterns of use of lexical items such as FPPs.

Variable: FPPs in SMAPxSMAP

FPP Use: Quantitative analysis

I will begin this section by presenting the results of quantitative analysis of FPP use in this data set, shown below in Table 2.

Table 2
SMAP's Use of First-Person Pronouns

First-Person Pronoun	Katori	Kimura	Kusanagi	Nakai	Inagaki
Watakushi					
Watashi			1		
Boku			4		1
Ore	5	3	9	25	2
Total	5	3	14	25	3

Use of FPPs is relatively infrequent in this data set, which is not surprising, because subject omission in Japanese is very common, especially in more casual speech. More interesting, however, is the substantial interspeaker variation in FPP use: some speakers—most notably Inagaki and Kimura—barely use any FPPs at all, while for other speakers—especially Nakai—FPP use is much more common.

With respect to use of particular FPPs, all members of SMAP use the FPP *ore* (which is described by Sturtz Sreetharan, 2004, as the most strongly masculine FPP). Indeed, *ore* is the most commonly used FPP for all of the members of SMAP. However, the percentage of use of *ore*, as well as the use of other FPPs, i.e., *boku* and *watashi,* varies significantly between SMAP members. Although there is no statistical difference (p = .82) between speakers with respect to use of FPPs (*boku, ore*), the use of FPP *boku* is restricted to two speakers, Kusanagi and Inagaki. Finally, of all the members of SMAP, Kusanagi is the only one who used the highly formal FPP *watashi*.

The data in Table 2 present a slightly different picture of first person pronoun use than the one described in Miyazaki (2004), which found that use of particular FPPs was part of the construction of hierarchical relationships between speakers. In this data set, the members of SMAP used *ore* when addressing each other, suggesting that an analysis of *ore* as an indicator of group hierarchy might not be sufficient to account for the above data. For example, while Kusanagi's use of the FPP *boku* outstrips that of other speakers, his use of *ore* is only surpassed by Nakai. This pattern suggests that we need to look more closely at individual occurrences of FPPs to understand how they are being used and whether an alternative analysis of FPPs is warranted.

FPP use: Qualitative analysis

As noted in the preceding discussion, this article is primarily concerned with the linguistic construction of the SKD category and with examining the implications of social constructions for how particular lexical items are understood and taught. Consequently, qualitative analysis will focus on Kusanagi, the SMAP member who is characterized as being SKD, and his use of FPPs.

Overall, Kusanagi's use of *ore* occurs in instances when he is being challenged or appears to put himself forward strongly. We might describe this pattern of use as emphasizing "self" within the context of a group. Meanwhile, the use of *boku* occurs across a wide range of contexts. Finally, the single occurrence of *watashi* occurs when Kusanagi is alone.

The contexts in which *ore* is used by Kusanagi are exemplified by examples 3 and 4. In the first, shown below as example 3, Kusanagi has driven into the wrong lane at a tollbooth.

He apologizes and tries to assert that he thought he was in the correct lane. The use of *ore* appears to add emphasis to this assertion. Notice that Kusanagi apologizes twice: first, he uses *sumimasen*, which indicates that the addressee is being asked to perform some action that benefits the speaker but might cause inconvenience to the addressee, and next he uses *gomen nasai*, which indicates that the speaker has committed a mistake. The use of *ore* then, appears to be a strategic move to lessen the degree to which Kusanagi has lost face in front of his peer group by emphasizing that he really did think he was in the right car lane.

3. Kusanagi: ***Ore** wa   ne.   ETC reen*
          I   TOP PRAG. ETC-Japanese toll pass card lane
       iko   to   omottan   da. Sumimasen.
       go.HORT COMP think.PAST COP I'm sorry
       Gomen nasai.
       I apologize.
    Kusanagi: I really thought that I was going in the ETC lane. I'm sorry. I apologize.

In the next example, number 4, Kusanagi objects to Katori's claim that Kusanagi uses the emphatic superlative marker *chō* too often. As an emphatic superlative marker, *chō* can be added to a variety of adjectives and nouns. For example, whereas umai is "delicious," *chō umai* is "extremely delicious." Use of *chō* is common amongst younger people, and what Katori seems to be saying here is that if Kusanagi really were an adult (*otona*), he shouldn't use *chō* so frequently.

4. Katori: *Otona ni   naru   kara   cho yameru tte*
          Adult DAT become because extremely stop   COMP
       itta   no.   Cho tsukawanai tte.
       say. PAST NOMINAL extremely use.NEG   COMP
    Katori: It's because you're becoming an adult that I told you to stop with the chō. Don't use chō!

    Kusanagi: *Demo **ore** sugoi iwanakatta.*
          But   **I** amazingly say. NEG.PAST
    Kusanagi: But I [ore] didn't say it so much.

By relating *otona* (being an adult) to non-overuse of *chō* and also complaining about Kusanagi's overuse of *chō*, Katori is implicitly claiming that Kusanagi is not really an adult. In response, Kusanagi states that in fact he doesn't use *chō* all that much. Once again, Kusanagi's use of *ore* appears to be strategic in that he is able to re-assert his authority or dominance in the face of Katori's challenge.

Turning to *boku*, Kusanagi uses this FPP in a wide range of contexts as a default FPP. A representative example of this default use of *boku* is given below in example 5. While at a department store, Kusanagi emphasizes that he (as opposed to anyone else) will pay for everyone's purchases. There is no conflict between any of the speakers in this instance; rather, Kusanagi's use of *boku* merely identifies himself as the agent of the action of buying.

5. Katori: *Ogori?*
         Treat?
    Katori: Your treat?

    Kusanagi: ***Boku*** *ga   kau   yo   janai.*
                I   NOM buy PRAG. COP.NEG
    Kusanagi: I'l buy them.

Finally, Kusanagi's single use of the highly formal FPP *watashi* is given below in example 6. It occurs when Kusanagi returns to his room following a late night group karaoke session. During the course of the conversation, the other members return to the room. Notice that Kusanagi also uses *ore* in this same conversation.

6. Kusanagi (to himself): ***Watashi*** *wa   nemasu.*
                              I   TOP sleep. MASU
    *Kusanagi: I'm **[watashi]** going to sleep.*
       Inagaki comes in and tries to sleep...

    Kusanagi: *Nenai   to.   Goro san   hayaku.*
               Sleep.NEG COMP Goro POL.ADDRESS quick.ADV
    Kusanagi: You need to go to bed, Goro-san—soon.

     Inagaki: *Nerareru   wake   nai   daro.*
               Sleep.POT reason NEG COP.HYPOTHETICAL
    Inagaki: There's no way I can fall asleep now.

    Kusanagi: *Nerenai   yo   ne.*
               Sleep.POT.NEG PRAG.   PRAG.
    Kusanagi: Ah, so you can't sleep.
       After the other members have gotten ready for bed...

    Kusanagi: ***Ore*** *mo   neru. Oyasumi.*
                I   EMPH sleep good night
    Kusanagi: I'll go to bed, too. Good night.

Since this instance represents the only use of *watashi* in the entire episode, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions about what *watashi* is doing. However, notice that Kusanagi uses *watashi* in the absence of any interlocutors, i.e. only when he is "talking to himself." In contrast, after all the other members have returned to the room, Kusanagi switches to *ore*, suggesting that Kusanagi is engaged in two processes of stance construction—stances that seem to be constructed with and without respect to interlocutors. While the current data set do not offer enough evidence to draw any conclusions about the role of FPPs in self-directed speech, the above example further emphasizes the degree to which use of particular lexical items is sensitive to context and to interlocutors.

If we follow the characterization of FPPs given in Table 1, then one potential analysis is that Kusanagi is projecting a formal stance with respect to himself, and a stronger, emphatic stance with respect to his SMAP interlocutors.

Concurrently, following Miyazaki's (2004) relational analysis of FPPs, Kusanagi's use of *watashi* is somewhat unique in that it occurs separate from peer relations; speaking to himself, as Kusanagi does in this instance, means that this particular use concerns only Kusanagi's projected stance towards himself, separate from his peer group and the role.

Alternative analyses for the use of *watashi* are also possible, however. Consider the full utterance containing Kusanagi's single use of *watashi*: *Watashi wa nemasu* [I'm going to sleep]. The verb in this utterance, namely *neru* "sleep," is in the so-called *-masu* form, a form that in the past was commonly analyzed as a "polite" form, although newer analyses have demonstrated how incomplete such an analysis is. For example, Ikuta (2008) has argued that the *-masu* form can be used to demarcate stretches of discourse into paragraphs, which are referred to as "context spaces." Given this analysis, we might analyze Kusanagi's use of *watashi* as establishing a new context space—entering his hotel room where he starts talking (to himself) about going to sleep.

Further, it is not the case that the two analyses given above are inconsistent with each other—use of a linguistic variable may concurrently serve as a discourse function and have inter-speaker pragmatic force.

FPP use: Conclusion

Unlike Miyazaki (2004), who found relatively consistent patterns of FPP use between particular interlocutors, suggesting that use of FPPs was part of the construction and maintenance of relatively rigid group structures and hierarchies, my data suggests that use of

FPPs within groups need not be consistent and instead can be part of the evolving processes of stance construction with respect to particular interlocutors.

Based on my study, a potential picture of FPPs might be as shown in Table 3. My revised table does not include any gender characterization of FPPs (neither does it include the FPPs atashi and atakushi, since no tokens were recorded in the data). This move emphasizes that these lexical resources are relational and dependent on the context of use, so that both interlocutor stance and speaker stance must be considered. In Table 3 below, I have chosen to focus on formality as a salient variable for characterization; however, this does not mean that other variables, for example assertiveness, are not also relevant with respect to the characterization of FPPs. As Eckert (2008) emphasized, the potential for linguistic items to index social meanings is not delimited; it is an indexical field, not a one-to-one mapping.

Table 3

Japanese First Person Pronouns Revised

Interlocutor Characterization		
Speaker Characterization		
Formal Interlocutor	*Neutral Interlocutor*	*Deprecatory Interlocutor*
Formal Speaker *watakushi*	*watashi*	*?*
Neutral Speaker *watashi/boku*	*boku*	*boku*
Deprecatory Speaker *?*	*ore*	*ore*

Notice that this table varies significantly from commonly given analyses described in Table 1. Furthermore, the characterization of FPPs in Table 3 diverges substantially from the presentation of FPPs in many second language educational materials.

FPPs are typically introduced very early on in Japanese language educational materials when students are still coming to terms with basic language structures, so it makes sense that they would be treated as simply and clearly as possible. However, FPPs are rarely revisited in second language Japanese education, whether in educational materials or during classes. Students are thus hardly ever exposed to more complex characterizations of FPPs. Revisiting lexical items like FPPs (and other lexical items where actual patterns of use diverge significantly from common characterizations of such use) might help students of Japanese develop a better understanding of such lexical items.

As a final word of caution, the characterization of FPPs in Table 3 might not provide a good model for use of the FPP *watashi*, because only one instance of its use was recorded. Further research into use of FPPs in the absence of interlocutors and into use of *watashi* when both speakers and interlocutors are present could shed light on this problem and also result in a better overall understanding of FPPs.

Conclusion

In this study, I have used both scripted and naturally occurring language to reconsider the one-to-one mapping of linguistic variables onto gender performance, focusing on first person pronouns (FPPs). I have tried to show that in many contexts such a mapping does not provide a strong analysis for naturally occurring use of these linguistic variables, while acknowledging that these variables continue to play a role in stereotypic scripted constructions of gender performance.

Looking specifically at the socially constructed phenomenon of Japanese *soshokukei-danshi* (Herbivore Men, or SKDs), I have shown how strategic use of "gendered" linguistic variables plays a crucial role in media and meta discursive representations of characters identified as SKD. At the same time, such characterizations do not adequately account for patterns of variation in use of FPPs in naturally occurring conversation, even when the speakers involved are described as SKD.

Based on these findings, I argued that alternative characterizations of FPPs might do a better job of accounting for the meaning indices that speakers draw on when they use such lexical items in actual conversation. Future research, using large sets of naturally occurring data, and without presuming any particular characterization of the meanings of these linguistic variables, should provide better, stronger analyses of the meaning of FPPs, including stronger demonstrations of the salient social meanings that speakers draw on when they use these variables.

Modeling such salient social meanings and axes of variation does not mean replacing a one-to-one mapping of FPPs to gender with a similarly restrictive and narrow characterization. As Eckert (2008) demonstrated, the social meanings associated with linguistic variables are fluid and context dependent. Speakers draw on a range of social meanings that may be associated with a linguistic variable. This study has tried to demonstrate that this kind of analysis is applicable to linguistic variables whose meaning is relational and exists along relational axes, e.g., formality to informality or non-assertiveness to assertiveness. With this in mind, a truly accurate representation of FPP meanings would incorporate multiple meaning axes, including information about relevant contextual and

conversational factors that make particular axes more or less salient in a given conversational context.

This study has also argued that there is room in second language education for a more complex presentation of lexical items such as FPPs and noted that such a presentation need not be concurrent with the general introduction of these lexical items. Rather, it could be used as an opportunity for students of Japanese to acquire greater pragmatic proficiency in using lexical items that are crucial for more nuanced performances of gender or social alignment in Japanese.

Finally, this study has also attempted to make a case that the use of quantitative and qualitative socio-linguistic methodologies is of great potential value for pragmatists and semanticists alike. Shedding light on salient social meanings associated with linguistic variations, these methodologies can serve as a resource to help inform more precise understandings of the meaning of these variables.

Endnotes

1. The phrase *hisshi no pacchi* is a more emphatic version of *hisshi* "desperate, hanging on for dear life."
2. See for example Masahiro Morioka's *Soshokukei-danshi no renai-gaku* [Study on Herbivore Men's Love Life] (2008) or Ikushima Satchiko's *Soshokukei-danshi* x *Nikushokukei-joshi: Dochira ga sodatsu ka*? [Herbivore Men or Carnivore Women: which ones are we raising?] (2010).
3. See, for example Nin (2003) for an instance of this process
4. Other sites that have been commonly treated as gendered include address markers, discourse particles and particular lexical items related loosely to "politeness" (Shibamoto, 1985).

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Acknowledgements

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Gender, international posture, and studying overseas

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Abstract

This paper investigates results from a motivational questionnaire that looks at international posture (Yashima, 2002, 2009) and anxiety among 231 first year university students in Japan studying English as a foreign language. Using SPSS, a *t*-test was run to compare the results between male and female students. Gender differences correlated significantly with the construct of international posture. A review of data from international study abroad programs over a 10-year span also points to a notable imbalance between genders. The possible impact this may have on motivation to learn English is discussed here along with some practical thoughts on how to address this issue.

概要

本論では、日本で外国語としての英語を勉強する231人の大学一年生を対象に、国際的志向性（八島, 2002, 2009）と不安を調査する、動機づけに関するアンケート調査の結果を考察する。SPSS を使用し、男女学生間の結果を比較する為にt-検定を実行し、性差が国際的志向性の構築に有意に影響を及ぼすことを証明した。10年間に亘る国際留学プログラムからのデータの総括もまた、男女間の顕著な不均衡を示している。このことが英語学習の動機に及ぼす影響の可能性は、この問題の対処法についてのいくつかの実用的な意見と並行して議論される。

Introduction

Studying overseas can make L2 learning more meaningful, as one encounters and interacts with the language outside the classroom. Recent studies have also shown that studying overseas does not only give a sense of validity to studying an L2, but it can also tap into the creative potential within the individual (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky & Chiu, 2008; Maddux & Galinsky, 2009). The number of Japanese students studying overseas increased dramatically during the 1980s and early 1990s at a time when the government started to promote "internationalization" in Japan (Umakoshi, 1997), though more recently there seems to be a trend in the opposite direction, as the numbers are declining sharply. According to the OECD and other institutions (Education, Sports, Science, Culture, and Technology [MEXT], 2012), the number of Japanese students studying abroad decreased about 10% between 2008 and 2009. The number of Japanese students studying in the United States has also visibly declined in recent years from 24,842 students in 2009 to 21,290 in 2011 (MEXT, 2012). This number is continually declining and, in 2012/2013, Japanese students only made up 2% of the total number of foreign students studying in the United States (19,568, down 2% from the previous year), as compared to China (29%, 235,597), Korea (9%, 70,627), and Taiwan (3%, 21,867) (Institute of International Education, 2013). This contracting trend of Japanese students studying overseas also has unexpectedly coincided with the strengthening of the yen against world currencies (for example, in 2011, $1 traded between ¥78-82, as compared to ¥125-160 in 1990 [OANDA, 2014]).

As these declining numbers began to describe a more general trend of young people losing interest in going overseas, the term "inward looking" (内向き) attached itself to this generation of students. Online commentaries started to appear to discuss ways to "do away with" (打破) (Harano, 2013) or come up with a "prescription" (処方箋) (Rin, 2012) to change this trend, for it stood as a grave barrier in the push towards globalization in Japan. On a more positive note, some feel this term is now "dead" (死語) (Shiozaki, 2014) and there is a resurgence of enthusiasm among students to study abroad (Fujii, 2012), though this seems contradictory with regard to the data. Still others have denied such a simplistic explanation for the declining numbers of students studying abroad and have provided a number of reasons such as: the declining birth rate and subsequent decreasing number of

students; the internationalization of universities within Japan; students' preference for the comfortable living conditions of Japan; anxiety and perceived danger of living overseas; the cost of studying overseas; and the lack of support for those who return to Japan after studying abroad (Kokura, Suzuki, & Satterwhite, 2011).

To promote the program of "internationalization," the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has incessantly pushed its youth to embrace English through such programs as the "Action Plan to Cultivate Japanese with English Abilities" (MEXT, 2002) and the more recent, "Five Proposals and Specific Measures for Developing Proficiency in English for International Communication" (MEXT, 2011). Proposal two in this latest policy deals with "promoting students' awareness of the necessity of English in the global society, and stimulating motivation for English learning" (MEXT, 2011, p. 1).

This paper will look at how students themselves perceive this "necessity of English" and the relationship they have with the "global society." I will use a construct developed by Yashima (2002) called "international posture" to measure the global perception of the self and the motivation to integrate English into one's identity, along with a short section that looks at anxiety and foreign language learning. Next, I will review relevant literature on gender in education, especially in respect to foreign language studies, while considering the Japanese socio-cultural context. I will present the methods of research and the data, revealing how gender has a significant effect on international posture and how this may explain the severe imbalance between the genders participating in overseas exchange programs during a 10-year period at a national university in northern Japan. Finally, I will end with a discussion about possible reasons for this imbalance and how this may affect student motivation in the classroom.

Motivation and international posture

Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model dominated the field of motivation studies in second language learning into the 1990s (Dörnyei, 2001). In the model, Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) distinguished two differing motivational orientations: integrative motivation and instrumental motivation. The former involves having positive attitudes and feelings

towards the target group; in a sense, the desire to integrate oneself into this group. In contrast, the latter refers to being motivated by some practical purpose such as finding a job, gaining social prestige, and/or passing a test. There has been substantial research into motivation in learning a second language (see Dörnyei, 2001) and it would be rather difficult to cover in this short paper, but for the purpose of this research, it is important to look more closely at the changing view of "integrativeness" as it is applied to the context of English as a foreign or second language. As the English language spread beyond the inner-circle (Kachru, 1985), the idea of a learner of English being interested in integrating into some definitive English culture became highly problematic.

Lamb (2004) explains how English can no longer simply be associated with certain Anglophone cultures, but rather with the powerful concept of globalization, and when this happens, the "desire to 'integrate' loses its explanatory power in many EFL contexts" (p. 3). Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006) further elaborates on the growing trend away from this model and, after a review of theoretical criticism and empirical projects, she concludes by stating "the notion of integrativeness is untenable for second language learners in world English contexts" (p. 447). Yashima (2002) developed a construct called "international posture" as an alternative to integrativeness, which, similar to the critiques above, views the learning of English in the Japanese EFL context not as a way to integrate into some specific English speaking group, but rather as a way to be connected to an international community. Yashima (2009) points out that for Japanese learners of English, "English is something that connects us to foreign countries" (p. 145), not just to the English speaking countries. So English is perceived as more than just a national language of many countries around the world; it is a necessary tool to explore and interact with the "global society," the MEXT (2011) designation for people outside of Japan. Yashima (2009) divided international posture to include four scales: intergroup approach avoidance tendency, interest in international vocation and activities, interest in international news, and having things to communicate to the world. In this research, I concentrated on the first two—the desire to interact or avoid interacting with foreigners in English; and the interest or motivation to study, live, and/or work overseas. I limited the study to only two scales due to the small-scale scope of this

research. In future research, I plan to expand upon this initial investigation to include all four scales.

Anxiety

"Anxiety is a response to a potential negative consequence" (Smith & Shoda, 2009, p. 479) and in a foreign language classroom, many potential negative outcomes may arise when the learner interacts with the L2—from making an embarrassing mistake to not being able to make oneself understood. This interaction with "the L2 is likely to challenge an individual's self-concept as a competent communicator and lead to reticence, self-consciousness, fear, or even panic" (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986, p.128). MacIntyre (2007) cited a number of studies (Aida, 1994; Gregersen, 2003; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994; Vogley, 1998) that showed anxiety to be "negatively related to a wide variety of measures of L2 performance" (p. 565). Horwitz et al. (1986) identified three types of performance anxieties that foreign language learners might experience: "1) communication apprehension; 2) test anxiety; and 3) fear of negative evaluation" (p. 127). In this research, I look at "communication apprehension," which is characterized by shyness and difficulty in speaking in groups or using language as a means of communicating with others (Horwitz et al., 1986). Anxiety is an important dimension in language learning and it is vital to better understand how it interrelates with one's intent to interact with others in the foreign language classroom as well as one's desire to use it beyond the classroom in more of an international setting.

Gender and language learning

The popular belief in the superiority of females in language learning has early sources in the field of child language development (Jespersen, 1922; McCarthy, 1954) that steadily gained momentum with Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) concluding that "female superiority on verbal tasks has been one of the more solidly established generalizations in the field of sex differences" (p. 75). Macaulay (1978) challenged some of these assertions and argued that these differences were not indeed statistically significant and calls this stereotype of female superiority a "myth," as he responds, "there is no significant sex difference in linguistic development which can be traced to a physiological or genetic origin" (p. 357).

In the field of second language studies, the empirical evidence around this stereotypical view is less than convincing as well, and using examination results or in-class performance may be rather misleading (Sunderland, 2000) as a measuring stick of linguistic achievement. Morris (1998) conducted research looking at men's and women's ESL writing compositions, expecting to find a discrepancy between the genders, but instead found them to be of comparable linguistic quality. Morris also found an inherent evaluation bias, which rewarded compositions that adhered to the guidelines of the task and, in contrast to the men, many women who received superior marks carefully followed such guidelines. This naturally calls into question the validity of some of the ESL assessment techniques. Another study (Bügel & Buunk, 1996) looked at why female students often consistently scored lower on the foreign language examinations in the Netherlands. They looked at how the topic of the reading comprehension part of these examinations contained text biases, which favored one gender over the other based on typical reading habits, interests, and background knowledge specific to that gender. Other research confirms this, as "[f]amiliarity with science content appeared to be better than gender as a predictor of performance on reading comprehension passages with science content" (Bügel & Buunk, 1996, p. 16). So the issue of whether or not one gender is superior to the other in language learning is more complex than it might appear.

From a different vantage point, some research has tried to explain gender differences in language as arising from socio-culturally constructed behavioral patterns often associated with the different genders. The important role that social orientation plays in regard to the process of learning a language has been considered for some time (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Females, perceived as being more socially oriented, will naturally set in motion the necessary communication skills needed in language by being more compelled to interact with native speakers and this, in turn, enhances motivation to learn the language (Ehrman & Oxford, 1990). Ellis (1994) points out another important social difference between the genders that supports this purported female superiority with second language learning and that is that females are more relational, which stresses co-operation, while males are more hierarchical, which stresses maintaining their own identity. Ellis (1994) goes on to state how "[t]he 'female culture' seems to lend itself more readily to dealing with inherent threats imposed to identity by L2 learning" (cited in Schmenk, 2004, p. 518).

Another important area of research into gender differences in learning a foreign language looks at perceptual and motivational factors. An early landmark study in the UK (Powell & Batters, 1985) on perceptions of learning a foreign language found that females had a stronger positive view towards learning foreign languages, especially in regard to viewing the importance of languages. Yet in the same study, the participants rejected the stereotypical belief that one sex is better at learning languages than the other. A later study in the USA (Sung & Padillla, 1998) found that female students had higher motivation to study Asian languages than male students, which they concluded to be based on gender role modeling, rather than females actually having some proclivity to learning foreign languages. This motivation towards learning a foreign language is often socially associated with female careers and femininity, while for the male student, avoiding it is seen as acting in a masculine way (Sunderland, 2000).

Children at a young age learn the norms of behavior for their respective genders within a specific culture and social situation by observing the praise and recognition of behaving in gender appropriate ways and also noting the restrictions and deterrents of behaving in gender inconsistent ways (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Gender differences arise from habitually participating in cultural and social practices that are associated with a certain masculinity or femininity (Ehrlich, 1997). Since the socio-cultural context plays a significant role in the development of gender and the identity of the individual, such gender norms may vary cross-culturally. The next section will analyze more specifically the Japanese educational context, especially as related to English education and studying overseas, in regard to gender.

Gender and language learning in Japan

If "sex differences are viewed as accommodations to the differing restrictions and opportunities that a society maintains for its men and women" (Eagly & Wood, 1999, p. 409), what kind of restrictions do women and men face in Japan? Often these restrictions may not appear at first as a restriction since they may often be entrenched gender stereotypes. These gender stereotypes build over time through our perceptions and experiences of a specific gender group performing a behavior—such as taking to science and mathematics for men and language for women—so that we actually start to believe that these different gender groups

possess some specific attribute that makes them more competent in such an activity, whether it is some kind of personality trait or an actual innate ability (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). Numerous studies in the field of gender differences in education in Japan have focused on the absence of women in science and technology (e.g., Kuwahara, 2001), with the number being so low that "women graduating from science programs is half that of other OCED countries" (Scantlebury et al., 2007, p. 416). Amano (1997) calls the clear contrasts between the educational choices of males and females "gender tracks." Due to the gender differentiation that cultures impose on females and males, male students often place a higher value on certain subjects that are perceived to be masculine, while female students often feel more relevance in pursuing "less masculine" domains, like language. This, in turn, will influence their interest and motivation to learn the subject (Yeung, Lau, & Nie, 2011).

From the perspective of studying overseas, Habu (2000) discusses two distinct motivations for why Japanese women study in Britain. The first and obvious reason is globalization and the chance to gain economic, cultural, and intellectual experience, while the second reason concerns certain domestic factors in Japan. While most would probably agree that the former reason is not gender specific—men most likely also study abroad to gain global knowledge and experience—domestic factors definitely appear to be gender related. In an earlier study, Matsui (1995), working with Japanese female university students studying in the USA, uncovered how many of these students perceive such an experience as liberating and feel a sense of "self-emancipation" (p. 362). Having this marginal status in society actually provides them the freedom to participate in such an exploratory cultural experience that "Japanese men … cannot afford" (p. 367). Through the use of a large-scale questionnaire, Kobayashi (2002) also found significant differences emerged along gender lines in high school students' attitudes towards learning English. She attempted to find reasons for these qualitative differences and cites social issues such as: the marginalization of women in Japanese society; the positive perception women have towards foreign countries especially in regard to "freedom," and a readiness to experiment and look for a better life (Kobayashi, 2002). Matsui (1997) also came to similar conclusions after conducting ethnographic research at a women's college in Japan. Her informants expressed a strong

desire to study abroad, especially idealizing the United States as a country with such positive images as freedom, individuality, and equality.

These constraining domestic factors are visible in the corporate environment where women are still employed in lower positions such as service and clerical work, while men dominate 88% of administrative and managerial positions (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, 2011). The domestic barriers and societal constraints imposed on women in Japan may help "explain why some women choose to study abroad and why female students in Britain are sometimes reluctant to return to Japan" (Habu, 2000, p. 45). Ono and Piper (2004) also conducted a study that looked at gender and Japanese MBA students studying in the United States. In Japan, working men will often follow a career track that involves extensive training and subsequent promotion based on performance and loyalty, whereas working women come to realize their marginal place within the corporate system where they are stuck in menial positions and confronted by numerous barriers. Such impeding circumstances often compel "women to migrate for their professional degrees" (Ono & Piper, 2004, p. 103). Considering the sparse amount of data that directly investigates Japanese MBA students studying in the United States, Ono and Piper (2004) found that men constituted the largest number of students, though the majority of them had corporate sponsors paying for their degrees, while most female students covered their own expenses. Therefore, the motivating factors behind studying overseas vary greatly between genders; for males, often, it is to fulfill a sense of responsibility to the company and maintain their career track and future promotion, and for females, often, it is to escape the limitations and dead-end nature of their careers. Genichi Saito, a human resource specialist, compares the differences in motivation between genders by candidly saying, "women are fed up with the ways in which Japanese firms do not use their resources to their full potential" (cited in Ono and Piper, 2004, p. 111).

All of the above accounts are from the female Japanese perspective, which views English and studying in the West as a chance to release oneself from the constraints of society and to find a sense of freedom, autonomy, and independence in a foreign environment. This desire is likely to motivate one to study a foreign language and study overseas, yet there are still many questions regarding Japanese male students and their motivation to study English, their desire to study abroad, and the actual number of students going abroad, according to gender. This is

especially important as the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI, 2010) is encouraging the development of Global Human Resources (グローバル人材育成), i.e., young graduates possessing the necessary skills and knowledge to work in the global economy. This research explores these gender differences further and in the following section I will discuss a small quantitative study followed by a short discussion on the findings.

Research questions

The three research questions guiding this study are as follows:

1. How do 1st year university students in Japan experience and perceive their own anxiety towards learning English as a foreign language and what degree of international posture do they have?

2. How do anxiety and international posture differ between the genders?

3. How are these differences reflected in the actual number of students of each gender participating in study abroad programs?

Methodology

Participants

A group of 231 (139 male and 92 female) undergraduate students from a national university in northern Japan, who were enrolled in a required English course in the 1st term of their 1st year, took part in this research. The average age of the participants was 18.67 years old, the youngest was 18 and the oldest was 22 years old. All participants were of Japanese nationality.

Procedure

On the last day of the course in July, 2012, a questionnaire regarding motivation was distributed to the participants, who were advised (i) to take their time in answering the questions, (ii) that responding to the questionnaire was voluntary, and (iii) that any information provided would remain anonymous and would be used only for research purposes.

Material

The questionnaire used a 4-point Likert scale: strongly agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, and strongly disagree. A 4-point scale was used to avoid the middle scale found in 5 and 7-point scales, as Hui and Triandis (1989) have pointed out that people in East Asia will often place high value on a more moderate or middle answer. Chen, Lee, and Stevenson (1995) confirmed that Japanese students were the most likely to respond with the midpoint compared with students from Taiwan, the United States and Canada. The questionnaire had 28 items, but, for this research, only 2 categories—anxiety and international posture, consisting of fourteen items—were used. A Cronbach's alpha (α) was used to measure the internal consistency of the items in each category. The questionnaire was constructed in English, with a Japanese translation for each item.

International posture

Nine items were used to measure the participants' international posture (α= .78). Examples are: "I want to learn about the English speaking world"; "If possible I'd like to live overseas"; and "I'd like to work for an international organization such as the WHO." Of these nine items, two were reverse items. Examples are: "I'd rather work in my hometown" and "I'd rather avoid a job that often requires traveling overseas."

Table 1

	M	SD	d	t	*Effect size* r²	Cohen's d
Anxiety			229	-1.52		
Male n= 139	2.88	0.55				
Female n=92	2.99	0.50				
International Posture			229	-3.36***	0.05	0.44
Male n= 139	2.30	0.51				
Female n=92	2.54	0.52				

n=231
*** p < .001
r² is eta squared
0.01 = small effect, 0.06 = moderate effect, and 0.14 = large effect

Anxiety

Seven items were used to measure the participants overall anxiety with English (α= .76). Examples are: "I panic when I cannot make myself understood in English"; "I feel worried when I hear other students speaking good English"; and "Even when I have an opinion, I hesitate to speak up in English during class" (see Appendix 1 for the full list).

Results

Questionnaire results

All the items in each sub-scale were given an aggregate score. An independent-samples *t*-test was carried out using SPSS to compare anxiety and international posture for Japanese university male and female students. Table 1 shows the results with means, standard deviation, degree of freedom, *t* value, and effect size.

There was a significant difference in scores for international posture for men (*M*=2.30, *SD*=0.51) and women (*M*=2.54, *SD*=0.52), *t*(229)= -3.36, *p* < .001 and the magnitude of the difference in the means has a moderate effect (eta squared = 0.05). The mean difference was 0.24 and with a 95% confidence that this difference will range from 0.10 to 0.37. The two items with the highest mean difference between the sexes were "if the chance arises, I think I'd like to study overseas in an English speaking country" (0.44) and the reverse item "I'd rather avoid a job that often requires traveling overseas" (0.45). These differences will be addressed in the next section.

There was no significant difference in scores for anxiety between men and women. The mean score for anxiety for both genders was rather high. The highest mean score for men (3.22) was "I panic when I cannot make myself understood in English," while for women (3.36) it was "I feel nervous speaking English in front of a native speaker." Another item that women scored considerably higher on was "I feel worried when I hear other students speaking good English" (male=2.78 and female=3.10). The lowest standard mean for both genders, male (2.36) and female (2.23), was "I prefer to stay silent rather than embarrassing myself trying to use English."

Study abroad programs

The total number of students who participated in overseas exchange programs with the university over the past 10 years was analyzed. The total number of participants was 461, though some participants did multiple programs and, therefore, were not included twice, and a few participants' gender could not be determined by their name, so the total number was adjusted to 436 students. Of these students, 72% (n=316) were female and 28% (n=120) were male. If we take into account the total student body, which is male 57% to female 43%, this imbalance between the genders participating in overseas exchange programs is even more substantial.

Discussion

International posture may provide the students with a certain relevancy to studying the foreign language. In a large scale study of international posture and the ideal L2 self, Yashima (2009) discussed EFL contexts in which students find meaning in learning English when they "expand their self by creating new images of themselves linked to global concerns" (p. 159). Since female students are more likely to choose to study in the faculty of education or humanities (majoring in such disciplines as cross-cultural studies), they may feel a stronger personal causation (deCharms, 1968) and control over their learning of the language and, subsequently, are more motivated and interested in it. In contrast, male students are more likely to be in the faculty of science and engineering and may feel a sense of being forced to learn the L2 and thus lack a sense of autonomy. People will often act in "gender-congruent" ways, based on the context of the learning environment and this will influence the effort they exert on an academic task and this has been shown to be especially significant for male students (Elmore & Oyserman, 2012).

   Many teachers of English as a foreign language in Japan are likely confronted with similar issues in classes where they have to manage not only the large class size but also try to cope with the wide range of levels and motivational investments in the class. As a teacher, it is easy to become excited and drawn towards students who are interested and motivated in learning and actively engaging with the language, while being discouraged by those who are

withdrawn from it. A lack of motivation should not be taken as a stable trait, but something that can dynamically change and be influenced by the learning situation (Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, & Mihic, 2004) and also be highly influenced by one's own gender identity. For language teachers, it is important to be aware of these socially and culturally constructed gender roles in the classroom and try to minimize negative effects from these gender entrenched stereotypes. The need to build relevancy towards the language for those students in more male-dominated faculties, such as science and technology, is crucial for not only improving the language ability of these students, but also for their motivation and interest towards learning it. Being more open and having the desire to study, travel, or live overseas in the future may provide important relevancy to learning a foreign language and might compel the learner to become more interested in "global concerns." Learning a foreign language like English needs to be viewed not as something alien, irrelevant, and troublesome, but something that connects to this international community. Female students' responses to the questionnaire showed a significantly higher interest in engaging in such international activities. Of course, such research cannot explain the cause for such variation between the genders, but it can open up opportunities to discuss the issue and the possible impact it may have in the language classroom. After informally discussing the results with some male Japanese students, I have tried to formulate a list of possible reasons for such a discrepancy in this particular social and cultural context:

- Male students often feel a strong sense of responsibility and pressure from the family to stay close to their hometown and to take care of their parents as they grow older (especially significant for the eldest son).
- Many students feel pressure to conform to the standard model of education. Studying overseas will often extend their university life by one year.
- Many students also feel there is a lack of support for those who do study overseas once they return to Japan. Similarly, they believe they will have difficulty readjusting to life in Japan (one student referred to the legendary character, Urashima Taro, to describe someone who goes overseas and then returns home and everything has dramatically changed).

From these responses, one could conclude, as Iwao (1993) mentioned, that "[m]en have become increasingly chained to the institutions they have set up…[i]t has exempted women from having to fit into these frameworks…has allowed them the margin of freedom to explore their individuality in ways not permitted to men…exploring new endeavors and expressing their raw energies in diverse forms…" (p. 6-7).

The above points are all very cursory explanations and certainly need to be examined in greater depth in future studies that have fewer limitations. First, future research could look at gender and international posture by using a mixed methods approach, supplementing the motivational questionnaire with semi-structured interviews that could provide a clearer and richer picture into how gender affects international posture. Secondly, the questionnaire was administered during an English class and was presented to the students in both English and Japanese, but upon further reflection, it would have been more sensible to have only used Japanese as the English was unnecessary and could have caused added confusion from possible nuances between the two languages. Finally, it would have also been insightful to have included a few more variables in the study such as: faculty, a standardized English score, and a self-rating of English ability in order to look at how competence and self-efficacy in the language may affect one's international posture.

This research has hopefully brought to light the complexity of gender and language learning, especially as it relates to motivational traits, international posture, and studying overseas. Though differences exist between genders and international posture and studying overseas, with possible social and cultural constraints influencing these differences, further research needs to be conducted in order to come to a deeper understanding of these relationships.

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Appendix 1: Items in the questionnaire

Anxiety (communication apprehension)

(1) I panic when I cannot make myself understood in English.

(2) I feel worried when I hear other students speaking good English.

(3) Even when I have an opinion, I hesitate speaking up in English during class.

(4) I prefer to stay silent rather than embarrassing myself trying to use English.

(5) I worry that my English level is lower than the other students.

(6) I feel nervous speaking English in front of a native speaker.

(7) I feel embarrassed when I make a simple mistake in speaking English.

International posture

Intercultural Friendship Orientation in English Learning

(1) I want to learn about the English-speaking world.

(2) I'd like to make friends with English speaking people.

(3) I speak in English with friends or acquaintances outside of school.

Interest in International Vocation or Activities

(4) If possible I'd like to live overseas.

(5) If the chance arises, I think I'd like to study overseas in an English-speaking country.

(6) I'd like to work for an international organization such as a WHO.

(7) I'd rather work in my hometown. (reverse)

(8) I'd rather avoid a job that often requires traveling overseas. (reverse)

Internationalization in Japan

(9) From now on I think speaking English is crucial for Japanese society

The multicultural campus: Gendered experiences and Othering as factors in stay probability

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Abstract

It is hoped the number of international students in Japan increases and that some graduates stay to contribute to the knowledge economy. The poor status of women in Japan, especially in terms of equal opportunity in employment, is hypothesized to affect the present experiences and future prospects of female international students. Drawing from preliminary results of survey and interview data gathered primarily from international students, this paper describes gendered interactions on university campuses. Findings indicated that international female students do experience gender-based discrimination in Japan, which tempered their initial plans to stay after graduation. This paper challenges the assumption that the international student experience is "gender neutral," as most research pays scant attention to the gendered aspects of the industry.

概要

現在日本では他国からの留学生数の増加が望まれており、また卒業生が日系企業で就職し知識経済に貢献することが期待されている。しかしながら、女性の低い社会的地位、特に雇用機会の不平等は、女子留学生の現在の経験や将来の希望にネガティブな影響を与えると予測される。本研究は主に留学生からの予備的なアンケート調査及びインタビュー調査結果に基づいて、大学キャンパスにおける性差のあるやりとりについて論じる。調査結果によると、女子留学生はジェンダーによる差別を日本で経験しており、このため彼女たちは来日当初の希望であった「卒業の後に日本で就職する」というキャリアプランを見直さざるをえない状況に追い込まれてい

る。殆どの研究は殆ど注意を払わないが、本研究は女子留学生の経験のジェンダー化された側面に注目することにより、大学での留学生の経験は「ジェンダー中立的」であるという一般的な想定を問題化するものである。

Introduction

Japan has rather recently joined the lucrative market of recruiting international students. In order to attract some of these 5 million students[1] and compete with the top destination countries, all of which are English-speaking, Japan has created English language-medium degree programs alongside the regular degree programs offered in Japanese. Like most destination countries, Japan is hoping to "strategically capture" international students of high calibre, and in this way build international relations and potentially benefit from the influx of knowledge capital. Japan has had difficulty attracting skilled workers from the international labour market due to language barriers and limited stay visas, thus educating international students may be a way to create a type of *designer* immigrant—one who has been educated in Japan, and international students (IS) therefore most likely knowledgeable of and accustomed to Japanese culture. However, the societal and political environment that students are entering into is not gender or "racially" neutral and may produce barriers and disincentives to stay, especially for female IS.

Part of the plan in internationalizing universities in Japan is to improve and strengthen relations with countries in Asia. However, relations in the region remain tense on many issues partially fueled by a number of Japanese politicians who continue to publically denigrate women. Tokyo Governor (1999-2012) Shintaro Ishihara has been notorious for racist and sexist public remarks, most recently declaring illegal immigrants a danger to society (Okamoto & Smith, 2004). Osaka Mayor Toru Hashimoto has publicly remarked that Japan's wartime sexual slaves, euphemistically termed "comfort women, " were a "necessary evil" of war (Tabuchi, May 27, 2013). Prime Minister Abe has also questioned the extent to which Korean, Chinese, and other Asian women were coerced to provide sex for Japanese soldiers and suggested his government may revise Japan's 1995 apology[2] for its wartime aggression (Foster & Yamaguchi, 2013). These statements symbolize the shift from

marginalized, unacceptable derogatory discourses to popularly consumable ideas (Ko, 2013), which make good regional relations difficult to achieve and are indicative of the less than positive domestic environment for women and foreigners in Japan.

It is little surprise then that the idea of increased immigration to Japan continues to be met with public trepidation. The ideology of *nihonjinron,* the belief in the uniqueness of Japanese cultural and national identity (Befu, 2001), continues to contribute to negative feelings towards immigration and foreigners. Immigrants are generally thought to be associated with an increase in crime (Shipper, 2008; Simon & Sikich, 2007; Tsuda, 1997), a threat to Japanese culture, and not generally beneficial for the economy. Until the 1980s, immigration to Japan had been highly sexualized foreign labour in the form of sex workers (Douglass, 2003), as well as reproductive workers—mail-order brides (Kojima, 2001). The continued sexualized nature of some female immigration to Japan potentially stereotypes international female students, especially from certain Asian countries, and may in turn limit their choices for equal integration into the economy and society. Furthermore, the promise of employment opportunities after university graduation does not seem realistic, given the poor level of equal employment opportunities in Japan for women and foreigners in general. Year after year, global indicators rank Japan as being well below many other industrialized countries in gender equality and it is continually criticized by the United Nations as not doing enough to lessen the gap.

Globally, universities are in various stages of internationalization. In top destination countries with large immigrant populations like Australia and the United States, support for ISs, while still lacking in many respects, is much more developed than in countries that are less practiced in managing cultural diversity, both off and on campus. Even so, studies show that ISs have great difficulties adjusting on many levels and that university institutions do not provide enough support services (Smith & Khawaja, 2011). Despite research that suggested female students often needed more support than male students, suffered more from stress, and were less satisfied with institutional support (Mallinckrodt & Leong, 1992a, 1992b), subsequent recent studies tend to only mention gender in a cursory way and fail to interrogate in any serious depth the gendered difficulties of ISs (for exceptions see Lee, Park & Kim, 2009; Nishio, 2001; Holloway, O'Hara & Pimlott-Wilson, 2012). Studies examining issues

from the host students' perspective (see for example Mak, Brown & Wadley, 2013; Dunne, 2009), have also failed to give any substantive focus to gender interactions and issues. This present research aims to address that lacuna.

This paper presents and analyzes results from a pilot study on the perceptions of some ISs studying in the G30 program in Japan. The paper is particularly focused on data in which evidence of gendered and "racialized" interactions were perceived or occurred. The data presented primarily focuses on students who identify as female. I argue that these interactions impact negatively not only the experiences of female international students, but may also affect their probability of staying in Japan and entering the workforce. The paper starts with a discussion of both gender and "race" as contested terms and as constructed concepts, followed by a discussion of the internationalizing of Japanese universities. Next, selected examples of gendered and "racialized" perceptions and interactions emerging in the data are presented and discussed, followed by concluding remarks.

The complexities and construction of gender in Japan

In order to address the limitations of gender as a "role" and gender as "essentialized," theorists began to analyze gender using a constructivist approach, most notably West and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of "doing gender," in which gender is "in process," always changing and being acquired. Their theory of "doing gender" remains instrumental in the understanding of social interactions and the way gender is continually "accomplished" and used as a means of "legitimating one of the most fundamental divisions of society" (p. 126). Interactions are seen as being gendered (West & Zimmerman, 2002) and establishing the gender hierarchy that positions men above women. Fenstermaker and West (2002, p. 75) use the terms *stressed* and *muted* to indicate the degree to which gender informs an interaction, sometimes strongly, sometimes weakly. Although the social construction of gender is generally accepted, "a concept of gender that would allow for variation by setting, the actions of individuals, and prevailing institutional and cultural expectations has yet to be developed" (Fenstermaker, West & Zimmerman, 2002, p. 26).

Constructions of gender vary across and within cultures. Since the performance and social understanding of femininity and masculinity is influenced by cultural norms (see

Chodorow, 1995; Connell, 1998), these differences become especially apparent during cross-cultural interactions. In Japan there is a strong pressure to link gender with traditional values and roles, values that are often seen as "uniquely natural" to Japanese culture. Japanese women are socialized to regard care of the family and the home as their main purpose in life (Cornelius, 1994, p. 385). Lebra (1985) concluded the generalized workload of women was in the private sphere and that:

> The structural embeddedness of sex roles stabilizes and rigidifies the sex-based hierarchy. Social structure as a whole dictates that women be inferior, submissive, more constrained, and more backstaged than men; that they be lower in status, power, autonomy and role visibility. (p. 301)

The portrayal of women's role as housewife as uniquely and culturally respected and powerful is in sync with the *nihonjinron* ideology, embedded in *ryosaikenbo*—good wife, good mother. The *nihonjinron* ideology, while fossilizing women's traditional roles as uniquely Japanese, equally promotes a hegemonic "uniquely Japanese" masculinity based on men as tireless breadwinners, which has been argued to inhibit the movement towards gender ideals (Metzger, 2012). Though this reframing of the low status of women is appealing to some, this type of "benevolent sexism" has also been shown to be part of the inequality spectrum intertwined with hostile sexism (Glick et al., 2000). Harassment and violence are not uncommon tactics used to ensure women conform to their prescribed gender roles. The recent transition of women from the family to the workforce is ultimately seen as a major disruption to the "harmony of the family," framed as a key factor in the falling birthrate, and resulting in the need for foreign support labour.

As part of new policy reform initiatives, Prime Minister Abe has infused his speeches with rhetoric regarding gender equality and the need for Japan to integrate women into the workforce. In his policy speech to the 186th Session of the Diet, Prime Minister Abe noted, "a society in which all women can be dynamically engaged…is the central core of the Abe Cabinet's Growth Strategy" (Abe, 2014b). In another speech he acknowledged that "[a]fter all the female labour force in Japan is the most under-utilized resource. Japan must become a place where women shine" (Abe, 2014a), and further promised:

By 2020 we will make 30% of leading positions to be occupied by women. In order to have a large number of women become leading players in the market we will need a diverse working environment. Support from foreign workers will also be needed for help with the housework, care for the elderly, and the like. (Abe, 2014a)

Aside from this being an impossible timeline—only six years to achieve—this statement outlines the desire for cheap foreign female labour in order to support elite women entering the workforce reflected in the statement. Seemingly, only Japanese women are destined to "shine" due to the policy. Mike Douglass (2003, p. 110) remains skeptical that foreign women will be able to occupy meaningful work as "the bulk of work offered to women has been filled by Japanese women who themselves continue to experience severe inequities in employment and benefits" (see also Ozawa, 1989). Women in Japan earn 65.3 percent of men's earnings and the proportion of female researchers in Japan is climbing at a snail's pace, reaching a high of 14.4 percent, the lowest of OECD countries (Cabinet Office, 2013). Entering the marketplace is one thing, but as one of the OECD countries with the lowest participation of women in the political arena, potentially an area of powerful decision-making and influence, Japanese women are not only rarely represented—9 percent of legislator, senior official and manager positions, including only 2 percent on corporate boards and less than 1 percent on executive committees (Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff, 2012)—but when they do enter are subject to public harassment and denigration ("Tokyo metropolitan assembly", June 20, 2014). The message is clear that women should be at home raising children, fulfilling their destined role. It is little surprise then, that the status of women in Japan continues to be ranked much lower than other OECD countries—105 out of 136 countries on the 2013 Global Gender Gap index (WEF, 2013), which measures national gender-based gaps on economic, political, education and health-based criteria.

Meanwhile, Japan is recruiting students from several countries that, according to international measures, have a much greater level of gender equality in crucial areas. The majority of the ISs who come to study in Japan are from China (60.4%), followed by Republic of Korea (11.3%), Vietnam (4.6%), Taiwan (3.5%), and Nepal (2.4%) (Japan Student Services Organization [JASSO], 2014). The 2013 Global Gender Gap report ranked

high volume sending countries such as China at 69, and Vietnam at 73—a much higher ranking than Japan's gender gap score at 107. Only countries like the Republic of Korea, which is placed at 111, and Nepal, ranked at 121, are below Japan. It can be assumed that female ISs from countries that have a higher status of gender equality than Japan may be dismayed at the state of affairs in Japan and the apparent public acquiescence.

The complexities and construction of Othering in Japan

The highly contested terms of "race" and "gender" are often discussed in relation to the concept of Othering as outlined by Edward Said's (1979) notion of Orientalism. Said's perspective was of the Othering of Asian identities by Western hegemony but this concept was quickly adopted to describe the process by which individuals or groups solidify their perceived superior identities through the identification of difference. Othering can be defined as a process of creating and maintaining a dichotomy between one particular (group) identity and those who do not display similar characteristics, the "Other". This comes from a long historical practice of utilizing an ethnocentric perspective to understand the self in opposition to the lesser "Other" utilizing divisive categories of, for example, "race" and "gender."

The historical concept of natural, distinct categories of "race," based on physical and behavioural phenotypes and geographic origin, has been disputed both scientifically and philosophically. How we understand the concept of "race," or its ontological status, continues to be debated and the following brief discussion is only sufficient to operationalize the usage of the term in this particular research context. Scholars such as Zack (2002) and Appiah (1996) do not believe in the validity and usefulness of the term "race" as it cannot refer to any unique category or "essence" of people. Thus, these "race" skeptics call for its normative discontinued usage. On another view, there are also those who believe that even though "race" is a false category and a problematic term, it continues to exist through "human culture and human decisions" (Mallon, 2007, p. 94). Because these racial categories are still in place, continuing to lead to differences in access to resources and opportunities, Sundstrom (2002) argues that racial classification does exist, and that is "precisely what gives 'race' its social reality" (p. 195):

The nominalist stance on "race" fails to capture the social reality of "race" at sites where it is present and the experiences of "racialized" people at those sites; that the immediate abandonment of "race" at those sites would gravely hamper the liberatory struggles of peoples who are "racially" oppressed; that "race" has a meaning and a reference. (Sundstrom, 2002, p. 194)

Thus, if the term is eliminated these constructivists argue it would be difficult to deal effectively with existing racism and would make positive discrimination policies such as affirmative action difficult to promote (Sundstrom, 2002).

In Japan, Lie (2009) observes that many Japanese people "conflate the potentially discrete categories of nation, ethnicity, and race" (p. 145). Japanese often think of themselves as from a common genealogy, culture, language, and ethnicity—resulting in the passive belief of Japan as a homogeneous country and Japanese as a homogeneous "race," despite the historical presence of ethnic minorities. Chung (2010) writes, "this ideological veil of cultural homogeneity in Japan has encouraged a complacent attitude toward racism in general and has perpetuated the marginalization and denial of Japan's minorities" (p. 58).

The Othering of non-Japanese has been much discussed in the literature on *nihonjinron* and has been instrumental in the maintenance of uniqueness in the Japanese psyche (Befu, 2001). Othering has also been found to be evident in TV commercials (Prieler, 2010), which "conforms to an artificial 'racial hierarchy' that mirrors Japanese society's perception of racial groups" (p. 511). This is especially true in the portrayal of visible minorities, functioning as an "ideological filter" to define others in terms of what Japan/ese is "not" (Ko, 2010, p. 18). Much like what Hayes (2013, p. 143) found in her research on hiring criteria for Japanese university English-teaching faculty, the divisive dualism of Japanese versus Other is problematic, constraining and inaccurate, but is broadly dispersed in Japan and relevant to understanding intercultural relations.

Internationalizing Japanese universities

Both Japanese and foreign scholars have criticized the concept of internationalization, *kokusaika*, in Japan as being concerned with spreading Japanese culture, values and history

(Suzuki, 1995 cited in Burgess, 2004). McVeigh (2004) argues that learning English has the underlying agenda of reconnecting with what it means to be Japanese, and in this way re-utilizing the ideology of *nihonjinron*. Interculturality in Japan, according to Anthony Liddicoat (2007), is not conceived as developing abilities among the Japanese to "adapt and accommodate to others, nor is it an attempt to explore questions of Japanese identity in intercultural contexts" (p. 41). This can be found in international surveys on public attitudes toward immigrants which find Japanese people do not believe that immigrants improve their country by bringing new ideas and cultures (Simon & Sikich, 2007). English education is seen as promoting an "understanding of Japanese ideas, attitudes and opinions through the tool of English" (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 41). On this view, recruiting ISs creates complications for support services, social interaction, internship opportunities, and employment networking potential, due to the cultural tensions of utilizing English as an institutional language of operation and the shift needed to "adapt and accommodate to others." ISs do not fit easily into the existing institutional and cultural frameworks.

Numerous studies have shown that in most contexts, campus communities reveal worrying trends of marginalization and discrimination of ISs. For example, even though intercultural contact on campus has been found to potentially lead to improved acculturation (Prichard & Skinner, 2002), enhanced academic performance (Rienties et al., 2012), and is expected by international students (Ramburuth & McCormick, 2001), research shows intercultural contact is infrequent, and mostly superficial between host and international students (Leask, 2009). Despite a substantial quantity of supporting research documenting adjustment issues international students face, there is a general lack of institutional knowledge and a complacency to implement appropriate support services (Andrade, 2006). Recent studies on Japanese university campuses also confirm international findings that adjustment for international students is difficult (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2002) and there is evidence of discrimination on campuses (Morita, 2012).

International students have unique issues that require staff to understand the ways in which culture impacts living and studying abroad (Arthur, 2004, p.7). Arthur (2004, p. 8) argues that counselors have a key role in helping ISs adjust to the new environment but also to deal with other issues. Arthur cautions that without proper training in dealing with clients

of other cultures, counselors may not understand client issues that are "compounded by complex cultural factors" (p. 9). Without thorough training in multicultural counseling, there are "dangers of stereotyping and cultural misunderstandings that can exacerbate student difficulties" (p. 9). With issues as serious as sexual harassment, gender-based violence, and potentially debilitating isolation, it is crucial that counselors fluent in foreign languages, or at least in English, be readily available. Furthermore, research has suggested that often staff members are unaware of the specific issues that may affect female ISs as distinct from those affecting male students (Bullen & Kenway, 2003). The lack of professional staff members trained and experienced in international education remains a challenge in Japan (Kuwamura, 2009). In general, office staff members are rotated to different jobs every 2-5 years within the same university and sometimes office staff are placed to work in international education divisions with little experience or skills other than English language ability.

Counseling services are typically underutilized by university students (Yeh & Inose, 2003), due to institutionalized marginalization and social stigmatization. For many students, especially international ones, adjustment to university life presents new and sometimes overwhelming challenges that often need to be mitigated by professional support. In extreme cases such as harassment or assault, the need for institutional support is crucial. Japan is thought to be a safe country; however, there are rising reports of sexual assault, an "alarming rate" of street harassment (Kearl, 2010, p. 83), and lack of police intervention (Lanasolyluna, 2013). Differences in how ISs may react to and report gender violence, as well as access to necessary support networks and mechanisms need to be considered. In a study by Yamawaki (2007), Japanese female students tended to advise seeking help from a family member in the case of rape, whereas the American students, in general, advised seeking help from police and mental health counselors. Japanese women underreport rape (Dussich, 2001) and are often not taken seriously by the establishment (Dussich & Shinohara, 1997 cited in Dussich, 2001). Muta (2008) wrote about how the Japanese sense of group *wa* or harmony worsens the problem of sexual harassment due to the exaggerated pressure of, at least, the illusion of group. Yamada (2002) observed that confronting harassment was seen as a sign of immaturity in Japan (p. 160-1). Thus, it is easy to imagine how difficult it would be for an IS, and how isolated they may feel in situations of gender harassment or violence.

Methods

In 2013, a survey was administered to 63 multi-gender[3] G30 students, both international and domestic, from one school in the Kansai region. The survey consisted of 12 questions, utilizing a variety of question types regarding perceptions about studying in a multicultural program and school environment. In order to enrich the data, in-depth discussions were held with two small focus groups the following year. Each focus group was made up of only three 1st to 3rd year female students in the hope that the respondents would feel comfortable speaking candidly about sensitive issues. The focus group interviewees, gathered through snowball sampling, were from diverse "racial" and ethnic backgrounds, and came from more than one university. Interviews were recorded with the students' consent. Due to the sensitive nature of some of the discussions, the participants' quotes used in this paper are identified using general profile information to ensure anonymity. Most quoted data in this paper is from the focus group interviews unless otherwise indicated. In order to represent the heterogeneity of Japanese student demographics and society in general, the term "host" was operationalized to refer to students who were raised and educated mostly in Japan, following the usage in several previous studies on intercultural contact in higher education (Dunne, 2009; Gareis, 2000; Kashima & Loh, 2006).

Results and discussion

In this section of the paper, examples of gendered and racialized perceptions and interactions emerging in the data are presented and discussed. Data was taken from both the survey and the focus group interviews. The data is discussed in relation to the issues presented in the literature review of this paper. As it is almost impossible to separate out the Othering based on gender from the Othering based on "race," this section has a fluid intermingling of the two factors as they inform the data.

Social interactions

It can be observed on campuses that ISs and host students do not readily mix outside of class. Even in class, research has shown that host students would rather not work with ISs in group work (Volet, 2011) and anecdotal evidence points to the same on Japanese campuses. International students answered in the survey data that they had difficulty making friends with host students (43%) and that they rarely socialized with host students (76%). Comments indicated that they felt a strong sense of being socially excluded. Phrases such as "racial divide" and "clique" in the following data seem to indicate they attributed their exclusion to being ascribed a non-Japanese identity, whether it was based on general Othering or an assumption of lack of Japanese language ability. Consistent with previous research (see Knight, 2011) this first quote also draws attention to the expectation or assumption that the internationalization of the university would result in intercultural interaction:

> Finding Japanese friends and joining circles is difficult. Despite [this school] being an international university, there still seems to be a big racial divide. (Italian female, from survey data)

> It's hard for me to make Japanese friends even though I speak Japanese and have Japanese friends outside of university. They don't want to interact with people outside of their "clique" it seems. (1st year, Spanish, gender undisclosed in survey data)

This quote reveals that the problem is bigger than simply a language difference. The expectation of difference resulting in exclusion is consistent with *nihonjinron* ideology, which depicts the foreigner as Other and less capable, even though in this case the student actually does speak Japanese. There were several reports both in the survey and interview data of ISs being rejected from membership in clubs, simply because there was an "assumption" that they did not speak Japanese:

> Without speaking Japanese we can't really do anything, not even joining school circles. Not enough chance to be friends with Japanese students. (1st year female foreign student, from survey data)

Again, the quote above seems consistent with critiques of internationalization in Japan as not focusing on adapting and accommodating others (Liddicoat, 2007) but rather the goal of cultural assimilation and acculturation. Students reported in interviews that circles or clubs that tended to have little need for communication, such as sports clubs, were somewhat more open to ISs in general, especially those students with limited Japanese language skills. More male than female students reported joining sports clubs and there were no clubs reported that used both Japanese and English as a language of communication except the English Speaking Society (ESS).

Language differences can only explain some of the reasons for the lack of interactions between host and ISs. Female students reported in focus groups that they felt frustrated with the "superficiality" of friendship making in Japan. Group relations and ways of socializing in Japan did not fit well with many of the participants. On a more individual interactional level, this feeling of exclusion seemed to be in part due to a feeling of being outside of the cultural group, not being able to understand the nuances and context of the interactions, and not feeling "welcome." As an initial interaction, group activities were seen as "fun"; however, as a sustained way to build friendships, group interactions were not fruitful for many foreign students. The lack of self-disclosure, arguably important in relationship development (Altman and Taylor, 1973) especially for Western people, was seen as a challenge to friendship formation:

> The different ways that people treat you making friends, because of cultural differences. I can't seem to make friends easily here with Japanese students. I usually can wherever I am. I really want to but I want to talk about more than just food and fashion. It's just not interesting, at least to me. (foreign female student, ethnicity unknown, from survey data)

However, there was more than just lack of self-disclosure in play. This student also revealed that she loves to discuss about philosophy and social issues that she is learning in class. She said that host students had told her that the things she talks about are what "old men" usually talk about. Asked if she talked about gender issues she was learning in class with other students, she said she definitely would not with host students as "they know nothing about it

and seem to have zero interest beyond motherhood." In this way, the cultural expectations of gender interactions become evident in the restriction on what is considered appropriate for women to talk about. The popular social expectations and national political agenda of women's traditional roles came up in other interview data:

> I really don't understand this focus on getting married and babies. And I've been asked so many times how to meet foreign guys or what it's like to marry one. I don't understand why most of these [host] girls are in school anyway. (Caucasian American female)

> Even in my country, women are more interested and active in getting a career. I was surprised when I came to Japan. Why do women not use their precious education? If they cannot get a job I wonder then can I get a job here? (Chinese female, Han ethnicity)

Even across diverse cultures, the focus on Japanese women becoming mothers is surprising to foreign women. The Chinese student in the quote above is worried more about the discrimination against women than about racial discrimination. This reveals that some ISs are questioning the real potential for integration of foreign women into the economy.

Pressure to conform

In the focus groups, women talked of feeling that they had to "change" their behaviour to become more like "Japanese" women. When asked to elaborate, they explained this to mean more "demure, quiet, and not so outspoken." They also felt like this expectation was not placed on foreign men in the same way. They felt foreign men had much more freedom to be "different" and to "be themselves." Several of the focus group participants perceived that foreign men were often expected to behave differently from Japanese masculinity whereas foreign women were expected to conform to Japanese normative constructions of femininity. The women felt that foreign men were more valued for their "foreign" masculinity attributes such as "decisiveness," "strength," and "courage." Also host women attributed "romantic" characteristics to them such as being chivalrous, and "being a gentleman" despite no real

evidence of the behaviours. On the other hand, displays of foreign femaleness, such as assertiveness were seen as deviant and "unnatural."

Women talked of feeling that they were being "too assertive" in class by talking out and volunteering. The feeling was that this was not appropriate behaviour for women specifically. The next quote is from an interviewee who explained that in project work or class discussions she felt some male host students did not know how to react to her being "outspoken" and not "backing down." It is a clear example of how the real task is "doing gender" rather than the actual task, in this case the class project work:

> They [host male students] kind of expect me to be submissive and back down [in class]. But when I don't they are shocked… Sometimes it's stifling. It's not the fact that you are smart. They're going to make decisions for *me* [emphasis]. I was dismissed before I even said anything. (Australian female, Caucasian)

This feeling that they were being "taught" how to behave the proper way was expressed by several women. Interviewees felt there was believed to be a "right" way to do all things and that other ways were wrong. Women also reported they were asked "strange" questions or received "unusual" comments such as "Why are you so fat?" and "Don't you wear any make up?" and "You can use chopsticks!" They felt these utterances were inappropriate and "annoying" making them feel uncomfortable, or as one woman put it, "Like I'm some kind of weird alien." The above quotes illuminate the gendered cultural expectations in the ideology of *nihonjinron*, and the use of Othering reinforces not only the idea of Japanese, but also feminine identity. Hints of the policy of internationalization, which is about teaching the world about Japan versus trying to understand about other cultures, can be found as well. This next interviewee uses some very harsh language to make her point:

> Japanese people seem to be really tolerant about different religions…that's a good thing I think…but they are cultural fascists [sic]. I am constantly being "taught" [ersatz quotes] the right way to do things…I am proud of my culture. (East African female, ethnicity undisclosed)

Sexualized and racialized interactions: Othering

Much has been written about the preponderance of the desire of Japanese women for the West and Western stereotypes of masculinity (Kelsky, 2001; Piller & Takahashi, 2006), while Japanese men tend more to envy and admire Western men. In focus group discussions, this phenomenon was discussed. The focus group students perceived that both male and female host students in general objectified foreign students along gendered and "racialized" lines. European or Western men who conformed to a stereotypical physical stature—tall, blue-eyed, and blond haired—were objectified as well, but the masculine subjectivity was associated with desire and power and "coolness":

Some of them have "fan" [ersatz quotes] clubs. (Australian female, Caucasian)

This statement shows that some European or Western men were typically idolized by host female students. However, host women were not thought to be as interested in foreign men who did not fit the physical stereotype described above.

Foreign women, on the other hand, did not seem to be "revered" in the same way by either female or male host students. One participant said she felt host male classmates were not interested in her as a person but mostly as a sexualized foreign woman. She said many host male students interacted seemingly with a purpose to have sexual relations and if one wanted to engage, she remarked, "You should be as foreign as possible." She clarified that many of the host male students were interested specifically in the "foreign" experience. However, after the sexual act she felt she was expected to "act more Japanese." This interviewee reported that European or Western-looking attractive women were sometimes objectified in a sexual way by host male students:

They [host men] are only interested in sleeping with you…if you fit the stereotype [foreign female]. Not interested in you as a person. (American female, Caucasian)

Research has found women from a very young age are exposed to sexualized comments from men and boys that make them feel uncomfortable. Robinson (2005) found that young

males utilize sexual harassment as a means through which to "maintain and regulate hierarchical power relationships, not just in relation to gender, but how it intersects with other sites of power such as 'race' and 'class'" (p. 19). In the interview data, young women talked of interactions, which they felt in retrospect as harassment, or at the very least, inappropriate:

> Girls…we tend to feel we need someone, at some point…and when we get harassed we tend to feel disconnected from everything and feel we can't do anything…sometimes we can't believe it happened until later. And then we go, that actually happened! (Australian female, Caucasian)

Most women try to deny their discomfort, trying to just get to when gender can be less *stressed* in the interaction in order to just complete the "task," whether that might be a work task or simply a casual conversation. What may seem to be a simple chat or a study or work related interaction may in fact be secondary to the "doing" of gender—often reaffirming the gender hierarchy—sometimes unfortunately through harassment. The participants felt that some of the comments they received on campus from some host male students were more "graphic and explicit," than they would "expect" to receive in their home countries. They felt the level of sexual explicitness was much more permissible in Japan than in their home countries:

> There are some things that happen that you might laugh about at the time but after you think why did I laugh, that was really inappropriate. (Australian female, Caucasian)

Trying to make sense of the difference in sexualized interactions between their home countries and Japan, one participant said:
> Honestly I think they [host male students] watch a lot of porn. So they think they can talk that way. (American female, Caucasian)

Interviewees also reported having to put up with sexism and harassment at their part-time workplace. The English-speaking students from Western countries stated they could only get

jobs in the English language school business sector. Several of the interviewees remarked that their bosses had made inappropriate remarks about their physicality such as about their "large breasts" or their "round, high ass." The women were also recommended to wear provocative clothes, were inappropriately touched and received sexually suggestive comments. They felt their bosses' applied different physical boundaries and were much more "touchy" with foreign women versus Japanese women. This behaviour made the women feel uncomfortable, but they said they felt powerless to challenge their bosses as it would risk their jobs. Culturally, it is inappropriate to touch another person, especially in a professional setting, but women in Japan are subjected to workplace sexual harassment at an alarming rate (Nishizono-Maher et al., 2012). Thus, the usage of Othering based on gender and "race" enables some Japanese men to overrule cultural norms and engage in such abuse.

Institutional support and gender

University campuses, and the surrounding areas, can be a target for sexual harassment and attacks. In Japan, the normalization of sexual violence and imagery is combined with the lack of public discussion or awareness of the issue. One interviewee spoke of an attempted sexual attack just off campus late one evening on her way back to her dormitory. Luckily she escaped, but not without serious injury. When she reported the attack to the police they asked her what she had been wearing at the time of the attack, reportedly in order to see if the attacker had a specific *type*. Yet, the police had already known that the attacker(s) had been targeting foreign female students, and told her that three other foreign women were not as "lucky" as her. This is consistent with what Burns (2005) documented regarding the focus on the woman rather than the male attacker in Japan. The only known response to the attacks by the police was increased patrols in the area late in the evening around the time of the attacks.

The student also attempted to report the attack to her school administration; however, she was directed to two different offices and finally directed back to the first office she visited. As might be imagined, the student was frustrated and confused as to who was in charge of these types of situations. The school administration did not communicate with her directly about the case and she could not get any answers when she repeatedly asked:

> …and I was like who am I dealing with?...who is in charge of this? And they kept kind of sending me around and around and not communicating directly with me about what was being done about the case. I had no idea who was doing what… (Australian female, Caucasian)

Eventually, after much inquiry, a campus announcement was made warning of possible attacks around her campus, first in Japanese, and then in English. Because of the lack of institutional support and professionalism, the student felt isolated in her fear and violation, and also disempowered. The fact that several other international female students had been attacked made matters worse:

> I told them that especially students who come to Japan for the first time don't know how to contact the police if they have problems. You don't speak Japanese that well and you need to call someone in an emergency. (Australian female, Caucasian)

The lack of Japanese language fluency had surely created somewhat of a barrier to services. However, as in the social exclusion described previously, language barriers are only part of the issue, the greater part being lack of institutional awareness and infrastructure.

In the interviews, other students vaguely remembered being given information on counseling services offered on campus at the beginning of their program, however almost none of them had used or really knew about them. One student reported that she felt her school had clearly explained where the student medical centre was located on campus but not the counseling service centre. She also said that if students want counseling in English they had to make an appointment, as an English-speaking counselor was not always available. Thus walk-ins are rarely accepted which is problematic when a crisis happens. This lack of attention to the needs of ISs is consistent with the literature on other contexts. Kuwamura (2009) advises that universities should provide training for staff in the following areas: "international student advising, study abroad coordination and advising, language training (especially English), international exchange agreements, immigration matters, cultural exchange, event planning, and program management in general" (p. 198).

Plans to stay?

So how might these gendered and "racialized" interactions affect students' plans to stay on in Japan? In the survey, ISs were asked whether they had plans to stay in Japan and pursue work after graduation. Roughly, twenty five percent answered that they wanted to stay and work in Japan, 30 percent of students answered that they wanted to do graduate work in Japan or another country, with the remaining answering "undecided." In the focus group interviews, some students talked about reconsidering their initial hopes to stay in Japan and get work after graduation. Female students cited poor gender relations and equality, feelings of isolation, lack of support, and the lack of employment possibilities for women as reasons for not staying after graduation. They felt several of their classmates, both male and female, had also reconsidered staying in Japan but thought it was due to personal reasons and being homesick. One student from China summed it up succinctly when she said:

> I didn't know it was like this here either. I heard women didn't work as much in companies but I didn't know about just how bad it was. In Taiwan, women are working in good jobs. I wanted to stay and work [in Japan] because many friends in Taiwan said you can get a good job in Japan. Maybe I should go back to China to get a job. (Chinese female, Han ethnicity)

Even though "the value of Chinese women as bilingual and bicultural human resources help them to overcome some of the gender barriers in Japanese corporations" (Liu-Farrer, 2009, p. 125), the extreme institutionalized discrimination against women in general is something Japanese corporations, but especially the government, are going to have to rectify with more than just policy rhetoric.

Conclusion

The complex intersection of gender and "race" in the experiences of some international students can be seen in the data presented in this paper. It is evident that studying abroad in Japan is not gender-neutral, is challenging for international female students, and could be so

much more rewarding with the necessary social and institutional support. Confirming research in other contexts, there was little interaction reported between host students and international students, resulting in feelings of social exclusion and isolation among the participants. This "racial divide" was predominantly along the lines of Japanese and non-Japanese, and Japanese language ability did not seem to ensure greater access to meaningful social interactions or other university activities.

The socio-political environment in Japan is not gender neutral and depending on where the students came from, is regressive in terms of gender equality norms. Cultural expectations of gender behaviour and values were reported to be more rigid for female than for male international students, and interviewees felt pressure to conform to Japanese femininity, which dissuaded assertive behaviour in communication interactions. This, combined with inappropriate sexualized interactions both on and off campus, presented extra adjustment barriers for female ISs. Gender harassment and violence, although largely kept "invisible," are issues that need to be dealt with on campuses, in much more proactive ways than in the general society. The lack of institutional mechanisms to deal with serious safety issues emerged in the data and the need for prevention awareness strategies, as well as institutional support mechanisms is clear.

Along with more awareness of the lack of equal employment opportunities and career support services in Japan, combined with the low employment rate in general, some female international students were questioning the chances of attaining quality employment in Japan. The seeming submission and aspiration of host female students to traditional gender roles and tolerance of inequality in employment seemed to contribute to lack of confidence in employment opportunities for international female students.

It is hoped that this preliminary research can provide some insight into the gendered nature of multicultural education in Japan and also that the data will inspire further research. As positive interactions and acculturation have been linked to improved academic performance, it is important universities and the government do all they can to improve the governance for all students—seeing ISs as more than just transient consumers (Verbick, 2007). Universities need to facilitate intercultural understanding and interactions in order for international students to thrive and to attain their academic and personal goals while studying

in a foreign culture. Special attention needs to be paid to the potential gender-based issues that some students may experience, otherwise Japan may lose out on the benefits of highly skilled female international students as potential immigrants.

End Notes

1. The numbers are estimated to reach 5 million in 2014 (ICEF, 2014).

2. PM Abe has since retracted this due to public and international pressure; however, there is doubt whether he might raise this again in the future.

3. Students were able to self-identify in the survey as male, female, transgender, or 'other'. One respondent identified as gender queer.

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you to the participants in this research, who generously gave their time and entrusted me to present their stories in the hopes of social change. I hope I have done so.

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Book Reviews

Enlightened sexism: The seductive message that feminism's work is done. Douglas, Susan J. New York: Holt, Henry & Company, Inc., 2010. 354 pp.

Reviewed by Tanja McCandie

Nanzan University

Feminism? Who needs feminism anymore? Aren't we, like, so done here? (p. 2)

Susan J. Douglas, self-proclaimed "Vintage Female" (p. 6), baby boomer, and culture critic and professor of Communication Studies at the University of Michigan, is the author of *Where The Girls Are: Growing Up Female With The Mass Media* (1995) and *The Mommy Myth: The Idealization Of Motherhood And How It Has Undermined All Women* (2005), books that focus on media, feminism, and cultural criticism. In her newest work, *Enlightened Sexism: The Seductive Message That Feminism's Work Is Done*, Douglas puts forth the argument that younger American women feel that feminism is no longer needed as more and more of them become convinced that they have already achieved gender equality—a notion, Douglas argues, that has been disseminated through the American mass media over the past few decades.

This book consists of nine chapters, each of which is given a wry pop culture title that flags up its contents or theme. In the introductory chapter, readers are presented with the notion that women, and especially younger women, have been persuaded that equality between genders has been achieved based on such examples as: what women wear, what women are buying, and what kinds of entertainment they enjoy. The chapter then ponders why younger female generations shy away from the label "feminist," and considers how the

term acquired such negative connotations. Douglas does not disguise the fact that she identifies most strongly with second wave feminist agendas, and the shift in perspective from second wave to third wave ideologies takes center stage as one of the main concerns of the book.

The first four chapters (*Get the Girls*, *Castration Anxiety*, *Warrior Women in Thongs*, and *The New Girliness*) read as a media class textbook focusing on 1990s and millennium pop culture TV shows, movies, and music. For instance, media events such as the Monica Lewinski scandal and Janet Reno's appointment as United States Attorney General are discussed at length and are presented as examples of how the mass media polices women's sexuality. Parallels are then drawn from the media landscape, where the plots of movies and American TV programs are described in vivid detail and characters are assessed right down to the type of clothing that they wore and the men that they slept with. It was disappointing and disheartening to read Douglas's judgmental comments towards women's fashion choices, career aspirations, and hobbies because, fictional or not, Douglas makes it very clear that she disapproves of the choices these women made. Douglas pointedly expresses frustration at these limited, and limiting, representations of women in contemporary media and society, and seems not to approve of the increased focus on consumption practices—be it fashion, leisure activities, or even men. This section, however, did read as somewhat ageist, and the author's disavowal of post-feminism may conflict with readers who embrace third wave feminist sensibilities.

In the final five chapters (*Sex "R" Us*, *Reality Bites*, *Lean and Mean*, *Red Carpet Mania*, and, *Women on Top… Sort of*), Douglas continues her scathing review of the increasingly "ultra-feminine" and "hyper-sexualized" representations of femininity promoted by the mass media and the inevitable fallout it leaves with regards to girls' and women's self esteem and to female solidarity. In contrast to my disappointment with the first half of the book, however, the fifth chapter, *You Go, Girl* was inspiring in addressing issues related to differences in viewpoints about feminism and race, and it would be particularly pertinent to women of color. Douglas correctly states, "within the various places where we see media images of African American women, the contradictions, the mixed messages are everywhere" (p. 151). She further discusses how black women are often depicted as "sassy" but points out that this just

"trivializes black women and all that they can be" (p. 152). Feminism in the mainstream media is often portrayed as a white, middle class concern, so Douglas did a commendable job in raising reader consciousness as to how racism and feminism need to be confronted simultaneously. Unfortunately, once again, I found that the final four chapters mirrored the first four in terms of broad-brush judgments and ageism. In these final chapters, Douglas turns her attention to Hollywood stars, plastic surgery, and the "mommy wars," and again, I felt alienated due to differences in opinion with regards to how Douglas defines feminism and how I define feminism.

While Douglas's argument makes it clear that she sees the current direction of third wave feminism as failing in the fight against sexism, many contemporary media consumers are actively engaged in social justice campaigns. In fact, the media, and more so social media such as Facebook and Twitter, may be empowering women, regardless of age, to speak out against sexism and the treatment of women worldwide. This was evident in the public's outrage when over 300 high school girls were kidnapped in Nigeria this year. While this public response led to a "Bring back our girls" campaign (http://www.bringbackourgirls.org/), the Twitter hashtag "#yesallwomen" has also helped raise awareness of everyday sexism and the sexual harassment that many women face. I also believe that men have become more aware of feminism, sexism, and discrimination. However, Douglas's book largely ignores males, their gender issues, and the stereotypes and stigma they face. Perhaps this is a shift in feminist ideology based on generation, but I found the omission in itself problematic. By opting to focus entirely on gender issues of concern to women, Douglas risks alienating male readers in not addressing how they, too, may experience sexism, and how feminism is of equal importance to men. This does a great disservice to feminists, female or male, who would like equality for all.

Enlightened Sexism discusses a wide range of issues that pertain to stereotypical representations of women in the media over the past four decades, and presents the problems and possibilities that have opened up as a result of the shift from what she calls "embedded feminism" to "enlightened feminism." While Douglas criticizes younger women for seemingly believing that feminism is no longer needed, her argument could be seen as too strongly rooted in a second wave feminist perspective. As such, Douglas and other culture

critics who disapprove of third wave feminist agendas need to consider the benefits alongside the perceived shortcomings of the ways in which feminism is growing and changing with the passing of each generation, as well as the fact that males also play a role in feminist discussion. Rather than dwelling on how her generation addressed sexism, Douglas should also direct attention to outdated gender roles and discrimination faced by both sexes as this would greatly assist in the pursuit of equality for all.

Feminist movements in contemporary Japan. Dales, Laura. Oxon: Routledge, 2009. 178 pp.

Reviewed by Gwyn Helverson
Ritsumeikan University

Laura Dales analyzes "the richness of Japanese feminism" (p. 10) in her book *Feminist Movements in Contemporary Japan*. The notion of "rich" Japanese feminism may come as a surprise to readers who live in Japan, where the mainstream monologue to date has been that feminism is irrelevant to perfectly content Japanese housewives and mothers. This well-written, thoughtful book, the result of two years of fieldwork within four branches of activism in Japan's feminist movement, espouses the popular Western ideal of increasing diversity as key to women's liberation.

Dales begins with a concise review of feminism in Japan from post-war until the present day, summarizing viewpoints such as those of Yoshizawa (1990) who emphasized that the US model of the nuclear family ("grounded in Oedipal patriarchy") was altered in Japan into a "myth of maternity" in which marriage enables a woman to achieve the status of an "all-encompassing mother of society" (p. 24). Dales succinctly discusses numerous viewpoints,

including those of essentialist feminists Ueno Chizuko and Aoki Yayoi who promote women's worth and agency within that "myth of motherhood" paradigm. Dales leaves the reader to ponder the comfortable lifestyle that married middle-class women can currently choose to enjoy in this country. In refusing to buy into the notoriously harsh employment system in which businessmen have been known to collapse from overwork, housewives can subvert sexist roles. One must wonder, however, if they are thereby contributing to their own long-term political and economic disenfranchisement.

Dales argues that NPOs (Women's Projects, WWW, and Benkyo), whose members were often these housewife-feminists, facilitate agency "for Japanese women normally bound by rigid gender roles" (p. 40). Providing "intercultural exchange of personal problems" (p. 44) is seen as a vital and complex function of these groups. NPOs, though limited in their scope and influence, therefore provide "a socially legitimate forum for women-centered and women-driven critique" (p. 61), which, as Dales explains in the third chapter, has tangible effects upon governmental policy.

In this chapter, Dales utilizes her experience as an intern at the Osaka Women's Center (also known as the Dawn Center) to fuel her research. The Dawn Center is a governmental body, which exists because of a 10-year campaign by various NPOs during the time of Japan's attempts to develop human rights according to UN standards. However, Dales notes that, given its public status, the Dawn Center suffers from heavy-handed bureaucracy and perpetuation of normative values. She cites a telling example in which administrators decided that male employees should appease right-wing demonstrators on their doorstep because sending out females might make the right-wingers feel slighted. Nonetheless, Dales then emphasizes that these kinds of centers allow for "subversion and expression of opposition" to the hetero-motherhood model espoused by mainstream Japanese society.

The fourth chapter focuses upon the Love Piece Club (LPC), an online site and shop in Tokyo which sells sexual aids for women. Topics for debate which Dales addresses include: active sexuality as a strategy for women's liberation (as per Wilkens, 2004); challenging phallocentric norms; and the potential contradictions of LPC's consumeristic status. This chapter also contains interesting commentary from LPC's founder on the reasons why two

themes of feminism (the victim mentality contrasted with the arrogant enlightenment concept) turn potential supporters away from the cause.

The feminist TV personality and writer Haruka Yoko is introduced in the fifth chapter. She is avidly anti-marriage, and believes that women should utilize their personal charms to their own advantage to get what they want in life. To this reviewer, this is Westernized hyper-individualistic "Me-feminism" evolved from the parasite-single phenomenon, yet it is revolutionary in a society in which women are traditionally defined by their ability to serve the needs of others. Dales critiques this perspective as unrealistic and biased for most women who are not TV personalities with "face" value (p. 107), but concludes that Haruka's modern "Hybrid Woman" (p. 102) may also have positive effects on women's concepts of agency.

The wide range of subjects and incisive analysis in this book indicate that the data behind it must constitute a veritable treasure trove; yet little is provided for the reader. For example, in chapters 2-4, concrete examples such as the numbers of participants involved and the kinds of programs offered would enhance the exposition in proving the richness of Japanese feminism. Although such data might have been deleted due to page limits related to publishing constraints, its inclusion would have nevertheless been of great benefit.

The book was published in 2009 and the research had begun in 2002, making it a sort of time capsule for that decade. Yet much is changing in Japan. For example, Prime Minister Abe has recently announced his plans to increase female participation in his Cabinet from the current 3% to 30% by 2020 (significantly, the year of the Tokyo Olympics). However, the improvement of child- or elder-care options is rarely discussed in regards to his administration's bid to harness women's potential for national economic transformation. Given the still predominant "myth of motherhood," will Japanese women therefore be caught up in the exhausting and impossible Superwoman role seen in the West? It is hoped that further research by Dales on new policies such as these is forthcoming.

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Language learning, gender, and desire: Japanese women on the move. Takahashi, Kimie. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2013. 200 pp.

Reviewed by Herbeth L. Fondevilla

University of Tsukuba

Language Learning, Gender and Desire: Japanese Women on the Move is a fascinating exploration of the gendered personal world of English Language Learning (ELL) as seen through the eyes of contemporary Japanese women. This book does not focus on the standard conversation of teaching English as a Second Language, or the cultural and linguistic challenges of overseas teaching, but rather on the issues that surround the lives of a group of Japanese women and their reasons for choosing to study in Australia. *Language Learning, Gender, And Desire* is an investigation into "Japanese women's *akogare* (longing, desire) for the West and the English language, and how it intersects with Japanese women's trajectories" (p. 8). In it, Takahashi rigorously explores the themes of language, power, race, gender, and especially desire through this ethnographic study of language learning. Takahashi's ethnographic approach to data collection, from observing her respondents' lifestyles, to numerous interviews, and even participation in their social activities, enabled her to gain full access to her participants' experiences of language acquisition and its effect on their day-to-day lives. This book is a timely discourse on ELL, as Japan has been ushering in significant changes in English-language education, even extending as far as requiring some junior and senior high school teachers to spend at least three months overseas in a bid to raise the level

of instruction as Tokyo prepares to host the 2020 Olympics. It is also a useful resource for research on media and identity, cultural hybridity, as well as migration. Kimie Takahashi's book invites its readers to question the real meaning of the English language education industry in Japan, and should encourage broader research on the consequences of ELL for women who choose to study overseas.

The book is made up of seven chapters, and is divided into two areas, language desire as fueled by the media—including Australia as a destination—and the lived experiences of the five primary participants of the study. Takahashi posits that the Japanese education industry and media target the most enthusiastic consumers of ELL: young Japanese women. The author also elucidates several examples of the way the Japanese media promotes and emphasizes ELL through "English, images of the West, and Western masculinity, as a desirable means of creating a new lifestyle and identity" (p. 21). In line with this, Takahashi gives straightforward analysis of several advertisements for *eikaiwa* schools in Japan that make use of white, male, *ikemen* (good-looking or charismatic) teachers that focus on their personal traits rather than their professional experiences, such as those presented in the special *ryugaku* (overseas study) edition of the Japanese women's magazine *an-an*; the manga 彼はシーフ(He is a Thief) by Kumi Yokota; and the sexually-charged promotional materials of *Gaba*, one-to-one lessons that even go as far as using the catchphrase "二人だから、あなたは話したくなる ('Futari dakara, anata wa hanashitaku naru'—'Because there are only two of you, you will want to talk')" (p. 27). Hollywood movies as well as American television series such as *Sex and the City* are also given attention, especially as to how they promote the ideal of glamorous Western masculinity and sophisticated, if not fictional, models of Western romance. Heterosexual romance and desire are stressed through these various examples as a way of attracting young Japanese women into furthering their interests in studying English, and especially in their choice of pursuing overseas study in Australia.

The five primary participants of Takahashi's study, whose ages range from 21 to 39 years old, offer an intimate glimpse into the world of ELL for Japanese women. It is very interesting to note that the participants had dissimilar backgrounds, as well as motives for studying overseas, such as ambition for furthering career prospects, or the desire to renew or change their lives. All participants, though, shared an *akogare* for Westerners and the English

language. Takahashi follows the women throughout their lives in Australia, not just as a researcher, but also eventually as their friend and confidante (hesitantly at first). This intimate knowledge of the lives of her participants enabled Takahashi to bring previously unobserved, personal aspects of ELL for Japanese women to light, such as associations drawn between gender, media, identity, and sexuality. Takahashi's research paints a realistic portrait of what actual life is like for students who have chosen to study overseas and the challenges they face, such as social access and acceptance by Australians/native speakers; issues dealing with race, work and power dynamics; and the pursuit of love and/or relationships. One particularly important aspect of this book is the discussion of the opportunities available for Japanese women who want to make use of their acquired language skills, as well as their opinions on transnational mobility and migration. These concerns contribute to studies on the increasing feminization of migration such as migration patterns among female international students, whose movements are influenced by education, career, or self-realization rather than economic need.

Kimie Takahashi's book offers a rousing discussion on the many issues that are facing contemporary, internationally minded young women of Japan today. Takahashi's sharp observations on ELL and media were enlightening as well as engaging. The power and influence of suggestion through advertising in the ELL business was clearly explained. However, it would have been very useful to have included visual samples of the advertisements and articles in women's magazines that the author described. Another strength of this book lies in the clear and descriptive realities that the participants faced while studying in Australia, the reasons for their choices, and the implications of their actions. The book also emphasized the Japanese women's agency in their decisions, deciding who to interact with, their single-minded approach to reaching their desired level of language fluency, as well as the conditions of their relationships, whether professional or personal/romantic. Furthermore, it also denounces popular misconceptions of Japanese "shyness" and subservience, especially in the workplace. In addition, the book includes a chapter on what happened to the five participants of the study after the research study concluded, giving readers a holistic view of the challenges and concerns of transmigration and career prospects. It questions Japan's internationalization project and the outcomes for

Japanese women who choose to become cross-cultural, and have, as a result, come to face exclusion and discrimination in their own countries, opening up discussions on broader political concerns.

Takahashi's book is well written, engaging, and enlightening. It is unafraid of revealing truths about the effects of media, the real struggles of ELL learners in Australia, as well as the repercussions of being a woman who is deemed "too independent" in Japan. This book is a must for scholars of gender and media, ELL teachers, as well as migration researchers, and is even appealing for the curious casual reader who will find many thought-provoking issues within its pages.

***The comfort women: Sexual violence and postcolonial memory in Korea and Japan.* Soh, C. Sarah. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008. 384 pp.**

Reviewed by Gwyn Helverson
Ritsumeikan Universtiy

C. Sarah Soh has written a groundbreaking book on the controversial topic of comfort women: women forcibly or deceptively recruited to provide sexual services to Japan's Imperial Army from 1932-1945. Instead of claiming that the comfort women controversy is "fake," as right-wingers do, or seeking compensation for "sex slaves," as transnational feminists do, Soh calls for complete "truth" towards the tragedy. This book, the result of 10 years of exhaustive research and fieldwork, does not flinch when it exposes the fallacies of both sides of the current comfort women historical war. However, the work displays some weakness in that it reports contradictory anecdotes in trying to justify its claims that the

comfort women themselves, Korea, and contemporary feminist activists are as blame-worthy for this continuing tragedy as the original colonizer, Imperial Japan.

Soh details horrific stories of hardship among lower class, uneducated Korean girls in the pre-war era. In both patriarchal Korea and Japan, desperately poor families would have sold their daughters into prostitution as a matter of course. Soh states that the emerging economy and media created big dreams for a kind of "New Woman" (p. 6), which also caused the girls to be vulnerable to recruitment lies told by profiteers. Soh describes the girls as "youthful risk takers" (p. 81) engaging in "risk-taking behavior" (p. xii) and therefore part of the problem in the commonplace human trafficking system of this era.

One of the key issues for Soh is that most comfort women were not forcibly abducted at gunpoint, as nationalistic Korean media outlets claim, but also ranged from experienced prostitutes to duped farm girls. Soh notes that figures for comfort women vary according to the researcher and their political leanings: from 4000 to 200,000 (p. 19). Soh describes the conditions that make concrete data impossible to determine: the chaos at the end of the war when some comfort women were killed to destroy evidence of war crimes, deliberate misinformation by both Korean profiteers and Imperial Army brokers, and the survivors themselves who remained silent for decades in fear of the shunning they would, and did, suffer when outed.

In Part I, Soh notes that in both Korea and Japan, women were viewed as symbols of maternal love (p. 40) or as "toilets" designed to service men sexually (p. 32). Those in camps were renamed with Japanese names, Soh claims, to humanize them (p. 39) into both toilets and caregivers, it seems. Soh emphasizes loving relationships and complicated feelings between women and soldiers, and quotes interviews of some women who were treated like beloved mistresses by high-ranking officers. Soh, then, seeks to provide evidence that life was not really that bad for many comfort women. However, this renaming can also be seen as demeaning objectification. In the American system of slavery, slaves' full African names were replaced with infantilizing Western first names to "claim" them as property despite whatever complex emotions may have later developed.

In Chapter 3, *Japan's military comfort system as history,* Soh claims that international activists do not understand the historical period, nor its commerce in women: a "transnational

memory" of sexual slavery has been artificially constructed (p. 108). Soh claims that the Japanese Imperial comfort women system was not particularly unusual and therefore should not be so vociferously attacked by feminists now. Soh employs tokenism in horrifying historical examples from a variety of cultures to further the view that war, rape, and prostitution are inevitably intertwined. Yet, if such tokenism is acceptable, shouldn't alternative cases, such as Northeast Native American tribes who did not rape in war until they learned of the technique from European colonizers, be included here as well?

Soh classifies camp facilities into three types: the concessionary, the paramilitary, and the criminal (p. 115), with three distinct motives: profit, accommodation, and self-gratification (p. 117). Then Soh states that even though some women earned money towards buying their freedom, others could only escape a camp with outside intervention (p. 133). Surely, according to any legal definition of slavery, this lack of free will indicates that these facilities were in fact criminal?

Soh also seems to side with the Imperial Army in quoting a 1942 army document noting the prevalence of rape from "insufficient comfort facilities and insufficient supervision" (p. 140). Soh notes that a few scholars have stated that the camps "did help curb mass rape—especially in 'pacified' areas in occupied territories" (p. 142). In summary, while Soh claims that she does not want her book to be used as right-wing fodder, there seem to be underlying assumptions of victim blaming, essentialist views towards sexual violence in war, and a minimizing of numbers. Sadly, "It was her own fault," "Rape is natural," "She was actually a pro," and "It wasn't really that bad," are common clichés used to justify sexual exploitation, systematic or individual.

Soh discusses the analysis of Japanese feminist Ueno Chizuko who seeks to transcend nationalism in this debate. Ueno's proposal that women not only be seen as "willing prostitutes" or "forcibly conscripted virgins" (p. 237) is actually similar to Soh's. However, Soh states that Ueno's view will not win the battle against traditional Korean patriarchy's denial of its own complicity, or nationalism's and feminism's hijacking of the issue for their own ends. Honest reflections on "structural violence" in both countries are the only way "genuine reconciliation" can be achieved, states Soh (p. 240).

For truth and reconciliation, the complete story must be told, as Soh insists. The reaction can be a frightening backlash, as Soh herself has experienced. However, Soh's inclusion of a naïve yet callous quote, illustrates the bias that mars this otherwise necessary, scholarly book: "As Hegel noted long ago, the master is more dependent on the slave than the slave on the master in the everyday arts and chores of human existence" (p. 195). Claiming that slaves are somehow powerful is inhumane in and of itself. Transnational feminists agree that even one slave, one victim of human trafficking, historical or contemporary, is one too many.