EDUCATION FOR SELF-CRAFTING:
GLOBALIZATION, DISCOURSES, AND ENGLISH
IN THE LIVES OF THREE JAPANESE WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

This research explores issues involving gender, education, and learning/using English as a second/foreign language (ESL/EFL) by investigating three Japanese women’s experiences of fashioning their lives in ways that made them feel satisfied and happy. In order to develop an *emic* point of view—one derived from grounding myself as strongly as possible in the three women’s worlds and views, I adopted a situated qualitative research approach, and collected the data mostly through multiple interviews with the women and participant observation of their work life situations. I then interpreted the data focusing on the women’s identity constructions, their gendered struggles, and the roles of education and English in their lives and gender transformations. The findings common across the three women are as follows.

First, the women developed a high degree of self-worth and an ethos of studying hard for self-cultivation in the family discourses that they grew up within. Second, the women’s professional interests (i.e., in English education, physical fitness education, and dance, respectively), and the lives they aspired to craft for themselves were produced at the intersection of local and global discourses. Third, at some points in their married lives, they faced severe difficulties in seeking professional satisfaction and at the same time conforming to gender norms. However, their struggles to play multiple gender roles as “Japanese women” produced their agency to take up educational opportunities and re-craft themselves. The three women therefore chose to attend professional educational programs offered at Western institutions for self-crafting in the midst of their respective gender struggles. Fourth, the women used English to participate in Western educational
and globalized professional discourses. Fifth, the women’s prolonged and intensive participation in these discourses contributed to their acquisition of new knowledge to alternatively perform as “Japanese women” and transform their gendered lives.

This study reveals that the three women used educational opportunities and English for their identity work—that is, to become who they desired to be, and to expand the boundaries of their freedom as “women” as well as to act socially as members of globalized cultural worlds.
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To my mother and father

Shizuko and Shuji Omachi
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

People live as social actors, performing multiple—including gendered—roles, in their respective, always-changing situations. Initially, they do not have a choice of what language, family, gender, socioeconomic or cultural conditions they are born into: In the case of gender, a new-born is “shift[ed] from an ‘it’ to a ‘she’ or a ‘he,’” and in that naming, the girl is ‘girled,’ brought into the domain of language and kinship” (Butler, 1993, pp. 7). Subsequently, linguistic and educational practices at home, school, and in other situations repeatedly institute in the girl particular beliefs and values regarding how to behave in order to become a “female” member of society. In the process, she learns to embody a gendered style and to play gendered roles according to gender norms and hegemonic ideals\(^1\) to a variable but typically high degree.

At the same time, the gaps between different institutional practices can bring to the girl’s consciousness conflicting ideals, which might aid her in forming new kinds of knowledge and critical perspectives. Further, the gaps between what she learns as true and how she and other women are treated in real life can make her realize how women are socially positioned, which might stimulate her agency to do something to resist oppressive social practices and gender norms. What is more, she is likely to receive alternative information on identity options and different ways of life in the current age of

\(^1\) Hegemonic ideas here refer to beliefs, views, and knowledge that emerge and are dispersed dominantly in a society at a particular historical moment, which can shift in the balance of sociopolitical power relations (cf., Weedon’s (2004, p. 165) definition of hegemony and hegemonic).
globalization, and therefore, she can imagine alternative futures and make efforts for them (cf., Giddens, 1991; Mathews, 1996, 2000).

Therefore, I believe that a woman in a developed, affluent country like Japan today receives a wide variety of forms of knowledge to help her perform her multiple identities. However, at the same time she faces a complex array of constant improvisational choices as to how she presents herself in different social situations (cf., Goffman, 1959). In her everyday life, she thus needs to learn to perform her roles using her body and language, looking at others’ behaviors as models for adapting to or resisting particular cultural norms. Through a woman’s gender performances, the cultural norms are enacted and/or partially subverted, and her gendered identities are repeatedly constructed and reconstructed (Butler, 1990/1999). In such ceaseless identity work, language and education are indispensable cultural tools with which to fashion herself. If a second or foreign language is available, she can also use it to fashion herself, imagine her future, and perform her roles in local, as well as globalized, cultural worlds.

This research investigates three cases of Japanese women’s creative self-crafting, describing how each woman struggled to perform multiple roles as a “Japanese woman,” and how she acted to change her modes of living, using educational opportunities and English as a second/foreign language (ESL/EFL). My participants’ trajectories of performing “Japanese women” go beyond common images of “how Japanese women behave and live” and problematize the sexist subordination of women’s lives that have been naturalized by Japanese gender norms. To set the stage, the following section briefly reviews issues related to gender norms in contemporary Japan.
Gender Norms in Japan

Gender norms are socio-historically developed and inculcated through education and the media, influence how we speak and act, what we wear, how we think of our life possibilities, and how we manage our life courses. In Japan, gender norms heavily impact on the everyday lives and life courses of both women and men (Ida, 2004). Among the highly developed countries, Japan’s gender inequality and patriarchal social systems are salient (see statistical information in the following paragraph, as well as many sociological studies of Japan, e.g., Sasahara, 1999; Sugimoto, 1997). According to Sugimoto (1997), “the patriarchal family registration system which is embedded in gender relations and the family system” (p. 136) is a major anchor for stabilizing gendered social positioning and overall images of Japanese women and men. For example, Japanese women’s social class and status are usually not represented by their own class and status, but by their father’s or husband’s—thus, the majority of full-time homemakers identify their social position by their husband’s (Shirahase, 2001). According to this patriarchal gender norm, the values of men’s lives are tied to their success in work and through playing the role of principal family income earners, and those of women’s are tied to self-sacrificing family care and playing the role of ryosai-kenbo (good wife and wise mother) (cf., Iwao, 1993). One impact of gender norms on women’s lives can be seen in the fact that even though the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was enacted in 1985, Japanese women often still give up pursuing a full-time job for family care (Sugimoto, 1997, pp. 142-154). Moreover, facing the recent
plummeting birth rate and aging population, the government has been pressuring women to function as reproductive machines ("Japanese women called child machines," 2007).

Statistically, the large size of the gender gap in Japan is clearly reported. For example, according to Hausmann, Tyson, and Zahidi (2011, pp. iii-viii), Japan is ranked 98th among 135 nations in terms of overall gender equality, while Japan’s health and survival (HS) ranking is the highest. Similarly, the United Nations Development Program’s (2007, pp. 330-333) Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) 2007/2008 ranks Japan 54th among 93 nations,² while the Human Development Indicator (HDI) ranks Japan eighth. The gaps in Japan’s rankings between GE and HS as well as between GEM and HDI indicate that even though Japan’s general standard of living is high, Japanese women are severely marginalized socially. The gap between Japan’s rankings and those of Western nations might explain why some Japanese women search for alternative lives in the more egalitarian “West” (Kelsky, 2001; Piller & Takahashi, 2006) in today’s globalized environment.

In sum, Japanese gender norms dispersed and reproduced through sexist role division in home, school, work situations, and the media pressure Japanese women to act and live according to the images they understand as expected (Mori, 2006; Rosenberger, 2001, Sasahara, 1999, Sasatani, 1999, Shikano, 2004; Shirahase 2001). The social conditions mentioned in the above two paragraphs can explain how most Japanese women have been forced into subordinate positions and expected to sacrifice their hopes

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² Although the number of nations in the Human Development Report by the UN listed were 177, GEM measure showed only 93 nations because data from most of the nations in Sub-Saharan Africa were not available.
and desires for family care, especially after marriage. Yet educators in Japan have been able to do little to raise awareness of gender issues or to help women to be exposed to models that show alternative ways of gender relations and lives (Fujimura-Fanselow, 2011). At the same time, many Japanese women have made efforts to change their situations, having faced severe gendered struggles, and the participants are three among them. The following section briefly introduces the participants and explains why I consider studying them meaningful.

The Participants

As mentioned in the previous section, renouncing one’s preferred way of life for one’s family has long been an effect of Japanese gender norms. However, I learned from my participants that while valuing one’s relationship with one’s family and playing multiple roles as “Japanese women,” it was also possible to live differently. They refused to give up their needs and desires, and instead changed how they live, which motivated this study. The three participants are Midori, Haruko, and Akane (pseudonyms), all of whom were born in the mid 20th century after World War II and grew up in Japan. They made rigorous efforts to craft themselves as “Japanese women” (e.g., as good daughter, good wife, and skilled professional woman) in their particular situations. Then, at some point in their lives, they felt that they had found what was worth professionally devoting their lives to: Midori in the field of English, Haruko in fitness, and Akane in dance. However, to seek professional satisfaction and at the same time fashion themselves and perform as Japanese women, conforming to gender norms often causes conflicts, and the
three women were no exception. Yet, facing severe gendered struggles, they sought new ways to live by taking educational opportunities in Europe, America, and/or at American institutions in Japan, for which they learned and used English. Consequently, they developed high levels of professional skill and increased their *cultural* and *social capital* (Bourdieu, 1986). They then used the capital and English to alternatively perform “Japanese women” in their gendered realities. The trajectories of these three women’s lives thus indicate that they learned and used English not only to attain higher professional status, but also to become who they desired to be. In other words, they used educational opportunities and English to expand the boundaries of their freedom as “women” as well as to act socially as members of globalized cultural worlds.

My participants’ narratives reveal unexpected changes that occurred in their outlooks as well as their ways of living as a result of having been exposed to a variety of experiences in their studies overseas or within Japan. Therefore, I believe that it is meaningful to describe their life trajectories, focusing on their gendered struggles and how education and English have aided them in transforming their lives. Thus, this study treats education and learning English beyond the classroom, and considers them as constituents of the participants’ identities. The following section briefly reviews literature in the fields of adult education and English as second language (ESL) that are relevant to this study (See Chapter 2 for a more detailed review).
Studies of Identity in Adult Education and English as Second Language

There has been a growing interest in learners’ experiences and construction of identities in the fields of adult education and ESL under the impact of globalization (e.g., Bansel, 2007; Barron & Zeegers 2006; Britton & Baxter 1999; King, 1998; Leathwood & Read, 2009; Block, 2006; Kubota, 2002; McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton, 2000; Phan, 2008; Pavlenko 2001a, 2001b). From such studies I have learned the importance of regarding individual learners as social actors and understanding their struggles in relation to their social surroundings and power relations. For example, Norton’s (2000) description of immigrant women’s identity, agency, and struggles to speak a second language helped me realize how multiple forms of power affect learners’ selfhood and decision-making. Norton’s notion of investment as well as Kanno and Norton’s (2003) notion of “imagined communities,” which extended Anderson’s (1983) ideas about nationalism, led me to rethink learner motivation. In such work, individual identity is understood as “multiple, fluid, and often contradictory” (McKay & Wong, 1996, p. 579) because it is influenced by constantly shifting relations of social power. In this connection, the Foucauldian notion of discourse, reviewed in Chapter 2 below, has been especially helpful in understanding how power relations affect selfhood in the fields of education and ESL; in order to understand the participants’ efforts at self-crafting, I also adopt the concept of discourse. Additionally, for an in-depth understanding of adult learners’ gendered struggles and perceptions of education, King (1998) has informed me of the importance of understanding my participants’ upbringings and learner trajectories that affect their “feelings of self-worth” (p. 101).
The present study investigates relationships between gender identities, adult education, and ESL/EFL in globalization, which few studies have reported on, especially concerning Japan. While I have found several qualitative studies on issues of gender in Japanese educational contexts (Beebe, 1996, 1998; Cornwell, 2005; Fujimura-Fanselow, 1991; McVeigh, 1997; Ó’Móchain, 2006; Simon-Maeda, 2002), few investigations of the relationship between the impact of globalization on Japanese women’s identity construction and their taking up of educational opportunities have been conducted. Two exceptions are Ichimoto (2007) and Mimura (2007). Employing the concepts of Foucauldian discourse and Butler’s gender as performative, both studies have shown Japanese women’s gender identity struggles during and after graduate study abroad. Their findings indicate that, on returning to Japan, most participants reluctantly accepted the status quo of Japanese gender conditions although feeling dissatisfied. It seems that because of the period of Ichimoto’s and Mimura’s studies and/or their participants’ generations/situations they hardly make evident the transformations of their participants’ gendered lives, if such occurred at all.

As explained above, Japanese women often sacrifice their desire to pursue what they are interested in professionally. However, the participants did not give up pursuing their professional interests. Moreover, in their cases, their gendered struggles triggered their agency to take up educational opportunities, and their rigorous learning for their professional interests aided their re-crafting of their gendered lives. Further, each of the participants talked of the importance of some particular person’s help or others’ support in her learning and the development of her professional identity. One participant, for
example, described how her friends and teachers in New York helped her in becoming a member of a professional dance group, and how the freedom she felt overseas fostered her energy to become a creative dancer, which aided the transformation of her gendered life. The participants also clearly articulated difficulties they felt in their married lives, what meaning they found in their professional lives, and the difficulties of balancing multiple gender roles. Further, they reflected on aspects of their mindset that unexpectedly changed due to their experiences during overseas studies and/or other educational experiences. Moreover, all three women used English for their professional pursuits, although the ways in which they learned and used it were very different. I believe these aspects of women’s lives have not been reported and are worth reporting in regard to gender issues and the roles of education and English in Japan.

I therefore believe that this study can contribute to the fields of adult education and ESL/EFL by: (a) describing the roles of education and English in the participants’ gendered self-crafting and multiple identity constructions as impacted by globalization; and (b) making evident the gender identity struggles that triggered the participants’ decisions to take up educational opportunities, and how those educational experiences and associated professional practices have aided the transformation of their gendered lives.

**Approach and Perspective of Study**

In order to understand the complex relations across gender, education, and ESL/EFL, I need to take an interdisciplinary approach. Thus, I borrow concepts from
continental Western philosophy, and draw upon insights from sociology, feminist studies, and anthropology. Because I aim to understand my participants’ particular situations and thoughts, I have chosen a situated qualitative research approach for this study, and narrative inquiry and participant observation are my main research tools. As mentioned above, to understand relations of power that affected the participants’ identity construction and ways of thinking and acting, primarily I use the Foucauldian concept of discourse for the analysis. To conceptualize gender, I draw upon postmodernist feminist insights into gender—Judith Butler’s notion of gender as performative effects of discursive practices, in particular. The usefulness of the concepts of discourse and gender performativity is that they help me understand the heterogeneity and temporality of effects of sociocultural power on the participants’ gendered ways of thinking and acting. These concepts also sensitize me to the fact that a wide variety of historically developed knowledge and belief systems coexist in today’s Japan and new information about the world is continuously pouring in, which have influenced the participants’ ways of thinking and acting.

As mentioned above, I recognize the importance of postmodernist and postmodernist feminist ideas to this research as conceptual tools for interpreting the participants’ self-crafting in their particular socio-historical conditions. I agree with Butler’s (1990/1999) argument that gender-sex differences are social constructions and with Foucault’s ideas on self and self-recreation within relations of power. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this research draws from works of postmodernist scholars for the purpose of conceptualizing gendered identities and self-cultivation. For example, just
as St. Pierre (1996) and Tamboukou (2003) have used Foucault’s ideas of *care of the self* and *technologies of the self* in their postmodernist feminist reading of relations between adult women’s life struggles and creativity in their use of educational opportunities, I believe these ideas also apply to the participants’ self-cultivation. It is important to note, however, that my perspective is not grounded only in postmodernist views. There are many different influences—cultural and philosophical—on my views, which reflect current feminist ethics and its desire for emancipation from oppressive gender norms. Likewise, because language, cultural, and educational practices construct my views, it is hardly possible, and is in fact dangerous, to fix my perspective in one philosophy or worldview. Therefore, my description and interpretation of the three cases has been done not only within a postmodern framework, but it is also influenced by multiple situated positions of my own, as well as by how I care about my participants.

Finally, as Haraway (2004) has argued for feminist *situated knowledges* (p. 86), I believe that my situated plurality of embodied vision has allowed me to get close to the three participants’ lived experiences and to have a partial understanding of them. I hope that this study encourages educators, language teachers, and feminist researchers to recognize the complex and paradoxical powers of language and education.

**Organization of this Study**

This study describes three women’s trajectories of self-crafting, gender identity struggles, and exposure to a variety of experiences in their studies overseas and/or American institutions in Japan, which helped them to transform their gendered lives.
Formation of their agency for taking up educational opportunities will be considered in relation to their respective particular local situations, which are also affected by globalization. Chapter 2 consists of two parts: a review of the theoretical concepts that informed this research; and a review of literature on education, learning English, and study abroad that are relevant to this study. Chapter 3 explains the research approach, researcher positionality, and research procedures. Chapter 4 describes participant Midori’s case. Chapter 5 describes participant Haruko’s case. Chapter 6 describes participant Akane’s case. Chapter 7 then discusses the three cases, focusing on (a) the various roles of education in the participants’ lives, (b) the roles of English in the participants’ self-fashioning, and (c) the participants’ gendered identity performances and transformations. Chapter 8 I briefly summarize and offer final reflections on the findings.

To conclude, I hope this study stimulates educator-researchers’ interest in how particular Japanese women account for their learning experiences in relation to their gendered life struggles and changes. I also hope my description of how education and English have aided the women’s practices of crafting selves contributes to the fields of adult education and ESL/EFL.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided into two main sections: (a) a review of literature on postmodernism, including the concepts of discourse, subjectivity, identity, and postmodernist feminist views on gender which together comprise my conceptual framework; and (b) a review of postmodernist- and postmodernist feminist-oriented literature on education, learning English as a Second Language (ESL), and study abroad in the globalized world.

This research on Japanese women’s self-crafting looks at three women’s gendered subjectivities, identities, and agency for education as made available via recent globalization, and how and for what purposes they learned and used English. For this, I take an interdisciplinary approach incorporating insights from sociology, education, and ESL and identity in the globalized world, looking at the participants’ life stories largely from a postmodernist feminist perspective. I cannot deny, however—nor does my analysis seek to ignore—that postmodernism is built on the back of modern thought: Rather than attempting to subvert or destroy, it critically elaborates it. Liberal (i.e., modernist) feminism therefore also plays a foundational role in this research.

Postmodernism

Postmodernism consists of a variety of artistic, philosophical, and political movements that attempt to go beyond the limitations of modernity and modernism (D.
Atkinson, Chapter 5, forthcoming; Calinescu, 1987; Sarup, 1993; Turner, 1990). In this study, I define postmodernism as a worldview or a mode of thinking that aims to understand the societies of the present era that have developed after industrialization and modernization, where the controlling power of nation-states has become limited by recent globalization and internet technology, and which recognizes and critiques the dominant powers of modern knowledge and beliefs that have disenfranchised a wide variety and multiple forms of everyday lives, experiences, knowledge, and languages of non-dominant peoples, including Japanese women. In this study, postmodernist theories are used to help me understand complex relationships across the domains of sociocultural power, knowledge, globalization, and education that the participants were involved in and within which they changed their lives.

A primary characteristic of philosophical postmodernism is the questioning of modern assumptions and established knowledge. Lyotard (1979/1984) defined the postmodern as “incredulity toward metanarratives” (pp. xxiv-xxv). Here, metanarratives refers to any organized knowledge system that lays claim to universality, such as Christianity, liberalism, capitalism, Marxism, and modern narratives of scientific truth about human beings such as biology and psychology, which have been influencing “our thinking and acting unconsciously” (Sarup, 1993, p. 197). Likewise, Foucault (1980) contended that what have been legitimated as universal truths have had a great impact at “the level of desire—and also at the level of knowledge” (p. 59), that is, they have had an active role in producing human beings as we know ourselves and are known to each other. In addition, because language is the primary tool for constructing knowledge of the world,
postmodernists and postmodernist feminists are concerned with how language has been used in the construction of modern truths, and they likewise use language to deconstruct them (e.g., Butler, 1990/1999; Derrida, 1977). They argue that although complete freedom from being “normed” by modern knowledge might be impossible, we need to invent new ways of looking at ourselves that accept our situated limitedness while at the same time respecting human difference in order not to dominate others (Foucault, 2003; Haraway, 1988).

The postmodernist ideas introduced in this paragraph have been very important in helping me develop a more satisfactory perspective on the participants’ narratives and their views and values, because my views and values were originally shaped by modern liberal humanism, which constrained the early phase of my analysis. In the following paragraph, I therefore briefly touch upon characteristics and problems of modernity that postmodernists critique and attempt to go beyond.

*Modern* and *modernity* are terms which became associated with industrial society and the conception of modernity “as a distinctive and superior period in the history of humanity” (Smart, 1990, p. 17), as it came to be understood from the Enlightenment onward. Modernity combined with a particular view of human beings, humanism, to produce particular authoritative knowledge and value judgments on the nature of human beings (Foucault, 1984a, p. 44). The resulting combination “encompasses the belief in the triumvirate of Reason, Progress, Truth; the rational planning of ideal social orders; and the standardization of knowledge and production that takes Man as the norm for understanding” (Rofel, 1997, p. 157). For example, modern statements and theories have
tended to categorize human beings via binary opposition (e.g., Occident/Orient, male/female, bourgeois/working class, sane/insane), in which one of the two opposed elements is unmarked and occupies the “normal” and/or “superior” position (D. Atkinson, forthcoming; Weedon, 1999). This means that modern norms and morals have been constructed at the expense of those who do not belong to dominant groups in modern societies. This has been very problematic because even though such norms do not describe actual people’s lives, they have been taken for granted and have limited people’s perceptions, values, and imaginations, and therefore their life possibilities (Butler, 1990/1999; Weedon, 1999). Thus, modernity, as widespread knowledge and politically governing power, has these ethical problems.

Critiquing modernity, postmodernists therefore attempt to go beyond modernist frameworks, value judgments, and dualisms (Foucault, 1984a, 1998), although by doing so they do not simply seek to eliminate them. They suggest the importance of looking at plurality and fluidity of power relations in human societies (Foucault, 1983). Therefore, postmodernist ideas have helped me to deconstruct my own views and value judgments, which were largely shaped by modernist liberal feminist ideas, and reconstruct an ethical and modest feminist perspective (Haraway, 1988) in this study. In what follows, I explain the concepts of discourse, subjectivity, identity, and agency to craft one’s self I have used in this research.

**Discourse and Subjectivity**

In this section, I review literature that discusses the Foucauldian notion of discourse and postmodernist views on subjectivity. While a modern liberal humanist view assumes
autonomous subjectivity that is coherent and the essence of free-will choice (Weedon, 1987/1997, p. 8), in a postmodernist view, a person’s multiple forms of subjectivity are discursively constructed and always in the process of transformation at the intersection of discourses (Weedon, 1987/1997, pp. 71-103).

**Discourse.** The Foucauldian term *discourse*, which I subscribe to for this research, refers to particular social practices that use language in particular ways to portray particular belief systems as truth, by which other systems of truth are excluded (Foucault, 1972). The term itself, for the purposes he uses it, originated with Foucault, but the concept was substantially influenced by his teacher Althusser's (1971/2001) discussion of the ways in which dominant class ideologies determine how humans are “made,” socially speaking, and how at the same time they come to think of themselves as self-determined beings. Subsequent to Foucault's development of the concept, many scholars have developed the discourse concept for their own purposes, including Butler (1990/1999), Gee (1996), and Hall (1996).

Discursive construction of truth defines a particular system of phenomena (including the human body, behavior, and language use) as true and/or normal, and excludes other kinds as not true and/or abnormal (Butler, 1990/1999). There are different discourses, such as family, school education, law, class, race, gender, and religion, each of which constructs particular kinds of norms, rules, and knowledge (Foucault, 1972; Weedon, 1987/1997). Foucault (1980) used the term *power-knowledge* as a synonym for *discourse* to express the (a) close relationship between the dominant discursive practices
of the human sciences and the dominant forms of political power in a particular era, and
(b) effects of modern knowledge on people’s everyday lives as realized through the
effects of modern knowledge on people’s everyday lives as realized through the
exercise of what he called “disciplinary power.” The modern discourse of
psychopathology, for instance, mandates certain behaviors (many of which are linguistic)
as pathological/abnormal, thereby participating in definitions of social normalcy. These
definitions then have material consequences involving the exercise of political (including juridical) power: People defined as psychologically abnormal are treated differently in the political-juridical system, for example by being forcibly confined or ruled incompetent to stand trial in a court of law.

Dominant discourses furthermore disseminate knowledge and norms in society through various institutions, creating an invisible “form of surveillance” (Foucault, 1991, p. 92) in which people willingly apply the knowledge-produced norms to understand and control themselves and their everyday practices. That is, discourses—or “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49)—having “described” human beings as objects of their scientific discursive practices and thereby produced particular normative understandings of human beings, then circulate among those they “describe,” causing them to believe and speak what these discourses teach them as truth about themselves (Foucault, 1983, p. 212). Discursively constructed knowledge thus contributes to “individualizing” people—that is, attaching them to their understanding of themselves as individuals—and in this way controlling them, on the whole, without violent force in the modern period (Foucault, 1983).
When Foucault originated this concept of discourse, he was not concerned about how multiple discourses influence women’s subjectivities. However, in this study, the multiplicity of discourses (Butler, 1990) helps me understand the norming effects on constructing women’s subjectivities as well as the transforming effects on them. For example, a girl who has grown up within the dominant discourses of gender, middle-classness, and traditional Japanese family and school values is likely to behave in a well-mannered way according to the dominant gender norm and obey her parents’ and teachers’ orders, at least in social situations where such behavior is “required.” In their actions, the girl herself, her parents, and her teachers, thus contribute to maintaining the status quo regarding Japanese gender, social class, and educational values. When the girl participates in a new set of discourses, such as professional discourses that require assertiveness and competition, however, they contribute to renew her behaviors.

The power of discourses should not be understood simply as constraining forces contributing to power exercised only from the top down. It can also be understood as productive power that provides individuals with certain normative “subject positions” (Hall, 1996, p. 6) from which they act as social actors. In his own elaboration of discourse theory in studying inequality in American schools, for instance, Gee (1990/1996) stated, “Discourses are ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes” (1996, p. 127).

Because individuals never exist solely within single discourses, and single discourses emphasize values that are often actively at odds with the values of other
discourses, individuals are subject-positioned in multiple and often competing ways. In this can be found a crucial feature of discourses, and one (among others) that keeps them from being all-determining: Dissonance between different discourses can induce individuals’ critical perspectives, new knowledge, and will to change. Gee (1996) termed the forms of knowledge that can result from the conflict of discourses for a particular human being “meta-knowledge” (p. 139), that is, knowledge regarding how certain knowledges norm human beings. Gee (1996) stated that such meta-knowledge “is power, because it can protect all of us from harming others and from being harmed, and because it is the very foundation of resistance and growth” (p. 191). Those who are situated in marginal positions in dominant discourses have more chances to develop the meta-knowledge necessary to critique and subvert them, according to Gee, because it is easier to see the operation of dominant discourses from the viewpoint of one who is clearly excluded and/or disadvantaged by them.

Butler (2005) claimed that combinations of discourses “set the stage for the subject’s self-crafting” (p. 19). That is, the very struggles at the intersection of competing discourses produce will and agency for change (Butler, 2005, p. 19). Foucault (in Martin, 1988) argued that people are actually “much freer than they feel, that people accept as truth, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at a certain moment during history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticized and destroyed” (p. 10) when they actually realize the contingency of discourses. Foucault described his own historical work on changing definitions of madness, disease, economics, grammar, and human biology as an attempt to reveal the contingency of discourses.
The notion of *discourse* is useful in helping me to understand how the participants were situated in and by society, and how the struggles they faced at the intersection of discourses of gender, education, profession, and globalization produced agency to change their lives.

**Subjectivity.** Drawing on the notion of discourse, postmodernists interrogate modern humanist views of the individual as rational, free-willed, and autonomous. In a postmodernist feminist view, subjectivity refers to “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world” (Weedon, 1987/1997, p. 32). Language is considered to play a central role in constituting subjectivity as a medium through which “social relations are expressed” (Weedon, 1987/1997, p. 90). Moreover, as Elliott (2002) explained, postmodernists generally acknowledge the workings of the unconscious, i.e., uncontrollable unconscious desire and unconscious perception of experiences in subjectivity (pp. 33-39). Note, however, that while Freudian psychoanalysis of the unconscious assumes binary-oppositional sex differences as fundamental—that the “male body is the desirable norm, and that women’s lack of a penis is the key factor determining their intellectual and moral differences from men” (Weedon, 1999, p. 78). Thus, postmodernist feminists reject this assumption in their understanding of subjectivity (Butler, 1997b; O’Grady, 2005; Wright, 2005). For example, in Butler’s (1990/1999, 1997b) understanding of subjectivity, which I subscribe to, the forces of unconscious and repressed desire might work both for resistance and attachment to the
normalizing effects of discourses. Therefore, in her account, agency emerges as the product of an individual person’s situated subjectivity and struggles within the effects of discourses and psychic power (Butler, 1990/1999, 1997b).

Furthermore, postmodernists undermine the Cartesian dichotomy of mind and body and the subsequent neglect of the body, arguing that the body is a site where the power of discourses at particular historical moments are enacted and subjectivity is produced (Foucault, 1977/1995, p. 29). Understanding the “body as a site of power, desire, thought, action, constraint, control and freedom” (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 62) broadens our understanding of subjectivity. It can direct our attention to not only how one’s sense of self is influenced by gendered somatic life experience (Irigaray, 1977/1985), but also how bodily and somatic social practices play a role in “self-grounding” (Shusterman, 2000, p. 162) and self-fashioning in a postmodern society in which subjectivity is often fragmented (Shusterman, 2000).

In this section I have explained the concepts of discourse and subjectivity in a postmodernist view. In sum, a person’s multiple forms of subjectivity are discursively constructed and always in the process of transformation at the intersection of discourses (Weedon, 1987/1997, pp. 71-103; Butler, 1997b, pp. 83-105). The postmodernist notions of discourse and subjectivity are used to help me understand the participants’ perceptions of their life experiences and senses of self, and how their agency for change in their modes of life is produced. In the following section, I review the literature on a closely related notion, identity.
Identity

Most literature that discusses identity defines it as relational, that is, identification of self occurs in contexts where human beings interact with others in both personal and collective ways, during which they recognize both similarities and differences with those others. Generally, recent research on the relationship between globalization and identity treats identities as being formed and negotiated in complex relations of power. Whereas earlier views such as Tajfel’s (1974) notion of social identity as an individual’s self-concept based on discrete group membership have dominated the social sciences, the idea of social groups or social structures as determinative of identity has more recently been questioned by theorists subscribing to a postmodernist view (Block, 2007, pp. 11-14). In this view, identity is understood as dynamic and fluid—always in the process of making and being made at the intersection of discourses. Therefore, in this section I first review literature that discusses identity as a process of becoming in relation to other people or discourses, and, second, I review literature that explains identity as presentation of self or self-fashioning. Third and finally, I review literature that considers identity and agency in the current era of globalization.

Identity as a process of becoming. From the field of cultural studies, Hall (1996) stated:

Identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came
from’, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how
that bears on how we might represent ourselves. (p. 4)

Hall (1996) drew upon Foucault’s notion of discourse and contended that identities are
“points of temporary attachment to the subject position” (p. 6), thus always in the process
of becoming, and took the working of an unconscious dependency on the existence of an
Other as a central element of the identity construction process. To put it differently, we
define ourselves only in relation to others; these others are therefore “constitutive”—they
are part and parcel of the very definitions of ourselves that constitute our identities.

Learning at educational or professional institutions is a social practice that
contributes directly to construction of identities. The notions of apprenticeship and
community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) suggest the importance of
the processes in which newcomers are guided by other members to acquire
knowledge/skills, and in so doing to develop new identities. Gee (1990/1996) also
explained how interactions between people from different backgrounds in educational
discourses instigates the process of identity construction.

The conceptualization of identity as a process of becoming in relation to the Other
and the notion of apprenticeship within a community of practice are useful in this
research, as they help explain the participants’ identity construction and changes through
overseas studies and learning.

**Presentation of self and self-fashioning.** Understanding identity as presentation of
self (Goffman, 1959) or self-fashioning (Shapin, 1994) helps me to understand efforts that
individual persons make toward identity construction in specific local circumstances. Goffman (1959) explicated how people socially present themselves by performing their roles in accordance with the expectations of others in private and public/work situations. His notion of “dramaturgical performance of self” was produced in the field of sociology, but influenced a much wider range of academic fields. It aided in the rethinking of identity as performance effected by situational power, or *performativity*—that is, action in relation to performative effects of discourses (Block, 2007, pp. 16-18; Butler 1990/1999).

Similarly, in the field of anthropology, Kondo (1990) studied the everyday lives of people who worked at a Japanese pastry shop in which masculine identity was presented through craftsmanship. She explained that the male workers’ performances of artisanal identities relied on women “as the marginal Other” (p. 299) audience. Yet, older part-time female workers refused their marginality by performing their conventional gendered identities, for example, as “mothers” or caregivers to young male workers, in the everyday work setting. Kondo’s work explicates the multiplicity of individual self-fashioning in different Japanese social settings as well as subtle shifting identity performances that resisted marginalization at the intersection of work and gender discourses. Likewise, in Shapin’s (1994) account, “personal identity has to be continually made, and is continually revised and remade, throughout an individual career in contingent social and cultural settings” (p. 127), as he described the case of the self-fashioning of Robert Boyle, a scientist in the modern era (pp. 126-192). Goffman (1959), Kondo (1997), and Shapin (1994) inform us of the essential importance of the situated
nature of identity work, in which people make efforts and feel meaningfulness. These scholars help me to understand how the participants made efforts to present their selves in their particular local and professional discursive fields in relation to others’ expectations.

**Identity and agency in global cultural worlds.** The literature reviewed in the previous two paragraphs looked at individuals’ presentation of self in local circumstances. However, as Hall (1991) stated, “Global and local are the two faces of the same movement from one epoch of globalization…to something new” (p. 27). Recent globalization has changed people’s everyday life circumstances dramatically, and it has become very difficult to draw a clear borderline between local and global. Discursive fields of globalization influence an enormous number of people’s knowledge about the world and provide access to distant areas’ social practices (Steger, 2003, p. 13). The effects of globalization include the reinterpretation of traditional cultural beliefs (Heelas, 1996) and de-traditionalization of social relations and representation of identities (Hall, 1991). Heelas (1996) suggested it is likely that today newly formed knowledges, beliefs, and conventions coexist side-by-side with traditional beliefs and conventions. They have become resources for people’s identity construction, and the wide variety of social practices from around the world affect people’s choices for their lives.

The literature on globalization that explains how recent globalization affects people’s identities as well as choices for their future lives helps me to understand each of the participants’ identity construction as well as her agency, that is, an intentional “action that matters, something that changes [her] own life” (Nealson, 2008, p. 102). The
following literature further informed my understanding of the agency that the participants exercised to get an education as well as their construction of professional identities.

Analyzing the dynamics of current globalization, Appadurai (1996) contended that people today live in substantially “imagined worlds” (p. 33) that are affected by “global cultural flows” (p. 33) and that “imagination is now central to all forms of agency” (p. 31). In other words, recent rapid globalization has been affecting people’s decision making for their future lives according to their preferred images. This is because (a) people’s local situations have already been affected by the global flows, (b) people’s mobility has been increased greatly, and (c) abundant information about possible alternative ways of life is available for many people, for example in the global media. Mathews (2000), for example, showed how people from affluent societies at least have access to a vast range of “information and identities available from the global supermarket” (p. 1), and argued that they are no longer bound to local cultural norms and identities. Giddens (1991) suggested an increased possibility of life politics, that is, individuals’ decision making for “morally justifiable forms of life that will promote self-actualization” (p. 215) and development of “ethics concerning the issue ‘how should we live?’” (p. 215). All of this work has therefore promoted the idea that forces of globalization have exponentially increased identity options, and treated issues of how people make choices in the ways they live their lives.

The literature reviewed in this section helps me to interpret the participants’ agency for overseas study and meaningful professional lives that are not bounded by local, regional, or national norms. However, their identity constructions and professional
choices have always been influenced by gender discourses. Therefore, in the following section, I review literature on gender from a postmodernist feminist viewpoint, focusing specifically on Judith Butler’s performative theory of gender.

**Gender as Performativity**

Taking her lead from the work of Derrida (1977, 1987) and the Foucauldian notion of discourse, Butler (1990/1999) argued that gender is a “*stylized repetition of acts*” (1999, p. 179) that people *do* as performative effects of heterosexual discourses.

Expanding on the notion of performative in speech act theory (Austin, 1962, pp. 98-132), she contended that gender is “a performative accomplishment which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform in the mode of belief” (Butler, 1999, p. 179). Butler’s theory of gender teaches us that changes in gender performances can occur at any point in their very repetition: “Performativity is the discursive mode by which ontological effects are installed” (Butler, 1994, p. 33), and gender performances therefore allow individual people to gain intelligibility as subjects (Butler, 1990/1999, 1993; Weedon, 2004). However, the appropriateness of such performances is different depending on the discourses in relation to which they take place and the individual actors’ and audiences’ beliefs and interpretations. Moreover, because no two social events can be the same, changes or subversive gender performances can occur in various social scenes. Butler (1990/1999; 2004) therefore contended that we can “do” gender differently to trouble naturalized oppressive gender norms.
Butler’s idea of gender performativity helps me to understand the struggles my participants faced as gendered subjects as well as the changes they made for self-fashioning at various intersections of discourses. In what follows, I review literature that discusses the agency for self-crafting, that is, Foucault’s notion of technologies of the self and Butler’s interpretation of it.

**Agency for Crafting One’s Self**

Butler argued that our everyday struggles at intersections of multiple discourses produce agency to craft and re-craft one’s self continuously. How my participants re-crafted their selves and changed their ways of life consciously or unconsciously can be explained by Foucault’s concept of technologies of the self and Butler’s interpretation of it. In addition, Bourdieu’s (1991) cultural capital and social capital are useful to help me understand how discourses of family and education are linked to an individual’s development of self-worth and human relationships that support her agency and practices to re-craft her everyday life. Therefore, I review them in this section.

Technologies of the self are instruments that discourses provide, which an individual can use for her art of living—that is, to construct a meaningful existence. They consist of two major kinds of imperatives as a form of practice: (a) “Know yourself” (Foucault, 1988a, p. 19), that is, gain knowledge of one’s self and one’s world; and (b) “Take care of [your] self” (Foucault, 1988a, p. 19), that is, train one’s mind and body in daily life while seeking perfection, by which one can transform one’s ways of being to a freer and happier state. The technologies of the self and their two important constituents,
know yourself and care of the self, suggest everyday practices that apply knowledge to re-create one’s self. Thus, some feminist-educator researchers, including myself, find the concept useful for helping us to investigate how adult women’s educational practices contribute to their resistance to gender norms and/or the transformation of their gendered selves (e.g., Tamboukou, 2003). According to Rose (1996a), technologies of the self “are always practiced under the actual or imagined authority of some system of truth and of some authoritative individual” (p. 135). These technologies allow an individual “to explore, discover and reveal the truth of oneself in the form of one’s desires” (Foucault, in Rose, 1996b, p. 297). I explain the significance of this concept in the following paragraph.

When dominant discursive power governs human subjects and is not questioned, the conduct of the subjects follows the dominant normative imperatives. However, when the subjects are not satisfied or face severe difficulties in performing their roles as assigned by dominant discursive power, they can deploy technologies of the self against the dominant power. In other words, they can use some knowledge they have gained by participating in alternative or oppositional discourses to re-craft their selves creatively so that they can feel freer and happier than passively following the normative imperatives. For example, if an intelligent woman is not happy about her local situation that is dominated by traditional gender discourses whose norms deny adult women a higher education, she can move out from her local situation and get a higher education. By participating in discourses of higher education, she might be able to feel freer and happier by exploring her possibilities and her self that are closer to the images that she feels are
true for herself than by following the original local norms. In this case, discourses of higher education can function as alternative or oppositional discourses to traditional gender discourses. If she can transform her life using the knowledge and everyday life practices she has acquired in the educational discourses, it would be ethical for her self. Therefore, Foucault (1984b) stated, “we have to create ourselves as a work of art” (p. 351), which suggests application of knowledge/everyday practices of alternative discourses for ethics of care for the self and aesthetics of existence (Foucault, 1988b) within multiple discursive forces.

Butler (2005) interpreted Foucault’s idea to create one’s self as a work of art for today’s conditions and stated, “one invariably struggles with conditions of one’s own life that one could not have chosen” (p. 19), with the result that agency for creating one’s life as a work of art is produced in the very struggle. However, in order to have the capacity to deploy power-knowledge to recreate one’s self, one needs to have a sense of self-worth and be educated, that is, supported by others or some authorities. Therefore, the capacity to use technologies of the self creatively as an active subject is better understood when it is supplemented by Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital (cf., McNay, 2000). Cultural capital can exist in multiple forms and functions in coordination. According to Bourdieu (1986), it exists primarily in the form of an individual’s “embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (p. 243) that are formed by the acquisition of education. This form of cultural capital is mainly developed in family and educational discourses, and it helps develop her sense of her own social worth (Bourdieu, 1991). An individual’s original cultural capital can be further developed when she gets a
higher education and/or acquires educational/social credentials, which Bourdieu (1986) explained as “the institutionalized state” (p. 243). As Bourdieu (1986, p. 248-252) explained, a high degree of cultural capital is linked to social capital that is a legitimate membership in a social group that provides each member with a useful network of social connections and cultural resources. His concepts of cultural capital and social capital are useful to help me explain how the participants were able to re-craft their selves by participating in their respective family, educational, and professional discourses. Butler’s interpretation of Foucault’s idea to create one’s self as a work of art within multiple discursive forces and the concepts of cultural and social capital are useful to interpret my participants’ rigorous learning practices as technologies of the self against dominant Japanese gender discourses.

As such, similarly to the way in which Tamboukou (2003) found technologies of the self useful to understand how the practices in higher education have aided women’s struggles to re-craft their selves, I find the concept useful in interpreting the participants’ agency to take advantage of higher education to change their modes of life in their gendered struggles.

So far, I have reviewed literature that has informed this research conceptually. In what follows I review literature on education and second language learning that considers people’s subjectivities or identities from a postmodernist perspective (or at least views informed by postmodernist ideas).
Research on Education and Second Language Learning From Postmodernist and Postmodernist Feminist Perspectives

In this study I subscribe to a postmodernist feminist view, which emerged not only from postmodernist theories, but also from critiques that feminists developed. Therefore, in this section, I first briefly touch upon the development and changes in feminist views. I then introduce research from postmodernist feminist perspectives. Second, I review literature that considers education and learning English as a second language in the context of recent globalization from a postmodernist perspective. Third, I review literature on gender subjectivity struggles and education from a postmodernist feminist perspective. Finally, I review research that investigates Japanese women’s subjectivities in relation to study abroad from a postmodernist feminist perspective.

Development and changes in feminist views and research. Traditionally, research on language and education from modernist liberal feminist perspectives investigated differences between men and women and the resulting inequality, and emphasized women’s oppression, gender discrimination, and social reproduction in sexed roles vis-à-vis language use, school structures, and social arrangements (e.g., Lakoff, 1975/2004; Oakley, 1972). The research from this liberal feminist perspective assumed a certain unmarked form of (white Western middle-class) women as the founding and unifying subject of feminism. However, this view was criticized by black, working-class, lesbian, and disabled feminists, who contended that gender struggles interface with other forms of discrimination (Francis, 2001, p. 66). Post-Marxist and post-colonial feminists
also contended that gender struggles are interfaced with race, ethnic, historical, cultural, political, class, and material conditions in which individual women are situated (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998; Mohanty, 2003; Spivak, 1988). Consequently, feminist researchers’ understandings of the complexity of gender struggles have been deepened. In this activity, postmodernist ideas and concepts, especially Foucault’s notion of discourse and Butler’s performativity, aided in the rethinking of power, knowledge, and subjectivities. Therefore, they have become increasingly important to feminist research in the fields of gender, language, and education (Britzman, 2003; Dillabough, 2001; Ichimoto, 2007; Lather, 1991, 2007; Mimura, 2007; Paechter, 2001; Piller & Pavlenko, 2001; Riley-Taylor, 2002; St. Pierre, 2000; St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000; Tamboukou, 2003). Understanding these developments in feminist views and research have helped me develop my perspective as a feminist educator-researcher and my analysis of the workings of discursive power in relation to my participants’ agency for learning English and obtaining higher education.

**Research from Postmodernist Feminist Perspectives**

**Challenges and difficulties.** Postmodernist theories do not comfortably fit with the traditional understanding of feminism and feminist research, nor with its goals, such as emancipation and empowerment of women (Lather, 1991, 2007). This is because postmodernist theories do not offer simple solutions to discrimination, oppression, and exploitation. Moreover, some postmodernist feminists question the very category of women as given as a universal foundation of feminism, because the category limits
feminism’s ground to the dichotomy of man versus woman and excludes people who do not fit neatly within these categories (e.g., Butler, 1992). Of course, postmodernist feminist researchers study and discuss various problems and difficulties women face, but they do so with an aim to read complex workings of power relations into the problems and social events they study. As Weedon (1997) explained, what “woman” means varies and can be challenged:

The meaning of the signifier ‘woman’ varies from ideal to victim to object of sexual desire, according to its context. Consequently, it is always open to challenge and redefinition with shifts in its discursive context. What it means at any particular moment depends on the discursive relations within which it is located, and it is open to constant rereading and reinterpretation. (p. 25)

Thus, postmodernist feminist researchers investigate the workings of power in language, people’s everyday lives, and gender performances. Some postmodernist feminist researchers describe how conventional and/or idealized images attached to “women” or a particular group of “women” do not represent realities, arguing that they instead show the plural unfixable meanings and realities of “women.” For example, using her own experience as data, Jackson (2004) showed how the norms associated with being a “southern White woman” in her hometown excluded educated women. The author described how she felt “free for the first time in [her] life” (p. 684) when she left her hometown for higher education, and asserted that her return as an educated woman and her everyday practices as a teacher were subversive to the conventional images of southern woman. Jackson’s feeling of freedom from the conventional norms and
idealized images of southern women resembles two of my participants’ experiences in overseas contexts. Her analysis of her practices as an educator also helped me to notice how the everyday practices of my participants and the influence they have on others can reconfigure images of Japanese women.

As reviewed above, postmodernist feminist writings have helped me to realize that problems individual gendered persons face are different depending on their situations, because discourses of gender always intersect with other discourses such as those of sexuality, race, class, education, and nationalism, whereby issues of gender become complex. Their descriptions helped me realize the problems the signifier “woman” has had in modern discourses, for example, to have its meaning fixed via its binary opposition to “man,” and the need to unfix these meanings and images attached to “woman.”

Some postmodernist feminist researchers seek to challenge taken-for-granted knowledge and practice in Western school and academic discourses. For example, research studies collected by Baker and Heyning (2004) explicated workings of power relations in Western education, using Foucault’s ideas and challenging certain commonsense understandings in education by making them strange. McWilliam (2004), for example, analyzed how various moral and pedagogical discourses constructed teachers’ beliefs about what is good teaching and feelings of pleasure in their teaching practices, using some of the American teachers’ narratives published by academic journals as her data. Her work was eye-opening for me in revealing that the meanings of teaching and the pleasure in caring for students that educators feel are effects of the
discourses within which they make sense of their everyday practices. McWilliam’s analysis informs my understanding of the joy that the participants expressed in their teaching practices.

Research studies collected in St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) challenge traditional categories of “education,” “woman,” “feminism,” and “educational research,” and some of these remind us of the “traps” of the male-centered academic discourses that feminist researchers seek to oppose. At the same time, it does not mean that they are simply immune to such categories; because we have no others, we must work at least partly with the tools and within the traditions available to us. For example, Villenas (2000) showed problems with the exotic academic gaze by reflecting on her experience of conducting dissertation research, focusing on the dilemma of being simultaneously “a Xicana, a mother and an ethnographer of Latino communities who attempted to write about and represent Latina mothers” (p. 76) in the face of “a Western-based male discipline” (p. 91). She stated that although postmodernist feminist knowledge allowed her to understand the co-constructed nature of the educational performances of her participants—Latina immigrant mothers taking parenting classes in North Carolina—vis-à-vis discourses of power, she was unaware of her own embodied Western exotic gaze toward the participants in her writing. As a result, she sought the exotic powerfulness of the Latina mothers and represented their lives as cultural Others “within the categories invented by anthropology” (p. 86). What Villenas described was, in short, the dissonance of her subjectivities as a Xicana feminist activist, who felt close to the Latina mothers’ lives,
and as an academic feminist researcher who embodied male-tradition disciplinary practices, which distanced her from her participants and turned them into exotic Others.

Villenas’s description has helped me to see the difficulties feminist researchers face because of the multiple positions they occupy, and the dissonance between the postmodernist feminist and more traditional academic subjectivities, which I am not exempt from. I do not have a clear solution to this problem, but I believe that to recognize the difficulties and paradoxical positions that feminist researchers have is vital. Therefore, I have decided to openly describe my multiple perspectives, some of which contradict one another, that is, one influenced by modernist education and liberal feminism, which seems close to a viewpoint that influenced my participants too, and another influenced by postmodernist feminism. I would note, however, that it is a fundamental assumption of postmodernism that all differences cannot be resolved into a single coherent framework and that doing so is actually a violent and potentially dehumanizing action because by privileging a single perspective one marginalizes all others. We must therefore learn to live with difference, including unresolved and probably irresolvable contradictions in our own lives and research.

The literature reviewed in this section has helped me to realize the importance of writing about my participants’ lives, which challenge modern normative beliefs about Japanese women, and the importance of understanding effects of discourses on their lives and thoughts as well as mine.
Education and Learning English as a Second Language in Globalization

Education. Most literature on education that subscribes to postmodernism theoretically has critiqued educational practices and educational systems that have spread disciplinary mechanisms of modern knowledge (e.g., Giroux, 1992; Jardine, 2005), or neo-liberalism (e.g., Besley & Peters, 2007; see definition below). Thus, drawing on postcolonial theories and Foucault’s ideas of power, Giroux (1992) asserted the need to alter education by developing new radical pedagogical discourses. He was concerned about education as framed by modernism because “modernist culture negates the possibility of identities created within the experience of multiple narratives and ‘border’ crossing; instead, modernism frames culture within rigid boundaries that both privilege and exclude around the categories of race, class, gender, and ethnicity” (p. 54). Jardine (2005) explicated Foucault’s ideas of power-knowledge and critique in order to raise educators’ critical awareness of how their everyday lives are involved in the “truth” created within disciplinary mechanisms of modern knowledge.

Besley and Peters (2007) problematized how individuals’ subjectivities, education, and research have been shaped by neoliberal governmental discourses. They argued that individuals’ subjectivities are formed to aspire to socioeconomic success and cultivate an entrepreneurial self in neoliberal discourses. In Japan, Suzuki (2003) and Tanaka (2009) have similarly problematized Japanese formal education for its emphasis on economic efficacy, competition, and nationalism in the era of globalization. They argued for the importance of altering modes of Japanese education to foster students’ and teachers’
awareness of the interdependent nature of human lives, and to improve their creative imagination and freedom of self-cultivation.

The tendency in the literature discussing the relationships between globalization, gender, and education in today’s world is to express concern over the effects of neoliberal discourses, by which an individual becomes a “neo-liberal subject” or “enterprising self” in a risky world where success and survival have become each individual’s responsibility. Walkerdine (2003) described the neo-liberal subject as follows:

The neo-liberal subject is the autonomous liberal subject made in the image of the middle class….It is the flexible and autonomous subject who negotiates, chooses, succeeds in the array of education and retraining forms that form the new ‘lifelong learning’ and the ‘multiple career trajectories’ that have replaced the linear hierarchies of the education system of the past and the jobs for life of the old economy….It is argued that these times demand a subject who is capable of constant self-invention. (pp. 239-240)

Walkerdine (2003) also argued that the image of a self-inventing subject is based on the middle-class model of femininity and middle-class aesthetic (p. 242). Thus, a woman who is involved in the global neo-liberal discourses to a high degree is likely to wish to get a higher education and high levels of professional skills in order to take up a neo-liberal subject position. And she will continuously re-invent herself through lifelong learning according to the aesthetic ascribed in middle-class discourses. Burns (2008) found a similar tendency in the successful cosmopolitan images dispersed through global discourses that make young girls aspire to become a “girl-citizen” (p. 343) in the global
world. For this, discourses of education play an important role: “The values assigned to the new girl-citizen are reproduced in schooling policies and practices in a variety of ways. Emergent models of consumer citizenship have become increasingly linked to academic performance at school” (Burns, 2008, p. 352). Walkerdine and Burns might thus explain how neo-liberal discourses have dispersed ideal images of “new successful women,” and why some women are inclined to get higher education and lifelong learning.

In contrast, Britton and Baxter (1999) and Blackmore and Sachs (2003) argued that the ideas of the enterprising self and entrepreneurship, as well as associated struggles of self-transformation, take place within white Western constructions of masculinity. Thus, as Britton and Baxter (1999) stated, “This idea of the actor actively transforming himself appears from our data to be a masculine narrative which is also linked to class processes” (p. 189). Whether or not images of the self-inventing subject and transformation of the self show feminine or masculine qualities, the division of feminine and masculine qualities has been constructed within gender discourses, and it is important to recognize that those who are able to occupy neo-liberal subject positions or to craft themselves as enterprising selves are likely from affluent family backgrounds, while working class individuals have many fewer options (Skeggs, 2004, p. 75).

Leathwood and Read (2009) comprehensively reviewed studies concerning gender, education, and employment worldwide, and mainly discussed issues of women from different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds in today’s higher education in the UK. They revealed that those who did not fit the image of a successful and productive
academic within the managerial regime and white middle-class heterosexual norms felt tenseness and difficulties in their everyday academic lives.

The literature reviewed in this section informed this study not only regarding the problematic nature of educational discourses my participants (and I) have participated in, but also regarding the significance of the participants’ narratives of border crossing and self-crafting.

In the following section, I review literature concerning English as a second language in relation to recent globalization, which helps me to understand the participants’ learning and use of English in global discourses.

**English as a second language in global discourses.** As Hall (1991) contended, the current global order remains “centered in the West and it always speaks English” (pp. 28). Maurais (2003) and Steger (2003, pp. 82-84) clearly showed that English is the dominant language in the current globalized world and has been used as a primary language in the global economy, mass media, the Internet, and scientific publications. Tsui and Tollefson (2007) contend that English is a primary tool by which “globalization is effected” (p. 1), and therefore most states’ educational policies emphasize English education to foster their citizen’s *global literacy skills* (p. 1). Thus, English has been learned as a required subject in formal education in Japan, and valued as the primary tool for internationalization (Hashimoto, 2007; Kubota, 2002). However, English is learned and used not only for communication, but also for expressing and negotiating cultural identities in the global world (Hall, 1991; Jenkins, 2007; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton,
2000; Pennycook, 2007; Phan, 2008). The literature helped me to understand my participants’ learning of English as school students and adults separately. Kanno and Norton (2003) guided me to understand my participants’ investment in acquiring English as adults, that is, to become members of imagined communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 241) in the global world. Pennycook (2007) helped me to understand how differently and creatively my participants have used English to express their identities in their particular situations.

The literature reviewed in the previous paragraph convinces me that people learn and use English as a primary tool to become members of the communities they wish to join as well as to express themselves in the global world. However, research reveals the difficulties some immigrants and foreign students face in using English because of their marginalized positions in their host environments. For example, Norton (2000) explicated five immigrant women’s different situations and everyday struggles at intersections of different discourses in Canada through her longitudinal research. She reported that an immigrant subject position made the women feel marginalized, inhibited speaking English freely, and prevented their access to Anglophone social networks. Norton’s in-depth study showed how dominant discursive relations of power affect English learners not only in their use of English, but also in their access to social networks and feelings of self-worth. Likewise, Block (2006) revealed struggles and difficulties of six Spanish speaking Latino immigrants in acquiring English and receiving legitimate positions in London. These authors’ works have taught me that to use English as a second language
involves the speakers’ struggles to get legitimate memberships in their host communities and affects their sense of self-worth.

For international students, race and English (e.g., foreign accents) tend to become a barrier to access to Anglophone social networks. Based on their interview research with 56 international students (predominantly from Asian countries) in two Australian state schools, Matthews and Sidhu (2005) reported the students’ struggles in seeking acceptance in the host environment. They found that because the students experienced abusive racial language they tended to avoid interactions with local students. It appeared that the more the international students experienced racial prejudice, the more their national identities were reinforced. Thus, Matthews and Sidhu (2005) concluded, “international students do not experience Australian schools as sites for sponsoring new forms of global subjectivity and imagination” (p. 62). Similarly, researching conditions of postgraduate level education, Barron and Zeegers (2006) found that when a student is pointed out as lacking appropriate language skills by a supervisor or a test, “The student is constructed as deviant from the norm, or as lacking ability, or both” (pp. 88-89). The research studies on immigrants and international students suggest citizenship in global discourses does not come automatically, and because of a lack of English skills or foreign accents the immigrants and students are marginalized in the host environments.

The literature reviewed in this section helps me to understand the great efforts my participants made in acquiring English skills to become members of the communities they wished to join as well as in using English in their professional lives. The literature also helps me to understand one of the participants’ struggles in using English in the
communities of dancers she was involved in, as well as her great efforts to develop new identities in New York. In my participants’ cases, there is no evidence of suffering racial prejudice, but their self-recognition as Japanese seems to have been intensified by their interactions with Anglophones. In the following section, I review research studies on education in which adult women’s subjectivity struggles were considered.

**Educational discourses and adult women’s subjectivities.** Based on life-story interview data collected from 21 women and four men near the end of their first term in higher education in the UK, King (1998) investigated older students’ struggles in academic discourses, focusing on their accounts of their experiences in an “Access course” (p. 97) and in higher education in relation to their life narratives. Before they entered the Access course, a majority of the older students had left school with minimum qualifications, and experienced loss of a parent, sexual abuse, or trauma in their childhood. Therefore, King contended that these factors affected the students’ sense of self, and the difficulties they felt in higher education indicated a strong connection with their gender. Although they did not indicate experiencing any difficulty in obtaining a place in their higher education courses, “the difficulties encountered were very much related to how they had felt about themselves as learners, and their associated feelings of self-worth” (King, 1998, p. 101). In turn, these emotional difficulties in terms of self-worth affected their academic progress. King’s research also indicated that female students often felt it was “selfish” to develop themselves as full-time students in higher education, and struggled to control their time for their study and family responsibilities.
Her analysis informed me of the importance of investigating how my participants perceived their upbringing situations, how their family discourses affected their sense of self-worth, and how their gendered struggles influenced their perceptions of experiences in educational contexts.

Alsup (2006) investigated six female student teachers’ struggles during the period in which they were training to be secondary school English teachers in Indiana. She explicated the subjectivity struggles of the student teachers at the intersection of multiple personal, professional, and academic discourses. She argued that dissonance was created by the gaps between their gendered identities, narrative memories, sexuality, personal beliefs, cultural expectations toward English teachers, physical/mental experiences and the pressure of their superiors’ assessment. Three of the six student teachers decided not to become teachers, because the dissonance was too powerful to overcome for them. Alsup argued, therefore, for creating a “borderland discourse” (2006, p. 9) in which student teachers can express and reflect on the difficulties created by the tension between multiple discourses so that their multiple subjectivities are negotiated with support. She contended that the tension the student teachers felt could be productive, when it is reflected upon critically, in helping promote a professional teacher identity.

Tamboukou (2003) analyzed biographical texts written by 10 female teachers (six from middle class and three from working class backgrounds) who had left their homes for higher education at colleges in Cambridge at the turn of the 20th century. The women later became pioneers who contributed to the development of women’s education in England. She used Foucault’s ideas about subjectivity that appeared in his later works,
especially his concept of technologies of the self, as her main analytical tool. Her analysis of the women’s writings during their stay at colleges in Cambridge led her to argue that their everyday experiences were sites for self-transformation:

> Having a room of their own gave [the] women the private space they needed to retreat, think about themselves, articulate their thought and conduct, find a way to voice their desires, ultimately put together fragments and pieces of their identity. Their college room was the place to avoid surveillance, destroy the mirrors through which distorted self-images were being projected, and map their existence in different dimensions. At the opposite pole of the space/time process, travelling offered them possibilities of escaping their prescribed places and roles, of feeling free and trying ‘new modes of being’. (Tamboukou, 2003, pp. 73-74)

Thus, Tamboukou interpreted these women’s higher education as a site for self-cultivation and transformation. In her later discussion, in order to consider the conditions of today’s female teachers, she compared the women’s writings with the writings produced by currently active feminist-educator scholars and a group—“Holding On” (of which Tamboukou was also a member)—of female teachers who were studying in an MA program in the 1990s. As a result of the comparison, Tamboukou concluded that there was little change in social power relationships, and, moreover, she saw increasingly demanding pressures from educational institutions and family obligations that constrain today’s female educators’ everyday lives. In a similar vein, looking back at her own dissertation study on elderly women in the southern United States, St. Pierre (2004) stated that the concept of Foucault’s “care of the self” (p. 325) helped her to understand
her participants’ friendship relations in reading gatherings as “sites of resistance and freedom” (p. 342) against conservative Southern discourses.

What is of particular relevance to this research in the literature reviewed in this section is the researchers’ consideration of discursive power relations affecting gendered subjectivity struggles of adult women in higher education. The literature has also informed me of the usefulness of Foucault’s concepts of discourse, technologies of the self, and care of the self for this study. In the following section, I review literature that investigated adult Japanese women’s subjectivities in relation to their study abroad experience and learning English.

Japanese women’s subjectivities, study abroad, and learning English. It is problematic to bound and refer to “Japanese women’s subjectivities” because each woman is differently situated and always changing (cf., Rosenberger, 2001). However, there are some common tendencies in the power relations surrounding Japanese women. Therefore, I briefly touch on these before moving into a review of the research that investigated Japanese women’s subjectivities in relation to their study abroad experience and learning English. First, as explained in the section entitled “Gender Norms in Japan” in the previous chapter, the power of gender norms, supported by the ie-seido [family system] legally and symbolically, and the virtues of ryosai-kenbo [“good wife and wise mother”] and naijo no kou [“success with one’s wife’s help”], have impacted the construction of gendered subjectivities among Japanese women to varying degrees. Because of the patriarchal social system, Japanese women have often been placed in
subordinate positions in the family as well as at work (Shikano, 2004, pp. 34-35; Sugimoto, 1997, pp. 136-168). However, the impacts of liberalism and neoliberalism through education, the media, and recent globalization on gendered subjectivities have become strong forces too. As a consequence, at intersections of different discourses, and between different virtues, Japanese women’s subjectivities are complexly constituted, negotiated, and always recreated (Martines, 1998). Due to a variety of identity options and alternative ways of life informed by the media and globalization, some Japanese women might see English as a tool to create their imagined identities.

According to Kelsky’s (2001) in-depth ethnographic study, from the 1980s onward, the popularity of learning English, studying abroad, or working abroad among Japanese middle-class (and especially unmarried) women has become salient, not simply for professional purposes, but rather to actively transform their gendered subjectivities. Using the Japanese word akogare (“longing, desire, or idealization” [Kelsky, 2001, p. 26]) to describe Japanese women’s feelings toward the West, she interpreted their desire/actions to go “to the West” (p. 85) to study or work overseas as a product of discursive power relations. She also interpreted Japanese women’s agency to find a new self in the discourses of the West or internationalism as resistance to the imperative to play gendered/sexed roles at home and work assigned by Japanese gender norms. For them, she argued, learning English or studying abroad constitutes “access to an entirely new realm of value and meaning that will lead to transformative life experiences and self-fulfillment” (Kelsky, 2001, p. 105). In other words, learning English and studying abroad are important means for some Japanese women to resist the imperatives of Japanese
gender norms without fighting directly against them—moving to “the West,” they imagine, will provide them with space to develop new identities and new ways of life.

“The West” thus embodies the preferred imagined community (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 241) for these women, as opposed to the communities in which their gendered lives have been situated and which they feel are difficult to bear.

In a similar vein, Piller and Takahashi (2006) used the Japanese word *akogare*, referring in their words to “a bundle of desires—for a ‘Western’ emancipated life-style, for a ‘Western’ prince charming and ladies’ man [sic], [and] for mastery of English” (p. 78), to explain Japanese women’s desire to study abroad in the West. Their interpretation was based on their ethnographic study of five Japanese women who studied English as a second language in Sydney, Australia. Their data consisted of interviews with the women and media sources, such as women’s magazines, English learning magazines and websites, and advertisements for English language schools that were produced in “discourses of *akogare* for the West and for Western sexual and romantic partners” (p. 63). They described how the five Japanese women had longed for “the West” and invested in learning English in Sydney, and either had difficulties or failed to accomplish their original goals.

These two ethnographic studies (Kelsky, 2001; Piller & Takahashi, 2006) analyzed the popularity of learning English and studying abroad as a gendered tendency produced by complex power relations of multiple discourses, and shed light on the ambiguous positions of mostly single Japanese women. These studies have helped me to understand
one of my participants’ learning and use of English for her self-fashioning and her studying abroad before she married.

Detailed analyses of struggles and transformation of adult Japanese women’s gendered identities through study abroad experiences have been presented by Ichimoto (2007) and Mimura (2007). Both researchers used Foucault’s discourse concept and Butler’s performativity concept for their main theoretical framework.

Ichimoto (2007) investigated 17 Japanese women’s gendered “identity re-formation” (p. 1) through multiple interviews with them during their enrollment in graduate courses in Australia. In order to understand her participants’ self-recognition of changes, Ichimoto asked if their ideas about career, marriage/family life, ideal partner, housework, and the ideal Japanese woman had changed during their sojourn in Australia. Findings indicated that because of the experiences the participants had in Australia their aspirations for careers seemed to have had intensified significantly, which brought changes in their ideas about the ideal Japanese woman and marriage. Some of the participants’ own accounts on how they strategically performed different kinds of “Japanese women” depending on the situation, and the author’s analysis of hybrid identities that these women acquired, are useful for this study.

Further, Ichimoto (2007) claimed that her participants “became empowered or became powerful by ‘standing up’ for themselves, by claiming to speak for or represent themselves,” (p. 206) in the “new discourses that the women created by and for themselves” (p. 207). However, the women did not think it would be possible to continue performing their newly developed “empowered Japanese women identities” in Japan:
By encountering new people who have different values and views on marriage, career and family lives, they opened the ways to becoming “superwomen” juggling both private and public lives. However, these women clearly stated that this realization of a “superwoman” could only occur outside of Japanese society, since within Japan socially assigned gender roles play such an important role in defining the self. (Ichimoto, 2007, p. 169)

This quotation indicates two contrasting sides of the women’s attitudes: One in which they positively evaluated their lives in Australia—in which they were constructing their new “superwomen” identities—and the other toward Japan where they felt conforming to traditional gender norms obligatory. Ichimoto (2007) concluded that “the Japanese women challenged and subverted existing discourses of Japanese women in the domestic (Japan) context by taking up new discourses for themselves during their time in Australia” (p. 206). In relation to the participants in this study, I am interested in how Ichimoto’s participants created the new discourses in which they were empowered, and in what ways they subverted existing Japanese women’s discourses. I am also interested in how her participants’ experiences in the new discourses contributed to changes in their gendered lives. However, these are not made very clear in Ichimoto’s description.

Mimura (2007) investigated the gender subjectivity struggles of four Japanese women, focusing on their re-entry to Japan after overseas studies. The data were collected via multiple interviews with the participants and email communications while they studied in the United States in master’s programs and after they returned to Japan. Mimura’s participants took opportunities to study abroad in the United States for
different reasons: Two of the four did so because they recognized their academically oriented identities as undergraduates, while the other two went to the United States mid-career to improve their professional qualifications. Unlike the women Kelsky (2001) and Piller and Takahashi (2006) represented, Mimura’s participants did not expect drastic changes to their lives through their sojourn. After returning to Japan, however, they felt Japanese traditional gender norms more clearly as restricting influences on their lives as women and professionals. Yet they did not describe serious problems in readjusting to Japanese society. Mimura explained that this smooth reentry was possible because her participants strategically controlled their behaviors in order not to stick out according to their embodied knowledge about Japanese social norms.

The literature reviewed in this section is relevant to this study with regard to the consideration it gives to power relations in global and local discourses affecting Japanese women’s subjectivities and their experience of overseas studies. The authors depicted their respective participants’ thoughts and situations in detail. However, although postmodernist feminist ideas are used to understand the respective research participants’ perceptions of lived experiences and voices, the analysis still seems to be caught in the dichotomy of Japan and the West. In other words, the researchers’ descriptions tend to indicate that Japanese women’s more liberalized and/or professionally satisfied lives could be possible only in “the West.” This is probably because their findings suggest that most of their participants reluctantly accepted the status quo of women’s conditions in Japanese society while feeling dissatisfied. It seems that because of the focus of their studies the researchers hardly made evident their participants’ actions in Japan that were
potentially subversive of Japanese gender norms, or their efforts to transform their lives in Japan.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I first reviewed literature on postmodernism, Foucauldian concepts of discourse and subjectivity, identity, and postmodernist feminist views on gender, which together comprise my conceptual framework. I next reviewed postmodernist feminist research on gender, postmodernist research on education and globalization, research on English as a second language that considered identities and globalization, postmodernist feminist research on gender subjectivity struggles and education, and finally research on Japanese women’s subjectivities in relation to learning English and studying abroad. Butler’s reading of Foucault’s ideas that explain agency to craft one’s self as a product of discursive struggles, as well as St. Pierre’s (2004) and Tamboukou’s (2003) use of Foucault’s ideas of care of the self and technologies of the self are especially useful for this study in helping me to understand my participants’ practices of crafting their selves and taking up educational opportunities in the midst of their gendered struggles.

Having reviewed the research on education and ESL that considered subjectivities and identities in globalization, it has become clear to me that there is a great number of studies reported from Western social contexts, especially ones that focus on issues of neo-liberalism, migration, and ethnicity. However, there is a lack of research on the relationship between adult women’s identity struggles, education, and learning/use of English in globalization. Especially very few studies have been conducted on the
relationship between Japanese adult women’s gendered struggles and their taking up of educational opportunities. As mentioned at the end of the previous section, the four studies that did investigate Japanese women’s identity struggles and studies overseas in the context of globalization failed to make evident the transformations of their participants’ modes of living in Japan.

Building on the research reviewed in this chapter, this study investigates the roles of education and English in three particular Japanese women’s gendered subjectivity struggles and their gender transformations at intersections of local and global discourses. Compared with the four studies on Japanese women’s identity struggles mentioned at the end of the previous section, I should be able to describe more clearly the transformations of the participants’ gendered lives as a consequence of having education and some aspects of their subversive gender performances. This is because each of the participants clearly articulated their gendered struggles, especially their married life struggles as Japanese women playing multiple roles, which triggered their agency to take up educational opportunities. They also reflected on unexpected changes that occurred in their self-knowledge during their overseas studies and/or having participated in educational practices. Moreover, they used what they acquired from their educational experiences for their professional pursuits and to transform their gendered lives. Further, the participants learned and used English to fashion themselves and further developed their cultural and social capital, which aided in their transformation of their lives. I believe that in-depth investigation of these aspects of the participants’ lives is worth reporting to improve educator-researchers’ understanding of issues of gender, and the
roles of education and English within them. Thus, I intend for this research to contribute to studies of education and English as a second language/foreign language that consider gender from the perspectives of feminism, subjectivities, and effects of globalization on self-crafting.

**Research Questions**

Based on the literature reviewed in this chapter, I have set the following research questions:

1. How has each woman crafted herself in a particular historical period in Japan and in her particular ever-evolving situation?

2. What changes occurred in the three Japanese women’s subjectivities and identities at the intersection of discourses of globalization, family, married life, and work?

3. Why and how did the women aspire to craft themselves by taking the opportunities of learning English and overseas education in their particular situations?

4. What changes occurred in the modes of their gendered lives and views as consequences of having higher education and studying abroad?
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH APPROACH

This chapter describes the methodological approach adopted for this study, and how the study has been conducted, including participants’ characteristics, data collection, and analysis. Before moving to these, I briefly state the purpose of the study.

Purpose of Research

This research features three case studies, each of which investigates the trajectory of a Japanese woman’s life. Its purpose is to gain insight into (a) the formation of and changes in each participant’s gendered identities and subjectivity, (b) the formation of her agency to take advantage of opportunities for higher education and the learning of English, and (c) the significance of her experiences in higher education, overseas studies, and professional practices in transforming her life. The participants in this research are women who rigorously mastered what they were interested in, that is, English, fitness, and dance, respectively, and pursued their areas of interest professionally. By describing the three cases, I hope to contribute to studies of education and second language learning that consider gender from the perspectives of feminism, subjectivities, and the effects of globalization on self-crafting. As explained in Chapter 2, my understanding of the three cases is informed by postmodernism and postmodernist feminism, and particularly the notions of discourses and gender as performance.
Research Approach

The approach I took to investigating the cases of the three women is that of situated qualitative research, in which the researcher’s view and positionality are acknowledged as playing a significant role (D. Atkinson, 2005). In this section, I explain the approach itself, the researcher’s positionality, that is, her relationships with the participants and locatedness in the social scene, the characteristics of the participants, and the research tools employed.

**Situated qualitative research.** Situated qualitative research is “a set of interpretive activities” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 6), and its primary goal is to understand the particular human phenomena in question in their particular contexts. A situated qualitative researcher aims to be “maximally grounded in the everyday social world of those being studied” (D. Atkinson, 2005, p. 50) for the purpose of understanding the phenomena from the participants’ points of view. The researcher employs multiple research tools flexibly, tailoring them to her particular research focus and to the participants’ situated contexts.

Situated qualitative researchers with postmodern sensibilities recognize the paradigmatic, cultural, and methodological nature of any interpretive project. This recognition was developed through the epistemological critique of the modern sciences

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1 By the term “paradigmatic” I refer to “the researcher’s epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises, …or an interpretive framework” which is inevitably a social construction (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22). Kuhn (1962) argued that all scientific inquiry is socially and historically situated, and therefore does not merely reflect an objective and ahuman nature, but is rather actively constructed by human beings.
and their methods\textsuperscript{2} that claim objectivity, neutrality, and universal truth (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, pp. 11-12). Such critiques are evident in Foucault (1972, 1980) and Haraway (1988), which have informed this research. They contended that authoritative scientific truths were constructed in the language games of modern academic institutions, in combination with the interests of dominant groups. The resulting so-called objective truths produced by “the modern scientific worldview,” according to this perspective, “chose not simply to ignore women (and other ‘marked’ social groups), but in fact fashioned their distinctive form of life in opposition to them” (D. Atkinson, 1999, p. 168).

These critiques make clear that unmarked occidental scientific knowledge constituted mainstream beliefs as social norms while constructing images of non-mainstream others’ ways of life and language use as if they were ill-formed, or leaving them out altogether.

As an alternative approach to such research, Haraway (1988) has argued for producing “situated knowledges” (p. 590) by taking a critical feminist stance, from which partial connection with research participants and modest interpretive practices can be sought. The adjective “situated” in “situated qualitative research” therefore expresses the researcher’s doubly situated perspective: (a) a perspective arrived at through grounded positioning in the research context and being informed by the research participants’ points of view, and (b) a feminist perspective arrived at through the researcher’s

\textsuperscript{2} Discussing research method and claims of objective truth, Smith and Hodkinson (2005) stated, “There is no possibility of the objective stance or view—often called the ‘God’s eye’ point of view” (p. 917). The “God’s eye point of view” refers to objectivity or neutrality in conventional modern science. The authors also introduced Hanson and Kuhn’s critical arguments about a paradigm or a theory of knowledge. Hanson (1958) stated, “the theory, hypothesis, framework, or background held by an investigator can strongly influence what is observed” (in Smith & Hodkinson, 2005, p. 917).
experience and learning in her socioculturally situated positions. Based on this epistemology, a situated qualitative researcher’s analytical lenses should not be fixed, but open to constant reflexive renewal. The researcher needs as well to have a critical attitude to what is taken for granted, that is, mainstream knowledge and values, which can affect her interpretation. Therefore, the researcher is required to have “a constant sensitivity to blind spots, weaknesses, [and] changing conditions affecting ecological validity and viability” (D. Atkinson, 2005, p. 49) in order to develop her interpretation reflexively. Interpretation is indeed always mediated by language, culture, and discourse; the researcher therefore needs to be critically aware of their effects on her interpretation of the data. Postmodernist insights into language and discourse are useful tools for this purpose: They promote the critical awareness of particular sociohistorical conditions in which both the researcher and the researched act, understand, and make meanings provisionally. By constantly questioning and (it is hoped) renewing her ways of looking at the human world, the situated qualitative researcher makes efforts to overcome the rigid dichotomy of subject and object that has traditionally been assumed in social science (Rabinow & Sullivan, 1979, p. 6).

The above three paragraphs describe my understanding of situated qualitative research, and the reasons why I chose it as my research approach. I acknowledge my social positions as a Japanese woman, as a member of a similar age and subcultural group as the participants—I grew up in Japan and experienced Western style learning, as a feminist, as a second language educator, and as a researcher, from all of which I seek to develop deep but inevitably only partial connections with my participants. Thus, in this
study I attempt to understand my participants’ explanations of their lived experience as their particular situated interpretations, add my own interpretations of their interpretations, and avoid drawing objective generalizations.

In the process of research, the participants and I built rapport and made efforts to keep the conversation going. The three women welcomed my participant observation in their work contexts, and sincerely talked about their past experiences and thoughts. Sharing commonalities and differences regarding our experiences and thoughts, I empathetically learned about each of the participants’ life trajectories and gained insight into their gendered struggles, education, and learning, as well as their use of English in their particular contexts. Thus, the data the three women provided for this research were both rich and deep.

Yet as a researcher I need to be cautious about the fact that the social positions of the participants and myself, and our shared cultural norms mediated, enabled, and constrained the participants’ representation of themselves. As Gee (1996) explained, “All texts—spoken or written—construct a favored position from which they are to be received” (p. 102). This does not mean that the participants consciously staged their performances and made up stories in the interviews. Rather, it is the natural behavior of human beings to express themselves as social actors and to construct socially expressive selves. Therefore, I need to be aware of the effects that language, culture, intersubjective relationships, and the contexts in which the participants and myself were situated had on the nature of the data collected.
Furthermore, the primary focuses of this research, that is, explorations of the formation of my participants’ identities, subjectivities, and agencies, cannot be sought as self-evident in the recorded data. They have to be understood *in* the participants’ respective particular local situations as well as wider socio-historical conditions. Therefore, I used certain postmodernist concepts in my interpretive framework and researched the sociohistorical conditions of postwar Japan. This is how I, as a situated human researcher (cf., Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 201), made overall sense of the data and described each participant’s particular case as a narrative. I then asked each participant to read her narrative chapter to check if my description was accurate in her eyes. In the case of the discussion chapter, however, I asked all the participants to give me relative freedom to discuss and interpret their three cases theoretically, and they agreed.

**Researcher positionality.** The researcher’s position, views, and presence in the research context are a constituent part of situated qualitative research (D. Atkinson, n.d.). That is, “The *way* in which we know is most assuredly tied up with *what* we know and our *relationships with our research participants*” (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 209). It is clear that my experience and how I reflect on it, as well as my position as a feminist educator-researcher and my relationship with the participants, have affected this research. Therefore, in this section I discuss my researcher positionality, which includes my personal history. Ethical and power issues surrounding the research are also discussed. My relationship with the participants is explained in the Participants section.
From personal experience to feminist research. I am a Japanese woman, born in 1956, and during the period of this research, I was in my late 40s and early 50s, teaching Japanese as a second language (JSL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) at Japanese universities. In this section, I describe how my personal experience led me to do this research.

When I was a child my father read books to me, most of which were novels written for adults by Soseki Natsume, in order to help me go to sleep, and my mother sent me for private lessons with a professional painter and then a painting class, as well as to learn Japanese dance. I came to like reading and painting, and belonged to school art clubs from elementary school to university. Therefore, as a high school student I assumed I would major in art at a famous art university. However, my mother told me that as a woman it would be too difficult for me to survive as an artist, and suggested that I major in English and become an English teacher instead. Without much thought, I followed her advice. However, I got bored with university classes and faced problematic political conditions in the university (this was the 1970s—see below), so I thought of transferring to an art university many times. I regretted that I did not pursue my desire to become an artist.

In the mid-to-late 1970s, my university was in the process of a sweeping purge of the radical student movement, which included razing the student dorms and university co-op. One major reason why the university did so, as understood by the students, was that the university was unable to raise students’ tuition because of the radicals. While I was a student there, I witnessed a few professors’ resistance to the university’s attempts,
as well as most professors’ non-political bystander attitudes, which disillusioned me regarding my ideal images of educators. The classes in which teachers had their students simply and repeatedly translate English or American novels into Japanese bored me. Instead I came to enjoy the works of Albert Camus. Thus, I decided not to become an English teacher, and studied the literature of Camus under a Japanese male French existentialist literature professor in a seminar. Intellectually, therefore, I learned a little bit about Marxism because of the radical students’ influence and French existentialism in the seminar. I felt that the two worldviews had the similarity of considering people’s happiness and freedom. However, I found their suggested solutions unrealistic, which, in short, were either Marxist revolution or individual’s subjective freedom in the face of the hopeless meaninglessness of life (as in existentialism).

Upon graduation I worked at a Japanese company as a clerk, and after that at a French-American multinational research company as a bilingual secretary. While working at the latter company, I married an American who was teaching English while working on his graduate studies. I quit my job in order to move to Kyoto when he found a teaching position upon graduation. After moving to Kyoto, I studied to be a qualified teacher of JSL because it was impossible to find a job at a foreign-affiliated company. I got my Japanese language teacher’s qualification and worked at private language schools, but I found the conditions there highly problematic for both teachers and students. Therefore, in order to qualify to teach at the university level, in my late 30s I began studying in a master’s program at an American university’s satellite campus in western
Japan while working as a Japanese teacher. Upon graduation, I started teaching Japanese and English part-time at the university level, finding the work hard but satisfying.

However, in my early 40s, I faced the severe difficulty of divorce both financially and mentally, and decided to return to the American university’s satellite campus to obtain a doctoral degree in order to seek a more secure position at a university. The struggles that accompanied the divorce, however, made me realize not only my naïveté about married relationships and a professional career, but also the difficult social conditions that surround women in Japan. Thus, I came to be interested in feminist works introduced in the doctoral program and in doing research on gender for my doctoral thesis. I first did a statistical study on gender differences in university students’ attitudes toward learning English, for which I also did group interviews. The results, especially the data from the interviews, made me realize that the female students’ interest in learning English was related to their perception of Japanese gender norms that restrict women’s lives to prioritizing married life and family care, and of how English could help them connect their lives to wider social relationships. Thus, I decided to study the area in depth from a feminist perspective. Postmodernist works introduced in the doctoral classes also interested me because I felt their ideas were useful in helping me to think of today’s human condition in ways that differed from Marxism and existentialism. Moreover, postmodernist feminist ideas helped me reconsider the category of woman and problems of gender.

The selection of my participants thus was related to my personal experience and interest in the relationship between gender and education, and because of particular
similarities and differences I felt as compared with these three women. The main similarity was that in the midst of severe gender struggles all of us took up educational opportunities offered via globalization in order to change our lives. The main difference was that although I had given up pursuing what I wanted to do professionally (I had wanted to be an artist), my participants had not. As a feminist educator-researcher, I thought I could learn a lot from the trajectories of their lives and their reflections on their experiences of overseas studies and learning at American educational institutions. And, most importantly, they were in empathy with my feminist intent for this research, and accepted my investigation and participation in their lives. Therefore, I echo Bishop (2005): “The researcher cannot [simply] ‘position’… herself or ‘empower’ the other. Instead, through entering a participatory mode of consciousness, the individual agent of the “I” of the researcher is released [or at least enhanced] in order to enter a consciousness larger than the self” (p. 120). This led to my understanding of this situated qualitative research project as a process in which my consciousness as a researcher would be expanded by my participants’ supportive openness.

In order to learn from my participants ethically as a feminist researcher, I have responsibilities to protect my participants’ lives and to be conscious of complex issues of power. I discuss these in the following two sections.

**Confidentiality and ethical principles.** Because this research focuses on the participants’ lived experience including their private gendered experiences and struggles, ethical concerns are crucial to protect their lives. The central ethical principle I have kept
in mind is: “Consider my participants first! They have trust in me! Don’t do anything that would betray their trust!” This principle had vaguely formed in my mind while doing my first interviews with the participants, and became explicit when I received my dissertation advisor’s advice. Spradley (1980) introduced a very similar but more formal statement of this core ethical principle, quoted here from the 1971 version of Council of the American Anthropological Association’s *Principles of Professional Responsibility*:

> In research, an anthropologist’s paramount responsibility is to those he [sic] studies. When there is a conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. The anthropologist must do everything within his power to protect their physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honor their dignity and privacy. (p. 21).

For the purpose of protecting my participants from possible harmful consequences, I use pseudonyms for all names and particular locations that appear in this study. In fact, at the beginning of the research, two participants insisted that I use their real names, but they agreed to my use of pseudonyms when I explained to them the possible risks of doing otherwise. Thus, the authentic identities of the participants and the locations where they live and where some of their experiences took place are concealed. The three Japanese women—Midori, Haruko, and Akane (their pseudonyms)—expressed their oral agreement to participate in this study in 2004 and signed a formal written consent form (Appendixes A in Japanese and B in English) in 2007.

**Issues of power.** Issues of power between the researcher and the researched exist throughout the research process. As Wolf (1996) discussed, feminist researchers face
additional dilemmas regarding issues of power, because power relations exist not only between the researcher and the researched, but also between the researcher and the academic disciplines and institutions to which she belongs.

As for control over the research process, I believe that power relations should not be considered as merely hierarchical, as Foucault (1980, 1983) pointed out. On the one hand, I held power and responsibility in deciding the research agenda and “knowledge creation” (Wolf, 1996, p. 3) in textual presentation. On the other hand, the participants held power and responsibility in deciding when, how, and which parts of their lives I could observe and write about, and they knew they had the right to withdraw from the project at any time. To ensure that they knew how their lives and thoughts were being described, they received transcripts of their interviews, versions of this study’s narrative and discussion chapters, and the lists of data excerpts (in Japanese) that I used in their respective narrative chapters (Appendixes D for Midori’s chapter, E for Haruko’s chapter, and F for Akane’s chapter). The participants gave me feedback on these materials when they felt they needed to.

In terms of the power of the researcher as a writer, I hold it because this is my dissertation research, by which I aim to gain a doctoral degree. However, as feminist qualitative research on Japanese women’s lives this dissertation involves power negotiations within the conventions of the academic fields and the institution I belong to. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 2, what and how I write regarding the participants’ narratives are not free from cultural norms or audience considerations. In other words, as
a feminist educator-researcher, my power is “partial” (cf., Olesen, 2005, p. 255) rather than absolute in producing this research.

**Participants**

In this section, brief profiles of the research participants, how my relationship with each participant started, and the reasons why I asked each one to participate in this study are explained.

**Midori.** Midori was born in the late 1950s into a second-generation medical doctor’s family in western Japan, and grew up there until she graduated from high school. She moved to Tokyo for her undergraduate study, and worked for a company in Tokyo upon graduation for two years. She then moved back to her hometown to have an *omiai* [arranged] marriage with a medical doctor. She has now been married more than 20 years and has one child—a son. She is currently the owner of a chain of English conversation schools, and works as its president, as a teacher, and as a free-lance interpreter and translator.

Midori went to the United States to study English twice (for one month as a college student and four months in her mid-twenties), and has been using English professionally for many years. She earned a master’s degree in TESOL in her late 30s, and has been pursuing a doctoral degree in education since 2003.

I first met Midori in January 2003 at an academic seminar. After that, on several occasions we conversed about our professional as well as private lives. We discovered
similar career paths: Although we had not envisioned being teachers when young and became office workers after our undergraduate studies, we both ended up teaching English. Our family backgrounds are very different, and I became interested in how her family background affected her self-concept, as well as her choice of profession and husband. Midori’s life trajectory seemed to show her unique gendered struggles and changes at the intersection of local and global discourses. Moreover, her vigorous study and use of English seemed closely related to her identity work and struggles to change her life. Therefore, I asked her to be a research participant in this study and explained my research purpose in March 2004, receiving her consent in June 2004.

**Haruko.** Haruko was born in the early 1950s and grew up in a large city in western Japan. She has lived in the same city and maintained a close relationship with her mother, whose support seemed to have greatly influenced Haruko’s development of her self-concept, until the latter passed away in 2005. Her formal education ended when she graduated from high school. She then worked part-time at a Japanese restaurant, and married a professional photographer and amateur bodybuilder when she was 21. They opened a physical training gym soon after they had their son. While she was married Haruko taught physical training at the gym, and became a bodybuilder herself. She divorced at age 36 after having bitter experiences in her married life. Just before her divorce was completed, she obtained a consultant position at an American fitness institution, whose business operation was starting in Asia at that time, in order to have
enough income to raise her son. Since then, she has been working as an expert in the field of fitness, for which she has been studying and using English.

Haruko has been participating in fitness conventions and seminars in the United States (at least annually) and in Asian countries regularly. She enrolled in an intensive ESL course in the United States for two weeks in 2003. She went to Germany for a week in 2004 to study rehabilitation for patients with lymph gland disorders, and to teach fitness for a week in 2007. She works as a freelance fitness adviser and trainer for companies, professional athletes, people with disabilities, and the general public. She also works on a volunteer basis as the head of a national fitness instructor group.

About a month after we met at a mutual friend’s party in 1997, Haruko asked me to teach her English privately. Since then she has been coming to my house to study English regularly once a week. We started with one-hour conversation lessons, but as soon as we started using a fitness and health-related textbook she increased the lesson time to 3-6 hours per lesson. Since March 2006, because of our work schedules, we have had roughly one 2-hour lesson per week. While teaching her English, I wondered where Haruko’s eagerness to study came from, and when I suffered from difficulties relating to my divorce, she told me about the difficulties she had suffered in her own marriage. Her life trajectory seemed to show a case of gendered struggles and change at the intersection of discourses of gender, family, bodybuilding, and globalized American fitness education, and she studied English to fashion herself as a fitness expert. Therefore, I explained my research purpose and asked her to be a research participant in June 2004, receiving her agreement immediately.
Akane. Akane was born in the late 1940s and grew up in a fairly large city in western Japan. She has studied classical ballet since she was an elementary school student. Upon graduation from high school she worked as a classical ballet teacher at the ballet school where she studied. Two years later she left the school and founded a jazz dance company with a modern dance choreographer, whom she later married. In her late 20s, because she felt a severe impasse as both a dancer and the wife of the head of a dance company, she went to England and the United States to study various dance forms. In her 30s and early 40s she lived and performed in New York for about three months a year and worked for the dance company in western Japan for the rest of the year. Then, in her mid-40s to mid-50s she mainly stayed in New York. While in New York, in addition to performing as a dancer, Akane worked as an artistic advisor for a dance studio, and also started doing choreography. She moved back to Japan in 1999, divorced her husband in 2001, and founded her own dance studio and dance company in 2002.

I briefly met Akane in 1997 at a mutual friend’s party, and attended her dance concerts in the following years. Her performances, especially regarding those in which she showed a woman’s woes and joys, interested me because they seemed to indicate deep insight into women’s lives. In 2001, the friend who had originally introduced us told me that although Akane was having various difficulties because of her divorce, she was preparing to open her own dance studio and found her own dance company. This display of fortitude under pressure impressed me. I also became interested in Akane’s overseas experience and how it might have affected her life and self-fashioning. Thus, when I was
planning this study I wanted Akane to be my participant. However, I hesitated to contact her because we had not met in person since 1997. But in late July 2004 I sent her a letter requesting her participation, in which I explained the purpose of the research, my observation plan, and how I would conduct the interviews. On receiving my letter, Akane immediately called me and asked me to come to her dance studio. She listened to my explanation and agreed to participate in August 2004.

**Research tools: Narrative Inquiry and Participant Observation**

In this section I explain narrative inquiry and participant observation—the main research tools used in this research to derive an *experience-near* (Geertz, 1973), or *emic* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), understanding of the three women’s lives and thoughts.

**Narrative inquiry.** Narrative or telling stories is a discursive practice, in which the storyteller arranges pieces of experience, thoughts, or imagination from their past into a coherent unit from their point of view in the present (R. Atkinson, 1998; Linde, 1993; Riessman, 1993). It is the primary way that people make sense of events and experiences, and express their interpretations of them (Mishler, 1986, p. 69). Life story inquiry is a method well suited to “in-depth study of individual lives” (R. Atkinson, 1998, p. 3) and issues of gender and culture (R. Atkinson, 1998, pp. 18-19) as they affect these lives. Therefore, many feminist researchers use narrative inquiry in order to bring women’s lived experiences, subjectivity, and voices that were previously silenced to the fore as legitimate knowledge (Chase, 2005). Narrative inquiry “gives prominence to human
agency and imagination, [and] it is well suited to studies of subjectivity and identity” (Riessman, 1993, p. 3), as well as educational experience (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999). Therefore, I have chosen narrative inquiry as the primary tool to investigate my participants’ gendered experiences and their thoughts on their educational experiences.

Jerome Bruner (1996), one of the founders of cognitive science, described what he called the “narrative construal of reality” (p. 147), that is, we understand what we have experienced in the world through narratives from our culturally situated positions, and doing so is essential in ordinary human lives as well as in systematic (including scientific) knowledge production. I believe that the narratives my participants told are not “just stories” (Bruner, 1996, pp. 148) but are worth listening to as they show how particular women thought and acted vis-à-vis the institutions of culture, language, and education they encountered. However, I need to be cautious because we are so familiar and comfortable with the narrative construction of reality that we often fail to realize its complexity. I explain the complex nature of narrative inquiry in the following subsection.

**Issues in narrative inquiry.** Primary issues narrative inquirers need be aware of are the complexities of narrated data and the identities and meanings constructed in them. For example, the relationship between researcher and researched affects what and how things are told and how they are interpreted. This is because narratives are co-constructed in the research interaction, within historical, discursive, and political limits (Gee, 1996; Pavlenko, 2002). Likewise, how narratives are told is not free from implicit rules of conversation (e.g., Hayashi, 2003 & Mori, 1999 for Japanese conversation; Schegloff,
1981 for English), and neither is the meaning attributed to a particular event, or the interviewee’s identity as presented in her talk, free from cultural norms (Mishler, 1986) or researcher interpretation (Bell, 2002). Therefore, there is a critique of narrative inquiry, which views narrative data as “a mixture of fiction and non-fiction” (Denzin, 1989, p. 24) and researchers’ descriptions as a “fiction” of these researchers. In what follows in this section, I explain how I understand these issues, and I explain how I described the participants’ narratives in the Presentation of Findings section.

Personal narrative interview contexts are social and discursive events in which interviewees tell stories that are worth telling as social actors. Thus, Bell (2002) cautioned that interviewees might “construct stories that support their interpretation of themselves, excluding experiences and events that undermine the identities they currently claim” (p. 209). However, I recognize that this is a natural human tendency (Sarup, 1996, p. 16) and part of the nature of presentation of self (Goffman, 1959). On this issue, Fontana (2003) suggested privileging “the interviewee’s agency” (p. 55) for her construction of identities, and that what is important for the researcher is “to make evident…her own sense of identity and representational practices” (p. 55) as well. I follow Fontana’s suggestion in my narrative inquiry.

Narrative inquiry interviews thus involve ontological meaning making. This is because when we tell a story from our own lives, “we discover deeper meaning in our lives through the process of reflecting and putting the events, experiences, and feelings that we have lived into oral [and sometimes written] expression” (R. Atkinson, 1998, p. 1). Building a trusting relationship with each participant was thus an essential
prerequisite for the interviews. The participants could not be expected to actively tell me their own lives in situations where those lives were not acknowledged and respected. It was even the case that—to express a sentiment not uncommon in narrative research—after completing the interviews with the participants I felt that our relationship entered a new phase with an enhanced level of trust, and my responsibility to them increased (cf., R. Atkinson, 1998, p. 36).

In sum, in narrative inquiry, understanding both the interviewer and interviewees as “active agents” (Fontana, 2003, p. 55) in constructing the narratives, identities, and meanings therein expressed is crucially important. How I collected narrative data and more details on the nature of the data as conceived by me is explained at the end of the Data Collection section. How I interpreted the data is explained in the Analysis, Interpretation, and Presentation section.

**Participant observation.** Participant observation is a research method by which a researcher physically immerses herself in her participant’s local context and situation by “engag[ing] in activities appropriate to the situation” (Spradley, 1980, p. 54) in order to understand the participant’s experiential world. It requires long-term and/or intensive involvement with participants in their social situations. In situated qualitative research, the researcher’s involvement in the social situations being studied is fundamental to building experience-near understanding of the participants’ views (Geertz, 1973; D. Atkinson, 2005). According to Spradley (1980, pp. 57-58), while taking part in social activities, the researcher experiences the social situation as an *insider* as well as an
outsider\(^3\) and keeps writing fieldnotes so that s/he can develop a rich and contextualized understanding. Participant observation was useful for understanding the participants’ modes of living and thinking in their particular situations. Therefore, I used participant observation as a primary research tool.

In order to gather data successfully, as Hammersley and P. Atkinson (1995) pointed out, it is important for the researcher to build good relationships with the local people in the social settings she observes, and she should therefore avoid displaying sharp differences, for instance in dress, ways of talk, political beliefs, with them. I thus tried to control my appearance and mannerisms to fit with my participants’ local situations as much as possible.

**Data Collection**

In this section, I explain how I collected the data for this research using the research tools described in the above section. At the end of this section, I explain how I conceive of the nature of the data I collected.

As mentioned in the section on participants, Midori began participating in this research in March 2004, Haruko in June 2004, and Akane in July 2004, with the main source of data being interviews with them and participant observation from June 2004-

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\(^3\) According to Angrosino (2005), “The achievement of the delicate balance between participation and observation remains the ideal of anthropologists” (p. 730). Even if the researcher is grounded in the social situation and experiences activities as an “insider,” she must critically recognize the differences between her perception and the insiders’ as well as the fact that there are different insiders’ voices. Therefore, contemporary social scientists “are increasingly inclined to expect differences in testimony grounded in gender, class, ethnicity, and other factors that are not easy to mix into a consensus” (p. 731).
December 2007. However, my communication with them for this research has continued.

An overview of my data collection in each participant’s case is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Overview of Data Collection*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
<th>Participant Observation</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midori</td>
<td>June 12, 2004 (60 min.) in the livingroom of the researcher’s house</td>
<td>September, 2004 (5 days; 28 hours at her school and 25 hours in her private life)</td>
<td>- Her blog&lt;br&gt;- Written work for her graduate studies and local chamber of commerce&lt;br&gt;- DVD for local TV&lt;br&gt;- Recordings of her radio broadcasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 28, 2006 (100 min.) in the livingroom at Midori’s house</td>
<td>September, 2005 (4 days; 21 hours at her school and 20 hours in her private life)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>July, 2006 (4 days; 21 hours at her school and 20 hours in her private life)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>October, 2006 (3 days; 12 hours at her school and 15 hours in her private life)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haruko</td>
<td>August 4, 2005 (110 min.)</td>
<td>July, 28–August 2, 2004 (Traveled together with her Japan-Taipei and attending an int'l fitness convention; 35 hours)</td>
<td>- Communication with her when she came to my home for English lessons&lt;br&gt;- Her official web site&lt;br&gt;- Her published videos, DVDs, and books&lt;br&gt;- Event fliers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May 7, 2006 (100 min.)</td>
<td>September–October, 2005 (Four fitness events Haruko taught; 24 hours)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both took place in the livingroom at the researcher’s house</td>
<td>August–September, 2006 (Three fitness events Haruko taught; 18 hours)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akane</td>
<td>September 23, 2005 (90 min.) in Akane’s car at a scenic riverside about 15 minutes from her dance studio</td>
<td>August, 2004–March, 2006 Attending her dance lesson class roughly two hours a week (Approximately 64 hours total)</td>
<td>- Her dance studio’s parties and web site&lt;br&gt;- Concert fliers&lt;br&gt;- Books and web sites that explain the kinds of dance she learned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 10, 2006 (120 min.) in the livingroom at the researcher’s house</td>
<td>December 8, 2007 (Her lecture; three hours)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 22, 2006 (90 min.) in a café near her dance studio</td>
<td>Her dance company’s concerts (Eight times; 24 hours)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interviews. Learning from R. Atkinson (1998), I was interested in “important life themes that emerge in the telling of one’s story” (p. 6) and how those themes are related to identity construction in my participants’ interview data. Therefore, all of the interviews with the participants were done in Japanese (our first language) in a non-structured open-ended style, tape-recorded, using my Sony TCM-47 cassette-corder, and all the recorded interviews were transcribed. I transcribed my first interview with Midori. Because of my time constraint, I asked three other people to transcribe the other interviews, for which I paid them. I explained to them the importance of confidentiality to protect my participants’ privacy and identity, and they promised me to keep everything confidential. Two pages of my transcription were given to the three transcribers as a model for their transcriptions. I asked them not to copy the interview tapes, return the interview tapes and the two pages of my transcription to me when they were finished, and to delete the transcribed data in their computers. I checked their transcriptions while listening to the interview tapes, and made corrections when necessary.

Following R. Atkinson (1998), the transcriptions were “given to the storyteller to go over for any changes, deletions, corrections, or additions” (p. 38). Because this research did not aim for a microanalysis of speech delivery, transcription was done in basic language word by word. Short and long pauses, sharp rises and falls in intonation, a rising

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4 R. Atkinson (1998) stated, “the less structure a life story interview has, the more effective it will be in achieving the goal of getting the person’s own story in the way, form, and style that the individual wants to tell it in” (p. 41), and “the fewer questions you ask in a life story interview, the better” (p. 42).

5 One transcriber was a female co-worker who was teaching English at the same university at the time I asked. One was her sister who was a housewife, and one was a female friend who was looking for a job at the time I asked.
intonation followed by a pause, and laughs were marked. Brief contextual information was added in when necessary. The transcription conventions used in transcribing the interviews are shown in Appendix G.

**Observations.** I participated in my participants’ social activities, mostly in their work situations, as much as possible. As I did so, I paid attention to what they did in their everyday lives and the ways in which they presented themselves to other people. Learning from Spradley (1980, pp. 39-52), I took notes on observation note sheets (e.g., Appendix C). Because my participant observations were intense, I used the notes to reflect on them after leaving the social settings I observed. I wrote my reflections in a B5 size notebook (6mm x 35 lines, 40 sheets) that I kept for each participant. My handwritten reflection notes have become 78 pages for Midori, 63 pages for Haruko, and 80 pages for Akane. In what follows, I explain more details of my observations of each participant.

**Observing Midori.** I visited Midori’s school in order to observe her work situation at her school’s branches. She let me observe not only classes that she taught, but also her meetings with her staff members, with whom I was allowed to communicate freely. In October 2006, while observing her work with a client, I helped her translate instructions for toy packages. Midori let me stay at her home and participate in family activities with her husband and son. She provided me with her written work for her graduate studies, for her local chamber of commerce, and for her school’s web site. She also gave me a DVD of her interview that a local television broadcasted in 2006, and informed me about an
interview conducted with her by a local newspaper in 2007. In addition, I constantly checked her blog (163 pages printed on A4 paper) to understand how she presented herself to a wider audience. We also kept up our contact through email and telephone. In June 2009, she sent me three recordings of her talks on radio in which she explained about learning English and her thoughts on her graduate school studies, as well as her multiple social roles. This aided and confirmed my understanding of the current modes of her life style.

Observing Haruko. In response to my initial request to observe her at work, Haruko informed me about her fitness teaching events for professional fitness instructors as well as for the general public which she felt that I would be able to participate in. In 2004, she invited me to participate in an American organization’s fitness convention held July 28-August 2 in Taipei, Taiwan. At this convention, I was allowed to observe her interactions with many different kinds of people (e.g., fitness instructors, medical doctors, and university professors) from different countries. I took notes in my hotel room each night. I also shared a room with a veteran fitness instructor who had worked with Haruko for more than 15 years, and heard her account of Haruko. I also communicated with a Japanese medical doctor who worked closely with Haruko, and was able to listen to his account of her as well. I then participated in seven fitness events to observe her teaching in Japan over the next two years. I was introduced to her students as her English teacher. I sometimes took notes on site, but usually after I returned home.

As Haruko regularly came to my place for English lessons, I asked her to allow me to take notes on our conversations whenever I felt something important came up during
our English lessons, and she agreed. In the fall of 2004, she explained to me her plans, motives, concepts, and the difficulties she faced in publishing a book, video, and DVD, which she issued between 2005 and 2006. She asked me to read her manuscript for the book and give her advice, and I did. She also asked me to give her advice for the name of the DVD, which I did. From this process I learned more about the different kinds of work she was engaged in which I was unable to observe directly. In January 2004 she found out about her mother’s terminal cancer of the esophagus. After that, when she came to my house she talked of her worries and emotional difficulties that emerged while taking care of her mother and after her mother’s death in 2005. She also had a non-commercial official website that reported on her work in different places in Japan with pictures and her account of each event. This web site, which I did not print out, was another data source, from which I learned about her daily work.

**Observing Akane.** From early August 2004, I enrolled in Akane’s dance school and started my participant observation there. Akane explained my research to her two assistants very briefly, and told me that I was allowed to participate in any classes I wanted except professional dancers’ rehearsals, because my observation might cause unnecessary tension in that case. I mainly observed her by participating in her dance classes as a student once a week until the end of March 2006. I took notes after I came home, as it seemed unnatural to do it at her studio. I also attended Akane’s school parties and went to see her dance company’s concerts. At the parties, I was able to communicate with people who worked closely with Akane, such as costume designers, musicians, and other dance teachers. At the dance concerts, I was able to identify the worlds that Akane
strove to create as described in the interviews, in contrast to those that her ex-husband had wanted to create for her, because I had also seen three concerts that her ex-husband choreographed for her. She usually telephoned me a few days after each dance concert I had seen, and let me know what she was thinking while dancing, what kind of preparation she did (e.g., lighting, music selection), and her upcoming plans.

Akane’s dance studio had a web site, but it did not report much about her work, and therefore I did not print it out. I also checked the web sites of jazz dancers from whom she learned in New York. These web sites were also a data source from which I learned more about Akane. In addition, because Akane wrote her thoughts about life, people, and love, though briefly, in the pamphlets and fliers for her dance concerts, I used them as yet another data source. In December 2007, an organization that researches life-long learning held a lecture by Akane in which she talked about her life as a dancer. In this talk, she showed slides of photographs of her in her teens, 20s, 30s, and 40s, including those with her fellow dancers in New York. This aided in the confirmation of my understanding of her life narratives.

My understanding of my participants’ situations (e.g., what kinds of work they do with what kinds of people) while taking part (however partially) in their mundane activities and the other sources of data that I mentioned above, aided considerably in my understanding of the interview data as well as the participant’s on-going activities and ways of presenting themselves.
**The nature of the data.** In this section, I explain how I conceive of the nature of the data I collected.

I engaged in in-depth interviews and participant observation to collect the data this study is based on. In a broad sense, I can be considered a cultural insider as a Japanese woman, and I also share several similarities with my participants as I have learning experience in an American educational institution and have been involved in working/teaching in international contexts. I believe that these helped me to understand my participants’ points of view and what they value, though of course only partially. However, I did not know each participant’s everyday local situations and the ways in which they interacted with other people in their local and work situations until I did participant observation. I felt that I was an outsider who went into each participant’s territory while participating in her professional activities. Yet by knowing their local situations, talking with people who were close to them, and experiencing different activities they had organized, I developed a kind of schema to understand what they said in and outside of their interviews. Therefore, not only the recorded data, but also the experiences I had in different social situations with my participants became an important basis for understanding each participant’s current modes of living and thinking.

As for the nature of the data I collected, I believe that they were produced in/as social events in which my participants were the main actors and I was a supporting actor within discursive constraints. I can assume that my participants believe that they did their work as usual and talked about their experiences as frankly as possible in and outside of the interviews. However, with “hermeneutic skepticism” (Bruner, 1996, p. 140), I
conceive of the data I collected through observation as my interpretation of the discursive performances of my participants in particular social events. Similarly, as “interview talk is action—is performative” (P. Atkinson & Coffey, 2003, p. 121), I conceive of the interview data as the participants’ representations of past experiences and voices, which were co-(re)constructed with me in the course of interaction. Yet I believe that there are socio-historically specific situated truths in what I saw and heard, which Riessman (1993) called “narrative truths” (p. 21), echoing the Personal Narratives Group’s account:

When talking about their lives, people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused, and get things wrong. Yet they are revealing truths. These truths don’t reveal the past “as it actually was,” aspiring to a standard of objectivity. They give us instead the truths of [their] experience…. Unlike the Truth of the scientific ideal, the truths of personal narratives are neither open to proof nor self-evident. We come to understand them only through interpretation, paying careful attention to the contexts that shape their creation and to the world views that inform them. (Quoted in Riessman, 1993, p. 22)

I agree with the above-mentioned account. I believe my participants’ discursive performances and narratives reveal their cultural representation, different facets of self-fashioning, and accounts of their learning experiences. The participants’ narrated experience is “always already an interpretation and in need of interpretation” (Scott, in Olesen, 1998, p. 320) from a feminist educator’s perspective. Just as many feminist educator researchers have struggled for faithful interpretation and ethical presentation, I too have faced difficulties in interpreting the data I collected as well as in presenting my
findings facing cultural, political, and discursive constraints. Therefore, my interpretation of the situated truths of the three women is partial, as is all knowledge (Haraway, 1988), but aims to understand their points of view. In the following section, I explain how I analyzed and interpreted the data, and how I decided to present my findings and their interpretation.

Analysis, Interpretation, and Presentation

In situated qualitative research, the researcher’s constant reflexive analysis and interpretation take place throughout the research process. Hammersley and P. Atkinson (1995) explain that, “The identification of categories is central to the process of analysis” (p. 195), and this was, indeed, an important part of the analysis. For this study it was crucial to identify the “important life themes” (R. Atkinson 1998, p. 6) that my participants related. Thus, I followed R. Atkinson’s recommendation: “Life stories should be read first and foremost as a whole….Understanding parts of the story is important for recognizing patterns and themes that connect the parts to the whole” (p. 67). The important life themes of each of the participants therefore emerged while I repeatedly listened to the recorded interviews and read through the interview transcripts. I aimed to “listen to the narrator’s voices—to the subject positions, interpretive practices, ambiguities, and complexities—within each narrator’s story” (Chase, 2005, p. 663). Thus, in the margins of each participant’s interview scripts I noted what she had emphasized as meaningful for her and what she valued, what I considered struggles and changes that came from her gendered subject positions, and her thoughts on education, learning, and
interpersonal relationships. My fieldnotes described mostly the sites of social events, characteristics of those attending these events, how each participant dressed, what she did, and what she said to her students, subordinates, or others. My participant observation and accompanying notes indicated the participants’ involvement in, joy, and commitment to their work, as well as their situated ethics of care for other people, but the local contexts in which I observed each participant were different and could not be compared; I therefore engaged in a substantial amount of individual, situated description. I then compared the three participants’ narratives and identified themes that were common among the participants. In the following subsection, I summarize five common analytical themes across my three participants that I identified in my interview transcripts and observation notes.

**Five analytical themes.** The five analytical themes that were common among the participants were: (a) They valued the learning experiences in overseas/Western educational institutions, through which they found something new or saw changes happen in themselves; (b) They highly valued commitment to their professional activities, through which they found joy and multiple meanings; (c) Their narratives of learning experience in Japan and overseas were intertwined with their gendered identities and struggles; (d) They valued English not only as a tool for communication and acquisition of skills/knowledge, but also for developing their professional identities; and (e) They regarded their family lives (both the families they were born into and those created
through marriage) and relationships as making significant contributions to their ways of thinking and living.

The above-mentioned themes were significant in helping me to answer my research questions, and I believe that they indicate what the participants saw as important constituents of themselves and their lives. They represent, though partially, the participants’ common primary modes of thought, values, and beliefs, which have been constructed in their current social situations and discourses. Although each participant’s way of living is unique, I believe that these five themes must guide my interpretation and description of the three women’s narratives.

Yet this research also aims to understand the three participants’ multiple identities, transformation of subjectivity, and the roles of education and English in their lives on their own terms. Recognizing the unconscious formation of subjectivity, as well as understanding personal identity and subjectivity and their transformations, might even be assumed to be impossible—how well do we even know ourselves, one might ask. However, I have worked on the principle that it is possible to have a partial understanding of the three women’s identities and subjectivities through talking with them, observing them, and analyzing their narratives in their particular social contexts, because these identities are constructed and maintained in and through social contexts—they are social (and therefore, in part, publically available) productions. As Paechter (2001) suggests, postmodernist perspectives and the concept of discourse have also helped me (once again, always and only partially) to understand my participants’ gendered struggles and their efforts at self-crafting. I have looked at the narrative data in relation to my participants’
identity work as well as their ever-evolving temporal and spatial situations, while using the theoretical concepts described in Chapter 2 as thinking and understanding tools. In the following subsection I explain in more detail how I have analyzed and interpreted the participants’ identities and subjectivities, and the roles of education and English, using the theoretical concepts described in Chapter 2.

Analysis and interpretation of subjectivities. Foucault’s notion of discourses and Butler’s notion of gender as performative are the main theoretical concepts I have used for my analysis of my participants’ identities and subjectivities. The concept of discourses made me realize that situational changes in my participants’ lives accompanied changes of discourses and/or changes in the degree that they participated in particular discourses. Therefore, I analyzed the spatial and temporal situational changes in my participants’ narratives for indications of changes in their subject positions, which led to the transformation of their identities and subjectivities. Butler’s (1990/1999; 1997a; 1997b; 2005) understanding of the plurality of the effects of discourses has helped me realize not only how subtly the powers of culture and language produce subjects, but also how indeterminable subjectivity is. Thus, I marked the parts in my interview data that indicated my participants’ accounts of what some people had said to them and what phenomena influenced their ways of thinking and acting, and how they reacted to cultural or institutional imperatives. I then tried to identify which discourses had impacts on the participants’ accounts and/or changes in their thoughts and ways of life.
Butler’s (1990/1999; 2005) explanation of agency as a product of gendered struggles has also helped me to analyze my participants’ agency to take up opportunities of higher education in their particular gender struggles. I also analyzed my participants’ expressions of “pleasure, satisfaction and enjoyment” (Elliott, 2002, p. 172) in their narratives of their learning experience or work as indicative clues of their creative self-crafting in particular discourses. In terms of the roles of education and English in the participants’ lives, I first identified the parts in which each of the participants talked about her learning experience and learning/use of English in the interview data. I then analyzed the linkage between the participants’ particular situations and their taking up of the learning opportunities, and the linkage between the participants’ investment in learning English as well as their use of English and their self-crafting in particular discourses. I also analyzed consequences of having received an education at American institutions or in overseas studies in the participants’ lives, that is, what changes occurred. I then interpreted the participants’ accounts in terms of how the education that they received in the discourses of family and Japanese or Western educational institutions influenced the participants’ subjectivities, and what roles their learning/use of English played in what discourses.

In sum, the postmodernist perspective on self—involving multiple forms of subjectivity and identity—as always in a process of becoming in socio-historically specific situations has provided the main tools for my analytical interpretation of the three women’s cases. In the following paragraph, I explain how I decided to present my findings.
**Presentation of findings.** As Casanave (2003, 2005) points out, I risk the consequences of constructing the identities of my participants as well as myself in my written product. On this issue, though I cannot avoid the risk, I have chosen to describe the three women’s cases in separate chapters, and then to provide my more theoretically informed analysis in my discussion chapter. More specifically, because each of my participants’ cumulative data were rich and represented individual, multiple identity struggles, what she valued and found meaningful, and her thoughts, which indicated her particularity and situatedness, I decided to present each participant’s case in an independent narrative chapter in an attempt to capture her own (emic) points of view (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). I then used a postmodernist perspective and theoretical concepts in order to explain the interplay between the participants’ subjectivities, self-crafting, and power of discourses in my discussion chapter (Chapter 7).

For my description of the three cases (Chapters 4, 5, and 6), I have aimed at illuminating each participant’s presentation of self, agency, and thoughts from my situated understanding of her points of view. I translated participants’ interview data as quoted in the narrative chapters into English, and an experienced translator checked the adequacy of my translations. As Wolcott (1994, pp. 17-18) suggests, I have organized the participants’ life narratives in a chronological sequence, and provided their particular local contexts as needed, because I believe that this is the most coherent presentation of my participants’ life trajectories. At the beginning of each of the respective narrative chapters, I have described a scene, from my observation notes, that shows my
relationship with each participant. This is because my description of the three cases is my interpretation—my partial understanding derived from my situated position and my rapport with my participants—of the participants’ life stories and presentation of self. Thus, my narrative description is the result of the integration of the data, and therefore, in that sense, has “affinity to fiction in terms of organization of the description” (P. Atkinson, Delamont, & Hously, 2008, p. 85).

In the discussion chapter (Chapter 7), I have aimed at describing how different interpretations of the three women’s gendered struggles and the transformation of their subjectivities are possible in the dialectical tension of modernist/liberal feminist versus postmodernist feminist perspectives. First, regarding the roles of education and English, I describe how my participants crafted themselves in the discourses of globalization using higher education and English. Second, I describe my interpretation of the particularity of each participant’s gender identity work, looking at her representation of gendered identity struggles and how she acted in her married life and professional life. Third, I interpret the participants’ agency and use of Western education in their particular situational contexts. I then argue that the participants used education for their technologies of the self/care of the self (Foucault, 1988a; 1988b; 2003), having had particular persons’ help and support in re-crafting their selves. In my discussion, I have aimed at describing the participants’ identity struggles and actions in relation to the discourses that influenced those struggles and guided those actions. Thus, I have aimed at interpreting my participants’ identity work, ambiguity, and subversive performances that were produced at the intersection of multiple discourses.
In sum, I have tried for a presentation of research that interprets the participants’ cases from multiple points of views. In the narrative chapters, I have aimed for emic points of view—ones derived from grounding myself as strongly as possible in the three women’s worlds and views, as well as requesting their feedback on my analysis. In my discussion chapter, I have attempted to give more a theoretically informed interpretation of the three cases.

Summary of the Research Approach

In this chapter, I have explained the situated qualitative research perspective that is my general approach to this research. The goal of this research is modest, partial understandings (Haraway, 1988) of three particular women’s modes of living and thinking from my own situated position in and proximity to their lives. Taking this perspective, I conducted interviews and participant observation. I acknowledge that the data do not simply reveal my participants’ reality as it is—they are narrative constructions of reality produced by the participants and their discursive performances as interpreted from my situated position. Yet there are situated narrative truths here that deserve to be interpreted faithfully according to the three women’s points of view. In order to understand the particularity and complexity of the trajectories of each participant’s life, self-fashioning, and subjectivity, her social situations and wider cultural conditions needed to be taken into account. A postmodernist feminist perspective and the concept of discourses aided my interpretation of the roles of education and English in the
participants’ lives, the struggles and efforts of their identity constructions, and their practices of re-crafting their selves.
Visiting Midori’s Hometown

As the propeller-driven plane I am taking approaches Japan's fourth biggest island of Shikoku, countless small islands covered with green trees appear far below under the sunny blue sky. The plane lands at the airport with a small shock, and then a red dragonfly greets me outside my window while the plane taxis to the terminal. I see many more dragonflies as I walk to the airport building. Midori calls my cellphone, saying that she will be about 10 minutes late to pick me up because of traffic. Ten minutes later she calls me again to tell me exactly where to meet her outside the airport. As I exit the airport, I see Midori’s red BMW coming up the elevated approach to my left.

I jump into Midori’s car as soon as it stops. She greets me with a big smile and apologizes for being late as she puts her foot on the accelerator. She asks if it’s ok for us to have brunch at a hotel restaurant where she's planning an opening party for her school’s new branch. She also asks if I want to see her new school—her third one—before brunch, even though it’s still under construction. I reply enthusiastically, “Sure, let’s go!”

I remembered visiting Midori’s main school in a big shopping mall in 2004 and 2005; at that time we drove along roads through the middle of rice fields in her metallic silver BMW. Now, however, Midori drives her new car through downtown and into a residential area with fine-looking houses. Midori explains that this area is the best
residential area in the city, and that she asked her designer to make the school look sophisticated so it would fit the neighborhood. Soon, she announces our arrival and parks in front of a red brick four-story building, whose first floor will be the school and the upper floors apartments. She gets out of the car and greets the carpenters working on the floor of the lobby. The facade of the school is transparent glass, through which still-bare floors, ceilings, and a just-installed hanging wall can be seen. Only a wide arch has been completed on the left side of the room, under which a front desk is already installed; the center and right side of the room make up an expansive open space. Midori explains that the right side will become a reception area in which several large sofas will be arranged for students and customers. As we get back in the car to go to brunch, she wonders out loud if everything will be ready in time because there is only a month and three days until opening day.

Soon after, Midori drives me through a downtown area packed with hotels. She stops at the one where she is planning to have the new school’s opening party on September 1. As we walk to the entrance, I notice that Midori is wearing a long black linen skirt with tiny stones at the waist and a yellowish sleeveless shirt printed with zebras and elephants. The zebras’ black lines match her black skirt and shoes. Her short hair is dyed brown, her eyebrows are sharply drawn in a similar color, and her makeup fits her noble-looking face (from my notes written on 7/27/2006).

I originally met Midori at a seminar offered by an American university, which took place in Osaka, Japan. She told me then that she had been commuting to Osaka from Shikoku every week to study for a doctoral degree in education, and she had traveled
even further for her TESOL master’s degree. She spent at least seven to eight hours one-way to commute and usually had to stay overnight in Osaka to attend the following day’s class. I was amazed by her enthusiasm to study and the energy with which she had put her desire for further education into action. In what follows, I describe her life and what she shared with me in terms of her learning and teaching.

A Doctor's Daughter

Midori was born in the late 1950s—her parents’ first child. Her mother was a housewife and her father was a medical doctor specializing in obstetrics-gynecology who owned his own hospital. Therefore, when her mother gave birth to her, her father took care of the delivery. Midori told me that her mother reported her father saying, “Nanjya bii no ko ka [Well, a baby girl.]” when he picked her up—“bii no ko” means “girl” in the local dialect. Midori therefore thought that her father had hoped for a boy as his first child—a boy who would later become a doctor. At that time, there was a strong expectation in Japanese society that the first son of a doctor would also become a doctor. Midori’s parents later had a son, who eventually did become a doctor, but because of her female gender in her family, Midori had to decide for herself what she wanted to be.

Midori explained to me that in general the parents in a doctor’s family have different expectations for their first child, depending on whether the child is a girl or a boy. In the case of a boy, becoming a doctor and inheriting the hospital is considered a necessity. A girl, on the other hand, is allowed to choose whether to become a medical doctor or not. However, if the girl is an only child, becoming a doctor or the wife of a
doctor is necessary. In Midori’s case, she could not decide for a long time whether to become a doctor. Although she chose not to in the end, being the first and only daughter of a doctor seems to have had a strong effect on her self-crafting.

Midori grew up as a well-behaved, intelligent child in her elementary school years, and she was almost always at the top of her class. She grew tall; in fact, she was the tallest student among her schoolmates until the fifth grade, which affected her self-concept. As she said, “This is not related to my studies, but regarding my human self-development, in this, it is a big factor that I’m very tall” (D1). She explained further:

So because I stood out as a tall girl, I thought that it wasn’t good to stand out just because I was tall, because that was like an udo no taiboku. Because I lived in the countryside, I stood out as the child of a doctor too; I thought it was not good to stand out for such a reason. So I thought I had to do well in school studies, and such things like physical education too. I felt like I should be the best in academic subjects and other things. (D2)

Therefore, the effort Midori made to be excellent academically was actually related to her physical appearance—being very tall—and her consciousness of being looked at as a doctor’s child in the local society in which she grew up. She recounted, “The reason why I had to be number one is because I was always the tallest; I would be embarrassed if I was not number one in other things because I was number one in height” (D3). However,

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1 Data excerpts are coded as follows: The letter indicates the appendix of this study where the original Japanese, from which the excerpt is translated, can be found. The number then indicates the extract from the interviews with the participant or the materials she wrote, and the full set of extracts for this chapter is listed in Appendix D.

2 Udo no taiboku refers to a variety of large tree that is too soft to use for any purpose; the expression is used to refer to a person whose body is big but useless.
Midori also worried that if she were academically superior she would not be able to find a husband:

My most important goal was marriage, and in order to get married I needed a partner…. Becoming number one in everything was too much for men as they might be afraid of me. Because the top position should be saved for a man, I thought I should pull myself down a little bit, settling nicely for number two (laughs) or number three…. Well, anyway, I thought it was not good that I was always number one if I wanted to be a bride. (D 4)

In Midori’s case, because she was a girl and had a brother, her parents told her that she could do whatever she wanted and they would always back her up. Midori’s long-held dilemma of whether to become a doctor or not lasted until she became a university student majoring in English. On the other hand, there was never any doubt in her mind that she would marry a medical doctor. She told me in an email that she had thought that if she could not marry a doctor, she would be a failure in life.

**Studying English in her Hometown**

In junior and senior high school, Midori studied English hard to prepare for tests. Consequently, she did well on them, and English became her favorite subject. She also tasted the pleasure of communicating with foreigners by participating in English-only summer camps. However, most of the time spent studying English in her second and third years of high school was to prepare for entrance examinations, especially to get into Keio University, whose campus attracted her (see below).
Midori started learning English on entering public junior high school. She did not study at cram schools, but she memorized whatever was written in the English textbooks used in her junior and senior high school. In her second year of junior high school, she enjoyed studying English in the school's newly installed language laboratory. She explained how she studied English at that time:

When I was about to graduate from elementary school, the principal told the [6th grade] students that they would start studying English and would have to remember everything said in the textbooks. So I thought I should do so, and because I memorized everything written in the textbooks as a normal thing to do, I did well in junior high school. When I entered high school, I received an English grammar book. And because we took a test for each chapter, I memorized everything so I was successful…. And also, in my second year of junior high school, I was lucky because the school was renovated and an LL [language lab] was added, which seemed to be popular at that time. There, we had lessons like recordings, mostly sounds, and visual recordings too, and, well, I guess I liked doing such things. (D5)

Midori’s English learning in school was therefore successful, and she seems to have enjoyed it. Her liking for English was accelerated when she participated in an English-only summer camp for a week in her third year of junior high school. Because she enjoyed it so much, she participated in the summer camp again the following year, too.

Midori told me:

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3 In Japan, these are commonly called juku. Juku are privately run “after-school schools” which are popular among K-12 students, especially as a means of intensive test preparation.
There was something like a summer camp for a week [for which] foreign volunteers came from foreign countries,…for junior high and high school students to spend a week speaking only English….That was a lot of fun! And because of that I came to like English more and more. Because I enjoyed it so much when I was in my third year of junior high school, I went [to the camp] again in my first year of high school.

(D6)

Midori accounted for her strong interest in communicative English as originating in the summer camp. However, she needed to study English grammar for her university entrance examination while in senior high school and postponed using English as a means of communication for a while.

In her second year of high school, Midori visited three top private universities in Tokyo—Sophia, Waseda, and Keio—because she definitely wanted to spend her *ojousama* [young lady from a well-to-do family] college life in Tokyo. Growing up in a local area in western Japan, she longed for the urban life that she thought would better suit her. When she saw Keio University’s library she liked its atmosphere so much that she thought that she would definitely like to spend her college life there. Therefore, she studied hard to pass Keio’s entrance examination:

Because I wanted to live *ojousama-chikku* [like a lady from a well-to-do family], I definitely admired Keio’s library where they have tall trees, so I thought I would definitely go to Keio University. So I determined that I would go to Keio and studied [hard to do that]. So basically, for my study for entrance examinations, what was it called? Ah, [the thing used] to remember English words that appear in
examinations? [Y: Shiketan⁴] It was called Shiketan [English Words for Examinations], wasn’t it? I memorized those [words in the book] rigorously. (D7)

Midori explained that rote memorization of words and practice answering past examination questions were her main approach to studying for the entrance examination. As a result of her hard work, Midori entered Keio University, where she studied from 1977 to 1981.

**Midori’s College Life**

Midori enjoyed Keio University’s atmosphere, and especially the club activities, in which she fashioned herself as a young lady from an affluent family. However, she lost her confidence in English after she stopped studying seriously because most of her time was devoted to enjoying college life. As a result, she wanted to avoid taking the examination required to major in English and American literature from her second year. She therefore considered majors that did not require exams, such as history or Japanese literature. But when she told her parents that she wanted to major in Japanese literature because it did not require an exam, they told her to attempt the English and American literature exam anyway. She then took and passed it even though she expected to fail, and became a sophomore student majoring in English and American literature.

In her college days, Midori enjoyed dressing according to the latest styles, as featured in fashion magazines such as *Non-no* and *An an*, which were very popular.

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⁴ Abbreviation of *Shiken ni Deru Tango,* [English Words for Examinations], a popular book used by Japanese high school students to prepare for university entrance examinations.
among young Japanese women at that time. In order to enjoy her life at Keio, it seems that Midori cared about what to wear, according to the norm of wealthy young women’s fashion trends, especially after she joined the ski club, whose members had affluent backgrounds. In an email message she explained:

As for fashion, I occasionally wore jeans, but put a fox coat on over them in winter….At that time, it was not unusual to see students wearing fur coats.

Especially, I was in the ski aikou-kaï⁵ [a club whose members ski as a hobby], and when attending its parties held at hotels, I felt small if I did not wear a fur coat. (D8)

Midori explained that the rich ambience those club activities produced was exactly what she wanted from her college life at Keio University; she therefore enjoyed them very much. Her account of how she liked the club's ambiance and how she oriented herself to the club atmosphere indicates her gendered class-consciousness.

When Midori was in her fourth year at the university, she went to San Francisco to study English for a month during her summer holidays. The trip included a home-stay program, but it seems that it was not so memorable for Midori as she spent all of her time with other Japanese students. Several months after her trip to San Francisco, Midori graduated from Keio University.

⁵ The word aikou means “like” and kai means “association.” Thus aikou-kai stands for an association of people who like doing a particular activity voluntarily as amateurs, versus university sports clubs, which are funded by the university and usually involve serious competition. Because there is no English equivalent for aikou-kai, I use the word club henceforth.
Studying English after Graduating from University

After Midori graduated from university, she worked using her English skills as an office clerk in the export department of a large Tokyo-based corporation. She worked there for nearly two years, and took advantage of the English conversation lessons the company offered. She liked her coworkers and the company’s atmosphere, but she was unwilling to work there for a long time and decided to quit the job. After that, Midori studied in a vocational school in Tokyo for six months to prepare for an interpreter-guide examination. She subsequently failed the examination and returned to her hometown to prepare for marriage, but when she arrived there and found nothing much to do, Midori decided to do short-term study overseas. She explained:

There was nothing to do at home after I went back in August, so in the month while I was at home, I began to think that I wanted to study overseas; I felt I wanted to study English a little bit more. And when I told my parents, they said that it was ok but for no more than half a year. So just one month after I went back to my parents’ place, I promised them it was for just half a year, and I went to America. (D9)

I believe that Midori’s parents were expecting her to stay with them at that time in order to prepare for marriage. At the same time, however, her parents wanted to support her in doing what she wanted before she married into another family. Therefore, they approved of her going abroad for a short period of time—one that would not interfere with their marriage plans for her. In any case, Midori went to America for four months to study English at an intensive program at the University of Pennsylvania.
Midori reflected on her experience in Philadelphia: “I was impressed by the communicative methods that I experienced for the first time in my life in the States” (Anonymous, 2004). The good impression she formed about communicative language teaching later influenced her to become an English teacher. Moreover, as a woman, Midori felt much freer in the United States than she did in Japan. This overseas study therefore significantly influenced her gendered identity and brought about an unexpected turn in life, as described in the next section.

Midori’s Reflections on her Overseas Study and her Gender

When I asked Midori whether being born a woman and learning and using English were related for her, she started comparing her experience with Japanese formal education to what she had felt while studying overseas:

Probably, for a long time, throughout elementary, junior, and senior high school, because I was a girl, I felt kyuukutsu [bound], like I should not go even one step beyond. It doesn’t mean because of the way my parents raised me or that sort of thing, but from society as a whole. I might’ve told you before, for example, when I was in elementary school there was a description in home economics that said the father went to work and the mother did housework. But I thought that it would be fine if such things varied depending on each family…. For such kinds of things, I felt fujiiyuu [I didn’t feel free to do anything]. I always felt very kyuukutsu by such conditions in which I couldn’t stretch my power freely, and women had to stay one

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6 In order to protect the participant’s identity, I cannot give her real name.
step behind [men]. But when I went to America, I felt released from such
constraints and became free, and my mind loosened up. I thought, wow, I'm free!
That might be related to English—that I lived my life using English very much.

(D10)

Midori further explained that the feeling she got of freedom from Japanese gender norms
in the United States was related to her height:

In Japan I felt constrained, but when I went to America, I was free, so such things
like, for example, because I’m very tall, so in Japan I feel kyuuakutsu [bound]. [Y:
Standing out in the crowd.] Well there you go, though it’s probably fine that I stand
out, but when I was in America, my height was about the average for women of my
generation. I felt that I’m normal. So I felt like it’s fine that I was being myself; I
felt quite at ease. So going [to America] was good. So about English, because I
liked it, I was studying, and after all, probably everything regarding English and
America [is related]. (D11)

The experience Midori had in America appears to have made her think critically about
her gendered position in Japan and the constraints she perceived in Japanese formal
education. Midori continued by talking about her thoughts on differences in classroom
behaviors between the United States and Japan: “In America, such as at a language
school, students also speak very frankly. But, for example, in Japan nobody raises her
hand even when she wants to speak up” (D12). She continued:

Like being as quiet as a lamb. I felt something like it looked crazy or foolish if I
raised my hand all the time, so gradually I became quiet [in class]. And I thought I
wasn’t free because I couldn’t speak up even though I wanted to say something. But when I was in America everybody spoke up about whatever they thought. So I thought there’s [a possibility to] study in such an environment that is so free. (D13)

Reflecting further on the experience Midori had in Philadelphia, she explained how comfortable she felt as a woman, including her physical appearance:

That was the place where I could be jibun no futsuu [sic] [just the way I am]; there’s such a world, I thought. I mean, for example, in Japan, I’m at the far end, about this far [Y: On a normal distribution curve.], but in America I was just within the norm or something like that. So I felt at ease. (D14)

It appears that acting within the received social norms was important for Midori, but she always felt that she was exceeding Japanese gender norms, especially in terms of her inclination toward active learning and her tall figure. Because she preferred to communicate freely in class, she liked the ways in which the teachers and students talked at the language school in Philadelphia, and critically looked at the learning style she had experienced in Japanese formal education. She felt that it was a significant part of her development to discover a learning environment in which she could study while feeling free.

**Becoming an English Teacher, a Doctor's Wife, and a Mother**

Midori had wanted to work in Tokyo again after she came back from Philadelphia, but her mother met her at Narita Airport and suggested that they go directly back to her hometown. Midori accepted this suggestion to accomplish her “most important goal—to
get married to a medical doctor” (D4). Therefore, she returned to her parents’ house to have *omiai* (match-making meetings for marriage) so that she could get married around the age that she had planned. But while her parents expected Midori to undergo *hanayome shugou* [training in traditional homemaking skills] to prepare, she decided that doing only this activity would bore her, so she applied to several local language schools for a teaching position. Soon, Midori was teaching at two English conversation schools, and she almost immediately felt that she had found the right profession: “As soon as I started teaching, I thought it’s my calling” (D15). She explained:

> Until then, I didn’t think that teaching English had much value as a career. I had thought that people who have English skills would do business using English, so I had never thought of teaching. But once I started teaching, it was fun and interesting! I felt that I really liked [teaching English]. (D16)

Although Midori found teaching English very interesting and felt it was her calling, she did not become a full-time teacher because she thought she would have to quit working when she got married. She also liked teaching part-time because she was able to use her free time to shop and attend flower arrangement and piano lessons. For Midori, succeeding in her marriage quest had a much higher priority than teaching English at that time, as she told me: “I think [marrying a doctor] was something like an assignment for me” (D17).

Just as planned, Midori found a husband who was a doctor working at a prefectural hospital. To her complete surprise, however, he asked her whether she would like to continue working. She was overjoyed to be offered this choice, and thought that she was
lucky to have a husband who was both very handsome and gave her far more freedom than expected. However, soon after they got married, Midori quit her job to give birth to a son. Two and a half years later, she returned to teaching at the same conversation school. In an email, she described what happened next:

Because my son was very small, I left him at a daycare center and worked until evening. But the school’s regulations changed so that even part-time workers had to teach until 9:00 pm, so I found a person to take care of my son after the daycare center closed at 6:00 pm, and continued my life working and picking up my son at 9:30 for three or four months. But because he missed me and started crying at night, and I had very little time to spend with my husband, I came to think that it would be difficult to continue working at night at the English conversation school. So I found a part-time lecturer position at a vocational school where I could work only in the daytime and changed my workplace. (D18)

In the same email, Midori further explained that although she prioritized having time for her family, she thought that if she could work full-time she would be able to do much more using her abilities. She accounted that it was the stress she had from being unable to work as much as possible that motivated her later to open her English school so she could work. I believe that Midori wanted to work to the best of her ability. However, she needed to compromise and balance her work as an English teacher with her responsibility and pleasure as a mother and wife.
Becoming a Simultaneous Interpreter while Teaching English

While teaching English part-time, Midori continuously studied English in order to become a simultaneous interpreter. She wanted to acquire the highest level of English skills and thought that simultaneous interpretation required such skills, and was more prestigious professionally than teaching English. Therefore, she studied hard and got an interpreter’s license. However, she felt much more pressure performing as a simultaneous interpreter than she expected: “When I went into the simultaneous interpreter’s booth, I felt it would make my life span shorter” (D19). Therefore, Midori kept teaching as her main job and worked as an interpreter only occasionally. At the same time, Midori explained that from working as an interpreter, she met interesting people, which was very fulfilling. She also met other interpreters, with whom she sometimes conversed about the necessity of obtaining a master’s degree.

Moving to the Remote Countryside and Becoming a Graduate Student

I asked Midori what motivated her to enroll in the master’s program in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) offered by the American university at their satellite campus. She replied that her primary purpose was to escape the rural area she had moved to in her early thirties for her husband’s job, because she felt lonely and unhappy: “I wanted to meet people. It was completely unrelated to study” (D20). She then explained how she had needed to move with her husband against her will:

My husband was transferred. I completely refused [to move along with him], and cried and shouted, saying, “I definitely refuse to go to live in such a godforsaken
place.” But my parents told me that they would not permit me to let my husband move without me and insisted that I definitely had to go. I said I definitely didn’t want to and cried for a year. But in the end, I had to move out to the southern sticks where it was like a distant, remote island. I didn’t even think I would be able to communicate with the local people. (D21)

According to what Midori said above, it was not her husband but her parents who urged her to follow him, which indicates that they still had the power to tell her what to do even after she married. Midori was persuaded by her parents and moved to the remote countryside, quitting all of her jobs, and she felt very isolated from society. She explained: “When I was there, what should I say, living in a closed world where communication with the outside was shut off, I felt very unfree—like I was in jail” (D22). Thus, Midori decided to enroll in the master’s program as soon as she learned that a friend of a friend had gotten a master’s degree by commuting to the American university’s Osaka campus once a week. She researched the best way to commute and then negotiated with her husband:

I explained the schedule and the list of ways to commute. I said to him like, you have to let me go to Osaka at least once a week because I came along with you to this kind of place. So you have to do everything, like taking care of our son and arranging not to do the night shift so that I can go. I negotiated with him by saying things like that, and, well, it's good that he responded—it’s fine, isn’t it? (D23)

Midori told me that her husband supported her traveling to the graduate school once a week for about three years; she even recounted:
While I was away, our son had a school outing, and my husband made a box lunch for him…. He did such things. So he arranged not to do his night shifts on the days I was away by asking other doctors to do them instead, so actually they helped us too. (D24)

Having gotten her husband’s cooperation, Midori enjoyed studying in the TESOL master’s program even though she commuted for long hours.

While studying in the master’s program, Midori started teaching English at a local nursing college. Three years later, in 1997, she received her master’s degree in TESOL when she was 38 years old, and felt that she wanted to study in the doctoral program in the future. Because she now had a TESOL degree and wanted to use it, she returned to her hometown with her son, leaving her husband alone in the remote place for a while.

**Opening an English School: Feelings of Freedom and Belonging to Family**

Midori looked for a job teaching English at a university. But there was not much opportunity in the immediate area. She did not think of finding a university job elsewhere because her husband would soon be transferred back and they would be able to live together again. Giving up the idea of university teaching, she thought of opening her own English school. This would be ideal: She could work as much as she wanted, using her newly developed knowledge, and at the same time contribute to her community, which lacked good communicative English instruction. In 1998, Midori therefore founded her own English school, Joinus English Center (pseudonym), through which she has now been providing English conversation classes, translation, interpretation, and mediation for
study abroad to her community for 14 years. She has hired both native and non-native English speakers to teach at her school and has herself worked long hours teaching, as well as translating and interpreting.

Midori said that she sometimes did not have time to sleep, especially when she had just opened the school, because she was the only translator available, initially. However, she said that, on the plus side, “By becoming self-employed, I can work as much as I want” (D25). It seems that she feels freedom and happiness by working to her heart's content. Thus, opening her English school was another important turning point in her life, and one that has satisfied her deeply: “Now I am very free. I feel free in my mind and body, so I am very happy” (D26). Midori also recognizes that her family situation has played an important role in the process:

I feel I have gotten it all together, having married, and having my own family and child. And [my husband] has been supportive, as he says I can do whatever I want. So my family has been big—I think my family has a big meaning for me…. Probably on the mental side too, the support I receive from my family has been big. For example, I have been privileged financially and materially, so for such things like, what should I say, I have been fortunate that I have been able to invest in [my school] without any constraints. (D27)

Midori knows, therefore, that she has been in a socioeconomically privileged position and is fortunate, as well, because her family members, and especially her husband, have continuously supported her professional development. She is also conscious that she now feels safe and free to do what she wants because she has already done what society
expects: “But, there is such a thing as being able to work feeling safe because I have done things following the social norms as a woman” (D28). Midori also acknowledged her own hard work: “Because I want to live freely in a wide world, I make efforts to make it happen” (D29). I believe that the socioeconomically privileged family situation she was born into and which continued in her marriage, as well as the higher education she acquired, have contributed to her strong will and self-concept.

**Midori’s School Administration**

In the one-and-a-half years after Midori founded her English school, the number of students grew to about 150, and she opened a second branch. She then opened her third branch, and the total number of students grew to about 500. For each branch, she hired a secretary to assist her in administration. The secretaries also work as aides to the native English-speaking teachers in children’s classes. Observing her meetings with the secretaries, I saw that Midori remembered the names of all the students in the schools and knew their individual English levels. In the meetings, she received reports of students’ problems in their classes. In order to solve these problems, Midori talked with the secretaries about the personalities of the students and what their mothers had told her in the consultations she had had with them. Based on these observations, I asked Midori how she could remember all the students' names and even knew their individual personalities. She answered:

Well, I think it's *my* school. So I think they are *my students* even though other teachers are in charge. Because, what should I say, well I’m not a hired director in a
big organization. I run an English conversation school. So the teachers whom I hire happen to be teaching, but I intend to carry out my work as if I teach the students.

(D30)

Midori then explained, “So I think I have a responsibility to all of the students, ultimately. So if they have an unpleasant experience even once, I would feel uncomfortable, you know?” (D31). She therefore always wants to know what is happening in her school: “So, what should I say, I feel like I want to know everything [the students experience in my school]—it’s like my nerves extend outward from the tips of my hair or toenails into them” (D32). Midori told me that she keeps a continuous eye on things to make sure that her school is being run properly.

One of Midori’s cardinal virtues appears to be her open-mindedness to what her staff wants to do and the different ways in which they think and live. Or she might have learned to be that way through her encounters with many different people in the running of her school. For example, two of the school secretaries eventually quit—one to get a higher education and the other to have more chances to improve her life—because they were inspired by Midori’s attitude toward her work and study. One of her present secretaries took a few months’ leave to study English in Australia. Such developments are a mixed blessing: Every time a staff member resigns or takes leave, Midori’s workload increases significantly. But she keeps her door open to different opinions and suggestions from her staff, which seems to contribute significantly toward making her school atmosphere comfortable and open.
Pursuing a Doctoral Degree

Because Midori had confidence in her school staff even in her absence, she decided to enroll in the doctoral program at the American university where she had studied for her master’s. She applied to the program and was accepted when she was 43 years old. She told me that she felt it would give her more confidence in her teaching as well as running her school by providing a firmer theoretical background. When I questioned her further, asking her if she felt her TESOL master’s degree was not enough for her current situation, she added an interesting and unexpected reason:

Well, originally, because my family members are medical doctors, I’ve felt that I may be able to stand on an equal footing with them by becoming a doctor myself.

So, I want to become a doctor too…. Well, it means I want to be called, “Dr. Yamano,” I guess. (D33)

This is Midori’s unique personal reason for pursuing a doctoral degree. Although she had not become a medical doctor, she would become a doctor of education. She also mentioned that she felt she was blessed and considered herself a resource for society; she was lucky to be brought up in a good environment and to be able to develop high-level English skills. Therefore, it would be a shame if she were not able to use her abilities to help other people. She said that what she learned in the doctoral program should be implemented at her school to contribute to the community.
Midori’s Implementation of World Englishes

Since Midori started studying in the doctoral program in 2003, she has deepened her thinking about English education. She has become an advocate for World Englishes, and wants to implement that idea in her school’s curriculum. Thus, when she was preparing to open the third branch of her English school chain in 2006, Midori explained that as the main teacher for the new branch she had hired a 50-year-old Swiss woman who had immigrated to Canada and spoke six languages. Midori said that the woman had a rather strong European accent and so it was a risk, because the teacher’s reception would strongly influence the success or failure of the new branch. She also told me that if her schools were bigger and hired many teachers, it would be easier to have different kinds of English speakers teaching there. She was anxious about how new students would feel because they might have difficulty understanding the Swiss-Canadian teacher’s speech. At the same time, Midori stated:

Well, actually, I wondered [if it’s good to hire her or not] because her way of speaking is clearly different from American English…. But whether we consider it as an accent or not, I thought it could be educational to the people in this community. So she is Swiss and speaks English, French, German, Hebrew, and Arabic. And then, although her English might be different from the standard English, such as American or British English, which people have been used to, I think I can show that there are many different people in the world who speak different languages, and we can communicate using the language [i.e., English]. So I decided to hire her and place her as the main teacher to start the new school. I
think it’s a rare case to bring in such a teacher, and it is one of my implementations of World Englishes. (D 34)

Midori explained that the time to consider American English as the standard and acculturation into so-called American culture as a major reason why Japanese should learn English has passed. She also believes that, in today’s condition of rapid globalization, in which enormous numbers of people use English as a Lingua Franca, her schools can help local people learn English for their respective purposes.

Meeting a Role Model

In 2005, Midori attended several international businesswomen’s conferences and a lecturer-training course organized by e-woman, a company that supports Japanese working women’s networking and skills improvement. There, Midori met Kaori Sasaki (real name), the head of e-woman, and thought that she would be a good role model. Midori explained that Ms. Sasaki studied overseas for only about 10 months, worked as an interpreter when she was still a college student to pay her own tuition, and founded e-woman in 2000. Meeting her in person, Midori liked how Ms Sasaki looked relaxed and gentle. Midori told me, “Well, I thought that, for the first time, here is a person who can be a role model regarding a woman’s way of life” (D35). Inspired by what Ms. Sasaki had done through e-woman, Midori said the following in relation to the future of her school:

I think that it would be nice if JOINUS [Midori’s school] moves in such a direction. So not only English, but if possible, I also want to support [women] through cultural
activities. So as for how to live a woman’s life, she [Kaori Sasaki] is rather a good role model. She is almost the same age as I am. (D36)

I believe that Midori identified with Ms. Sasaki, for example, in age, work as an interpreter, and founding of their own companies. Moreover, Ms Sasaki’s supportive attitude toward other working women seems to resemble Midori’s guiding principle—to contribute to society and the local community—in running her English school. Therefore, Midori identified Ms Sasaki as her role model and wanted to learn more from her, which led Midori to participate in e-woman’s activities, such as the lecturer-training course.

Learning How to Perform

Midori took a five-month lecturer-training course (consisting of 20 course meetings) from Oct. 2005-Feb. 2006. This course, which was provided by e-woman, took place in Tokyo. She was not so impressed by the instruction on how to use makeup or walk, but she had an interesting experience making presentations, which caused her to think about how to change or control her performance depending on whom she meets and talks to. Midori explained that there were 11 participants besides her, and for her first presentation she received feedback from them "that I’d better lower my energy level because I have a rather strong sonzai-kan [presence] and they felt overwhelmed by my power" (D37). A former fashion model instructor who taught them how to walk also gave Midori similar advice. Therefore, when she made her final presentation, she made an effort to speak and act more softly, and received better comments from the participants.
However, comments from Ms. Sasaki and a lecturer who was a former TV announcer showed their disappointment:

So, [for my first presentation] the lecturers’ [such as Ms Sasaki’s] comments were positive, but even from the lectures, what should I say, when I received all of the comments, most of them said that they felt overpowered. They said like they felt overpowered or left out. So I thought I’d better make my pace slower and reduce my power. When I made my final presentation, reducing my power, I received positive comments from the general people saying that it was just nice or excellent. But Ms. Sasaki and one more person, [a lecturer who was] an announcer who attended at that time, told me that it didn’t sound like me, asking me, “What happened today?” So I was puzzled. (D38)

Midori went on to explain that, until recently, she had never thought about controlling her energy level in her behavior. But for a long time she had also been feeling that people in Japan might see her as too powerful. Midori said that even when people came to her school, wondering if they should study English there, they sometimes ran away when they saw her sitting in an imposing manner at the reception desk. Therefore, she tries to stay out of the reception area as much as possible. Another time, when she talked with a designer whom she had asked to make a sign for her new school branch, he told her that he noticed she was controlling the “output level of her energy”:

Oh, I remember! The designer you met at first, the man who was a little on the heavy side, the man with whom we talked about the school’s sign and such things—that man thinks a little too deeply and tends toward over-interpretation. He told me,
“Ms. Yamano, you are controlling your energy output level, aren’t you?” when we were talking about something. (D39)

Even though Midori had never considered it before attending the lecturer-training course and talking with the designer, she now thinks it’s a good idea to control her level of energy depending on whom she talks to. The ways in which Midori reacted to other people’s comments about her powerful presence reminded me of her earlier reflections on her experiences in the United States and in Japan. She had felt that she was at the far end of the normal distribution curve as a Japanese woman, but that she was just the norm or mean in the United States, which gave her a sense of ease and freedom. In Japan, therefore, she is still learning how to perform as a Japanese woman, whose normal behaviors are less powerful than her own jibun no futsuu [being herself].

**English and Higher Education in Midori’s Life: Constraints, Freedom, and Belonging**

In this section, instead of a chapter summary, I consider how Midori crafted herself using English and higher education in response to her gendered struggles.

On the whole, Midori’s consciousness as a doctor’s daughter and upper-middle class woman has been strong, and it seems to have influenced how she has learned and used English, as well as pursued opportunities for higher education. Japanese traditional gender norms also seem to have strongly affected the ways in which she acted as a good female student during her formal schooling in Japan, which she interpreted as highly constrained. Because Midori felt that she was constrained from expressing her opinions
in the environment of Japanese formal education, she originally did not think of becoming a teacher herself. Her second overseas study experience, however, had unexpected consequences: (a) Experience with the communicative approach led her to become an English teacher herself; and (b) An experience of feeling at ease as a woman led to a more positive self-concept. As for completing a master’s degree in TESOL, Midori’s gendered struggle in her married life triggered her decision to enroll in the American graduate school’s program, but it also produced unexpected consequences: (a) the reconfiguration of gender roles in her relationship with her husband; and (b) the founding of her own English school. As a result, how she has felt and thought as a woman have changed significantly. In short, she felt strong constraints from Japanese gender norms when she was young, but now feels much freer. As for Midori’s present-day sense that she is freer and happier than before, the fact that she can work as much as she wants and her husband’s supportive attitude seem to have contributed significantly. In what follows, I consider these points in more detail.

Midori explained that she had often felt *fujiyuu*[^7] [unfree] and *kyuukutsu*[^8] [bound] when she was young. Although performing well in school, she felt that her academic excellence and her height would interfere with her future marriage. She also felt that her comparative outspokenness did not conform to Japanese formal school custom and gender norms. Those were the main constraints Midori felt as a young woman. I believe that living according to Japanese gender norms has always been important for Midori.

[^7]: I asked Midori what is an appropriate translation for her use of *fujiyuu*, and she translated it into “I didn’t feel like I was able to do what I really want to do freely.”
[^8]: Midori translated *kyuukutsu* into, “I felt confined in a small cage.”
Thus, when she was young, it seems that she was always afraid that if she deviated from Japanese gender norms she would not be accepted as a good student or a well-mannered young woman. Then, after she got married, Midori performed as a good wife and mother, prioritizing childcare over her profession. However, she felt constrained because she was unable to work as much as she wanted. Her feeling of being constrained seems to have peaked when she needed to quit her job and move to the rural area due to her husband’s transfer. At that time she was lonely and unhappy, feeling as if her interaction with society had been shut off, and in that solitude she thirsted for connection to the world. To escape from the solitude, she acted on her situation by enrolling in a TESOL master’s program at an American graduate school. Therefore, her investment in the master’s program provided the time and space in which she could feel the freedom and happiness of being connected to the world.

As mentioned above, Midori thought that because she did what she was supposed to do as a woman, such as getting married and raising a child, she could now live her life the way she pleased. Therefore, running her own school and promoting English education in her local community according to her educational philosophy contributed significantly to her sense of freedom. In a doctoral course paper Midori wrote:

I advocate three main themes\(^9\) in my underlying curriculum philosophy. My first and biggest theme is “aiming for the universal design in mind.” Universal design is a new concept instead of barrier free. While barrier free means to remove a barrier against disabilities or difficulties, universal design originally means to design

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\(^9\) The three themes Midori described were: (a) universal design, (b) World Englishes, and (c) her policy of “Think global and act local.”
buildings or space so that anyone regardless of disabilities, ages, gender, and nationality can use the facility or space comfortably. (Anonymous\textsuperscript{10}, 2005)

Midori thought that teaching English as communication and in the framework of World Englishes would aid people to understand others and respect differences, and that was what she could do to promote universal design from her position. I believe that that was one of her realizations of her freedom and her adopted policy of, “Think globally and act locally.” She explained:

Now I am very free, you know. Because I feel free in my mind and body and everything, I’m very happy. But there were times when I didn’t feel free to do anything, how should I phrase this, well, because of social norms? I was oppressed by them, and I felt like I was confined in a small cage, which I really hated. So because I want everyone to feel free, relieved from such constraints, I hope that discrimination and prejudice, against which I feel helpless, will disappear. (D40)

I believe therefore that, in terms of her ways of living, Midori has become much freer than before, and she has begun to feel connected to the local and global worlds through her work and doctoral study.

I also believe that Midori’s married life has contributed meaningfully to her sense of freedom and reason to live. As Midori explained, “In my case, because my goal was to get married with a man [whose type] was very specifically restricted, after I accomplished that goal, my life started” (D41). Likewise, describing some of the important turning points of her life, Midori wrote: “Even after I got married, I have been

\textsuperscript{10} In order to protect the participant’s identity, I cannot give the real name.
blessed to be able to do whatever I have liked as much as I have wanted. My marriage was another lucky turning point, for sure” (Written in English in her school’s newsletter in 2005). In Midori’s account, her married life and her husband’s attitude have changed gradually to allow conditions in which she can feel freer and happier than before:

When our son was small, there was a time when I needed to teach until 9 o’clock. And it was too hard for me to cook after that, you know? So when I bought fried chicken and brought it back for dinner, my husband came back after his hard work, and what he said was like, “After I worked so hard, the dinner is fried chicken?” I heard that and felt irritated. I talked about this with him the other day…. Then he told me, “Oh! Did I say something like that when I was young?” and looked very regretful. He was like “Really?” and very surprised. So, I think he has changed too. I feel that the ways in which we have changed are very natural. Ah, I mean over the 20 plus long years, each of us has changed, I think. It wasn’t like this from the beginning. (D42)

It seems that Midori’s husband was not so traditional in his view of gender roles in married life from the time she met him, yet when they were young and their son was a small child, he expected Midori to prepare decent meals even though she also worked until late and picked up their son after that. However, when Midori commuted to Osaka for her graduate classes her husband was very supportive—he took care of their son and arranged his work schedule to do so. There is evidence in this chapter that the gender roles in their married relationship were reconfigured as her husband actively supported
Midori’s studies in the master’s program. Midori recounted that without his supportive attitude she wouldn’t have been able to do what she liked to the extent she wanted.

I believe that Midori now feels connected to the global and local world through her work, in which she uses her English skills and TESOL knowledge creatively in different situations. These aspects of her present life are essential for her to feel not only meaningfulness, but also freedom. Therefore, I conclude that, for what Midori thinks of as her happiness and freedom, her belongingness to the world and family is essential.
CHAPTER 5
HARUKO

Haruko in a Private Lesson

Haruko opens the door of my house, and as she walks through my study and into the kitchen she greets me in English and apologizes for being a bit late. She is wearing the warm-up suit she usually wears when she comes by bike for her lesson. She says she is starving and has brought sushi and sweets to eat with me. She puts them on the dining table where I have placed the English materials that we were reading in the last lesson. She takes off her jacket and puts her large sports bag and beige PRADA handbag on the floor. Haruko is wearing off-white fitness wear with deep blue lines down both sides on her tall, slim body. Her make-up is natural, but her big eyes outlined with long eyelashes are bright and strong, and her nails are treated with colorful la-mé gel.

As Haruko sits down, she says she is wondering what to say to a woman who asked for advice on her website. Haruko explains that the woman has had several bouts with anorexia and bulimia, and even though she has been doing aerobics, she has gained five kilos and seems to be pretty badly depressed. Haruko worries about the woman because she wrote that she hated herself and did not know how to get out of her situation. While serving her coffee I respond that the woman needs professional help because we don’t know her situation in detail. Haruko replies:

That’s true, of course. But, anyone can give such advice. My advice has to be different from others. Well, I’ll tell her about my experience when I was doing
bodybuilding! I was anorexic before contests; then after contests I ate whatever I
wanted till I felt extremely full. Then I threw up. When I was a bodybuilder, I
repeatedly experienced anorexia and bulimia; I ate almost nothing for a while, then
I ate too much and threw up. And I felt terrible about myself. I was like that. That’s
right, I will write about this, and tell her that she should take better care of herself.

(E1\textsuperscript{1})

We then start our English lesson. The material we are reading is about a new exercise
technique and the research that supports it, which Haruko will study and get licensed for
in the United States next month. As we eat the sushi and sweets, she reads and explains
the material to me in English and Japanese. I help her when she has difficulty (from my
notes written on 6/14/2005).

Our lessons usually take place on Tuesdays from around 4:30 to 7:00. Before
coming, Haruko teaches two fitness classes at a fitness club, and then she goes to another
fitness club to teach two more lessons after our English lesson.

I admire Haruko’s eagerness to learn to teach fitness to both ordinary people and
fitness instructors, and her way of paying attention to each student. The warm atmosphere
of togetherness she creates with her students and the ways in which she gives them
advice impress me deeply. In what follows I describe her life and what she shared with
me in terms of her learning and teaching.

\textsuperscript{1} Data excerpts are coded as follows: The letter indicates the appendix of this study where
the original Japanese, from which the excerpt is translated, can be found. The number
then indicates the extract from the interviews with the participant or other recorded
materials. The full set of extracts for this chapter is listed in Appendix E.
Haruko’s Childhood and Upbringing

Haruko was born the eldest child in a fairly large city in western Japan in the early 1950s. She has four younger brothers. Her mother came to that city from a rural area in northeast Japan when she got married, and then divorced when Haruko and her brothers were very young. According to Haruko, although her mother always had financial difficulty supporting her children, Haruko was able to study modern dance at a local ballet school from seven to 12 years old and had a private tutor who helped her with her elementary school studies. In the 1960s, she loved listening to Western music and watching musicals.

Haruko said that her mother basically raised her children without regard to their gender, although she always had new clothes for Haruko because she was the only girl. Haruko said that she was a spoiled child who demanded her mother’s attention: “I had to be the first in everything, everything was new, and I was like, ‘Me, me, me!’” (E2). She explained that when she was three years old her first brother was born, and she could not stand having a younger brother and therefore fought with him all the time. However, when her youngest brother was born she took care of him; as she told me, “I always changed his diapers and carried him on my back” (E3). It seems that Haruko needed to compete with her brothers to get her mother’s attention, but at the same time learned to play the role of the first and only daughter, and took care of her youngest brother because her mother was busy working to support the family.

Although Haruko appreciated her mother’s hard work, she thought that her mother lacked the common sense to live a city life. For example, her mother did not know how to
take the train. Haruko also explained that when she started elementary school she often felt embarrassed because her mother did not have her bring what she needed for school, such as a toothbrush and toothpaste, which was common equipment in Japanese elementary schools at the time. She thought that her mother did not teach her children what they should have learned at home and did not act like a typical good mother. Haruko told me that she went through a difficult rebellious stage because of the complex feelings she felt toward her mother when she was in junior and senior high school. She wanted to act like a delinquent, but she was not able to do so, which made her feel even worse. She said that she did not think of her future life at all when she was in high school, and spent all her time on volleyball club activities.

**Hard Work: The Principle Taught and Supported by Haruko’s Mother**

Haruko told me, “Since we were small children, my mother always told us ‘Hatarakazaru mono kuu bekarazu. [If you don’t work you don’t eat],’ so my family members work extremely hard” (E4). Thus, Haruko thought that she had been disciplined by her mother to follow this motto and it therefore became the dominant principle of her life.

For example, Haruko often showed me her schedule book filled with business trips and meetings, and said that she felt secure only when she was busy working. According to Haruko, there are only a small percentage of Japanese whose annual income exceeds ten million yen and she is one of them. While she was married, she always had problems making ends meet. Then, after her divorce, she had severe financial difficulties while
supporting and raising her son. As she worked hard to establish herself as a high-level fitness instructor, her contracts with various companies increased in number, and consequently her income did too. During these different phases, while she was married as well as after she divorced, Haruko’s mother unfailingly supported her hard work, for example by taking care of her son, as they lived next to each other.

Haruko explained that her mother built a new house next to hers so that Haruko and her husband could live there with their son and her mother could take care of him when he was small. Haruko and her husband paid rent to her mother, and Haruko eventually bought the house from her mother after Haruko divorced and became financially stable.

Haruko said, “My friends often told me, ‘You are very lucky because your mother takes care of your son’” (E5). Haruko told me that when he was two years old she took him to a day-care center for only one day, and found that his face completely changed due to the experience: He was scared and his sad face expressed that he could not trust other people. Haruko’s mother was also upset to see it, and therefore Haruko asked her to take care of her son while she worked. Her mother always supported Haruko’s hard work physically and mentally, and she even participated in some of the fitness events Haruko organized. Thus, Haruko’s mother’s influence on her way of life continued to be strong even after she passed away in 2005.

**Haruko’s Married Life and Teaching Physical Training**

When Haruko was 20 years old, she met her now ex-husband Akira Suzuki (pseudonym), who was then 27, and started to live with him. They got married half a year
later. For reasons relating to his profession, they traveled all over Japan and particularly loved visiting the Okinawan islands. However, his salary was low and Haruko got tired of struggling to make ends meet. Therefore, she pushed Akira to open a gym, so that they could work together to earn more money, because he was also an amateur bodybuilder and a member of the board of the bodybuilding association in the city where they lived. While she was pregnant with their son, she studied sports physiology, training theories, and human anatomy to prepare to open the gym. She also asked Akira’s uncle to lend them six million yen [about $86,000] in order to purchase training equipment, and negotiated with the owner of the building they wanted for their gym to lower the rent by half. Haruko explained that for various reasons all the negotiations to set up their gym were done by her alone. They then opened the gym in 1978 and started to teach physical training. Haruko was 26 years old and their son was just one.

For six months or so, Haruko and Akira were unable to get many customers and worried about paying the rent. Luckily, however, a fitness boom began in Japan at about that time. Therefore, the number of clients gradually increased, and they began to rent the second floor of the building as well for what could be called floor exercise, which Haruko taught. As she said, “There was no word like ‘aerobics’ at that time, but I used Michael Jackson’s music and taught very hard floor exercises, for example one-hour exercise classes, using free weights” (E6). She continued:

The lucky thing about opening the gym was that I got into teaching though I shouldn’t use such a great word like education. I felt that teaching something to
other people was great, because I was able to see changes in both of us—my students and myself. (E7)

Haruko explained that she felt great joy and satisfaction helping other people through teaching exercise:

First of all, we can see physical developments immediately, right?… People who train constantly, [or even those] for example who come to train just two or three times a week, they definitely change, which leads to other changes. For example, a woman would change the color of her lipstick; most of the people start doing things they were unable to do before…. I see many people changing their lifestyles. (E8)

Thus, although the reason Haruko made a great effort to start the gym with her husband was to increase their family income, seeing their clients change made physical training a compelling profession in itself.

**Bodybuilding and Going Overseas**

When they opened their gym, Haruko started training as a bodybuilder with her ex-husband as coach. She thought that she could be a pacesetter or a role model for their clients by showing how hard she trained. There was no female bodybuilding competition in Japan at that time. Although there were so-called *kenko-bi* (healthy beauty) contests in which women who trained with weights could compete, according to Haruko they were not much different from beauty contests and she did not feel like competing in them. However, she received information about an Asian female bodybuilders’ exhibition held in Taiwan, participated in it, and won a prize. Then, in 1982, an elderly lady whom
Haruko and Akira were acquainted with through the local bodybuilding association suggested that Haruko go with her to a bodybuilding contest in New York City. Haruko went to New York with the lady. Haruko told me that although she learned a lot as a bodybuilder on the trip, she felt miserable due to her lack of English skill:

It was my first time to go to America. I couldn’t understand English at all. The lady who took me to New York was rather old and couldn’t communicate in English either. What was that bus terminal where there were so many people? [Y: Port Authority] We couldn’t figure out what to do at the Port Authority and almost missed our bus!… And I felt miserable because I didn’t have enough money. But, seeing the contest, I learned a lot, for example, that the contestants had done extremely hard training, their bodies were completely different from Japanese [bodybuilders], and what to do to show off one’s physique at a contest. (E9)

Haruko continued, saying that witnessing the contest had motivated her to train much harder and diet more seriously than ever. Consequently, she won prizes when Japanese national female bodybuilding contests started.

**Struggles as a Bodybuilder and the Wife of the Head of a Training Gym**

Haruko became a prize-winning bodybuilder. Nevertheless, she was not satisfied with her physical development, and continued training and competing with great determination. However, her husband opposed her wish to continue to compete:

My ex really cared about keeping up appearances and was ee kakko shii (a person who cares about the face he shows to others)…. So, every time [I couldn’t win a
prize] he told me, “Every time you lose you throw dirt in my face and destroy what I’ve built.”… But I felt the opposite because it was important to keep competing because my clients were encouraged by my great efforts. (E10)

Haruko felt that Akira’s attitude toward her efforts as a bodybuilder and trainer was far from supportive. She felt that while he controlled every detail of her work, he looked at her coldly. Haruko therefore started to realize at that time that there was a big gap between what she and her husband thought—not only about training, but also about ways of working and living, that is, she felt that her husband lacked a hard-working spirit and he was uncooperative in their work and domestic life. Thus Haruko felt great difficulty and unhappiness in playing the roles of a wife, a mother, and a trainer. Some of the difficulties Haruko felt could be understood by explaining a typical day in her life with her husband as described in the following paragraph.

When Haruko and Akira were running their gym, her day started by doing their laundry and bringing it to the gym to dry, and then making five lunch boxes: two for her husband’s breakfast and lunch, one for the babysitter, one for her son, and one for herself. As soon as they arrived at the gym, Haruko cleaned everywhere inside and out—from the bathrooms to the exercise floors—and hung the laundry on the rooftop while carrying her son on her back. Akira ate his breakfast and read a comic book in the gym while she was working. When their clients came she taught them, but he did not move until his favorites came.

Haruko explained that as the number of clients increased they hired other bodybuilders as assistant instructors. However, one summer day, a client told Haruko that
Akira was having an affair with one of the instructors. Haruko said that she was unable to believe it because the instructor was also married, and they often went out together as families and had a good relationship. Because of the love affair, Haruko was hurt greatly and had severe difficulties in her working life too. For example, she needed to deal with Akira’s sudden disappearance from important events and his words that hurt her greatly. In what follows I describe two cases in which he disappeared, an example of how she was hurt by his words at home, and the difficulty she had because of the way he controlled her work.

First, Haruko and Akira organized a training camp at a beach resort every summer; however, one summer, the day before the camp started, he informed her that he was not going. She told me that she was very surprised, but she felt responsibility to their clients: “So I brought [about] fifty students and my son to the camp” (E11) and took care of them for four days. She continued:

We needed to take care of many things to have those men and women train. My husband had a responsibility to teach posing and give advice, but he abandoned [the responsibility]. Then, one of our clients told me that my ex and the instructor were walking together holding hands at the Bon festival [a Buddhist festival to recognize ancestral spirits]. (E12)

Thus, Haruko felt great difficulty not only in taking care of the participants as a trainer, but also in facing embarrassment as the wife of the head of the gym.

Another case of Haruko’s husband disappearing occurred when their instructors participated in a female bodybuilding competition. In the competition, a woman whom
Haruko had trained and got the first prize and Akira’s girlfriend came in second. Because of the result, Akira was upset and disappeared even though he was supposed to give a speech and present the medals to the winners. Haruko said:

While the MC was calling his name, he told me “I won’t do it” and disappeared. [Y: So what happened?] So, I did it. I was the only one who could do it. So, I put the medal around the stupid [woman’s neck who came in] second. He did such things without any concern. (E13)

Haruko told me that even though she took care of the responsibilities that Akira should have taken he never apologized to her. Instead, while drinking at home he told her, “This sake [Japanese wine] that the [other] woman gave me is delicious. You are just a woman who cleans and makes my meals” (E14). Despite this poor treatment, Haruko was unable to respond to Akira even though she was hurt and angry.

To make things worse, Haruko had great difficulty with the way Akira controlled her work. For example, due to her success as a bodybuilder, Haruko started to work on television, but Akira managed everything and did not inform her when and where an event would take place until just before it happened. At other times the TV staff planned leisure activities after shooting the program such as going to a hot spring and invited her along, but Akira insisted that she come straight home after shooting. Haruko recounted, “Akira told me that I didn’t know anything, and he did me a favor by marrying me and taught me everything because I had no common sense” (E15). However, seeing him disappear from important events and his lack of working spirit, she started to think that he was the one who lacked common sense.
Struggles in Divorce and Work

Because of the difficulties in their married life, Haruko and Akira started to live separately, and she took care of their son without Akira’s support. At that point she started to think seriously about divorcing Akira, but she took a long time to make up her mind. In this section, I describe the struggles Haruko went through during the divorce, at the end of which she decided to devote her life to her son, and how she felt during the first job she had independent of her husband.

Haruko explained why she was unable to decide quickly to divorce Akira: “People around me told me that he would wake up and come back to me, so I shouldn’t divorce him. There were many reasons—for example, we had a son and ran the training center together” (E16). But, ultimately, Akira initiated the divorce, and he told her to leave their gym. Haruko was very upset:

When I woke up in the middle of the night, how many times I don’t remember, but my feeling was similar to having been told that I had cancer. At first, I couldn’t accept it. I was just sad…. Then, I felt anger, thinking, “Why do I need to be treated like this?” (E17)

Haruko told me, however, that when couples divorce it is not only one side that is wrong; rather both have problems. She said, “After all, I depended on him very much” (E18). She told me that she learned a lot from the divorce: “I think I was arrogant in many ways. I was ignorant and self-centered. But I came to understand other people’s pain very well” (E19). Her divorce-related struggles lasted more than three years, during which her son graduated from elementary school, and he cheered her up whenever she was depressed.
She said, “When I couldn’t do anything, my son told me, ‘Are you feeling sick? Then, I’ll cook for you.’… That made me realize how foolish I was. I thought I would make my best effort for my son” (E20). Thus, Haruko decided to be strong for her son, and to work using whatever connections she had.

The first job Haruko had independently from Akira was a TV program that featured many female bodybuilders. At that time she felt very nervous and excited:

Because it was the first job that I did by myself, I trembled. Well, I did a TV program, for which I had a meeting with a TV director and coordinated all by myself, and brought about 20 or 30 female bodybuilders. In the program they had a tug-of-war with Giants’ [the most powerful professional baseball team in Japan at that time] baseball players. I trembled, but thought that I could do it. (E21)

Haruko explained that at that time she suffered from severe financial difficulties because she had to leave the gym—she only had a contract to teach one or two lessons a week at a local training center. Having gained confidence while doing the TV job, she therefore looked for more work.

**Learning to Teach Fitness: A Shift from Bodybuilding to Fitness Education**

When her divorce was almost finalized, Haruko learned that an American fitness organization would hold an audition to choose their first Japanese consultants and applied for it. The audition was actually a 10-day training seminar held in Tokyo in the late 1980s, in which 40 fitness instructors, who had been screened as candidates for the consultant position, participated. Haruko was 36 years old and determined to qualify as a consultant
so that she would be able to work more and earn enough to raise her son. Thus although the seminar was very expensive—$3000 and another $1500 for hotel and train fees—she borrowed the money and invested in the opportunity.

In the seminar Haruko was impressed by the ways the American instructors taught fitness, taking a participant-centered approach that was new to her. She told me that, before attending the seminar, she had not thought deeply about fitness education or her students’ feelings toward the ways she had been teaching them. The experience made her realize her naiveté as an educator and made her aware of the importance of studying teaching and presentation techniques. She reflected on her experience in the seminar:

We didn’t know how many instructors [i.e., seminar students] would be qualified as consultants, because it was like an examination in which they would be selected after the training. So, I was fighting to get a position and had a demon-like face, feeling like the other participants were my enemies. You will be surprised if you see my photos, which I may have somewhere: I tied my hair very tight on the first and second days, but I was smiling with a much softer hair hairstyle from around the fourth day! (E22)

Haruko told me that her feeling gradually changed from one of great pressure to compete with the other participants to one in which she enjoyed learning from the instructors as well as from the other candidates as peers. She told me, “The lecturers provided us with questions that made us think what education was about. So, while learning in those classes, it seemed that I naturally realized how small and meaningless my desire to compete with the other candidates was” (E23).
Two important aspects of fitness education that Haruko became aware of during the seminar were: (a) Fitness is not for competition—it is to make people feel happy; and (b) the importance of teaching techniques that motivate and help students learn. Recalling her experience in the seminar, Haruko told me:

Thinking of what I learned at that time, I thought that America was much more advanced [than Japan] regarding how to educate people—for example, teaching techniques, psychology, and everything. They were more than 10 years ahead of Japan. What Linda and Nancy [two American instructors Haruko was especially impressed by] taught me triggered my serious decision to become an instructor and to consider that it’s worth doing as my life work. (E23)

Haruko continued explaining what she learned from the instructors, comparing their teaching style with traditional Japanese teaching style:

I think there are ways or techniques in which we should explain things in a logical order so that others understand well. Regarding those things, the ways Japanese teach tend to be top-down, right? They are like, ‘Follow my opinion and what I teach’ after all. But [in the classes that Linda and Nancy taught] even when there were kind of outrageous questions, they accepted them and helped us think about the issues together, and I think Japanese have lacked such a process. Such great, deep things I learned from them….And because I didn’t have much knowledge and techniques [of fitness education], I thought I had to study a lot more and learn from other people….So I learned all of those things from Nancy and Linda that motivated me to learn and work in the American institute whose common language was
English. So the seminar was the first time that I was soaked in English, my start with English. (E24)

Because Haruko became a consultant of the American fitness institute officially, in the same year she attended the workshop inaugurating the opening of their Japanese branch, to which a famous female American aerobics dancer was invited. Haruko told me that until she saw her, she had still been thinking that bodybuilding was more serious training than aerobics, and therefore did not take aerobics seriously. However, the movements and the physique that the instructor exhibited impressed Haruko:

Her movements were great! Until then, I looked down on aerobics because I was a bodybuilder. I felt that aerobics [dance] was like child’s play, because it didn’t look like physical training. Seeing Japanese aerobics, I thought it would be too embarrassing for me to do it. But since there was a big wave [of aerobics dance] and it was a fashion, I thought I should study it and went to Tokyo [to attend the workshop]. Then, I saw her sharp muscles and flexible movements. She was big and very cool!...So I went to Los Angeles for a week to learn from her at her studio in Santa Monica, and I continued doing so for two or three years. (E25)

As a result of attending the American fitness institute’s workshop, therefore, Haruko was motivated to learn aerobics dance seriously. As time went on, the more she learned and taught, the stronger her new identity as an aerobic fitness instructor became. Consequently she stopped competing as a bodybuilder although she continued working as a judge in bodybuilding competitions.
Haruko has been working as a consultant for the American fitness organization since 1988, introducing new fitness activities and concepts, mostly in Japan and sometimes in other Asian countries. At a later point, she signed a contract with an American sporting goods maker too. Therefore, she regularly attends fitness conventions and seminars in the United States.

**Haruko’s Study of English**

Haruko felt strongly that she needed to study English before each trip to the United States, but as soon as she returned to Japan she did not need English for her everyday work. Therefore, she tried studying English at an English conversation school in Japan, but wasn’t able to continue because she prioritized spending time with her son, who was still young. About a month after we first met at a party in 1997, she asked me to teach her English privately, and she became more serious about studying English when we started using fitness-related materials. Since then, she has been coming to my house to study English once a week. Occasionally, she cancels a lesson because of work. The length of each lesson varies depending on our work schedules. We started by having one-hour conversation lessons, but as soon as we started using a fitness and health-related textbook, she increased the lesson time to three to six hours. That continued for about five years until my work and doctoral studies made me busy. In the fall of 2003, I asked my ex-husband to teach her for four months instead of me. They had a lesson that was about 90 minutes. From January 2004, I started to teach her again. We had three-hour lessons until
March 2006. Since then, because of my work schedule, we have been having roughly two-hour lessons once a week.

Haruko and I talk mostly in English when we meet at my place. She enjoys reading and criticizing articles in the textbooks. She sometimes brings exercise manuals that she wants to read, and explains body parts, movements, and concepts that I have difficulty understanding. I only help her when she has difficulty with grammar and vocabulary. For a long time, she could not see any change in her English ability, although I was able to see gradual improvement. Finally, when she came back from Miami in the spring and from Malaysia in the summer of 2006, respectively, she told me that she felt her improvement clearly. During our interviews, I asked her what meaning she finds in learning and/or using English. Her reply is described in the following section, along with my brief account of my observation of her functioning in English at an international convention in Taipei in 2004, which I attended with her.

Using English in the Fitness World

Haruko told me that what English meant to her has changed over the years. She used to think that English was a language she must learn for her work. However, more recently she recognized that English is not the only language people communicate with even in the United States, because she observed many people communicating in Spanish and Chinese at large fitness conventions. The greatest value of English to Haruko lies in the high quality of research done in the United States, which supports America’s leading position in the fitness field:
I have to admit that America is definitely leading the fitness world. And there is a situation that brings intellectuals from all over the world together in America for research, right?... So, many great research studies appear from America.... So in Japan we have been reading exercise manuals that are translations of American ones or based on American research studies. But the Japanese wording often becomes strange or incomprehensible. So I’ve often felt unsatisfied [by these translations]. And when I went to America [for fitness seminars] I thought that I would be able to understand the content deeper if I understood what the lecturers talked about more accurately. (E26)

Haruko continued by introducing a term she had had trouble understanding—“hip square,” which means to position one’s pelvis in a neutral position but which was translated into incomprehensible Japanese, “denbu wa chokkaku [buttocks at a right angle]” (E27) in the manual she read. Therefore, I understood that her eagerness to learn English stems from her enthusiasm to master the knowledge of fitness produced in the United States.

Haruko told me that she was frustrated by her lack of English skills in reading fitness-related materials and in understanding what lecturers talked about in workshops and conventions. She said that the cutting edge research and information that she learns in the United States or other countries goes into her teaching. Because she gives seminars to many people and teaches many instructors in Japan, she therefore feels a great responsibility to them, and thus wants to study English. The following is her comment on her improvement and desire to use English for work:
When I went to the convention in Miami this time, it was interesting because there were many new findings. And I was very happy because I felt that I understood English sentences that I couldn’t understand before. It doesn’t mean I understood everything perfectly, but I think I improved a little…. The one thing that I felt was the hardest was that when I listened to Japanese lectures, I could summarize them later very quickly, but I couldn’t do it in English. When I wanted to summarize what I learned [in English], I could remember only one or two things…. So I really need to develop my English skills. (E28)

Haruko thus uses English to learn and teach fitness internationally. When I observed her activities at an international fitness convention in Taipei from July 28th to August 2nd in 2004, I understood her need for English: In addition to communicating with other participants, who were mostly Chinese and American instructors and doctors, she needed a rather high level of listening skill. For example, when she attended American researchers’ presentations, their speeches were interpreted into Chinese but not Japanese, and thus she needed to understand them in English. For her own presentation on her observation study of a rehabilitation exercise for veterans in Denmark, she made her slides in English while her oral presentation was in Japanese, which was then translated into Chinese and English. When she taught step and aerobics dance exercises, her explanations in Japanese were translated into Chinese and English, and when she was excited during those activities her cues became English. Then, when she finished the lesson, four Indonesian instructors asked her some questions in English, which she answered in English.
In sum, Haruko uses English to understand fitness-related materials and to study new approaches to fitness that are presented in international workshops and seminars. Moreover, she uses English to present her work and thoughts, and to communicate with other people whom she meets through her work internationally.

In the next section, I describe what Haruko told me about the American style of education and the Japanese style she experienced and observed in her son’s formal education.

**Haruko’s Views on Education in the United States and Japan**

Haruko told me that because she preferred the American style of education to the Japanese one, she had her son receive an undergraduate education in the United States. She said that in Japanese formal education most instruction is overbearing toward students and does not provide them with enough opportunities to think about things deeply or develop their own opinions. Haruko thought that formal English education in Japan tended to emphasize rote memorization and did not help students to think about things carefully and listen to others’ opinions. In contrast, the teaching approach that she experienced through American institutions’ seminars was much more student-centered and had learners think and discuss things actively. Therefore, she said:

I definitely like American education [better than Japanese education]. The reason why is because Japanese education puts students in a mold and makes them become like *Kintaro-ame* [a kind of candy roll—wherever one cuts it crosswise, the same fairytale character boy’s face appears]. Those [cookie cutter] students are
considered good and as honor students, and they can go to good universities.

There’s such a tendency. (E29)

Therefore, Haruko wanted her son to have an American education, and urged him to go to an American university when he was a high school student. However, he refused for a long time because he was afraid of going to the United States. Haruko told me that her son had said, in tears, “I don’t want to go to a country where people carry guns!” (E30).

Haruko however, thought that her son should get a university education in the United States so that he could become independent, meet different people, and have experiences that were different from the ones he would have had in Japan. She therefore took her son along on her next business trip to California, and asked her friend Masami, who had graduated from an American university and had been living in Los Angeles, to convince him. Masami talked to him about how it would be good for him to have an experience studying in America, and persuaded him to study in the United States.

Haruko’s son spent six years in California. He started with a home-stay program and studied English at a language school that was recommended by Masami. After studying at a community college in San Diego, he transferred to the University of California, San Diego, majored in cognitive science, and graduated from the university.

Haruko worked hard to provide full financial support for him. She told me that she thought that her son had had many great experiences in the United States and even facing racial discrimination was good for him.

Because Haruko has invested a lot of time and money in English skills for herself as well as her son, I thought that she would have a positive opinion of Japanese elementary
schools’ recent provision of English education. However, she argued against it and told me that Japanese schools should provide more Japanese classes to have students think in Japanese:

What’s the value of children who cannot speak Japanese properly to learn, “How are you?” in English? If they have the time to play with English, I think it’s more important to increase their time to think in their own language. (E31)

Haruko therefore thought that Japanese schools should spend more time developing students’ Japanese literacy rather than to teach English from elementary school.

In sum, Haruko expressed her preference of the American educational style that provides lots of opportunities for students to think for themselves and learn from other people over the conservative Japanese education system that lacks such opportunities. Therefore she insisted her son do his undergraduate education in the United States.

Regarding Japanese school English education, she thought it was inefficient, and had a strong opinion that in elementary school Japanese literacy was more important than English lessons.

**Haruko’s Non-Stop Hard Work**

*Knee injury*. Haruko has worked hard to raise her son, to devote herself to teaching exercise classes, and to educate Japanese fitness instructors. However, her professional commitment has sometimes worked against her health. For example, her knee was injured in a traffic accident in 1995, but it was not treated properly because she kept working, worrying about the consequences of canceling her classes and events. As a
result, she fainted several times after teaching, and eventually became unable to move properly. When she finally had her knee operated on by a doctor whom she used to work with, her pain disappeared. After the operation, Haruko closely observed the doctor’s treatment of his patients when she visited his clinic, and began to teach rehabilitation exercises to some of them. Haruko told me that because she had suffered injury and pain, she learned a lot from the experience and was motivated to learn more about rehabilitation.

**Publishing and teaching as an authority in fitness.** When I started teaching English to Haruko, I noticed that she often called herself *baka* [stupid] when she had difficulty understanding English materials. Every time I heard her say so, I told her that she was in fact a very intelligent woman and I admired her work. As she started feeling confidence in her understanding of fitness-related materials and started critiquing problematic parts of them, she stopped calling herself *baka*. Instead she told me that she would like to publish her work, and started writing. Haruko has now published five books, each with a video or a DVD. She also made a DVD with a group of fitness instructors she voluntarily teaches. Because of her published work and devotion to teaching fitness, as well as her contribution to medical research, she was asked to work for the national government to promote fitness. In addition, she created an exercise program using Japanese traditional musical instruments, and started teaching it in Tokyo. Consequently she became busier than ever, and her TV appearances increased substantially. Her clients and students are now widely spread not only across Japan, but also overseas, from the
disabled to professional athletes. Haruko told me that teaching exercise and dietetics are just the means through which she wants people to care about themselves and start to like themselves.
AKANE

Akane On Stage

The stage is dark, framed by two rows of black curtains. A pianist, wearing a black dress, is sitting in front of a black grand piano in the left corner. The piano starts very gently, but then becomes a sharp and loud staccato. Akane appears from the right—from behind the second curtain. She looks down and walks slowly, one step at a time, her arms hanging down a little to the rear. Her knees show through her pale blue dress each time she moves. She stops at the center. The spotlight that has followed her and now a new one merge at the center of the stage. Suddenly, Akane’s dress looks pastel blue-green and her bodice shines a pale white. She raises her arms above her head, then she gradually looks up, while her chest contracts and expands in slow breaths. Her hands and arms start to move like ripples, which reminds me of the shower that started while I was walking to the theater from the nearby subway station. Suddenly, she turns. Her back shines and warps as her arms wave more strongly than before. The theme of this improvisational collaboration between the pianist and Akane is “Water.”

Akane turns and scurries to the left in front of the piano, looking down to the left, as her arms lift behind her back as if pulled by invisible strings. This is a move she has had her students, including me, practice many times, so my shoulders move back with hers even though I am sitting in the audience. She turns and moves to the right, keeping her
face down. Then, she sits lightly on the floor, looking diagonally to the left. Both of her legs are folded in front of her with her toes pointed. Her left arm and hand make circles at a point almost touching the floor while her eyes stare at her own hand. Then, suddenly, as soon as her head and legs go around under her left arm, the rest of her body follows, and she lightly stands and looks to the right. I’m familiar with this flip turn as I’ve practiced it many times at her dance studio, and gotten bruises on my knees. But she does it so easily and lightly!

Akane makes several small turns while moving to the center of the stage. She looks to the left, bends her knees, and then looks straight up, bending her back like an arch. Her arms and hands flit around her face as she holds that position for a long time.

Because I know that she has been suffering from a cracked rib, I say to Akane in my mind, “That’s enough! Stop!” But, of course, she keeps going. In fact, I don’t think she will ever stop performing, and I hope she will not. When I first saw her solo concert about 10 years ago, I was amazed by her originality, especially the flexible and focused movements of her feet, toes, arms, and torso—moves that looked so novel to me. In comparison, her performance today looks more natural and easier for a general audience to appreciate. However, I feel that the ways in which she bends her back and waves her arms show her will to challenge the limits of her physical condition—her cracked rib, but also her face, which was operated on to remove a fibroid membrane last year. The audience is fascinated by her performance, pulled into the world of “Water” that she creates, transported from their individual everyday lives for a brief moment (from my observation notes written on 8/22/2006).
Akane is one of the Japanese women I most admire, not merely as a creative dancer and choreographer, but also as an educator and a learner who seeks to stretch beyond her limits. In what follows, I describe her life and what she shared with me about her learning and teaching.

**Akane’s Childhood**

Akane was born in Tokyo, a few years after World War II. She had an older brother and a younger sister. Her father worked as a recording engineer for a movie news production company. However, he became ill because his work required him to travel widely. Therefore, as soon as Akane was born her parents moved to western Japan where her father’s mother ran a ryoori ryokan, a traditional inn that specializes in fine traditional dinners. When Akane was two or three, she was encouraged to dance by a woman who taught *gendai buto* (Western style modern dance) near her house. The following is what Akane remembered about how she came to like dancing:

> I seemed to have always followed her around, and when I followed her to see her lessons, when the lessons finished, she would ask something like, ‘Akane-chan [dear], would you like to dance?’ And other people would already be sitting there, and I danced freely by myself as soon as the teacher played the record, and received sweet snacks. (F11)

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1 Data excerpts are coded as follows: The letter indicates the appendix of this study where the original Japanese, from which the excerpt is translated, can be found. The number then indicates the interview extract and the full set of interview extracts for this chapter is listed in Appendix F.
Akane often danced at home too. When her parents had guests they had her dance for them even when she was very young. When she was in kindergarten and invited friends to her house, they all sang songs while Akane danced. Akane also taught her friends how to dance.

Akane’s mother helped at the inn, and encouraged Akane to do what she wanted to do—dance, which consequently led her to become a professional dancer. Akane’s mother had studied piano and vocal music when she was young, but never used her skills professionally. Akane said that for a woman to become a professional musician was considered immoral when her mother was young, so she had strongly supported Akane’s pursuit of dance:

Although it’s an old story, for instance, those who became performers were called kawarakojiki, right? So from the beginning to the end, piano and singing, such things were better to remain as a hobby. [My mom] was raised like that, so when I myself started things like ballet and dance, I think she very much wanted me to pursue them, if I said I wanted to, to the end—as much as I wanted. (F2)

When Akane started taking classical ballet lessons, her family members, and especially her mother, were supportive. Therefore, I asked Akane what in her upbringing had most strongly influenced her. To this, Akane replied:

Well, my mother told me that because I was doing what I wanted to do, it was my responsibility [to manage it]. For example, if [practicing ballet] affected many other

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2 Kawarakojiki is a compound word of kawara [riverside] and kojiki [a beggar or a tramp] that refers to a discriminated group of people who lived or performed at the riverside in the early modern period. Musicians and dancers were also called by this word and stigmatized.
things, such as school studies, I should stop. So it was not [that she was saying] “do this” or “do that,” but rather “since you are doing what you chose to do, if you cannot do other things, you cannot continue [practicing ballet].” That was the way I understood, since I was very small. I was persuaded by what she said. (F3)

Thus, while Akane was encouraged to do what she wanted, this was done with the understanding that ballet lessons could hinder her studies. Moreover Akane explained that because her mother always talked patiently with her until she understood, this continues to influence her ways of doing things even now.

**Akane at Classic Ballet School**

Akane practiced ballet at a well-known ballet school seven days a week from the age of 10 until the end of high school. The principal of the school allowed her to attend classes at the main school twice a week, and at any of the other branch schools on other days. She said that even when there was no lesson, she enjoyed going to the school and dancing; therefore, she rarely had dinner with her family. During her high school years, Akane worked at the school as an assistant instructor, and became a full-time teacher as soon as she graduated. She explained that her school was one of the first ballet schools that regularly invited outside teachers and also became established as a *senmon gakko* [vocational school].

Akane told me that when she became a teacher, she learned many things other than classic ballet at the ballet school, due to the principal’s policy that dancers “shouldn’t be women who know all about ballet, but don’t know anything else” (F4). Therefore, the
principal provided her teachers with lessons in English conversation, tea ceremony, and table manners, and this persuaded Akane that it was important to learn widely in order to foster dancers’ sensitivities.

Akane described the English conversation lessons she took at the school:

At the ballet place, when I was there, foreign teachers often came, such as a painter who was hired as an English teacher for us. At that time, my fellows as a group, we got together, and practiced conversations a little… We didn’t do it so much to the point of study at all. At that time I didn’t know well how necessary it was. (F5)

Although the English conversation lessons were not serious ones, Akane appreciated having the chance to speak with foreigners. Reflecting on the different kinds of learning experiences she had at the school, she said that she particularly liked performing tea ceremony in a beautiful and quiet temple. Thus, in addition to the ballet lessons she had from elementary school onward, Akane appreciated the different learning experiences the ballet school provided.

From Classical Ballet to Modern Dance

Akane became interested in other dance styles when she was a junior high school student. She liked ballet, and she had felt a yearning for the ballet world since she was very small, but she decided to shift her career from classical ballet to modern dance in order to become a more creative dancer. One of the reasons she decided to do so was cultural: “I thought that ballet was a cultural product of the West, so for Japanese [ballet] was only imitation” (F6). She continued, “Moreover, ballet is also a frame that is like a
very beautiful picture, which is not what humans are” (F7). She explained that because the aesthetics of classical ballet was already well defined historically, emanating from court dance and Christian culture, she felt that as a Japanese she lacked the cultural base to identify herself with the aesthetics.

Another reason why Akane shifted dance styles was her physical appearance. She told me, “While I was doing ballet, I realized that my body type was not a ballet body type when I was in junior high school” (F8). Akane is about 153 centimeters tall and slim but well-proportioned. She seemed to think that her rather small body with full breasts was not a physique that suited classical ballet. However, she wanted to dance, and she came to think that she could dance more freely if she learned a wider variety of dance methods and techniques.

Akane met her husband-to-be, Wataru Tanaka (pseudonym), when she was working at the ballet school, and was inspired by him because he had studied a variety of new dance forms in the United States, mostly in New York. Together, they left the ballet school and founded a jazz dance studio called Tanaka Jazz Dance Studio when Akane was 20 years old. They also established a dance company, the Tanaka Stage Jazz Center, with Tanaka as the head, where they organized professional and semi-professional dancers. They lived and worked together, and got married several years later. Therefore, Akane’s transition from classical ballet to jazz and modern dance happened while learning from, dancing under, and working with Tanaka.3

3 Akane referred to her ex-husband by his family name in and outside the interviews, a usage which I follow here.
Akane’s Life with Tanaka

Akane learned a lot about new styles of dance from Tanaka. However, it was not easy for them to have both a public life—as owners of a jazz dance school, organizers of modern dance concerts, and dance teachers—and a private life together. It appears that Akane wanted to prioritize her life as a dancer rather than as the wife of Tanaka. For example, Tanaka wanted to have children, but Akane did not because she believed that if she had a baby she would have to quit dancing. However, she also thought that she needed to play the role of supportive wife to an artist and therefore struggled in her relationship with him. Describing Tanaka, she said, “He's enormously proud of himself; so, after all [he is] a traditional Japanese man? Though there’s a part that's very open and Americanized since he used to live there” (F9). Akane continued:

It was very [difficult to be Tanaka's wife]. So if I was completely,…behind [him] in a way, if I say, as his wife, just supported him and supplemented what he lacked, without coming to the front, if I was that type, it could have worked fine. But he did not like that [kind of attitude] either, from women. [He liked a woman who] is rather strong. Because of that, we became a couple. (F10)

Akane explained that her husband resisted domestic feelings of married life in order to keep his artistic spirit fresh all the time:

I can say he didn’t like married life, to tell you the truth, from what I saw. [But] I think he felt angst about living that kind of life. That he might lose himself as an artist, that he might become unable to do creative stuff, that kind of angst? He told
me such worries all along, so he didn’t come home until quite late after work, he
didn’t come home until just before going to bed. (F11)

As mentioned above, Akane understood that her husband had two sides: one where he
wanted to maintain tension as a creative artist, for which he resisted domestic feelings,
and one where, as a traditional Japanese man, he wanted to have children and needed to
have a home where he could relax. Akane reflected on her everyday routine when she
was with Tanaka:

So, since [he was an] old-fashioned type man I had to do the right thing after all,
right? I danced, but since he always had meals at home, [he] didn’t eat out, well this
was a personal thing, since he didn’t like to eat out. I myself as a dancer, I worked
hard outside home, but I was the type who naturally fixed dinner, preparing it for
him, when I thought he'd be hungry when he got home…. So, it’s true that I fixed
dinner about 362 days out of 365 days a year, even when I was very busy, at night.
So even though he got home at 3 am, I had a prepared dinner on the table. [Y: Wow,
that’s something] That was a must. (F12)

Akane wanted to dance on stage more, but was limited by this way of life. She was also
unable to take the lead dancer’s role too often because Tanaka needed to give other
dancers that opportunity. Thus, she was unsatisfied:

Because he was creating [the dance works], he was the person who was doing
things. If for him there were many things that were 100%, regarding dance, what he
could do with me would become 25 percent in our relationship, right?... But I was
100 percent [too], so I was not satisfied with the 25 percent. (F13)
Akane continued:

I had 100 percent in me. So I had much more inside of myself. So I was always saying to myself, I want to do [more], something more. If it were related to dance, I would never complain even if I had to work from morning to night. Rather, it was agony for me that I had nothing to do [with creating dance]. It seemed to be the pressure I felt. (F14)

As she expressed it, Akane had a strong desire to work more in the dance world and felt severe difficulties with the situation in which she could only occasionally perform the choreography that Tanaka wrote for her. Akane told me that she had always wanted to go abroad to see jazz dance and experience jazz in its birthplace—the United States; therefore, she had private conversation lessons with a native English speaker from time to time. Yet running the studio, teaching, and presenting dance concerts was time-consuming and financially difficult, which prevented her from going abroad for a long time. When she was around 27 years old, however, Akane worried that she would lose her energy to dance if she kept up such a life. Therefore, she decided to study abroad.

**First Study-Abroad Experience: London**

Akane had originally planned to go to America to learn the Graham technique, and prepared by getting a visa and air tickets. However, her plans changed just a week before her departure, because she found out that the person whom she knew and depended on for her study in America had moved to London. He had studied the Graham technique under Martha Graham herself in New York City, but at that time he was teaching it at the Royal
Academy of Dance in London. As a result of this unforeseen change, Akane went to London in December 1975 for half a year. It was her first time to go overseas. She also visited a famous American jazz dancer in Paris and participated in an international dance festival held in Köln for about three weeks just before coming back to Japan.

Akane was excited to be exposed to many different kinds of experiences and many different kinds of people, being freed from the everyday routine and duties she had had in Japan. In our interviews, she emphasized that these experiences were her treasure, and she felt extremely happy when she found new movements while dancing freely, for which she accounted that her sense of creativity started to open up. She also told me that the joy she had in London and in other places in Europe has supported her sense of creativity up until today.

**New encounters and using English.** As mentioned above, Akane treasured her new encounters with many different kinds of people in London, often in an international environment, and during which she used English. The following incident represents such experiences.

When Akane arrived at Heathrow Airport, she was unable to figure out how to get to the lower level and catch a taxi to her hotel. Then, a middle-aged European couple who had been seated next to her on the plane from Paris approached to help her. They took her to her hotel and invited her to dinner the following day. When they got together the following evening, the couple invited her to their room, which, according to her, was very gorgeous. There she found out that the husband was a famous French poet and the wife
was a German translator, and while they lived in Paris they spent their weekends in London to refresh themselves. Akane told me:

And then, to go to have dinner, it was a famous restaurant where those famous actors and people went, [and they said] let’s go to that Chinese restaurant, and their Australian friend—their woman friend also came. So, a German, a French, an Australian and a Japanese, four of us had a Chinese [dinner]. (F15)

I remarked to Akane that the dinner situation was very international, and she said, “That’s true. Even from the day I arrived in London, things were like that” (F16). I asked her, when she had the dinner, if she had been able to speak English without being shy, considering the fact that she'd had no previous international experience. She told me, “You know what? I wasn’t shy, I don’t know why. I couldn’t speak fluently, but I was able to answer what I was asked, and very simple things I conversed about, yes” (F17). She said she had the same experience with other people she met in London and other places in Europe—although her language skills were modest, she was able to communicate adequately.

**The joy of freedom and practicing dance.** Akane told me that one of the benefits of going overseas was having time for herself. When she arrived in London, she decided to wait before contacting the Japanese dancer who was teaching at the Royal Academy of Dance because she did not want to interfere with his Christmas holidays. She felt lonely spending the holidays by herself, but at the same time she was excited and treasured the feeling of freedom:
I never felt homesick when I went abroad, even once. I felt lonely wherever I went, but it didn’t make me want to go back to Japan, somehow. So I think even though I was lonely, at the same time I was free. It was good having such feelings of being free [from many things I had in Japan]—something like that, yes. (F18)

Akane was accepted as a special student at the Royal Academy of Dance as soon as she was introduced to the principal and other teachers by the Japanese dancer. The school was famous for its strict examinations and had a three-year curriculum, but Akane was allowed to take any classes she wanted because the teachers there were impressed by her dancing and thought that she would inspire other students. She became a kind of guest student and received a special student visa.

Akane expected to learn new dance styles. She was especially interested in jazz dance, so she visited various jazz dance studios for lessons in addition to taking lessons at the Royal Ballet. However, the level of jazz dance taught in London at that time disappointed her. She therefore decided to concentrate on classical ballet and the Graham technique. What she valued in her learning at the Royal Academy of Dance was having many new friends, with whom she enjoyed dancing and doing improvisation as well as cooking and chatting together:

So in London, [I was disappointed] in terms of my study in a [jazz] studio. Well, I was able at least to practice Graham and ballet instead. Besides those, really [I think that] things like going to a disco or the things I experienced in so-called everyday life made me what I am today. There was that side, in mental terms. Like I was free, if I may say, it was something I received other than from dance. I wonder if
probably it was in Europe that a part of my sensibility started to open up—the creative part of my self. Not technique. (F19)

Akane told me that she discovered many new movements that came out while she danced freely, including improvisations, with her friends, about which she was excited.

Therefore, she felt that a new creative part of her self had emerged. However, because the level of jazz dance in London was disappointing to Akane, an American jazz dance teacher at the Royal advised her to go to New York. She took her advice and soon after left the Royal. On the way back to Japan, Akane visited a famous American jazz dancer in Paris and attended a dance festival for about three weeks in Köln, Germany.

In sum, the significance of Akane’s half-year sojourn in London was not only that she was able to regain her confidence in her ballet skills and master the Graham technique, but also that she had time for herself, during which she felt both loneliness and the joy of life with friends who supported her hard work as a creative dancer.

**Going to New York**

After Akane returned to Japan and spent a few months working at the studio with Tanaka, she left for New York in 1977, when she was 29 years old, on a three-month student visa from the International Dance School. She already knew several famous jazz dancers teaching in New York, such as Fred Benjamin, Luigi, and Alma Mary, and she started taking lessons from them after arriving in addition to her lessons at the dance school. Practicing at Fred Benjamin’s studio was especially beneficial for Akane because two African-American dancers studying there became her close friends and brought her...
into their dance community, which influenced her identity development as a dancer as well as a Japanese woman significantly. Furthermore, the support she received from Fred Benjamin and Luigi was indispensable to her receiving social recognition as a full-fledged dancer.

While Akane was studying in New York she was asked to work as an artistic director for a dance school that a Japanese friend had opened there. She worked for the school about a year and a half. Consequently, Akane did not return to Japan for over two years. Her sojourns in New York from 1980 to 1989 to perform and meet her friends every year were only about two to three months long, because she needed to work at the studio she ran with Tanaka. From 1990 to 1999 she stayed in New York most of the time, and in 1999 she decided to move back to Japan.

Interpreting my interview data, I see two major kinds of significance in Akane’s experience in New York. First, she was able to develop her identity as a full-fledged creative dancer by finding a place in a community of dancers and holding a successful solo concert (see below). Second, she was able to develop a wide variety of skills as an artistic advisor, which helped her to be more than just a dancer. The help and support Akane received from her dance friends and mentors were indispensable for the widening of her social network in the dance world. In the following subsections, I describe various aspects of her life in New York.

**Learning life in New York.** The day after Akane arrived in New York in late August 1977, she opened a bank account and decided to live in a residential area in
Queens. In addition to practicing at the International Dance School, which had issued her visa, Akane immediately started studying under two famous jazz dancers, Fred Benjamin and Luigi, as well as other teachers.

Akane explained how she began her dance life in New York: “When I went to America, went to New York, as I expected, it was totally different. As I expected, I thought this is the place of dance!” (F20). Because she was so excited, she took lessons at two or three studios a day:

A: So, this lesson, and then that lesson, I walked all the way. From east [Manhattan], because on the east side I had a lesson with Mary, and then

Y: Mary?

A: Alma Mary, you know, there, from east to west I walked, and then there [in west Manhattan] I took a class by Luigi. Luigi was a jazz dance teacher who was one of the top three [jazz dancers] in America. I walked 20 minutes [or] 30 minutes to get there, right? After that, one more—I took a lesson, though I had a little bit of time before it. So I was completely exhausted and so I was like staggering into my bed when I got home. (F21)

But Akane soon moved from Queens to Manhattan, because commuting from Queens to the different studios was so tiring. She explained that after she moved, her life became much easier, because she could practice at the different studios, rest in between, and then see different performances at night.

Akane also started to study at an English conversation school. At the beginning she was assigned to a class of rather fluent students, because she was not shy speaking in her
level check interview. However, she asked to move to a lower level because she felt that the reading and discussions in the assigned class did not suit her:

Those contents, like discussions on politics and economy they did, I didn’t understand. So I asked the teacher to lower my class level a little bit, saying something like because that was too difficult for me I got a headache. So I could move to a lower level class. Because I’d never studied such things I got a headache, when I was in those kinds of discussions [in which I had to say] what I thought of and one thing and another, reading such things as The New York Times. (F22)

Akane studied at the English conversation school for three months. Although she seemed to have had a painful experience in some of the English lessons, she used English effectively in her social and professional life in New York. In the following two sections, I describe Akane’s social and professional life in which she crafted herself, including through the use of English.

**Crafting self in New York.** While she was in New York, Akane made a few close friends who were African American jazz and modern dancers. She became especially close to one female dancer and one male dancer who were studying under Fred Benjamin, and they helped her enjoy her everyday life in their community of African American dancers:

I became very close with my friends. With those friends, I went many places. Those friends took me to see performances, for example. Really, and at that time, Fred Benjamin, at his place, I met a dancer, who was a similar age, and a pretty good
dancer. She was African American, and became my best friend…. And that [circle of my African-American friends] became wider. For example, we often went to such places where non-blacks didn’t go, like clubs where only African Americans came. And when I felt it was natural for me doing those things with them, something of my self became more and more like this (spreading her arms wide open) (F23)

The above quote shows how Akane started developing membership in the African American dancers’ community, and I interpret the last phrase, “something of my self became more and more like this” (accompanied by opening her arms) as indicating the emergence of a new part of her self within that community.

Akane further explained that in her studio lessons her lack of English skill was not a problem, but among her dancer friends, she had some difficulties in expressing her opinions: “When I discussed dance, I felt very frustrated because of my lack of vocabulary, such things. When I wanted to say what I thought, I couldn’t come up with the right words to express it” (F24). Therefore, she often let the conversations flow without saying what she thought. As a consequence, she sometimes felt that she caused misunderstandings. Thus, in order to resolve the misunderstandings that she felt in her relationship with an African American male dancer, she wrote a long letter to him, looking up words in the dictionary, just before leaving New York to go back to Japan:

Well, back then, I felt so much, like my heart, my heart hurt, after all, the language. … Because he misunderstood me, and the feeling between us became strange, before my return to Japan. Like, after all, we became nervous with each other. But
because I didn’t want to go back to Japan leaving such a feeling, I thought I should write my true feelings, and give it to him. So I wrote something like, because I’m Japanese after all somewhere in me, I hesitated—as I thought I shouldn’t bother you while I was here, I didn’t always call you, but to be honest, I wanted to meet you more. I wrote such things on and on, like actually you were a very important person for me. When he read it, [he asked me] why I didn’t say those things much earlier.

(F25)

In what Akane said in the above two quotes, she expressed not merely her struggles with English, but also—and I feel more importantly—her strong will and passion to be fully understood by her dance friends. I believe that despite her lack of English skills, which she was well aware of, her earnest everyday learning and practice as a dancer must have aided her to develop her position in the dancers’ community.

**Work as an artistic director and holding concerts.** After she studied jazz dance for about one year in New York, Akane worked as an artistic director for a year and a half, helping a Japanese friend to open and run a dance studio:

At the beginning, once we started, it was really [financially] hard, right? So, because it’s too difficult [to run the studio] by merely teaching, we thought we needed to do more business such as introducing artists to Japan, and we started doing such things too. So telephone calls—so many dancers and many kinds of people called—and I answered them in English, and I needed to conduct auditions,
also. Telephones rang most at that time, and everybody spoke in English, and so many people came and they brought audition tapes. (F26)

Therefore, Akane was busy working at the studio: hiring dance teachers, holding auditions to select dancers for introduction to Japanese dance companies, and having business meetings. However, Akane and her friend received an eviction notice from the owner of the building because he wanted to rent the whole building to someone else, and her friend decided to close the studio.

The sudden closing of the studio gave Akane a chance to think more seriously about what she wanted to do in New York. She explained, “I had in mind that as a dancer I wanted to widen something like my world. And I also wanted my own dance to be credited on the spot by the people over there” (F27). Therefore, she decided to have a solo concert before returning to Japan to pursue her dance career, and negotiated with many people, although it entailed severe financial difficulty. With the help of her dancer friends, her teachers, and musicians she knew, she was able to hold the concert. It turned out to be a big success, which brought her more chances to perform as well as to hold a concert in New York for the dance company that her husband headed.

Therefore, after returning to Japan briefly, Akane hurried back to New York and held the concert by the dance company that Tanaka headed, for which she again negotiated with many people while arranging the theater, tickets, production, and attendance of dance critics. She explained that the work she had done for the concert was good for her, as it enabled her to do a wider variety of dance-related work in New York:
The work I did for it was very good for me. And then, such things like projects from Japan, as there are many studios, right?…So they got together to have a concert in New York, and I took care of them, for example. I arranged theaters and what kind of form [the concerts] should have, hired people, and promoted and produced [concerts]. Such things, I did. In such concerts, I choreographed too, using dancers. 

(F28)

After the success Akane had in promoting the dance concert for Tanaka’s company, she was asked by other Japanese dance companies to promote and produce their concerts as well. For Akane’s own performances, she explained, “American friends helped me, such as by joining promotions, so that I could do my concerts. And other than that, they invited me to perform, explaining the ways in which they wanted to do it” (F29). Her social network in the dance world in New York helped those concerts she promoted and performed in to be received successfully. The following section focuses on Akane’s account of the support that she received from authorities in the jazz dance field.

**Authorities’ help.** According to Akane’s explanation, the support from two of her teachers, Fred Benjamin and Luigi, played a big role in her development as a dancer. It appears that because of their influence, other performers as well as famous choreographers and critics supported her, thereby helping her to getting recognition:

Well, I was after all lucky. Because I often went [to New York], right? So when I went there, my teachers there were very much in favor of me and supported me very well. Well, I knew about those famous teachers even before I lived [in New York].
For example, Benjamin was one of them. And such people came to see the concerts [that I promoted and performed in]. Among the many concerts [in New York] it was rare that those authorities got together to see [a performance]. (F30)

Akane told me, “I didn’t know such things well, but Benjamin told me, ‘Akane, it’s great that so and so and so came to see you,’ so I thought wow that’s great” (F31). She further explained:

And many of my acquaintances, musicians too, top musicians backed me up very much, and their acquaintances were like famous choreographers and such…. Such people came to see me, companionably calling me “Akane!” when I performed. And because critics knew these people well, right? And they often sat next to each other and such, so they looked at [my performance] favorably. (F32)

In the concerts Akane promoted and produced in New York, she not only performed but also choreographed, and therefore receiving support and favorable reviews from critics in New York was significant for her not only as a dancer, but also as a choreographer and producer. Further, Akane’s teachers’ support aided her in getting recognition not only in New York but also in Japan. The following episode illustrates how Luigi helped her to be recognized as a full-fledged dancer in Tokyo in 1982:

So for example, Luigi—really when I went to New York for the first time decades ago—when I went to Luigi’s place, he treated me with a lot of affection. And [when I was in Japan, he telephoned me and] he told me that he was coming to Japan, so “Let’s meet over there.” But I told him that Tokyo was pretty far from where I was. But he didn’t understand it since he is [not Japanese], but he insisted, saying
something like, “You have to come because I'm coming.” Well then when I went to see him [in Tokyo] he talked me up to everyone, saying things like, “In my studio in New York, she is number one! So if you see Akane dance you will understand everything about my style.” And although I had never performed in Tokyo, everyone gave me their name cards and asked me to inform them when I held a concert. So following that I simply contacted them when I had my first concert. It was at a small place, though, Jan Jan in Shibuya. At that time, I went to Tokyo and by simply contacting them on the day I arrived, in one day all 300 tickets were sold out. On the day of my performance, the place was so full that there were people who couldn’t get into the theater. After that, half a year later, my concert at Yakult Hall, where they have a capacity of 500 or 600 seats—it was full. So I owe Luigi a lot. (F33)

Thus, as an authority on jazz dance, Luigi not only helped Akane in New York but also played a major role in making her debut in Tokyo successful.

In sum, Akane first gained recognition as a skilled and earnest dancer among the dancers she met in New York; she was therefore able to develop close relationships with them. Second, with the help of her dancer friends and the jazz dance authorities who taught her, she was able to hold concerts and crafted herself as a full-fledged dancer in New York. One of those authorities, Luigi, also helped her to make a successful debut in Tokyo. Third, with the help of her dancer friends she developed a wide social network and worked professionally while doing a wide variety of things in the New York dance world, for example, promoting and producing concerts, performing, and choreographing.
I posit that the variety of things she did in promoting and producing the concerts indicates an improvement in her negotiation skills in English too. Akane’s growing membership in the American dance community played a crucial role in her professional development in the dance world not only in New York, but also in Japan.

**Akane’s Thoughts on How She Changed through Overseas Experience**

Akane told me about multiple changes regarding her identity, her thoughts on Japan, her hometown, and a cultural difference in understanding others that resulted from her experience in New York and London. First, she said she felt freer overseas than in Japan:

> You know what? I myself, because I was freer than myself in Japan in foreign countries, easier to live, the foreign environment fitted me. So I didn’t feel constrained. My body, it’s small. But as a dancer I didn’t feel any complex about my small body, even though there were people who had long legs. (F34)

Akane thus valued the feeling of being freed from the constraints she had had in Japan, and this appears to have aided her development as a dancer:

> I think I was able to expand myself as a dancer [by going overseas]. That is, when I was in Japan, contrariwise, I tended to go in the direction that I was overly conscious of about how to express it, this way or that way….To create my work as a dancer, for example to dance as a Japanese woman, [I tended to think] this had to be the Japanese woman [that was after all] an abstract [image of a Japanese woman]. (F35)
I asked Akane if her image of herself as a dancer in Japan was interfered with by stereotyped images, and she answered yes. She then continued and explained how leaving Japan was important for her self-development:

I thought it was necessary to free my own self. I mean by getting out of Japan, [I needed] more expansion, removing my [old] self in Japan. And when I came to be able to be myself as a human being with other foreigners [i.e., non-Japanese dancers], finally I thought I could become Japanese as well as my own self, Akane. (F36)

I interpret Akane's words as follows: She now thinks that her overly conscious sense of self in dance, which followed the socially defined images of a Japanese sense of femininity, limited her before she went overseas. Therefore, she needed to free herself and foster her creativity by going abroad. When she was able to feel comfortable being with other dancers in New York, she felt that she had finally become the Akane she had wanted to become—a full-fledged dancer and a Japanese woman as well as a human being.

Second, Akane told me that her Japanese identity became stronger and she came to feel more comfortable with the traditional culture of her hometown than when she was young:

Oh, you know what? It [my identity as a Japanese] has become stronger…. After all I [realize] what Japan has—these delicate parts…. So [in America] if you don’t say what you think it tends to be called a defect, but it can be a virtue that you understand without anything being said…. [We have] such a sensitive part, for
instance, if I say, a good part. Over there [in America] they don’t understand if you
do n’t say it. They say it’s your fault that they don’t understand you if you don’t say
what you are thinking. I think there’s a part in myself [that thinks] like why can’t
you understand without being told? There’s such a thing, right? Including such parts,
and everything,…I’ve come to think Japan is good. After all there’s a part in me
[where] Japanese culture is rooted, I feel. And it’s been since I went to the foreign
country. Till then I didn’t like the culture of my hometown so much. Because I used
to think like I couldn’t understand what people were thinking, when I was young,…
But I’ve come to like those things about my hometown….Because [people] here
value trust over merit. Such things like human relationships. So there is something
here that they don’t judge things only by merit. Even things like that I couldn’t see
in such a way, when I was young. It’s because I’ve been overseas, now I understand
it—such ways [people live here]. And my ways of thinking, my ways of grasping
things has changed, I guess. (F37)

Akane’s last words in the above quote, “my ways of thinking, my ways of grasping
things has changed” indicate that she values her maturity as a consequence of her
overseas experience. It appears that her preference for being free in the foreign
environment and her preference for some aspects of Japanese culture show the multiple
positions Akane occupies, that is, in gender, in the globalized dance world, in Japan, and
in her work and family in her hometown.
Relations with Tanaka after Coming Back to Japan

Akane came back to Japan in 1999, and danced in several concerts in 2000. Although she danced the works Tanaka choreographed, she felt that the worlds that she wanted to create and perform were very different from his. She said, “The ways we make our works are very different, so in the end, it felt very painful to collaborate together” (F38). Akane explained that when she first met him she wanted to learn many things from him, and she did. However, noticing too many gaps with him to work together, she divorced him in 2001.

I asked Akane what the differences were that she felt caused her separation from Tanaka. She told me that there were too many subtle gaps she felt in their private life. But she accounted for the essential difference she felt as follows:

Well, the difference basically is that his works are very originally exotic, I wonder what it is. (. ) He is attracted by destruction. He feels beauty in such things. Well, I understand it very well, but I prefer to think of what I’m doing as more constructive. So, I think the ways we live our lives are from the beginning rather different, I think. (F39)

For confirmation, I asked Akane if the difference was the beauty of decadence, which Tanaka sought, and the beauty of creatively looking forward, which she considered her works to be. And she replied, “Right, right. [We are] different, [and] the difference is rather big. That is after all the difference of how we make our works” (F 40). She explained that she wants to create works that leave some hope, “because people know about the dark sides, people want to see something bright, after all, I think” (F41). She
continued, “Each one of us has different kinds of pain in our own minds, right? So, there are no happy things [we can appreciate] without it [i.e., suffering from the pain], I think” (F42). Akane appears to think that because people face difficulties in their daily lives and know the dark sides of human worlds they can appreciate the happy moments and bright sides in contrast. When an artwork features tragedy people can appreciate it in empathy with the sadness and pain. But they also need some hope to live their lives. Therefore, she does not “want to create works in which there is no hope in the end” (F43).

Thus, in her works Akane shows different aspects of human lives drawing from both happiness and sadness, and even in a tragedy the soul of the main character is saved in some way. For example, she explained: “The Salome [I did] recently, too. The Salome that Oscar Wilde wrote, you know, the drama ends in severe tragedy, but I didn’t want to end it like that, I wanted something more” (F44). Therefore, when she produced Salome, she changed the ending so that Salome could be saved, and as she explained, “[This] is my world and it’s my desire too” (F45).

As explained above, because the difference Akane felt between herself and Tanaka was so essential, she needed freedom to create her own worlds in dance, and to do so in Japan she needed to leave Tanaka. For most of her dance works, she now mixes dance techniques, including classical ballet, the Graham technique, modern, and jazz. She has always invited Tanaka to her dance concerts, but he has not attended except for the first time she performed after their divorce. Akane explained that his pride was so great that it probably prevented him from coming to see her concerts. But she expressed the thought
that he is an important person in her life because she needs people who can seriously critique what she does, and he is the rare person who is able to critique her directly.

**Teaching Dance in Japan**

Akane opened her own studio in 2002 and since then she has been teaching ballet, modern, and jazz dance at the studio. I observed Akane teaching by participating in open classes in which three levels of dancers—professional, semi-professional, and non-professional dancers who were mostly beginners—studied. We typically did about 50 minutes of stretching, 20 minutes of basic five-position practice using the bar, and about 50 minutes of dancing following the choreography Akane taught us. For the stretching and position practices, two or three kinds of music were used, but they didn’t change between lessons. For the dancing part, the music varied in each lesson I attended. Seeing how flexible the professional and semi-professional dancers were and how quickly they understood the choreography amazed me. Akane gave detailed advice by modeling movements once most of us were able to follow the basic choreography, and made us practice focusing on the points that she advised us on. Near the end of each lesson, however, she usually told everyone to dance however they felt to the music—to explore their own forms of expression without worrying about making mistakes.

I asked Akane if her thoughts about teaching ballet and dance have changed since she started to teach. She answered:

They have changed, of course! When I was young, as a dancer and a *senpai* [meaning, in this case, a person who has more experience than others] I gave
everyone my advice. I taught them simply by giving my advice, which was not like teaching, as I did not want to think that I was teaching because I didn’t want to be a teacher…. Comparing the time I used to do things in such ways to now, rather than giving advice as a dancer, I have come to be able to teach by saying something like, “In this part if you do it more this way you will convey this more clearly”—by explaining to them through examples and showing what to do…. Now I’ve come to be able to teach while keeping in mind the importance of balance, things like expressions, body movements, and techniques, and polishing sensibility involving dance. (F46)

Akane further explained that when she was young she was unable to understand why her students could not do what she told them to do. But now she considers each student’s level and purpose, and gives more detailed direction, keeping in mind the importance of balancing the main elements of dance: technique, expression, and sensibility.

As a teacher myself, I found Akane’s thoughts on her responsibilities to her students—that they differ depending on the levels and purposes of their learning dance—interesting: “Depending on what level the students want to become, my way of teaching is different in level and depth. Because [my students] are not only those who want to become professionals, I think of what is best for them” (F47).

For the students who are housewives, for example, Akane considered the meaning of dance practice at her studio and the meaning of her teaching:

Everyday, my students who are ordinary housewives say [they don’t have] anything [regarding dance talent], but even though they say they are just housewives, every
day is their drama. I think it’s a drama—the person’s drama of her life. So if she gets stimulus [by practicing dance at my studio], she can use it when she is elsewhere. Depending on her mindset, she sees the same thing differently….I think one’s life changes depending on how one sees things. It’s not how to evaluate it, but how one thinks. Well, so for such things, by my involvement even a little, if she says to me that she can now live her life so that she feels something good about making an effort, I think there’s something meaningful in what I’m doing. So for example, there’s meaning in teaching dance, through dance—for such things, I think. (F48)

Akane therefore considers the everyday lives of the students who are learning dance as a hobby as a drama that they can produce, and wants their experience at her studio to be meaningful for them. She explained that their improvement is also important:

As long as they come, so for example, after half a year, [it’s important that] they improve as a result of that half a year. It means it’s not like what you do with one single improvement, but the [whole] process. Until the improvement, she makes a great effort to reach the goal and solve her problems….Well, in the case of dance, it’s very clear, right? One who couldn’t turn becomes able to turn, for example.

(F49)

In this connection, I noticed that I was excited and happy with myself when I was able to do a turn in Akane’s class. I also noticed that several housewife students danced in Akane’s school recitals, for which they made great efforts. I believe that such students are stimulated and fulfilled by practicing at Akane’s studio, and when they notice their own
improvement they feel the efforts that they have made are meaningful—their lives take on added meaning.

In contrast, Akane is very strict with the students who want to become professional dancers because she thinks it is irresponsible to give them unrealistic dreams: So to my students who want to become professional, I am very strict mentally….I tell them, “Please decide what [level] you want to become, what you think is good in terms of the level of your involvement in dance, what you want to do.” Otherwise, because these are their own lives, they have to decide for themselves, right?…Well, I look at their personalities and other things, and I would never say, “If you try hard, you can become [a professional].” First of all, I tell [those in whom I don’t see potential] that I think it’s probably impossible before they try. Because it’s very irresponsible if I tell them that they might be able to become a professional in their lives. So I tell [those who have potential] very difficult things. By telling them the things that I myself think may not be so difficult, if they could think they were not so difficult later, it’s good. And even after that those who still want to try to make efforts to be [a professional] can overcome [the difficulties they face] because they are ready. (F50)

The above quote shows that Akane feels great responsibility as a mentor to her students who want to become professional dancers because their future lives depend on her. She sees the students not only for their dance, but also their personalities and spiritual strength. She explained that a dancer could reach a certain level technically, but not creatively. She thinks creativity comes from one’s own heart and body, and a creative
dancer has to have it endlessly, for which spiritual strength is necessary. Therefore, even if the students might feel shocked or hurt by what she says, she criticizes them extremely hard and explains what she thinks is important for professional dancers. Those students who have a professional level of dance skills and good potential can become members of Akane’s dance company and perform in the concerts that Akane produces. She has also had several of them teach at her studio, and sends them to teach dance or perform in many different areas’ dance events.

Akane told me that the meaning of her teaching and choreographing changed after she faced the profound sadness of her older brother’s sudden death in 2004, and suffered several serious illnesses from 2004-2006. The most serious illness was shinjushu [cholesteatoma, a kind of fibroid growth that forms a pearl colored myoma membrane], which entered her skull, covered her brain, and reached the right side of her face. The surgery to remove the growth had the risk of damaging her facial nerves, which meant she would have lost control of her facial muscles. Akane was so shocked at the prospect of this and what it would have meant for her future in dance that she thought of killing herself. Yet her close friend’s words brought Akane back from the brink:

She said, “Even if your face becomes deformed, you are alive and close to us—that will support us. So such a thing as a twisted face, we can think of many ways, we can [still] do many things. I want you to live because you are a very important person for us.” At that time, if I had not been told that—those words—I might have killed myself. (F51)
Fortunately, the surgery was successful and Akane did not lose control of her facial muscles. Now, she thinks that she has received a new lease on life and should live for her brother, too. By facing death so closely and getting through this serious trial, she said that she became able to appreciate everything, and the meaning of her work and relationships with other people became much more important than before.

In 2006, as my period of data collection was coming to a close, Akane organized her dance school’s recital in a hall with 1,000 seats. It was full. The audience sometimes laughed and said, “How cute!” when children danced; they were impressed by the professional dancers’ classic ballet and modern dance; they clapped enthusiastically when the high- and beginning-level dancers performed. Many dancers smiled and had tears on their cheeks at the curtain call. Akane herself looked overjoyed, but she did not shed tears.
CHAPTER 7
DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I discuss how Midori, Haruko, and Akane crafted their selves at the intersection of different discourses, focusing on how they appropriated education and learned/used English for their lives. By taking the women’s particular situations as well as larger socio-historical conditions into account, how they became the kind of persons who aspired to keep learning and how Western education and English aided the transformation of their subjectivities and identities will be considered: The discourses of Western education and globalized professions they participated in provided them with more gender identity options, whose ideals encouraged more liberalized women’s performances, than the Japanese traditional/modern discourses they originally participated in. Therefore, I contend that, although in their married-life gender struggles, the three women’s selfhoods were torn apart while playing multiple gender roles, which indicated that their subjectivities were fragmented, the women’s deep involvement in the discourses of Western education and globalized professions helped them to reconfigure their gendered selfhoods. The three women now work at the intersection of local and global discourses, and the combinations of discourses that result make their identity performances hybrid and complex.
**Education as Care of the Self**

Looking at the three women’s narratives, it seems that a set of different discourses stimulated each of the women to become the particular kind of woman she aspired to be, for which she worked hard and cultivated herself. All three of the women were able to develop positive self-concepts in their natal family discourses, and in the midst of their severe gendered struggles they exercised agency to get education and/or study abroad. Experiences the women had in the educational practices offered by Western institutions seemed significant in the transformation of their subjectivities and identities. Having severe gender struggles and getting education in Western discourses, they re-fashioned themselves as professional women, seeking happier and freer lives, rather than following rules and roles that traditional/modern Japanese gender discourses provided. Thus, I see the three women’s appropriation of Western education as their practice of care of the self (Foucault, 1988a, 1988b, 2003). That is that each of the women was able to take care of her “self” that was torn apart in her gendered struggles and explore her new self image while learning in a Western educational environment in which gender norms were considerably different from Japanese ones. Thus, the women have become less constrained by Japanese gender norms, and have each constructed a new identity.

**Education and self-crafting.** Getting an education has been key, in the liberal feminist argument, to helping women acquire equal social and economic power with men. Therefore, it has been important for women to fight to have equal access to education. I cannot disagree with the goal that liberal feminists set and what they have accomplished.
Yet, the liberal feminist perspective limits our understanding of complex issues such as those that modern education entails, that is, interrelations of knowledge, power, culture, and individuals’ socioculturally situated gendered struggles.1 As Bruner (1996) reminded us, education as “a major embodiment of a culture’s way of life” (p. 13) serves to construct self, and “effective education is always…more dedicated to maintaining a status quo than to fostering flexibility” (p. 15). Likewise, Bourdieu (1990) stated that class and gender stratifications are reproduced through pedagogical actions and educational systems.

However, a set of discourses—including discourses of modern knowledge and education—does not determine the subject; rather it “sets the stage for the subject’s self-crafting” (Butler, 2005, p. 19). As analyses of modern educational practices by educators who adopt postmodern perspectives (e.g., D. Atkinson, 2003; Canagarajah, 1993; Simon-Maeda, 2002) have indicated, learners have power and agency, and perform their identities actively and dynamically. In their own particular situations, and at particular points in their lives, learners accommodate as well as resist modern knowledge, educational practices, and cultural norms to craft themselves. In order to understand the complexity of education and learners, Foucault’s notion of discourses and his insight into linkages among power, knowledge, and culture is useful (Baker & Heying 2004; Jardine 2005; St. Pierre 2000). Moreover, Foucault’s concepts care of the self and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988a, 1988b, 2003), as described in Chapter 2, are useful in

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1 See Lorber (2005) for a review of contributions that liberal feminists have made and a critique of their perspective. See Shikano (2004) for locally situated Japanese women’s struggles (e.g., poverty, family care, workplace discrimination, and domestic violence) in post-war Japan.
understanding relations between women’s appropriation of educational practices and their gendered subjectivity struggles (St. Pierre 2004; Tamboukou 2003). Rose (1996b) explained technologies of the self as:

- technologies that concerned the ways in which one should undertake the practical organization of one’s conduct in the daily business of living, in relation to consideration as to the kind of person one should aspire to be and the kind of life one should lead. (pp. 296-297)

I use the term technologies of the self to refer to techniques of everyday conduct that are acquired through learning practices in a set of particular discourses by which women care for themselves and lessen the negative effects of dominant discourses, for example Japanese modern gender discourses.

Accordingly, my discussion sees education as a critical constituent of the three women’s lives, using Foucault’s concepts. In what follows, I attempt to understand my participants’ self-concepts, gendered struggles, and agency to appropriate higher education for their self-crafting in their particular situations.

**The ethos of studying hard for self-cultivation and discourses.** The most significant common characteristics I found among the three women were the ethos of studying hard for self-cultivation. I believe that the three women found pleasure in learning for self-cultivation and for becoming who they desired to be. Each woman’s continuous practice of studying hard for self-cultivation has become an important constituent of her life and this practice can be viewed as appropriation of education for
care of the self (Foucault, 1984/1986, 1988b, 2003; St. Pierre, 2004). The kind of “self” each desired to become shifted as her situation and relationships with others changed. Choices to study abroad and take learning opportunities in the midst of gendered struggles were one of the technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988a) by which it became possible to seek a happier and freer life, rather than to continue performing assigned identities within conventional Japanese gender discourses. In the following two sections, I will consider socioeconomical situations and discourses that the three women participated in to understand the women’s self-concepts, practices of self-cultivation, and agency to change difficult situations they faced as women by appropriating Western higher education.

Social situation and natal family discourses. My participants were able to develop a certain amount of cultural capital in their natal family discourses. Looking at their narratives, they perceived that their parents did their best to support their education, and their self-respect and value of studying hard were fostered by their family discourses. Thus, I posit that discursive power of family significantly affected the development of the women’s self-concepts and supported their self-cultivation even in adulthood. For example, Midori studied hard to cultivate herself as an intelligent upper-middle class woman, and her self-concept as a member of a doctor’s family fostered her desire to get a doctor’s degree. Akane’s everyday practice to become a professional dancer was supported by her family, especially her mother who had abandoned her own desire to be a professional musician. In Haruko’s case, her mother hired a private tutor to ensure her
school studies and had her practice jazz dance when Haruko was a schoolgirl, and supported Haruko’s participation in an American fitness organization’s workshops and seminars by taking care of her son. The cultural capital and self-worth these women developed in their natal family discourses—as well as the actual support they received from their family members—were indispensables for their self-cultivation in Western educational discourses.

I believe that the three women’s parents’ supportive attitudes toward their daughters were not unrelated to their own lived experiences in World War II (cf., Minamoto, 2008). During WWII and the post-war period their parents experienced two distinct ideological social conditions: the Japanese imperialist colonial war condition in which they had to believe or at least acknowledge that they were the subjects of the Japanese emperor and therefore willing to sacrifice their lives for him; and the post-war condition in which a rebirth of modern humanism was promoted by the political hegemony of America as a result of Japan’s defeat in the war. In the latter condition, I believe that the three women’s parents’ motivation to do their best to educate their daughters for their “self-actualization” was constituted. The Japanese educational system was also largely restructured and “patterned on the American model” (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 107) at this time. Therefore, the effects of discourses of modern humanism should be taken into account in interpreting the constructions of the three women’s subjectivities.

I believe, therefore, that the three women’s ethos of studying hard for self-cultivation was initially fostered in their natal family discourses, and reinforced by the discourses of Japanese formal education and modern humanism. Thus, the participants’
aspiration for self-cultivation was not a naturally given capacity, but was constructed as “the point of application of power” (Sarup, 1993, p. 74) of the discourses, and was embodied as a significant part of their cultural capital, that is, “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243), and their gendered subjectivities guided the ways in which they sought to fashion themselves. The three women embodied different types and degrees of cultural capital in their natal family discourses, but each of their families supported their pursuit of what they were interested in. More specifically, Midori acquired a high degree of cultural capital in her family discourse, which guided her self-fashioning as an intelligent, hard-working woman who became an expert at teaching and translating English. For her part, Haruko developed her belief in the virtue of working hard as an important asset received from the education provided by her mother. Likewise, her mother’s everyday support after Haruko’s divorce was indispensable for her to be able to devote herself to studying fitness in Japan and overseas. In Akane’s case, her family, especially her mother, fostered Akane’s enthusiasm for dance from her early years, and supported her professional pursuits as well. Thus, although the Japanese family as a patriarchic apparatus generally functions to naturalize women’s sacrifice of self for family care (Sasatani, 1999), the three women’s families seemed to be exceptions. That is, the women’s families supported their education for care of the self.

**Effects of discourses of Western education.** Transformations of the three women’s subjectivities through their participation in discourses of education offered by
Western institutions were significant in transforming their modes of life. The three women chose to attend professional educational programs offered at Western institutions for self-crafting in the midst of their respective gender struggles. As networks of knowledge, power, and culture, discourses of school and education should produce subjects who believe in the particular truths that the discourses disseminate (Foucault, 1983). Yet, several competing discourses (e.g., gender, Japanese and Western education, and globalization) provided the three women with a wider range of identity options and fostered comparative and critical views. In what follows, I discuss the changes that occurred in the participants’ lives and views as a consequence of participating in Western educational discourses.

**Changing careers and developing critical views toward traditional Japanese educational practice.** Midori and Haruko widened the scope of their educations and saw new models for their professional identification through their participation in Western educational discourses. Their narratives indicated that they preferred the student-centered humanistic approaches (cf., Ornstein & Hunkins, 2004) that they experienced at the American institutions to the more conservative Japanese approach. As a result, they substantially modified their careers. Further, they developed critical views toward traditional Japanese educational practice. For example, Haruko critiqued typical Japanese formal education as failing to foster students’ individuality and to provide enough opportunities to develop thinking skills and to listen to others’ opinions. In Midori’s case, she stated that as a Japanese female student she felt constrained in expressing her
opinions and asking questions as she wanted, and felt that the teacher’s job was to control students according to Japanese discourses of formal education. Therefore, she could not imagine becoming a teacher herself. But when she studied in an intensive English course in the United States she felt much freer in expressing herself than in Japan, which triggered her interest in becoming an English teacher. Moreover, in her stay in the United States, Midori identified an important physical characteristic—that she was too tall as a woman in Japan—as a norm in America and thus recognized the availability of a wider and therefore less constraining range of gender performances than in Japan. Her experience of feeling free from Japanese gender norms in the English learning environment in the United States strongly influenced her choice to study TESOL at an American graduate school later on.

For her part, Haruko felt inspired by instructors who provided the participants with creative problem-solving activities at the American fitness institution’s workshop where she got her fitness educator’s certification. The experience she had at this and other workshops influenced the kind of fitness educator she wanted to become, and the knowledge and social status she gained in the fitness field made her feel positive about her career change from competitive bodybuilder to fitness educator. As a consequence of participating in discourses of American fitness whose principle was physical functional improvements while enjoying exercises, she became critical of the bodybuilding training she had done and how she had taught her students to endure physical pain and competition.
Further, Haruko had an additional reason for admiring American educational discourse. Participating in an American fitness education discourse, she felt that American academic institutions had the power to hire the most advanced scientific authorities, and therefore people from different parts of the world came to study and/or work in the United States. For this same reason, she had her son receive his undergraduate education in the United States.

Midori and Haruko’s respective carrier modifications and preference for Western educational practices as well as their critical views toward Japanese traditional formal educational practices show the effects of the Western educational discourses that they participated in on their subjectivities.

**Changes in Midori and her married life.** Midori’s participation in the American graduate school practices in Japan helped her renew her academically oriented selfhood in an environment in which she enjoyed acquiring knowledge of TESOL with her newly met school friends. In my account, discourses of globalization and American education provided her with this new subject position and new social relations, in which she was able to care for herself and practice her freedom of “who she wants to be” (Foucault, 1988a, 2003). Moreover, in order to compensate for her being away from home once a week to study in the TESOL program for nearly three years, Midori and her husband built new modes of life to take care of their son. Her narrative indicated that Midori and her husband’s modes of life changed in negotiation at the intersection of competing discourses of Japanese gender, liberalism, and professionalism. For example, there was
evidence that indicated a significant change: When their son was small, Midori was unable to say anything when her husband complained about a simple meal she bought for dinner after both of them worked hard until late, which indicated their assumption that Midori should play a good wife and wise mother’s role according to modern Japanese gender norms, but more than 20 years later her husband was surprised at and apologized when she told him how she had felt during the earlier incident. As Midori explained, the change seems to have occurred gradually in the everyday repeated context of her and her husband’s struggles in the process of cooperatively refashioning their married life.

Midori’s husband’s supportive attitude toward her efforts at performing multiple identities significantly helped her in taking a new step toward running her own English school and devoting her time and energy to her work. Likewise, his positive attitude toward Midori’s academic studies was important for her decision to enroll in a doctoral program. She told me that if she had not felt her husband’s supportive attitude toward her devotion to working hard, she would have been able neither to enjoy working as much as she wanted nor to study in the doctoral program. Their cooperative actions resisted modern Japanese gender norms and promoted Midori’s use of her cultural capital to refashion herself as a graduate student, professional English educator, and entrepreneur.

Changes in Haruko and Akane’s lives. In contrast to Midori, Western educational discourses helped Haruko and Akane become independent and separate from their spouses, with whom they had worked professionally on a daily basis. Haruko and Akane supported their husbands’ social status as heads of their institutions and worked in
subordinate positions. According to their accounts, their husbands’ subjectivities seemed to have had been deeply situated in traditional and modern Japanese gender discourses. In their married lives, the two women seemed to have tried to perform as wives according to Japanese gender norms. However, they were neither passive nor uncritical in their gendered lives as they devoted themselves to professional self-improvement, and noticed the gap between their husbands’ cultural practices of somatic aesthetic performances and their own. Therefore, Haruko and Akane experienced more serious and complex gender struggles than Midori. Thus, in the midst of facing the difficulties of divorce, Haruko started participating in discourses of American fitness education, while Akane practiced her agency to study dance in London and New York when her marriage faltered. In Haruko’s case, she came to be interested in scientific studies that support fitness education and her teaching principles changed through participating in American fitness discourses.

Looking at Akane’s case in a little more detail, she deeply enjoyed learning new dance techniques in London and New York, and felt much freer practicing new forms of expression than in Japan. She judged the joy she had been able to feel through her experience with improvisational dance which she did with her friends outside of classes in London as significant because it produced in her a new energy to bear hardship while becoming a creative modern dancer. The new discourses she participated in in London provided her with new social relations that allowed her to feel free from the duties of teacher and wife of the head of a dance school in Japan. Therefore, she was able to concentrate on practicing dance and acquiring new dance techniques. She was also able
to feel confidence in her classical ballet skills after being recognized as a good dancer by the principal of the Royal Academy. Additionally, the ways in which Akane learned modern and jazz dance in New York represented a kind of apprenticeship: learning under two famous dancers and becoming a member of the professional dancers’ community.

In my interpretation, Akane’s overseas studies in London and New York allowed her the practice of care of the self, that is, to take care of her “self” that had been exhausted by playing multiple roles in Japan, to concentrate on learning dance and exploring new expressions as a creative dancer, and to develop “Akane”—that is, her new self that she desired to become, while recognizing her new emotions and desires in the new intersubjective relationships. Consequently, she acquired high levels of modern dance skills and a full-fledged modern dancer’s position. Moreover, she acquired a wide range of professional skills, such as promoting and producing concerts, receiving other professionals’ help and support. Changes in the way she now teaches dance seem to have occurred substantially because of her learning experiences in London and New York. It seems that by participating in discourses of creative dance overseas, she shed the constraints she had felt as a female dancer in Japan who struggled to perform according to the stereotyped Japanese and Japanese woman’s images that modern discourses created. Thus, I infer that the set of discourses Akane participated in changed, and therefore led to a transformation of her subjectivity. Her new subjectivity spurred her to become independent from Tanaka even though she faced risks. Consequently, she was able to perform not only as a dancer but also as an organizer of dance concerts in which a variety of art worlds she created were presented.
Thus, the techniques of everyday conduct as a professional in the field of dance that Akane acquired in her more than 20 years of studying overseas can be accounted for as her technologies of the self that permitted her to transform her life “in order to attain a certain state of happiness” (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18). Her everyday practices as a creative dancer still require her continuous self-cultivation to explore new ways of expression, but her mode of life has changed to a state in which she feels happier and freer to do so for herself and for her disciples after she founded her own dance company.

**Summary of education as care of the self.** In sum, the three women’s family discourses supported their creative self-crafting. Further, through participating in Western educational discourses in the midst of gendered struggles, they refashioned themselves professionally, seeking happier and freer lives. This educational process led to transformations in their subjectivities. Therefore, I called their repeated actions to study for self-cultivation *education as care of the self* (Foucault, 1884/1986, 1988a, 1988b, 2003). In addition, the techniques of their everyday conduct acquired in Western educational discourses aided their resistance to the beliefs of how Japanese women should live according to the Japanese gender norms imposed on them, and therefore I called them one of their technologies of the self. I conclude that while repeatedly behaving as learners and making efforts to become experts in their respective fields, Midori, Haruko, and Akane transformed their gendered subjectivities by participating in discourses of Western education.
In this section, I discuss the participants’ learning and using of English in their particular circumstances. These circumstances were simultaneously implicated in globalization, i.e., the recent rapid acceleration of global cultural flows (Appadurai, 1996). Often without conscious awareness, people’s lives are situated in and shaped by globalization (Castells, 2006), and their agency to appropriate (or resist) English in their efforts toward identity construction is enacted at the intersection of different discourses, such as class, gender, religion, and ethnic (e.g., D. Atkinson, forthcoming; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001a, 2001b). Mathews (2000) argued that contemporary culture has provided “the information and identities available from the global supermarket” (p. 1), from which “we seem to pick and choose culturally who we are” (p. 5). This appears to apply to the three women’s cases, and at the intersection of multiple local and global discourses they learned and used English for their efforts at fashioning themselves according to the images they aspired to take on.

English is the dominant language in the current era of globalization, and has been used as a primary language in the global economy, mass media, the Internet, and scientific publication (Hall, 1991; Maurais, 2003; Steger, 2003, pp. 82-84). Tsui and Tollefson (2007) have pointed out that English and technology are the two primary mediational tools by which “globalization is effected” (p. 1) and that “proficiencies in these tools have been referred to as global literacy skills” (p. 1). Thus, English has been learned and used as a lingua franca or international language not only for communication, but also for expression and negotiation of cultural identities (Hall, 1991; Hashimoto,
The three participants in this study started learning English as a school subject when they were in junior high school.³ Midori studied English continuously since then, through which she expressed her identity as a serious, intelligent, middle-class woman. She made efforts to improve her English skills to the level at which she was able to perform multiple professional identities (i.e., as English teacher, interpreter, and owner of an English school chain). Haruko stopped studying English when she graduated from high school, and experienced severe difficulty with English communication when she went to New York for the first time in her late 20s as a bodybuilder. But she did not feel the need to learn English seriously until she started participating in the discourses of fitness. Akane took English conversation lessons in Japan after graduating from high school and while working as a dancer although she did not feel the importance of improving her English skills. She also took English lessons when she went to New York for the first time and improved her English communication skills while she lived there. Thus, the three women learned and used English differently in the global world.

Nonetheless, all three participants used English to participate in globalized discourses of Western professional education while facing gender difficulties—to explore new ways through which they could refashion their lives. Thus, Haruko and Akane started learning and using English to become the kinds of professionals they aspired to be in their respective professional fields. By using English, the three women acquired new

³ For an introduction to English education in Japan’s modern era, see Imamura (2006).
knowledge and high levels of professional skill and credentials, with which they increased their cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 243-248). For example, Midori increased her cultural capital by getting a TESOL masters degree and gained membership in a business community by running her own English school in her hometown. Haruko increased her cultural capital by publishing her books and DVD, from which she was invited to participate in fitness related research and further developed her social networks in the fitness field. Akane increased her cultural capital by studying under two famous jazz dancers in New York, whose support aided her development toward a legitimate membership in the dancers’ communities in New York. A glowing recommendation of her as a dancer by one of her teachers in Tokyo also helped her to make a new and important social connection in Japan. They then used this capital to establish their professional lives in freer and happier states than before. In other words, the three women utilized English to refashion their lives and identities as professionals in discourses of globalization, by which they resisted conventional Japanese gender norms that had induced them to sacrifice their desires for the sake of their husband’s social success.

Thus, the three women used English as a tool not only to participate in the discourses of globalization, but also to practice their technologies of the self, that is, to better know themselves and to take care of their “self” (Foucault, 1988a) by refashioning their lives and gender identities, thereby resisting being over-determined by the modern power-knowledge of how Japanese women ought to live. Tables 2, 3, and 4 show the
trajectory of each participant’s learning/using English in relation to the context in which she fashioned herself. What follows are discussions of each case.

**Midori’s learning and use of English for self-fashioning.** In her youth, Midori studied English seriously at school, at the intersection of discourses of family, gender, and class, and expressed her identities: as a serious student, as the daughter of a medical doctor’s family, and later as an intelligent woman who was suitable to be the wife of a doctor. Midori’s participation in an English-only summer camp as a junior high school student helped her discover the pleasure of learning English for communication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Context and/or identity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12-18</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Studied English as a junior &amp; high school student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>English-only summer camp (1 week) as a junior high student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-22</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Majored in English as a college student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>Home-stay program (1 month) as a college student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-24</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Used English as a clerk in a large Japanese company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Studied English at a language school (6 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>Studied English in an intensive program (4 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Studied English to become a simultaneous interpreter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-38</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Used English to get a master's degree in TESOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39-</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Using English as the owner of a chain of English schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43-</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Using English to study for a doctoral degree in education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Midori’s experience of studying English in the United States provided her with a chance to realize that different ways of presenting herself as a woman were possible in a North American environment. More specifically, she felt freer “being herself,” including
her height, in the United States than in Japan because she did not need to conform to Japanese gender norms she had felt constrained by.

During and after the time she worked as a clerk using her English skills in Tokyo, Midori kept studying English, and also sought a new way (i.e., as an interpreter) to fashion herself with a more prestigious-looking profession than a clerk. Moreover, studying English to get an interpreter’s license was used as a reason to extend her stay in Tokyo in her gendered life situation. That is, she was told to come back to her hometown and to live with her parents to prepare for *omiai* (match-making) and marriage. Although she failed to get the license and went back to her parents’ place to prepare for her future marriage, she went abroad to study English for the second time. These actions showed the ambiguous dimensions of her gendered subjectivity, that is, on the one hand, she aspired to equip herself with high-level English skills and enjoyed a student’s life in a North American environment, while on the other hand she believed that her future happiness would come by marrying a doctor in her hometown, a circumstance that would be less likely to provide her with freedom to work professionally.

However, after experiencing communicative language learning for the first time in her second study abroad, Midori decided to work as an English instructor just before getting married. Thus, because of her experiences in studying overseas, there were important contingent changes in terms of her gender and occupational identities. Regarding the former, by being exposed to a diversity of gender performances she was able to establish her sense of self, including her unusual height, on a more positive basis. Regarding the latter, inspired by a communicative approach her interest in teaching
English was triggered, and she realized that she did not need to limit her potential because of her long-held negative image of the conservative Japanese school teacher.

Midori’s preference for expressing herself in a North American environment and communication in English was an important factor that led her to the learning and use of English in order to fashion herself as an English teacher, and to keep studying to be a simultaneous interpreter. Furthermore, it led to her choice of an American graduate school (in Japan) for improving her cultural capital when she faced severe gender difficulties, that is, frustration caused by giving up being an English teacher and interpreter that she had enjoyed, and distress caused by relocating to a rural area for the sake of her husband’s job.

Additionally, in order to run her school and to connect with her local community and global discourses of English education, Midori used English and Internet technology, that is, global literacy skills (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007, p. 1). By running her chain of English schools, she established her social position, in which she could practice her freedom to be an ethical\(^4\) entrepreneur and teacher (cf., Foucault, 2003). It can be posited that her English skills and credentials helped her increase her cultural and social capital, and by using this capital she has been making efforts to become “who she desires to be.”

In sum, by learning and using English, Midori constructed multiple identities as a student, daughter, intelligent woman, teacher, interpreter, and entrepreneur. Her experience of studying overseas significantly transformed her perception of her own

\(^{4}\) Here I used the word “ethical” to refer to Midori’s attitudes toward running her school, e.g., her practice of encouraging individual learners’ learning English to expand their freedom and her employees’ creativity and self-development over profit-making.
gender identity performances. This is because what she had believed was appropriate behavior as a woman according to Japanese gender norms became not “a natural sort of being” (Butler, 1999, p. 44) for her. Her experiences in her second study overseas helped to change her idea about teachers’ roles and motivated her to become an English teacher. Her difficulty caused in married life by her husband’s job transfer became an occasion for her to use her English skills to acquire knowledge in TESOL at an American graduate school as well as to transform her and her husband’s gender roles. Midori and her husband’s cooperative refashioning of their gender roles taught me that globalization does not automatically change one’s gendered life in a way which supports one’s practices of freedom (Foucault, 2003), but that it takes effort and agency to transform a life. Midori’s multiple and creative actions to learn and appropriate English in her particular situations showed the complex ways in which her agency was enhanced by discourses of family, school, class, gender, English education, and globalization.

Haruko’s learning and use of English for self-fashioning. In Haruko’s case, her practices of physical training and teaching brought her into discourses of globalization, and her agency to study English was constituted in the discourses of fitness education. More specifically, her interest in becoming a competitive bodybuilder led her to visit New York and thus exposure to everyday English, and her commitment to working as a fitness educator motivated her to study English. What she emphasized as her original reason to study English was reading original English manuals of new fitness methods to make sure of her understanding, because she had been confused by inaccurate Japanese translations. She tried to study English at English schools, but was unable to continue
because of her work and taking care of her son. Thus, around the time she sent her son to study English in the United States for higher education, she started studying English seriously by taking private lessons. By that time she had re-established her life socially and financially after her divorce, and she was ready to work on her identity as a well-established fitness educator who works internationally.

Table 3. Haruko’s Study/Use of English for Self-Fashioning

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<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Context and/or identity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12-18</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Studied English as a junior and high school student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late 20s</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Skill learning to be a bodybuilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 30s</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Studied to become a qualified fitness educator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 30s-</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>Attending fitness conventions and seminars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 30s-</td>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>Attending fitness conventions and seminars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 40s-</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Studied English in a private lesson 2-6 hours/week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late 40s</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>Studied English intensively at an English school 2 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 50s</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>Learning rehabilitation and teaching fitness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observing Haruko’s study of English in my private lessons with her and her activities at an international fitness convention in Taipei, I understood her need for English. For example, she needed English to apply to workshops and conventions, which was done mostly through the Internet, in order to learn new methods in the United States and take examinations to get qualified to teach these new methods. Likewise, at the international fitness convention in Taipei, she used English to express herself and her ideas to her audiences in the sessions she taught, and to communicate with other presenters, who were mostly fitness educators, but sometimes medical doctors.

Haruko’s narratives provide evidence that by studying English she was able to feel confidence in her understanding of new methods and knowledge of fitness produced by
American fitness institutions. It helped her to critically use what she had learned from these institutions to develop her ideas and publish a video and books. Consequently, she improved her authoritative status in the fitness world, and further developed her cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, by publishing she gained opportunities to work for the government and do research at a medical institution, which is doubtless rare for those who only finished formal education at the senior high school level. Thus, I contend that her learning and use of English aided the improvement of her cultural and social capital.

However, Haruko seemed to have complex and critical attitudes toward English education and the linguistic domination of English. On the one hand, she felt the need for English to function professionally at an international level. Likewise, her preference for an American university education over a Japanese one for her son was developed from her work experience. Therefore, she invested in her son’s English education in Japan and in California for him to get an American university education. On the other hand, she expressed in the second interview that formal English education in Japan had been ineffective and she was against starting English education in elementary school. Her argument was that Japanese formal education should not be influenced by English dominance too much, and should spend more time on improving the younger generation’s Japanese literacy level rather than on learning an elementary level of English.

I posit that the critical attitude that Haruko held toward Japanese formal English education was developed and became explicit precisely in relation to those discourses of globalization, neo-liberalism, and American capitalism in which her professional life has
been situated. Although the Japanese government wishes to treat English as “a mere technical tool” (Hashimoto, 2007, p. 49) in providing English education, in her real life experiences, Haruko conceived that today’s power of English, the Japanese policy of English education, and America’s capitalism, cultural, and political power were deeply connected.

In sum, Haruko’s motivation in learning and using English was formed in the discourses of globalized American fitness education. Her investment in learning English was a part of her effort to be recognized as a legitimate fitness educator in the global world. By learning and using English she was able to read fitness materials and feel confidence in her knowledge of physical development and fitness education. As a result, she was able to publish her own works, and improved her cultural and social capital. However, it was sometimes difficult for Haruko to separate the English domination in the world, American fitness institutions’ domination in Asia, and the exclusionary power of White American discourses. Her need for English and simultaneous ambivalence toward the power of English showed a dimension of issues surrounding Japanese who use English in professional discourses in which the United States has economic and cultural capital.

Akane’s learning and use of English for self-fashioning. Akane’s trajectory of learning and using English shows clearly that her agency to learn English was developed in the context of discourses of dance and globalization (see Table 4). Akane’s study of English in her 20s in Japan was a part of her investment in her imagined future to become a member of communities of modern and jazz dancers overseas (cf., Kanno & Norton,
Using English in Europe and in the United States, she enjoyed making efforts to cultivate her skills and sense of self as a creative dancer in the new social relationships.

Table 4. *Akane’s Study/Use of English for Self-Fashioning*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Context and/or identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12-18</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Studied English as a junior and high school student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-20</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>English conversation study at ballet school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20s</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Private English conversation lessons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-28</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Learned classical ballet and the Graham Technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Visited a famous dancer in Paris and attended an international dance festival in Köln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Paris &amp; Köln</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Studied English at an English school (3 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Studied and performed jazz and modern dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Socialized with and became close to American dancers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-50s</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Worked as an artistic director at a dance school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 50s-</td>
<td>Japan &amp; New York</td>
<td>Keeping in touch with American dancers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Akane’s use of English in a community of dancers in New York seemed to be significant for her to be recognized as a legitimate dancer in the discourses of modern and jazz dance as well as to develop her social networks. Thus, her use of English helped her improve her professional skills, as well as cultural and social capital, substantially. Along with her development of high-level technique in different dance forms, these skills—that is, skills to choreograph and to organize dance concerts—and the cultural and social capital she further developed provided Akane with the personal resources to become independent from her husband Tanaka, and to express her ideas through dance.

Akane’s post-high school study of English started with her participation in an English conversation class offered to dance teachers at the classical ballet school where she worked—participation that was due to the principal’s policy, not Akane’s choice. But
after quitting the school, she took private English lessons while she was running the jazz dance studio with Tanaka, as she hoped to study modern and jazz dance in the United States when the time came. I posit that Akane’s agency to take private English lessons was generated by the relationship between her then-current subjectivity and her imagined future. In other words, at that time communities of leading modern and jazz dancers in the English-speaking world were the imagined communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 241) that Akane envisioned joining, and for which she thus felt the need for English to be able to join.

According to Akane, she was unable to understand English “at all” when she arrived in London. However, it seems that her English lessons in Japan helped her to start and enjoy her new life in London because Akane immediately started communicating with people there. It is plausible to assume that, starting with the base she had acquired in Japan, she gradually developed her English communication skills through interacting with people during her approximately half-year stay in London. Her English skills also helped her to communicate with dancers whom she met in Paris and Köln.

When Akane first went to New York to study modern and jazz dance, she invested in studying English by enrolling at an English conversation school. This showed her recognition of the importance of language in order to become a member of the communities of dancers in New York that she had envisioned associating with while still in Japan. It seems that she used English socially, mostly in communities of dancers in New York. Akane also used English as artistic director of the dance school that her friend founded in New York, and to recruit American dancers for the dance concerts that she
and Tanaka organized in Japan. In what follows, I discuss her use of English in a community of African American dancers, as it shows her efforts to use English for identity construction.

Akane used English in socializing with her African-American dancer friends, with some of whom she has maintained relationships even after coming back to Japan. But at times she felt frustrated by her perception of a big gap in the communication styles of American English speakers and Japanese, especially when discussing dance. She also felt that her inability to express herself in English caused some misunderstandings or emotional difficulties with a fellow dancer who had helped her greatly in New York. Therefore, even though she hardly wrote anything in English, just before returning to Japan she spent all night writing a letter to this dancer in order to resolve their misunderstandings. Thus, it is important to recognize Akane’s emotional involvement in her use of English for the interpersonal relationships in which she made efforts to be recognized as a friend and as a dancer.

As explained above, Akane used English not only to learn new dance techniques and improve her dance skills, but also to live, work, and act as a dance community member, as well as to perform as a Japanese woman. In these daily practices of English she constructed her multiple identities, and her Japanese cultural identity became more explicit. Moreover, according to Akane’ account, most importantly she developed her “Dancer Akane” identity when she felt comfortable being with other professional dancers. In my interpretation, English was used in her efforts to become “Dancer Akane” —a performer as skilled and creative as any other top-flight modern and jazz dancer. To this
end, she needed American professional dancers’ recognition, which she was able to get in the communities she belonged to and through experiencing the success of her solo concert in New York.

In my account, Akane’s learning and use of English were to help her in her struggles to become a legitimate dancer, which occurred as a part of her development of technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988a) within the discourses of creative dance in the Western world. According to Rose (1996a), technologies of the self “are always practiced under the actual or imagined authority of some system of truth and of some authoritative individual” (p. 135). Akane’s real-life experience over 20 years showed the importance of her use of English to learn from and be recognized by the relevant authorities, that is, top-level modern and jazz dancers in New York. With the help of her teachers and other professionals who were authorities in the field of dance, she was able to increase her cultural capital and expand her social networks.

I posit that Akane’s subjectivities were transformed as she used English socially in a wide variety of day-to-day activities as a dancer, artistic director, and organizer of dance concerts. Thus, she was able to acquire a variety of professional and social skills that helped her become the leader of a dance company.

In sum, Akane learned and used English not only to improve her dance skills but also to socialize with people whom she met in Europe and in the United States. Her agency to learn and use English was constructed in discourses of dance that were globalized, and her use of English aided her active involvement in the communities of professional dancers whose support was significant for the development of her identity as
a full-fledged dancer. Further, her use of English helped her increase her cultural capital and build social capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

**Summary of English for self-fashioning in a global world.** The three women learned and used English differently to construct their multiple identities in their particular situations, which were at the same time situated in a globalized world. As they participated in current global cultural flows (Appadurai, 1996), they actively constructed their imagined visions of who they wanted to be, for which they learned and used English. The kinds of personae they wanted to be were not free, but guided by the discursive practices they participated in. Their use of English aided their practice of technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988a) to refashion their lives professionally, through which they sought their freedom and happiness. English was an important mediational tool for them to participate in discursive practices of Western education and their respective globalized professions, by which their cultural capital was increased. In the process of their using English overseas as well as in Japan, the three women’s subjectivities and identities were significantly transformed.

In the following section, I discuss the three participants’ gender performances that I interpreted as subversive of and/or negotiated with dominant Japanese modern gender norms.

**Gender, Discourses, and Presentation of Self**

**Haruko’s bodily construction of identity and subversive performance.** In terms of her teaching and training as well as presentation of her body as a bodybuilder,
Haruko’s practices were clearly subversive of modern assumptions of femininity and masculinity. Although bodybuilding never gained much popularity among Japanese women because bodybuilders’ appearance and physique did not fit Japanese gender norms (cf., Spielvogel, 2003), Haruko learned and taught bodybuilding, and crafted her body as a competitive bodybuilder. She even went to New York to learn competitive bodybuilding. Her motivation to compete in contests, according to her explanation, was to encourage her students’ hard training. I posit that her agency was enacted from her multiple situated positions, as the wife of a bodybuilder, co-owner of a gym, and athletic trainer. However, even when her husband came out against her competing, and although the general public’s social attitude toward her physique was doubtless far from warm, she did not give up bodybuilding. Therefore, I view my account of Haruko’s presentation of self as a bodybuilder as an instance of subversive performance vis-à-vis Japanese gender norms.

In a book published in 2005, Haruko wrote critically that she felt growing pleasure and confidence as a bodybuilder as she gained muscle bulk and approached her notion of an ideal physique. This account of her own training was evidence of the “experiential somaesthetics” (Shusterman, 2000, p. 159) that Haruko used as a ground for her personal identity. This is perhaps because, at that time, her subject positions as a wife, co-owner of a gym, and physical trainer became unstable, which meant that most of her everyday life and normative conception of self were in danger. Therefore, she needed to keep working hard at crafting her body to ground her sense of self in a discourse of bodybuilding. In my account, feelings of physical sensation (e.g., pain, hunger) in her hard training, exhibition
of her female body at competitions and on TV, and other bodybuilders’ praise or competitive attitudes toward her helped her feel proud of herself and reconstruct her gender identities.

Haruko’s and other Japanese female bodybuilders’ figures were judged in a modern binary division of male and female at male-dominated contests. Yet at the same time they called into question modern assumptions regarding the female body and its beauty, and the binary distinction between femininity and masculinity. Similarly, Haruko’s regular TV appearances and those of other female bodybuilders she brought on to a TV show demanded social acknowledgement of their identity performances. This facet of Haruko’s narrative showed that, as Butler (1990/1999) has argued, discourses of gender are open to possibilities of subversive performances.

Haruko’s body and principles of physical training changed as her subjectivity shifted under the influence of new discourses of fitness rather than bodybuilding. In the process, she discarded her desire to seek happiness as a wife and chose to live as a fitness educator in order to raise her son. As a result, her modes of living changed dramatically. These transformations occurred as a consequence of the efforts she made to change her life with her son within her socially situated gendered struggles. Thus, as Butler (1990/1999) argued, agency should not be understood as given, but rather it is generated in one’s particular struggles at the intersection of multiple, often conflicting discourses.

**Midori and Akane’s performances of “Japanese woman.”** Midori became conscious about how she should speak and behave as a Japanese female entrepreneur,
noticing the gaps in other people’s perceptions of her presentation of self. She felt that ordinary Japanese people often perceived her behaviors as too aggressive for a Japanese woman, and expressed to me that it could be possible to control her performance. First, Midori was puzzled by the reactions of participants toward her speech performance at an e-woman’s lecture course: The majority of female participants negatively evaluated Midori’s performance as too powerful while two advisors of the course preferred her powerful speech. Second, the male designer who designed her school's logo told Midori that she was controlling her power to talk with him, which implied that her behavior was less powerful than before, although she was not aware of the difference in her own performance. Thus, Midori noticed a variety of gender performances that she could adopt depending on the situation and people whom she had to deal with. This facet of her narrative shows that, for Midori, to perform according to dominant Japanese gender norms was not natural but required learning, and she made efforts to perform as a Japanese woman according to her newly acquired metadiscursive knowledge.

In Akane’s case, in order to perform as a “Japanese woman” privately as well as in dance, she went through decades of struggles. She said she was too conscious and influenced by stereotypical abstract images of a “Japanese woman,” and felt difficulties performing “a Japanese woman” in dance before she had experience of living overseas. In my observation of dance concerts that Akane organized, the “essential” femininity she used to perform according to her former husband Tanaka’s ideas disappeared, and new varieties of expressions (e.g., love, desire, happiness, sadness, jealousy, death, and salvation) were created and performed as a part of the emotional human world. Moreover,
these were shown in a variety of relationships that were not only between women and men, but also among women and/or men, or between humans and gods. These performances can be thought of as resulting from her exposure to a wide variety of experience in Japan and overseas. Additionally, her responsibilities as head of her dance company required her to play a wide variety of social roles at the intersection of local and global discourses.

In my account, the three women moved from discourses in which only a small set of images of “Japanese woman” was available to Western-centered yet globalized cultural and professional discourses in which an abundance of images was available to copy and recreate for their gender performances. In other words, they embodied new forms of subjectivity and hybrid modes of identity at the intersection of local and global discourses, from which they performed gender as “a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint” (Butler, 2004, p. 1). Thus, in their everyday practices subversive gender performances inevitably occurred.

**Summary of Issues**

In this chapter, I have discussed the three women’s cases, focusing particularly on their appropriation of education and English for their lives. The elements of the three women’s lives under discussion showed a wide variety and complexity of efforts to craft their selves in the discourses they participated in. Each woman was never just a “woman,” but something else (e.g., daughter, physical trainer, learner, or dancer), too, at the intersection of multiple discourses. The three women’s agency to take advantage of
higher education was produced in their respective struggles in modern Japanese gender discourses.

The three cases show a historically specific globalizing postmodern condition (Appadurai, 1996) that provided each of the three women with diverse models of identity options from which she could pick and choose (Mathews, 2000). In a particular set of discourses she imagined “the kind of self” she should/wanted to become, and made efforts to fashion herself according to her imagined vision of herself. In adulthood, according to these imagined selves, all three women aspired to pursue their interests as professionals while performing as Japanese women. Yet their behaviors, ways of thinking, and actions were not simply determined by the discourses that intersected in them or by the traditional/modern gender norms. There were critical moments when the three women exercised power and resisted the gender norms.

The Western educational practices that each of the women participated in, in the midst of their gender difficulties, not only facilitated acquisition of new knowledge and professional credentials, but also provided time, space, and new social relationships for practices of care of the self. At the intersection of local and global discourses, and from the gaps between some of the conflicting discourses, the three women acquired metadiscursive knowledge that they could use to perform as Japanese women. In sum, the education (including learning of English) that the three women received overseas and in American institutions in Japan promoted and supported critical changes in their lives, subjectivities, and gender identities that allowed them, in the limited, conjunctural forms
of life that constitute the postmodern condition, to seek their freedom, if not simply to be free.
Adopting a situated qualitative research approach, this study has been focused on how three Japanese women used the technologies of self at their disposal to craft lives for themselves in which they felt relatively happy, successful, and free. A postmodernist view of self that recognizes fluidity and heterogeneity within multiple forms of subjectivity and identity, that is, that the latter are dynamic and always “in-process” in socio-historically specific situations, has guided my interpretation. More specifically, I focused on relationships between the women’s gendered identity struggles, education, and use of English, using the Foucauldian notion of discourse and Butler’s (1990/1999) notion of gender as performative. In this concluding chapter, I briefly summarize and offer final reflections on my findings, and then discuss them in relation to other research areas.

Summary and Reflections

Productive power of discourses for self-crafting: Education and gender. The three women’s cases suggest both the productive and constraining powers of discourses, and how the multiple discourses each participated in (with their multiple subject positions) contributed to her creative self-crafting. More specifically, my participants’ natal family discourses supported them critically in developing positive senses of self and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), a result that contrasts with those of many studies on the
functions of gender in the Japanese family (e.g., Mori, 2006; Sasatani, 1999; Sugimoto, 1997). The women’s professional interests and the lives they aspired to craft for themselves were produced at the intersection of local and global discourses. The women’s gender struggles indicate the gap between the family discourses they grew up within and Japanese traditional/modern gender discourses. For example, while education in their family discourses fostered the ethos of hard work for “self-actualization,” traditional gender norms, for instance the virtue of being a good wife, severely limited their freedom in their married lives and made them unhappy. However, the resulting struggles produced their agency to take up educational opportunities and re-craft themselves (cf., Butler, 2005).

The discursive fields of globalized Western education offered the women time and space for care of the self and guided their refashioning. Having participated in the discourses of globalized Western education and of their respective professions, the three women acquired meta-discursive knowledge and new hybrid identities (Gee, 1996), while further developing their social and cultural capital. Midori and Haruko’s respective career modifications and preference for Western educational practices over Japanese show the effects of the Western educational discourses that they participated in on their subjectivities. Akane embodied a wide variety of new knowledge as a dancer as well as an organizer of dance concerts, through her learning experiences overseas, and used the knowledge to become independent from her ex-husband and express her views in dance.
English for self-fashioning. Although each participant learned and used English differently, I interpret the efforts they made to this end as part of their practices of self-fashioning. Midori rigorously learned and used English to fashion herself as an intelligent upper middle-class young woman when she was a college student. She subsequently used her English skills to fashion herself professionally in multiple fields as an EFL teacher, interpreter, and entrepreneur. Haruko invested in learning English from her mid-40s to acquire fitness-related knowledge and fashion herself as a world-class fitness educator. Her study of English allowed her to critically understand fitness-related materials and new teaching methods developed in the United States. As a result, she published her work in her 50s and further developed her social position as an authority in the field of fitness. Akane learned English in her 20s in Japan as a part of her investment in her imagined future, that is, to become a member of dance communities overseas (cf., Kanno & Norton, 2003). She then used English in the dance communities she joined in London and New York. Her use of English overseas aided her practice of self as a dancer while obtaining the support of other professional dancers, which contributed to her gaining a full-fledged creative dancer’s position in the field of modern dance.

Because the three women participated in English-oriented globalized professional discourses, their use of English aided the development of their legitimate subject positions, expressing themselves, and helping others, for example, newcomers (Lave & Wenger, 1991), in their respective fields. Additionally, their use of English aided the development of their new hybrid identities, for example, a mixture of Japanese identities.
whose performances were adapted to Japanese cultural norms and professional identities whose performances were fostered in American-centered global cultural discourses.

**Transformation of gendered subjectivities and identities.** Central to this research has been the issue of transformation of gendered subjectivities and identities. The three women’s cases taught me the complexity of gendered subjectivities and identities, whose struggles and transformations were particular in their own constantly changing situations. A salient commonality among them I recognize is that when my participants felt their gendered struggles became unbearable, their agentive transformation of their lifestyles occurred. The participants’ prolonged and intensive participation in Western educational and globalized professional discourses whose principles were substantially different from those of Japanese gender discourses contributed in transforming their gendered subjectivities. Consequently, their gendered identities, resulting from a “**stylized repetition of acts**” (Butler, 1999, p. 179), were also transformed.

Additionally, I note that the participants’ narratives indicated that their identities as Japanese women, for instance as daughter, as wife, as educator, and/or entrepreneur, were also important. To perform such multiple roles required them to perform balancing acts, but it appeared to me that it was difficult for my participants to perform these acts proficiently according to Japanese gender norms. For example, Midori consciously learned how to present herself as a Japanese woman entrepreneur, including efforts to control her “aggressive” behavior. Similarly, the actions and efforts Haruko and Akane made as “good wives” in their married professional lives, as well as what they did to
construct their new lives after their divorces, appeared to be far more active than what might be expected within traditional Japanese gender norms. In my participants’ cases, I thus understand that their gender identity performances often exceeded Japanese modern gender norms, and the metadiscursive knowledge they acquired in multiple discourses supported their partial transgression of traditional gender norms.

**Situating This Research within Larger Academic Conversations**

This research has explored issues involving gender, education, and learning/using English as an ESL/EFL by investigating three Japanese women’s trajectories of self-crafting. The women’s narratives break down stereotypes of Japanese women, and this study’s findings indicate that the education that the three women had in their natal family discourses and Western educational discourses, as well as their learning/use of English, contributed to the transformation of their gender subjectivities. A major point made in the critical and feminist literature is that the power of educational discourses in family, school, and language learning reproduce received knowledge and stabilize the existing social order and gender roles along conservative lines (e.g., Beebe, 1996, 1998 on second language education; Bourdieu, 1982, 1990, 1991 on education). However, it is also important to consider education and language learning/use by paying close attention to learners’ gender identity struggles and efforts to learn while taking their particular situations into account. In this respect, this study, which has shown the participants’ efforts to re-craft their gendered selves by taking up educational opportunities and learning/using English, can contribute to studies of gender and education. In addition, the
education that the participants had in their natal family discourses and Western educational institutional discourses aided in their practices to transform their gendered lives. This suggests, at least in some cases, that discourses of family and educational institutions can support changes in women’s modes of life to states in which constraints on them by traditional gender norms are lessened.

As summarized in the previous section, in this study I have described the particular cases of three Japanese women, focusing on the relationship between their gendered identity struggles, experiences in globalized Western education, and learning and use of English. Therefore, the findings add to the literature on adult higher education (e.g., Bansel, 2007; Barron & Zeegers 2006; Britton & Baxter 1999; King, 1998; Leathwood & Read, 2009; Tamboukou, 2003), on ESL/EFL language learning and identities in globalization (e.g., Block, 2006; Hashimoto, 2007; Kubota 2002; Norton, 2000; Phan, 2008; Pavlenko 2001a & 2001b), and Japanese women’s overseas studies (Ichimoto, 2007; Kelsky, 2001; Mimura, 2007; Piller & Takahashi, 2006). My participants’ cases have shown that education and English played a crucial role in the three women’s transformation of gendered subjectivities and development of new modes of life in which they became freer and happier than before. As mentioned in the previous sections, the metadiscursive knowledge and hybridized gender identities which the three women acquired in globalized educational and professional discourses have produced and supported their gender performances that, at least partially, transgress Japanese gender norms. This study, therefore, has shed light on the roles of education, that is, those that were provided in natal family and globalized Western educational discourses, and
English as a ESL/EFL that were used for professional self-fashioning, both of which aided the transformations of the three women’s gendered identities and ways of living.

The relationship between Japanese women’s gendered struggles and roles of education and English in transformation of their gendered subjectivities has not been well explored. Therefore, I hope that this study contributes to studies of education and second language learning that consider gender from the perspectives of feminism, subjectivities, and effects of globalization on self-crafting.

**Reflections on and Limitations of the Study**

As a novice researcher who is concerned about gender issues in education, I have faced limitations in producing this study. Mainly I have lacked a nuanced description of my participants’ gender subjectivity struggles at intersections of competing discourses, which has limited my discussion of the gender issues even though I have aimed to explore them at the points of tension between a liberal feminist perspective and a postmodernist feminist perspective. The reasons these limitations exist could be related to the following two difficulties I have faced and have not been able to handle well.

First, my participants had already overcome their major gender struggles at the time of my investigation and presented themselves as successful professional women who exercised leadership in their respective local professional situations. Within the ethics of situated qualitative research principles, I have respected such presentations of their selves in my description of their narratives. In addition, my limited ability in writing has caused a lack of description of the ambiguity and contradictions that the three women have had at
intersections of multiple discourses, for example, Japanese gender and globalized Western-centered professional discourses. Second, my original intention, in which I wanted to encourage the many adult Japanese women who have been facing difficulties to realize their desires to try to change their situations, still exists. For this purpose, by describing the three women’s cases, I have hoped that this study functions “to show people that they are much freer than they feel, that [what] people accept as truth, as evidence, … can be criticized and destroyed” (Foucault, in Martin, 1988, p. 10). Therefore, my description has been criticized as an “enlightenment” narrative that contradicts a postmodernist framework. I believe that there are more possible interpretations and descriptions of the three women’s narratives and performances than what I have done here. Therefore, in what follows in this section, I describe a possible research procedure, by which I might have been able to improve my analysis of the present research data and description.

In terms of my analysis of the data, I was pulled by the powerfulness of the participants’ presentation of selves and my original intention, which has been reflected in my description of the participants’ narratives and my discussion of them. However, if I had analyzed the data from several theoretical perspectives in the ongoing process of this study, my description could have been improved. For example, I could have analyzed particular narrative segments or performances of my participants by considering what the participants’ intentions were, what discursive powers affected them, what values were expressed, and I could have interpreted them from a liberal-feminist perspective, a postmodernist feminist perspective, and other theoretical frameworks, such as cultural capital
(Bourdieu, 1986), communities of practice (Wenger, 1988) and presentation of self in everyday life (Goffman, 1959). As for the participants’ trajectories of self-crafting, I could have interpreted them at the tension of the conceptual frameworks of Foucault’s (1988a) technologies of the self and Gidden’s (1991) life politics, through which I could have shown which framework is more supportive to explain my participants’ negotiated practices of self-crafting at the intersection of multiple local and global discourses.

Therefore, if I do similar lines of research or re-analyze the present research data in the future I will aim to analyze and interpret the research data from more multiple perspectives, as suggested by Haraway (1988), and aim to describe in a more nuanced way than what I have done in this research.

**Final Remarks: My Learning Experience**

I have learned a lot from my participants as I interpreted and wrote what they shared with me. In this section, I describe three kinds of valuable learning experience I have had in the research process. No research is worthwhile if it does not contribute substantially to the researcher’s own development. We make new knowledge both for our use and use by others who might read our work. In this sense, research is first and foremost a process of self-discovery, or, in a concept made famous in German philosophy, *bildung*.

First, the women’s life trajectories and expressed thoughts have made me think of different forms of freedom more than ever. It has been and will be valuable for me to think about freedom, for example, in the relations of power-knowledge and in the
relations with other people; freedom of critique; and freedom not to endlessly repeat the same “I,” but rather to strive and struggle for new and dynamic “I’s”—a constant effort at self-fashioning and care of the self.

Second, I have had a valuable learning experience in terms of thinking about education and teaching practices. For example, because Midori and Haruko expressed their joy and excitement in their learning and teaching experiences, I have thought of the meaning of joy in learning and the importance of feelings of connectedness between a teacher and her students. Moreover, what Akane taught me as an educator—that everyday life is a drama that our students can create, and for which she hoped to give them stimulus to renew their lives through her teaching—impressed me and has greatly influenced me as an educator. I therefore greatly appreciate the openness and friendship of my participants.

Third and finally, learning to use the conceptual tools of postmodernism, postmodernist feminism, situated qualitative research, and narrative inquiry has been deeply meaningful and indispensable for my research and my life. I therefore greatly appreciate the encouragement and support I received from the professors who first exposed me to these ideas and methodological approaches. They have changed my life in many ways and opened my eyes to new vistas, most of which I would not otherwise have seen.
REFERENCES


Anonymous¹ (2004). Narrative of Self as ‘‘the name of the university” Doctoral Student. Unpublished manuscript.


¹ A part of this paper is cited in Chapter 4: Midori. In order to protect the participant’s identity, I cannot give her real name or the university’s name.
² A part of this paper is cited in Chapter 4: Midori. In order to protect the participant’s identity, I cannot give her real name.


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APPENDIX A
INFORMED CONSENT FORM IN JAPANESE

研究参加承諾書

私の博士論文『The Art of Being A Japanese Woman』の研究に2001年4月以降参加御協力ありがとうございました。この研究にあたってのインタビューとオピニオンを始めに、口頭または手紙で研究の趣旨等を説明し、口頭で研究参加のご同意を頂いておりますが、今回テンペル大学での手続きの一環改めて書面にてこの研究参加に参加承諾を頂くことをお願い申し上げます。以下の研究趣旨を御読み頂き、正式にこの研究に参加の同意をしていただけますようでは、サンプルをご願います。

記

1. 研究目的、教育への意義
それぞれの専門領域において自己研鑽され経験豊かな3人の日本人女性の人生経験を直接伺うとともに、お仕事をどのようにかかっしているかを見学させて頂き、それぞれの口の主体性がどのように形成され変化していくかを叙述説明することが目的です。研究の成果を博士論文、その他の論文発表、またの出版を通じ、教育、フェミニズム及び英語学研究分野の発展の一助になることを願います。

2. 研究方法
基本的にインタビューと見学で行います。テーブルで語したインタビュー書き起こされ、人生経験の物語として解釈されたものに解釈されます。研究過程を通じ、信頼関係を築くためにあなた様と私は、直接お会いしたり、Eメールや電話によってコミュニケーションを行います。インタビュー、人生経験の物語の解釈、解釈を文書にしたもののは確認のため、参加者と共存されます。

3. 予想されるリスクとプライバシーの保護
この研究に参加されることでの予想されるリスクとしては、インタビューと私と私、また、確認の為に私の書いた文書を読んだり頂き、時間をおかして中取って頂くこと、そして、予想外の個人事情の発覚が考えられます。しかし、あなた様が個人的なこととして公になりたくない判断さられ私に御知らせ頂いたことは消去されます。研究参加者に得た情報すべては、本研究の目的を除いて使用しないつもりとします。その情報はすべてプライバシーとして保護され、研究参加者の氏名、所属団体、地名はすべて匿名とします。このプライバシーの保護は、私の博士論文、それに関連する学会発表、学会誌掲載の場合にも適用します。将来の本の出版に際しては、参加者の意向を改めて確認します。

4. 研究参加者の予想される利益と貢献
私は、この研究が、なんらかの意味で研究参加者のためになれることを願っています。例えば、研究参加者は自分の人生経験を通じられて、自身の人生を振り返り内省することが可能です。また研究者によって書かれた文書は読まれることで、過去の見地から自分の人生を考える機会になるかもしれません。研究参加者回監所見や情報は、この研究の読者やその他の聴衆が日本人女性や英語学習者を取り巻く社会文化的環境や問題について考えることを促すことが社会貢献するでしょう。

5. 辞退およびそれに伴う情報廃棄
研究参加者はいつでも研究から辞退でき、その情報は廃棄されます。

6. 研究参加者は本承諾書正1通を保持することができます
その他の質問がある場合は鷲鷹隊、京都女子大学小野呑宜町14-54、電話/ファクシミリ 075-415-3339、メールアドレス yksaba@ce.mbn.or.jp のサバティニー容子までお願いください。

私は『The Art of Being A Japanese Woman』の研究に参加することを承諾します。私のサンプルは上記の情報を読み参加の決意をしたことを示します。私はこの承諾させサンプをした後、いかなる時も研究から辞退でき、その情報が廃棄される権利を有することを理解しています。

研究参加者名 ____________________________ 名前 _______ 日付
研究者名 ____________________________ 名前 サバティニー 容子 _______ 日付

1 The original title of this dissertation was “The Art of Being A Japanese Woman.” The participants were informed the change of the title and they agreed in 2008.

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APPENDIX B
INFORMED CONSENT FORM IN ENGLISH

INFORMED CONSENT

Research on
The Art of Being A Japanese Woman

Thank you very much for your cooperation in the research project, “The Art of Being A Japanese Woman” for my doctoral dissertation research since 2004. Before starting my interviews and observations, I explained purposes of this research orally and/or in a letter and received your agreement to participate this research orally. Now I would appreciate your consent on this written form, which is part of normal Temple University procedures. After reading the following statement, if you agree to participate formally in the research, please complete the form below the statement by signing your name.

1. General purpose of research and possible contribution to the fields of education and feminism

The purposes of this research are to describe and interpret the process of forming and changing one’s subjectivity by learning from lived experiences of three Japanese women who are experts in different areas. I hope that my research will contribute to the field of education, feminism, and English studies through my dissertation, research articles, presentations, and books.

2. Research Approach

This research is done mainly through interviews and observations. The interviews with you are audio-taped, transcribed, and transformed into narrative accounts, and interpreted. For building trust and clarification, communication between you and me is carried out throughout the research process by face-to-face, email corresponding, telephone conversations. For confirmation, the transcripts, narrative accounts and interpretations will be shared with the participant.

3. Possible risk and protection of confidentiality

Possible risk factors from participation include time spent for interviews, meeting with me, reading my manuscripts for confirmation in your busy schedules, and advertent revelation of private matters. However, any information that you deem private will be deleted. Data obtained from the participant will be used exclusively for the purpose of this research. All the data will remain confidential: the participant’s name, and the name of her institution and its location will be identified only by pseudonyms. This restriction will be applied to any use of the data in my dissertation, possible conference presentations, and possible published research papers. In case of my future project of writing and publishing books, I will ask your desire separately when the time comes.

4. Possible benefit and contribution of the participant

I hope the participant will benefit in some ways by participating this research. For example, articulating many aspects of her lived experiences can encourage her reflection and introspection on her life. Also reading descriptions written by the researcher may give her a chance to think about her own life from different perspectives. Retrospective thoughts and information given by the participant will contribute to the society by encouraging readers and other audiences of this research to think about socio-cultural conditions and issues surrounding Japanese women and English learners.

5. Withdrawal and having the data destroyed

The participant has the right to withdraw from the project at any time, and to have her data destroyed.

6. The participant does not hesitate to ask me additional questions to Yoko Sabatini, at 14-58 Nakamizo-cho, Koyama, Kitaku-Kyoto 603-8156, telephone/facsimile 075-415-3339, and may keep a copy of this form.

I consent to participate in the conduct of research, “The Art of Being a Japanese Woman.” My signature indicates that I have read the information above and have decided to participate. I realize that I may withdraw and have my data destroyed without prejudice at any time after signing this form should I decide to do so.

The Participant: Signature _______________________ Name (in print) ______ Date

The Researcher: Signature _______________________ Name (in print) Yoko Sabatini Date

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1 The original title of this dissertation was “The Art of Being A Japanese Woman.” The participants were informed the change of the title and they agreed in 2008.
APPENDIX C
OBSERVATION NOTE FORM

Observation note – ____________________  Date: / /200_

Time: ________________________________

Occasion: ________________________________

Where: ________________________________

Activity: ________________________________

Actor: ________________________________

What happened:

Feeling:


The left side numbers indicate extract numbers in Chapter 4.

M: indicates Midori’s talk and Y: indicates the researcher’s talk in the interviews. Back channeling of the researcher and some of false starts in Midori’s talk were eliminated in Chapter 4.

### Born as the Daughter of a Doctor’s Family  Interview no. 1, 6/12/2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M: で〜一番じゃないといけないっていうのは、背はいつも一番なのよ [Y: うん] 背が一番だから、他が一番じゃないとちょっともない。</td>
<td>Y: 笑う</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>M: だから、人生の最大の目標は、結婚だったから〜 結婚するためには、相手がいるから〜 全部一度になり過ぎると男の人たちが働かって寄ってこなくなるから、一番を男の人にもないといけないから〜 ちょっと引いて、いつも上手に 2 番とか(hh) 3 番にして、ちょっとないところ、なくても、ずっと一番じゃないでしょうと、お嫁さんになるためには...って思って。</td>
<td>Y: 笑う</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Studying English as a Student in Her Hometown  Interview no. 1, 6/12/2004

| Extract Number | M: 小学校出る時に、小学校の校長先生が中学校になったならば英語っていう教科があって、それはもう教科書全部覚えるんでしょうって言われたから、そうなんだと思って、つっとうん全部教科書覚えて〜 [Y: うん] したらもう中学校の場合はだいたいできるので() [Y: うんうん] で、高校に入ったから文法書読んでて、それがのう一章ずつぐらぐらでテストがあったので、それもも覚えてしてたら、出来たので、... んであとね、中学校の、2 年生の時にタイミング良し で中学校が新しく変わって LL 教室っていうのが出来たんですよね [Y: へー] ほとんどの教室でその頃はわりと盛んだったみたいだけど() そういう教室に入れて、あのう音を中心に、あの録画したりとか、あの映像録画したりとか、音を録音したりとかするようなレッスンもあったりとかして、まったくは好きだったんでしょけどね。 | Y: 笑う |
Studying English as a Student in Her Hometown  Interview no. 1, 6/12/2004


Midori's College Life  Midori's e-mail to the researcher on 11/08/2006

8  服は、ファッションとしてジーンズをはくこともありました、冬はそれからフォックスの毛皮のコートを羽織っていました。… 特に、スキー同好会に入っていたのですが、パーティーのときなどはホテルに毛皮のコート着て行かないと、ちょっと肩身が狭い気がありました。

Studying English after Graduating from University  Interview no. 1, 6/12/2004

9  M: お家に帰ってもやることないから、夏帰って、8月それ[通訳ガイド試験]落ちて8月ぐらいう帰って、1か月くらいにうんと、留学いきたいな、って思って、もうちょっと英語勉強したいな、と思って、親に言ったから半年以内ならいいって言うから、すぐに一か月後もう使う、じゃ半年だって言って行ってたんだよね、アメリカに。

Midori's Thoughts on Her Overseas Study and Her Gender  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

10 M: たぶんずっとそれが小学校中学校高校っていって、女の子だから、なんてゆうの、一歩踏み出ししゃいけないみたいだところずーっと窮屈に思ってたんですよね、別にうちの両親の教育がどうのこうのっていうわけじゃないけど、やっぱり社会全体として、前言したことかもしないけど、例えば小学校のときに家庭科であの男の人、お父さんがお仕事しておかあさんは家事をしてみたいな記述がなんかあったんだけど、別にそんなの家によって違ってもいいじゃん、と思ったような気がするのね、… そういうところあの、なんか、不自由だなっていう、力を一杯伸ばせることに対して、なんか女性は一歩引かないといけなっていう状況がとても窮屈だなとずーっと思ってて、それがアメリカにいったときにそう思う窮屈さがなくなって自由になってとても気が楽で、こんなに自由なんだーって思って、それが、それが、それが英語にうーん、英語を、英語で生きていくことと、大いに関係しているかもしれないんですね。

11 M: そうそう 日本では窮屈だったのがあってそれが、アメリカに行ったならとても自由だったので、それでそのも、これ例え嘆し、身長がすごい高いからさー、あんま日本だと窮屈。「Y: 目立つ」目立っていいんだけどやっぱりね、あの、アメリカに行ったから私、平均身長ぐらいあるのよね女性のこの年代の、ちょっとね、普通なんだよね、だから普通にしていいんだ。みたいな、気軽なんだ。みたいな感じがあって、そういうのもあって、よかったですね、それで英語もうー、それは直接じゃないかもしれないけど、日本英語の、語学としての、が好きだったから、やってて、で結局うん、全部なんだろうなあ、英語とかアメリカとか、そういうのに関する。
Midori’s Thoughts on Her Overseas Study and Her Gender  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

12 M: 教育も、アメリカのほか、語学学校とか行っても、先生とかでもあの、気楽に話すわけ。例えば日本だったら発言したくても、みんな手上げないわけよ。

13 M: なんかおとなしくしてて、もうなんか、めちゃめちゃこういつも思ってるとうのも、なんか考えたくないのじゅうだから、なんだんしゃべんなっちゃってて。て、しゃべりたいのにしゃべらないっていうのも、窮屈だしと思ったり、アメリカに行くと皆好きなことほんほんほんゆってて、あ、こんなに自由な環境で勉強、っていうのがあるんだって思って。

14 M: だから、自分が（）あの一例は、日本だったらこう；あの、端っこのほうのこう：そこ辺にいるんだけど、[Y: ベルカーブの端っこ] （hh），アメリカにいたらこう，T度こう：normっていうかも：なんかあ、これ気楽だな：とか思って。

Becoming an English Teacher, the Wife of a Doctor, and a Mother  Interview No. 1, 6/12/2004

15 M: でね、教え始めてもすぐにね 天職だとおもった。

16 M: それまで、英語を教えるって言うことをあんまり職業として、あの価値があると思っていなかったら、英語が使える人は英語を使ってビジネスをするんだと思ってたんで：[Y: うーん] あんまり英語を教えたいとか教えようとか思ったことなかったんだけど、いま教え始めたから、↑これが面白くて面白くて↑、私ほとんど好きだからって。

Interview No. 2, 07/28/2006

17 M: 自分自身に対するなんていか、アサイメントかもしれないんだけ。

Midori’s email on December 6, 2004

18 子どもがちかいかったので、保育所に預けて夕方まで働いていました。でも途中でパートの人も夜9時まで教えないといけないという風になったので、保育所で6時まで子どもを預けた後に面倒を見てくれる人を見つけて、夜9時半頃に迎えに行くという生活を3、4ヶ月は続けたんですが、子どもが淋しさがって夜泣いたりするようになり、夫との生活時間のズレも感じて、結局英会話スクールでの夜の仕事は無理かなと思うようになり、昼間勤務できる専門学校の非常勤講師の仕事を見つけて職場を変わりました。この専門学校でもパートででも、子育てを楽しみたいという気持ちもあったので、このときはフルタイムになりたいと思っていなかったと思います。

ただし、結婚後***[the English conversation school’s name]でパートをしていたときに、もしフルタイムでバリバリ働きさえすれば、私はきっともっと仕事が出来て、能力が発揮できるはずなのに、結婚して子どもがいて時間的に無理だから十分に仕事ができないというストレスが、のちのち思う存分仕事がしたいというモチベーションにつながったと思いま す。それで、家族に手がかからなくなったときに、自分で英会話スクールを始めました。自分で好きだけ仕事ができて、その成果がもう出るのがおもしろいだろうと思いまし た。

Becoming a Simultaneous Interpreter While Teaching English  Interview no. 1, 6/12/2004

19 M: 結果的には同時通訳のブースに入れてみて、↑これは寿命が縮むと思って。
Moving to the Remote Countryside and Becoming a Graduate Student  Interview no. 1, 6/12/2004

20 M: それは人に会いたかったから、でも全然勉強とは関係なくて。

21 夫: 転勤になっちゃって、あなたは、↑せっかくにいだって言ったのに、もう、泣きわめいて↑絶対そんな人里離れたような所は嫌だって言うのに、親は単身不任は許さんとか何とかかなっちゃって、絶対一緒に行かんといかんとかみたいんで；↑絶対嫌だってもう一年間泣きわめいたのに一、ついに:なんか離れ小島のような→四国のなんか南の端のほ一に追いやられて:...ほんとに言葉が通じのかしらこんな所でって。

Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

22 M: なんてかな、あのーやっぱりね、外とのコミュニケーションでどうか、私は閉ざされた世界の中で生きることはもののぐくあの一歩屋にいられれたとおんなじぐらい窮屈に感じたわけではない。

23 M: スケジュールとか交通手段とかリストアップして、で、夫はあなたについてこういうここに来たんだから、せめて週１回位は大阪にやると、そのために子守り日当直をしなくなり、なんでもそういうことをして、私はここに行かせていたくと。ゆうような話でNegotiateして、それで彼が良してゆったのも、まあ、いいやね。

24 M: あの、行ってるあいだに、ほら、子供の遠足とかがあって、子供のお弁当作ってくれたりだとかもね。...そういうのやってたりとか。だから當直とか全部はずしてもらって、その日は他の先生にかわってもらったとか、他の先生にも実は協力頂いているんだけどね。

Opening an English School: The Feeling of Freedom and Belonging to Family  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

25 M: 自分でやると、自分の好きだんだけ働けるじゃない。

26 M: 今私すごい自由なのね。心も体もなにもかも自由だから、すごいしあわせなわけ。

27 M: もう結婚して家庭もあって子供もいて落ち着いているからので、サポーティブだけだ。なにしてもいっていることだから、家族が大きな家族が大きな意味だよね。...たぶんそういう気持ちの面でも、サポートが必要し家族とか、例えば金銭的に、もう物質的にも病なのに思われていたから、そういうのになんの、なにしてゆかな、束縛もなく十分に投資できただくてよかっただろうし。

28 M: けど、うん、女性としての一応社会規範に則っているので、安心して仕事できます。っていうのはあると思うのね。

29 M: 広い世界の中で自由に生きた今、いう希望があって、それを実現のためには、努力するやという。

Midori’s School Administration  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

30 M: えー、私の学校だと思うからね。だから誰が担当していても、私の生徒だと思ってるから、だから、なんていうか、な、やっぱり、大きな組織の中の身の毛も立たないんだじゃないさん、私がやるって英会話スクールだから私が使ってる先生たちがたまたま教えてくれるけれども、その生徒は私が本当は教えてるようなつもりでやってるわけよ。

31 M: そうすると、すべての生徒に対して、やっぱり私が責任があると思ってるから、うーん、なんかひとつでもそこで嫌なことがあると嫌じゃない？

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Midori's School Administration  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

32 M: だから、なんてうかんな、この髪の毛の先とか、足の爪の先からこう、行くかもしれないけど、全部私の神経の行い届いている所は見ておきたいっていう感じかな。

Pursuing a Doctoral Degree  Interview no. 1, 6/12/2004

33 M: やっぱりあのう、(.)もともとあの家族でドクター、メディカルドクターだったらから、そういうドクターっていうものになることによって、自分も同じ位置に立てるとじゃないかな、みたいな感じもあったので、↑ドクターには↑なりたいっていうふうに、…あのドクターにはなりたい。ドクター***[Midori’s real last name]って呼ばれたい[Y: うん]ということ なんですね。

Midori’s Implementation of World Engishes  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

34 M: あのう、ちょっと私は最初ね、やっぱりね、英語にね、癖があることはあるんですねよ、だから、アメリカ英語とは明らかに違う喋り方をするので、あのう、実際にどうしようかと思と思ったの…けれども、それを訳りととらえるかどうか、っていうの、地域の人々に対する教育だなと思ってのね。ん、だから、その人がスイス人で、英語とかフランス語とかドイツ語とかへブライ語とアラビア語、喋るんですね、んで。あのう、その、今まで皆が習っているスタンダードなアメリカ英語とかイギリス英語とかとはちょっと違うかもしれませんけれども、そういう、世界にはいろんな人がいるいろんな国の人があなたの言葉を喋って、ても、その言葉を通して、意思疎通をしますよ、っていうことを具現化できるかな、と思ってて、で、実際ににはその人を採用して、メインに置いて今度*[the name of the new school branch]を始めてくんかった。だから、それもあり、このコミュニティに於いてはね、非常に珍しいことではないと思いますよ、そういう先生を持ってくるってうのはね、で、それは私のワールドイングリッシュの実践のひとつ。

Meeting a Role Model  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

35 M: あのう、その人は初めて私がね、女性としての生き方のロールモデルになる人が出てきたなと思ったのよ。

36 M: 私***[Midori’s school’s name]はね、そういう方向に動いていきたないなぁと思ってるわけ。だから、英語だけではなくて、出来たらそういう風なあの、なんてうかんな、文化活動とかいろんなことでサポートできるように行けたらいいなとも思ってて、だから、あの、女性の生き方としても、結局ロールモデルになる人なんですよ。自分と年かわんないからさ。
Learning How to Perform  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

| 37 | M: その人たちが、私がかなり存在感のあるので、圧倒される感があると、いうかんじで、
    |  | なんでゆうかな、もう少しこう、エネルギーを抑えたほうがいいんじゃないかな↑みた
    |  | いな、かんじのコメントがあった。 |
| 38 | M: んで、あの、その講師のその人は良かったんだけども、その講師の、なんてゆうかな
    |  | あの、全員のコメントが帰ってくる、まだまだね。圧倒されすぎ、みたいに、圧倒されました。
    |  | みたいなこんなだから、ちょっとついていてなかったとかさ、そういう感じだったので、
    |  | ちょっとベース落ちをして、力抜いてやるかな、と思って。ファイナルに力抜いてやっ
    |  | たら、その一般ヒーブルからは、ちょっとよかったとか素晴らしいとかのコメントなんだ
    |  | けど、佐々木さんのは、んと、もう一人そのときにあの、アナウンサーの人がいったんだ
    |  | けども、その人たちからは、いつもの*** [Midori’s real last name] さんじゃなくて、どう
    |  | したんですか今日は？みたいに言われたんで、あれ？っと思って。 |
| 39 | M: あ！思い出した！昨日会ったあ、デザイナーの人いるじゃん。最初のちょっと大
    |  | ったデザイナーの[Y: うんうん] 人いるじゃない？看板とかで話してた、あの人が、あの人が
    |  | ちょっと深読みの人なんだけど、その深読みの人が、何かの時に私話してて、*** [Midori’s
    |  | real last name] さんは、自分のエネルギーの出力を、コントロールしてるでしょう、つったの
    |  | ね↑ |

English and Higher Education in Midori’s life: Constraints, Freedom, and Belonging  Interview No. 2 07/28/2006

| 40 | M: 今私すごい自由なのね。心も体もなにもかも自由だから。すごいしわせなわけ、
    |  | で、これが、昔やっぱりすごく自由で、なんてゆうかな、やっぱ社会規範とか？そういう
    |  | ことすごく抑えられていたから、とても窮屈でやだね、と思ってたのが解き放た
    |  | れた自由を皆さんもね忘れていたと思うので、あらゆるそういう差別とか偏見とかね。
    |  | 自分ではどうしようもないと思っていることまでなくなったらいいな、という風に思
    |  | います。 |
| 41 | M: 私の場合は、非常に限定された相手との結婚がゴールだったの、それを達成してか
    |  | ら私の人生が始まったと思うわ。 |
| 42 | 子供ちっちゃいときに、私が彼ちょっと英語を9時まで教えないとけないことがあっ
    |  | くて、9時に仕事がおわってそれから帰ってご飯を作るのが大変じゃないか？で、帰りにフライド
    |  | チキン買って帰ったら、旦那もさ、大変な仕事で帰ってきて、こんな頑張って、なんでゆっくり
    |  | かな、その、帰ってきて、フライドチキンああ！[Y: (hh)] みたいに言われたことがあっ
    |  | て、きっとあったんだけど、…それをね、こないだゆったら、えっ！若い頃そんなことを
    |  | 持ってあったでしょうって、って言ったんでしょう？imin[Y & S: (hh)] とっても反省してたみたいで、えっ！
    |  | ってすごいびっくりしてたから、自分で。彼もずっと変わってきたんだと思いますよ。
    |  | [Y: ねえ] うん、変わり方がやっぱりなんで、ううか、お互いに自然だったよねえ、ん。だから
    |  | ら、長い二年何年 かけて、それぞれが変わってきたんと思うんだけど、最初からこう
    |  | じゃないもんねえ。 |
APPENDIX E
ORIGINAL JAPANESE QUOTED IN CHAPTER 5

The left side numbers indicate extract numbers in Chapter 5.

H: indicates Haruko’s talk and Y: indicates the researcher’s talk in the interviews. Back channeling of the researcher and some of false starts in Haruko’s talk were eliminated in Chapter 5.

Haruko in a Private Lesson
What Haruko said in my private lesson with her (Tape recorded on 6/14/2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>H: それは、もちろんそんなことだけど、それなら誰にでも言えるアドバイスだから、私からのアドバイスとしては、違わないといけないだなんて、うーん，( ) 私がポディビルをやっていた時に同じような経験をしたことを話そう。うちはコンテストまでは、拒食、コンテストが終わったら、それまでに食べなかったものを片っ端から食べ続けてほとんどになるんや、ポディビルをやっていた時、... 私は吐いてて、ポディビルをやっていた時は、そんなの繰り返しや拒食と食べは吐いての繰り返し、そして自己嫌悪に陥るんや、それを書いてあげよう、それでもっと自分を大切にするように書いてあげるわ。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>H: 可愛がられていたいろんな番で何で何も新しくて何でも 私 私 私</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>H: いつもスム替えていつもおぶって</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>H: 働かざるもの食うべからずって→小さい時からずっと母親から言われてまくっていたから、死ぬほど働く家系なの→</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Haruko's Childhood and Upbringing Interview No. 1 8/4/2005

| 5 | H: よく私の友達なんかでも、いいよね、**Haruko’s real name はお母さんに見てもらえるから、子供を。』とつくっていうの。 |

Hard Work: The Principle Taught and Supported by Haruko’s Mother
Interview No. 1 8/4/2005

| 6 | H: そんときまだアエロピクスって言葉なかったんだけ、私は勝手に、うん、何か、取り敢えず音楽あわせて、マイケルジャクソンばっかやけど、一時間が一っとダンベル体操とかして、 |
| 7 | H: まずわたしのきっかけはトレーニングセンターでラッキーやったんは、教育ってたいそうなんじゃないけど人に何かを教え、そこで受ける変化、それがじぶんにもそうだし、相手にもそうだし、お互いにそういう変化が、やっぱりもう、はまった。 |
| 8 | H: やっぱり体って簡単に変わるやん... 定期的に、ときにやく週2回でも3回でもまじめに来る人は必ず変わる。[Y: ふ〜ん] 変わると、全て変わるのそその人は、[Y: ふ〜ん] 何が変わるかって、まず口紅の色が変わるとか (hh). [Y: (hh) へえ〜] 今まで、そのなんでいうの、できなかったことが出来るようになるのがほとんどの。...だからそれくらいにやっぱその人のライフスタイルが変わるっていうのをまのあたりにする。 |

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Bodybuilding and Going Overseas Interview No. 2 5/7/2006

9 H: アメリカっていうときは初めてだし，とても嬉しい思いして帰ってきました。まず，英語はさっぱり分からなくて，そして，その，連れ立てくださった方や，名々，英語は何かも通じなくて，何かあそこの何？ニューヨークのあのバスの乗り場がもういっぱい[Y: ポートソリティ]ポートソリティ，あそこの，迷子になりそうになっている，バスに乗ってそなりそなりになって，...そしてお金がなかったことと...だけどコンテストで，すっごいみんなムッチャックチャトレーニングしてるとか，日本人と体が全然違うんだとか，あとは見せるっていう事はどういうかっていうことはすっごい学んだ。

Struggles as a Bodybuilder and the Wife of the Head of a Training Gym Interview No. 1 8/4/2005

10 H: すごく世間体をかまう人だから，いいかっこしい，...でも毎回言われたもん，『お前は負けるたんびにおれ顔を塗って今まで俺が奮い立ったもん全部お前がぶち壊した』...で私は反対，出続けることに意味があるの，私が頑張ってるから皆がついてくるし。

11 H: それで，私 仕方ない 仕方ないし 50人連れてった。***Her son’s name と。

12 H: みんな男の子や女の子構わないかんし，色々やらなかんけど[Y:うん]でも中尾はポージンゲみてやりたり注意したり色々やらなあかんわけやん↑，それ捨てて，[Y:うん]それらしたら『***a name of a famous summer event で手つないで歩いてはまりました』ってまたそうい上に限って誰かいうね↑。

13 H: 司会の方が***Akira’s real name って名前呼んでるのに『俺はセーへん』ってどっかいっかったの。
   Y:（laugh）それでどうしたの？

14 H: もう，あの，『あの子のくれた酒はうまい，お前なんかだだの除いてご飯作ってるだけの女や』[Y:ひえー] もうとことん言ってくの。

15 H: ***Akira’s real name はいうの『お前みたいに世間知らずな非常識な無知な女をおれはもらってやって育てやった』って。

Struggles in Divorce and Work Interview No. 1 8/4/2005

16 H: 何故かっていうと，今のうちに目覚めるからって，周りにものすごいひきとめられたんだと，まっさらなことがあって，子供のこともあるし，トレーニングセンターも二人でやってるし，とかいろんなことがあって。

17 H: いや夜中に起こされたときも，もう何回か思い出したら，やっぱりやがの宣伝とかと一緒で，最初は受容できない自分がいる，悲しいだけなんですよ，で...今度は怒りなんですよ，なんで私がこんな目にあわすかのなんって。

18 H: 結局，すごい依存してたんやと思う。

19 H: 色んな意味で傲慢だったと思うわ，世間知らずでもあるし，わがままやったり，せやけど人の痛みとかがすごいわかるようになった。
Struggles in Divorce and Work  Interview No. 1  8/4/2005

20 H: どうしょうもない時に、***her son’s name が『母さん、しんどいのか? しんどかったらあの僕がご飯作ってあげる』…あれには気づかれた。ああ私はあほやなっとと思って（sob）結局(sob)（）ああの子のために頑張ろうと思って。

21 H: 初めてだから自分が一人で仕事する時ね、身震いした。震え上がった。一時そのテレビの仕事やったんだけ、全部自分でデイレクターと打ち合わせて全部やって、で、女子共度２０人か３０人連れて行って、巨人戦と綱引きやりたかったといえば、身震いしたわ、でもやったときできるやんて。

Learning to Teach Fitness  Interview No. 2, 5/7/2006

22 H: でそのうち何人かいるか分からないから、とにかくトレーニング終わる後にセレクトするっていう試験するっていう形だったら、もう戦って、鬼のような顔してた見たい[Y: ヘー]みんな敵、私は絶対これに絶対受かるみたいで、でも、だからねその時、かすりビックリするんけど、顔がだんだんやさしくなっていくんですョ[Y: ふーん]どっかに写真あるかもしれませんけど1日目、2日目のきっと髪形まで違うんですよ。バツッ!と上げて、ビシ!そしてたのが4日目ぐらいからフランとした髪形になってて（Y: hh）笑ってるの（hh）。

22 H: 教育って何っていうようないろんな問いかけがあったの、でそうしてるうちに、私がこの人達と戦うことがいかにちょっとで、いかにつまらんことかっていうのが勝手に気づいたみたい。

23 H: の時学んだ事ってそういうことで今思うにはやっぱり進んでいるアメリカはそういう教育の仕方とか、テクニックも、技術も、やっぱり心理学でも何でも、やっぱりそういう意味では、日本の10年以上先を行っているようなふうにすごく思ってて。でもあの時のリンダとナンシーっていう人だけど、もう彼女達から受けたことっていうのはもう私は一生のやっぱり、こう生きる、インストラクターとして絶対やりたいって、こうはまったラッカス（hh）。

24 H: 論理立てて、どういう順番で喋ればもっと相手が理解するかっていうテクニックってすごいあると思うんですよね。でそうしたときにやっぱり日本人の教え方って押さえ込むとするのでしょうか？結局この自分の意見の教えたことを徴求みたいかもしれませんって、でちょっとその質問があったりしたときも考えて、あーそう言えば、その質問でいてあげながら一緒に考えるっていう作業があまり日本ってなかったと思うのね、そういうすごいもっと深いことを習ったかっていうふうに思います。もちろんそのとき知識もなかったし、まだだテクニックもないから、喋って思いながら、でもそういう事をするで、そういう事が分かったことで、自分がもっと勉強しなかんなとか、もっともっとその、何ないの、相手の意見っていうものから学ぶべきことがあるやんとっていうことをすごい考えたかな…だから、そういう事のきっかけみたいなものを全部the American Institute’s nameのU.S.のナンシーとリンダから習って、それが一番[はじめての]英語にどっぷり入り、英語スタート？
Learning to Teach Fitness  Interview No. 2, 5/7/2006

25 H: すごくかったのね彼女の動きが、何かそれまでの日本人のエアロビクスってやってたことってお題目じゃみえなかったので私はすごいバックにしてビルダーやったから、はっかじゃないとか思ってて、あんなお題目みたいなあんなものは運動でもなければ、あんな取はずかしいこと私はしないとっているって、でもやっぱりすごい技！流行やから学ばなあからって思って、それで東京に行って、そしたらすごい筋肉がみんなパンパンみえて（Y: hh）もその動きがしなやかで、大きいとはすごいウッコだったのに、ドスに行ったの[Y:へー！] サンタモニカのそのスタジオに [Y: ワー] そして一週間通ったの[Y:すごーい!] 2,3 年続けて行きましたね、彼女を追いかけました。

Using English in the Fitness World Interview No. 2, 5/7/2006

26 H: やっぱりフィットネスでやっぱり楽しいけどアメリカが絶対リード取ってるのね↑それと世界的知識人がアメリカに集まるっていう環境だってあるでしょう？…アメリカの研究についていうのはやっぱりすごい。…そしてアメリカの文献を結び日本のマニュアル、マニュアルっていうか日本語に直すとか、そういうことをずっと繰り返してきた中で、やっぱりすごいおかげだね日本語が、すべて日本語に変わると、ハッて、日本語になってない部分とか、納得できない部分がすごくあって、これは英語が分かってないと話にならんとか、アメリカ行きたい時に、この言葉はすることができ、ほんとに理解できたら、もっと深くこの内容が分かることにとってはすごく思い出しました。

27 H: 臀部は直角。

28 H: あとやっぱりすごい新しい発見が多くて、こないだマイアミに行ったりときに、何か今まで隠れてなかった、こうセンスが開くようになったっていうことをできてすごく自分は感動したんだけれど、でもすべて完璧に開けたわけじゃないくて、だけどそれがやっぱりちょっと進歩したかなと思うねけど… 一个幸いなと思うのは、結局日本語だったり講義を聴いたあと自分の中で、パーっと例えばまとめて、できるわけサーマライズができる、英語はできない、そのときそのとき必死になって聞いて、理解してんだけだけど、後でまとめようと思っても、ほとんどにひとつ２つくらいしか思い出しれない。…そうすると英語はもっと自分の中で必要やないって。

Haruko’s View on Education in the United States and Japan Interview No. 2, 5/7/2006

29 H: 私はだからアメリカから教育、アメリカの教育が好きなんですよ、アメリカの教育の仕方が絶対好きなんですよ！で何か好きかっていったら日本はどうしてもこう様の中に入れて、そしてみんなが同じ金太郎飾の方がいいんですよ、それでいい子で優等生で、だからそういう子の方がやっぱり大学にも行けるし、っていうようなところがあるんですよ。

30 H: 鉄砲の持ってる怖い国だから行きたくなくてっても行かなければ。

31 H: 何かウェーした日本の英語しかしゃれないので子が何でハーレーとかってそんなもない英語学んでもしょうがないってすごく思う。だから小学校で学ぶ英語ってほんとしょうもないことやんか、それから日常でそういうことやるチャンスがあったとしてもそれ以上に、国語、国語にもっと力を入れてもっと話すこととか考えることとか日本語で考えきっていう授業を増やすことのほうが大事だと思うのね、
APPENDIX F
ORIGINAL JAPANESE QUOTED IN CHAPTER 6

The left side numbers indicate extract numbers in Chapter 6.

A: indicates Akane’s talk and Y: indicates the researcher’s talk in the interviews. Back channeling of the researcher and some of false starts in Akane’s talk were eliminated in Chapter 6.

**Akane’s Childhood Interview No. 2  2/10/2006**

| 1 | A: いつもくっついて行ってたみたいで、でそのくっついて行って見てるてときに。なんかレッスンが終わると、じゃあ**[Akane’s real first name]**ちゃんあの踊ってみる？って言われたらふんとこうて、もうなんかみんなが座っていて私が一人、先生がなんかこうレコードをかけて私がそこで勝手に踊っていつもお菓子を買ってきてたみたいなんです。 |

| 2 | Interview No. 1 (9/23/2005) |

| 2 | A: もう古い話なんでけど、例えば河原乞食とかやったじゃないですか。芸事にすすむとこののは、だからあくまでピアニストも歌もそういうところのお稽古室で終わるというふうに育てられたので、まあ私自分がそのバレエとか踊りを、始めた時に、自分（）の、ができたなかった事、なんかあの本人がやはりといえば、あの本人の意味で最後まであのやりたいっていうだけやらしてやりたいというのはすごくあったと思います。 |

| 3 | A: 自分の責任において、うん、母親は自分の好きなことをやっているんだから、まあ例えばあの学校？勉強とかそういろいろいろんな事に支障を来たすならそれはもうやってないっていうふうに言ってたんです。... だからむしろこうやりなさい、やりなさいじゃないで、あなたは自分が選んでやってることだから、他の事ができないんならもうあの続けられないっていうところ辺でやっぱり小さいときから話を納得して。 |

**Akane at Classic Ballet School Interview No. 2  2/10/2006**

| 4 | A: あのバレエしか知らないような女性じゃなくて |

| 5 | A: あのバレエのところでね、あのいたときにね、よく外人の先生、外人の人が来られてで【Y:あー】画家とかそれがまあ英語の先生、その時にちょっとみんなでグループでね、私たち集まって、そしてちょっとそう会話したりとか...だからあんまり勉強したっていうような感じまで全然してなくて、あんまりあのその時ってよく分からなくてね、どれほど必要なこととかとか。 |

| 8 | もうバレエをやってるときに自分の体型がバレエの体型じゃないなっていうのは自分で分かったのは中学くらいの時だから。 |

**From Classical Ballet to Modern Dance Interview No. 2, 2/10/2006**

| 6 | A: バレエいのはやっぱりもう西洋の文化で日本人はものまねでしかありえないと思っていた |

| 7 | A: バレエっていうのは、すごくこう美しい絵のように線絵で、人間っていうよりも人間じゃないもの、 |

| 8 | もうバレエをやってるときに自分の体型がバレエの体型じゃないなっていうのは自分で分かったのは中学くらいの時だから。 |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A:</th>
<th>わん、高い、[プライドが]ものすごい高いので、やっぱり昔の日本男児？んー男児？でも一部分、まあすごいオープンで、アメリカナイス、向こうにも住んでたんだし。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td>すごーく難しい、だから私が全く、あの、もっともっとある意味後ろに控えて、まあ言ったら私がその人の奥さんとして、後ろで足らないところだけを補って、支えてはほとんどに表出してないで支えつつ、というタイプだったら、ああいうこと、でもね、彼はそういうのは嫌いなんですよね、また、やっぱあその女性としてはですよ、結構気の強い、そういうところでこう一幕になったから。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td>結婚生活っていうものをすごくなんとか嫌がる人っていうか、ほんとはね、見ててね、でそれがものすごい不安だったと思う、そういう生活したときに、自分がアーティスト、クリエイティブなことができなくなるんじゃないのかという不安？…すっとと言ってたので、やっぱり家にもなかなかもうすぐに帰ってこなかったし、もうギリギリ寝る前までは帰ってこないという。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td>でも私自身は、なんかやらないと、昔の人やから私がちゃんとやっぱりやらないといけないじゃないですか、自分はダンスしてるけど、やっぱり絶対的に家で、まあ外でごはん食べはらへんし、まあこれは個人的なことで外でごはん食べるのは嫌いな人だったから、自分はダンサーとしてバーとやってて、だけども私も、どちらかと言うと、やっぱり帰ってきてお腹がいてんのかなと思ったらなんか作っておこうというのはなんか自然じゃないタイプだったんです、今もそうですけど、だからもうホント 365 日のうち 362 くらいはせったい、どんな忙しくても作ってたね、夜は、ちゃんと、だから夜中三時に帰って来てはっても、一応並べとくという[Y：あっすごいですね]それ貰、それはもう絶対に。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td>まあ彼が作ってるし彼が作ってるから、あの彼のなかでは 100％いろいろあったとしても、私との関係のあの－ダンスというのもやっぱり 25％になるわけじゃないですか…でも私は 100％だから、その 100％を 25％では受けなかった。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td>私は私で 100％じゃなくてですね、自分の中で、でやらない、もっと何か、だから私いつでも言った、ダンスの事に関係してたら朝から晩まで仕事であったとしても私は絶対文句言わない、むしろ何かやることがない方がににとってはものすごく苦痛やった、そういうのもプレッシャーやったみたい。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**First Study-Abroad Experience: London**

New encounters and using English Interview No. 1, 9/23/2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A:</th>
<th>それで、ごはん食べに行くのに、なんだあの、有名なそのなに俳優とかいるもんが行ってるチャイニーズレストランに行きましょうとかいて、オーストラリア人のお友達、女性のお友達も来て、で４人で、だから、エドワーズ人と、えっとフランス人ととオーストラリア人と日本人でチャイニーズ食べた４人で。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td>そうでしょう、もう本当に着ていた日からそんなんです。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td>あのねあんまりねあのへはね、しなかったですね、なんでやろ、ベラベラ喋らないけど、覚かされたりすることは、自分で答えたりとかま、簡単なことは話せた，うん。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### The joy of freedom and practicing dance  Interview No. 2, 2/10/2006

| 18 | A: それでも，1 回もホームシックになったことないの，出てから 1 回も，どこへ行っても寂 しいと思うけれどもだから日本に帰りたいということにはつながらなかった，なぜか，だか ら寂しいと思っても，なおかつフリーであった人だと思う，その解放されたなんか，がよかっ た，うん。 |
| 19 | A: だからロンドンにいたときはスタジオで勉強しているのは，まあグラハムとああバレエ？ その代わりそれだけはできたけど，それ以外に，ほんとディスコ行ったりとかいわゆる日常 の生活のなかで経験することが今の自分を支えているっていうかこう，そういうところあ りましたね，精神的な部分でね，こう解放されたというか踊り以外などから受ける何かもの で感性的な部分？ が聞いていたのは多分ヨーロッパと違うかなと思って，このクリエートす る部分での，テクニック面じやなくて。 |

### Going to New York Interview No. 2, 2/10/2006

| 20 | A: アメリカにね，ニューヨークに行ったら，はさがやっぱりね全然違った，やっぱりここ はダンスのところやっって思った |
| 21 | A: だからここから持ってこっちへって，歩いて，ずーっと，イーストから，イーストはメアリー があったので，イーストでメアリー受けたら，[Y: メアリーって] アルマ メアリーね，あそこ 受けて，イーストからずっとウエストまで歩いてきて，で今度こっちでルイージっていう アメリカでは 3 本の指に入るジャズの先生，その先生のクラスを受けに，行くまでに歩いて 20 分 30 分歩くでしょう，それで受けるでしょう，もうひとつも，もうちょっと時間をおいて受けた ら，もうへロへロ，で，フラフラで帰ってコチっていう感じくらいレッスンしてました。 |
| 22 | A: その内容の政治とか経済とかの議論とかやられても，分からへん，で，もう先生ちょっとこ れ難しそうな頭みたい，もうちょっとした，さげてくださいってとか，またちょっと下の どこかねいったりとかしてたんですけどね，私はもうそういうチャンとったそういう，勉強 してないんで，頭いたくなるんですよね，ニューヨークタイムスとか読まされたりしてなんや かんやその中でどう思うとかどうのこのごの議論になってくる。 |

### Crafting self in New York  Interview No. 2, 2/10/2006

| 23 | A: それで私 友達とすごやすぐ親しくなって，その友達，もういらないどこ，その友達に連れて行 ってもらったりとか，まあパフォーマンス観にいったりとか，ほんとにそれがそのときに ね，ベンジャミンで，フレッド・ベンジャミンで彼のところ見てやっぱりおなんでぐら いのまあ結構いなダンサーだったんですよ，その彼女がまああの黒人だったんですけど，そ の彼女とほんと親友みたいにして毎日あの全部が終わったらその彼女のところ行って，一緒にご はん食べたりとか，なかなかなんだかどうか踊りに行ったりとか，すっごい行動一緒に共に した[Y: へえ] でまたそれが広がった，例えば，こう普通の人だったら行かないようなところ の，まあ黒人ばっかり行ってるクラブとかね，そういうところも出るちょっとよかったし ね，自分でなんかそういうのが自然の中ででねどんどんこうこう（手をひろげる）． うん， でその彼女ももうほんとに外人という感じがしないくらい親しかったし。 |
Crafting self in New York  Interview No. 3 02/22/2006

24 A: タンスの話しをするときに、やっぱりボキャブラリーがなかったりとか、そういうことがね、ちょっとやっぱりあのうすごいお金 Scotch、自分の思いを表現する時にこう言いたいていうときに、なかなかその言葉が出てくるなかったりとか。

25 A: もう昔ももうすごい胸が胸が病になるほどに、やっぱり言葉があんまりね、...それで相手も誤解して、なんか変な感じになるの、帰りになるとか、やっぱりお互い経緯がこうなってくるから、それで、でも最後にそういうふうになって帰るのはいやだから自分のほんとの気持ちみたいのを書いて渡そうと思って、やっぱりどっかで日本人だから、あの遠慮してね。こっちに来てるとときに邪魔したらやっぱりダメだと思うからあのいつもいつも電話しなかったりしたりけど、ほんともっと会いたくったのが書くと、書いてこうずっとこう延々と書くとほんと自分にとってはすごい大事な人なんだとか書くもっと、それを読んでなんてそれを早く言ってくれたかったんだ。

Work as an artistic director and holding concerts  Interview No. 3 02/22/2006

26 A: で（）始め、始めたら、てなかなかね。最初はこう大変じゃないですか、で、それでも日本に、そのアーティストとかを紹介したりとかするようなことも、やっぱりやらないと、教えてだけでは無理だということで、そしてそういうようなこともやり出してる。そうしたらもう電話いるいんでダンサーとかいわいんなんから電話かかってきた、もう私これで受けてもらう英語も、もう、オーディションとかもしないといけないし、もうその時に一番ね結構電話が鳴ったらもう全部英語でバーッと言おうね、で来た、やっぱオーディションもってきたりとか、もっすごいダーツ来たんです。

27 A: ダンサーとしての自分の世界みたいなものを広げていいく気持ちがあって、それと私自身のダンスっていうのを向こうでやっぱり現場で、その向こうの人達に、評価されるというかそういうようなことだ。

28 A: その仕事がよかったです。結局私でそれとか日本からあのそういうような、んで Ning 例えば、いろいろこのスタジオもありますよね、...で集まってニューヨークで公演をするというような企画みたいのがあって、それを世話したりとか、実際のシアターを押さえてどういうふうな形にするとかとか、どういうところから人を集めてとかプロモートとかプロデュースみたいことを、やったりととか、...そのときも自分の振り付けのハツもいて、まあダンサーを使っていこうなことも入りながら、だからその仕事がどちらかというと自分自身もそこでやってました。その時は自分の振り付けで

29 A: あのアメリカ人の、そのそういうアメリカ人の友達とかにプロモーションとかもを入れてもって、それで公演したことと、あとはまあこういうような形でならないかと誘われたんですりとか、そういうような感じですよ。
Authorities' help. Interview No. 3 02/22/2006

30 A: 私やっぱりね、あの一結紮ついてたというか、昔からチョコチョコ行ってたでしょう、私、でチョコチョコ行ったときに、すごく向こうの先生とかに可愛がってもらって、あの一まあ有名な先生、みんな知ってたですよ、ね、まだ、住んでないときから、...まあベンジャミンもそうです。そういう人たちが、まあやっぱり親に来てくれるわけじゃないですか。だからその結構ものすごく沢山コンサートある中で、そんなえらい人達が、一緒に寄って親に来てくれることののはあんまりないわけですよ。

31 A: でそれを私はまああんまり良く分からないけど、ベンジャミンは**[Akane’s name]**それだけ、何々と何々と何々がこうやって来るという事はすごいことだと思っていったのが、それはすごいよなって。

32 A: でまあいろいろ知り合い。のままミュージッシャンも一流のミュージシャンの人がすごい。こうバックアップしてくれて、その人の知り合いがまたすごく有名な振る付師だったり、して...そういう人がやっぱりなかなかこう**[Akane’s real name]**って言ってもすごい親しく、舞台のときに来てくれたりとか、して、そうすると、その記者の人もすごく顔見知りで、で隣同士で座ったりとか、でやっぱり好意的にみてもらえるっていうね。

33 A: ルイージなんかでも、ほとんどそれこそ何十年、何十年も前に、最初私が行った時は、ニューヨークに初めて行った時は、ルイージのどこ行ったときに、その彼がすごいやっぱり可愛がってくれて、で日本に来るから**[Akane’s name]**向こうで会おうっていってもらった。でも東京やから私は**[Akane’s hometown’s name]**だからちょっと遠いっていうと、外国人は分からないで、自分行くんだから来たよといわれて、じゃあってって行ったたらすっごいいのに、なんかこう、うちのニューヨークのねスタジオでも彼女がナンバーワンやから彼女もたてがすくらいのスタイルとくなるくらいのなんさえ宣伝してしてくれて、**[Y: えーすごい]**んでそれで東京って全然私は出して行ってなかったのに、みんなからパーって名刺が来て、コンサートする時は是非連絡してくださって、パーっと名刺が集まって、で次コンサートする時、連絡?バッパババとしたりで、一番初めて、最小でこどもですね、渋谷のジャンジャンでやったときに、一番初めに東京でやったのが渋谷のジャンジャン、その時そのときに、1 日出て行って、みんなに連絡するだけで、その日のうちに全部300 売れました。[Y: すすごい] で もう本番入りされなくて、っていうくらいに。でその後半年後にヤクルトホール、500 人、600 人入ってくると満杯になったんですけど **[Y: あー] だからルイージのおかげ。

Akane’s Thoughts on How She Changed through Overseas Experience
Interview No. 2 2/10/2006

34 A: 自分自身はね、日本にいてる自分よりも解放されたので、外国にいて、のほうが住みやすい。ので水があった。だからあの国にいてなんかすごいくらいつくっていうことはなかった。体はね、小さいですよ、だけ別にダンサーとしてね、それ体は小さいですよ、足も長い人いるし、でもねコンプレックスって感じたことない。
### Akane's Thoughts on her Change through Overseas Experience Interview No. 2  2/10/2006

| 35 | A: 自分がダンサーとしての広がりが出来たと思う。それはあの一人一日本にすっいているとね、例えば余計にもうすごい日本のこと、反対にね反対に日本人である自分自身をどういうふうにしたらいいかいうふうにですぐそうそっちこっちの方向に流れすぎていて、...作品の自分のダンサーとして作っていくのに例えば日本の女の踊る、日本の女はこういうものって観念的な。 |
| 36 | A: そうそうそう外の感じの、んー作り方じゃないって自分自身を解放することによって、っていうことは日本から脱出して、もっと広がり、だから日本の中での自分自身じゃなくて外国に出て外人と一緒にいててもその中での一人の人間として自分がいられるようになって初めて日本人で自分自身の**[Akane’s real name]**やっと思ったの。 |
| 37 | A: あっあのねえ、強くなる。やっぱりね...やっぱり日本の良さみたいなものとかやっぱりあり日本持ってるんーナにこう繊細な部分とか、...だからその、思ってても言わないといていうとがあの一すごく欠点のようにいわれる部分もあるけれども、言わなくても通じてるということは長所でもある。その言わなくても通じてるというか、相手の心が読めるような繊細な部分を持ち合わせてることもある。いい部分で言えば、向こうでは言うなきゃ分からない、思ってても言わなかったらわからないじゃないのと、言わなくても分かんないの？っていうこともある。[Y: (hh) そうそう私も思う] そういう部分も全て含めて...だからこそ今まで思ってなかった……いつも日本でいなって思うようにもなって、うん。だから自分自身が、やっぱり日本のあの文化っていうのがこう根付いている部分っていうのが自分の中にあるなっていうのを、すごい感じたのをやっぱり外国に行ってから、で**[the name of Akane’s hometown]**っていいうのがあんまりそれまで好きじゃなかった、というのはあんまり何考えてるのか分かれてへんとかね。その、なんかそういうような感じのあんまり好きじゃなかった若いこころは...でもなんか**[the name of Akane’s hometown]**の、いいって思えるようになったのもやっぱり外国行ってから...信用のほう買うから先に、人間関係とかそういうものを、だからその質得だけでは判断しない、ものがある。それもね私は若いころはっていうのはそういう見方ができない。けれどもあるところでなんやろね**[the name of Akane’s hometown]**っていうのが、ああそういうふう、そうやなっていうふうに考え方が自分のその感じかも変えてきたっていうのが、やっぱり、んー、向こう行ってからかな。 |

### Relations with Tanaka after Coming Back to Japan Interview No. 3  02/22/2006

| 38 | A: 結構違いますね、作り方が、だからずっと最後、辛くなってきた。一緒に作品作っていくのが、なんか。 |
| 39 | A: うん、まあ基本的に違うところはね、彼のね、あの作品っていうのは、その一もすく激昂的やし、で、すごく、んー何なり（）破滅的なところに、なんか美を感じているところがある彼は、いやそれは良く分かる理解でね、けれども私はやっぱり自分がやってることはすごく建設的、ものを考えたいほうなので、だからそのま、生き様そのものが多少違う、と思う。 |
| 40 | A: そうそう違う、違いがかなり大きい。そこがやっぱりほとんどに作るところで違うところだと思う。 |
Relations with Tanaka after Coming Back to Japan Interview No. 3 02/22/2006

41 A: 噴い部分も知ってるから明るいっていうのを、やっぱりね、人間って求めると思うんです

42 A: 誰もが持ってるいろんな心の痛みとかあるでしょう、でそのことをなくして、やっぱりハッ
ピートことは、やっぱりないと思うんですね。私は

43 A: だからそういうことが、ん一最後に救いがない、作品は作りたくない

44 A: だからこのあいだのサロメも、サロメっていうのは、やっぱオスカーワイルドが作った、ね
え、あの戯曲は、最後にもすごいこう凄まじな完結方をするけれど私自身はもっとなんかそ
の、それだけで終りたくないっていう、ウン、ものが。

45 A: 私の世界、うん、はいはい、うん、うん、そうあって欲しいと思う 何かそう願望だし、そうあ
りたいと。

Teaching Dance in Japan Interview No. 1, 9/23/2005

46 A: 変わってきますよねそりゃ、…んーほんとに若き頃の教えてたのはまあ…また教えてい
るというふうに思いたらなかったので 教師にはなりたくなかったので、だから、自分はダン
サーとして先輩として、あのアドバイスしているということからってみんなに言い続け
て、そうしてきた時から、今は、現役のダンサーとしてアドバイスしているというよりも、もっ
とここのときはこういうふうにしただろういうふうに伝わるとか、あらまあ例える話とか
やって見せることとか…その表現と肉体的なこととか、そのいろいろバランスがあります
よね、テクニックと表現、感性を磨くということとか、それから踊りになっていくということ、
この組立ての前後のバランスっていうのをある程度分かりながら、このときはこれくらい
のことというのが自分で分かりながら教えていくように今はなってる、ですね。

47 A: 今はね、んーかなりね自分の中であね、例えばどのくらいになりたいかという人によっ
て、その教えていく度合い、あの深さも違うし、やっぱりダンスっていうものを別にプロフェ
ショナルになるためだけにやっている訳じゃないし、やっぱりこの人にはどういうこと
が、一番いいのかっていうのか？やっぱりそれあるじゃないですか。

48 A: そうだそう、…何かあの毎日ね私たちが普通の主婦で 何にも何にもいうけど、いや主婦で
って言うけど毎日がドラマやから、やっぱりドラマだと思うんですよね、その人の人生のドラ
マ、だからその中に刺激？刺激っていうものがちょっとでもあれば、そのことから離れた時
にもそれが使えることがあるでしょう、…見方によって同じものが違って見えますし、…見方に
よって人生としてあるのが評価じゃないって、自分がどう思うかによって、変わっていくもん
だと思うから、[Y: そうだよね] うん、でそのことをやっぱりちょっとでも自分が何か関
わることによって、ああ違うすごく張り合いのある今あの生活が出来ますって言われたら、
それは自分のやっている事になんか意味がある [Y: そうだよね] まあ例えばダンスってい
うことで教える事に意義がある、ダンスを通じて、っていうことのためにあると思ってるん
ですよ。
Teaching Dance in Japan  Interview No. 1, 9/23/2005

49 A: でも、来てる限り、やっぱり半年間だったら半年間だっただけに上達するということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ということ↑ことができるのに、この上達するまでに自分が一生懸命その目的に向かって努力して、解決していくという高価な行為がね。…あのものすごいハッキリしてるでしょうダンスの場合、回れないのが回れるようになったとか。

50 A: だからプロフェッショナルになりたい、という子達は、もっと厳しいところで、精神的に…だから私は最初にどういうふうになりたいか、どういうふうにダンスとの係わり合いを自分が高いと思っているのか、したいと思っているのかいていうことを自分で決めて下さいっていうの、私でないと。これは、自分の人生だから自分で決めないと…[Y: そうですよね]…そうでしょう。…だけどプロになりたいならこれではだめですよとこれは言う。…やっぱりそういうのも性格とかいろいろな事見たとき、いやあ頑張ったらなれますよとは絶対言わないですよ…まずもって無理違うかということは先に言う。（）[Y: うーん]だってね、そんな簡単に頑張ったらなれるかかもしれへんよ넛んでいいうことはもんすごい無責任やから、その人の人生の中で。だから、もんすごく厳しいことと言うの、そこまで（hh）厳しいなかかもしれないぐらいの事うてて、あっんな事でもなかったと思えたらいいし、んでそれでもやりたいなって思う人は、やっぱりそれだけ打ち勝っているかもう用意がある訳やから。

51 A: あの一生近に入れなطقة出してね。まあ私が（…）まあどんなに顔が歪もうとね、何か生活って、近くにいてくれるということはね。自分達の支えになるから、顔が歪むくらいね、いくらでも考えられるursday、いろんな事できるし、やっぱりものすごく自分達にとっては必要那人やし生きていて欲しいって、言われたんですよ…もしそういう言葉が無かったら自殺してたかも知れないへんね。
APPENDIX G
TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The following transcription conventions were used in transcribing all of the interviews.

, : a short pause

(,) : a longer pause

? : rising intonation followed by a pause (final)

. : fall in intonation followed by a pause (final)

(hh) : laughter

[ ] : overlapping, or back-channeling speech within another speaker’s turn

↑ : sharp rise

↓ : sharp fall

(?) : transcriber doubt, incomprehensible word or phrase