

“There’s no way I’m gonna meet their expectations:” Gender Role Attitudes and the Lived Experiences of Japanese Expatriates and Diaspora in the United States
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ABSTRACT

The persistent nature of patriarchal gender norms in Japan is well-known globally despite the nation’s commitment to achieving the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals, one of which includes gender equality. This paper seeks to introduce and explore the personal narratives of Japanese expatriate women and youth diaspora in the United States to understand how they perceive gender roles in Japanese society and culture. Over the course of two months in 2021, bilingual open-ended interviews were conducted with ethnic Japanese expatriates and diaspora residing primarily in the Mid-Atlantic United States. Utilizing attitude development theories and existing research on cultural identity, this study provides a new look at the intersections between gender roles, migration, and what it means to accept—or reject—identity. New avenues of research are recommended to further discussions of gender norms, culture, and community by including the lived experiences of historically underrepresented populations.

Keywords: Gender role attitudes, diaspora, expatriates, Japanese-Americans

perspectives of my participants. I also provide historical context for the formation of gender norms in Japan, examine how gender roles influence women to emigrate from Japan, and confirm the absence of Japanese expatriate women and youth diaspora from studies examining gender role attitudes and cultural identity.

Gender in Japanese Culture

Although current views on gender in Japanese culture have changed slightly since the government's endorsement of hegemonic gender norms in the Meiji Era, the foundational notions of femininity and masculinity have largely remained the same for the last several decades. Women have long been defined by the gendered cultural identity of *ryōsai kenbo*, 'good wife, wise mother,' which was "institutionalized as the official discursive model for women" in the late 1800s to early 1900s when the state encouraged Japanese women and girls to embody this role (Uno 1993; Dalton 2013, 28). While the official endorsement of 'good wife, wise mother' ended after World War II with the Allied Occupation of Japan and the subsequent removal of *ryōsai kenbo* doctrines from the education system's curriculum, women were still assumed to be mothers and wives, expected to stay within the confines of the home (Dalton 2013, 28). On the other hand, the period of unprecedented economic growth in Japan during the 1960s further solidified men's identity as both the *daikokubashira*, 'the central supporter of the household,' and the *shakaijin*, 'the "responsible, adult member of society"' (Uno 1993; Dasgupta 2005, 169). After World War II through to the 1970s, gender hegemony was further refined such that femininity could be identified by a woman's middle-class, full-time housewife status and masculinity was determined by a man's dedication to upholding the white-collar salaryman identity (Lee, Tufis, and Alwin 2010; Dalton 2013; Piotrowski et al. 2019).

Many scholars point to the building blocks of Japanese society—collectivism, conformity, and the patriarchal principles of Confucianism—to explain the persistent nature of these hegemonic gender ideals as well as the institution of the traditional *ie* system. Up until the end of World War II, the *ie* ('house' or

International movement has increased exponentially in recent years, aided by the rapid spread of globalization that has permeated nearly all industry and infrastructure. The United States has continuously remained one of the top destinations for immigrants all over the world, and for Japanese migrants in particular. Despite the long, complicated history between the two nations, the U.S. holds the largest share of Japanese nationals living abroad with 32 percent of 1.3 million Japanese migrants currently residing in the U.S.—nearly 25 percent of whom live in the Greater Los Angeles and New York Metropolitan Areas alone (Nippon.com 2022). Since 1996, when there were 764,000 Japanese nationals living overseas long-term (i.e., more than 3 months) or as permanent residents, millions more Japanese people left their country in pursuit of better job opportunities, to continue their education, to follow family members, or for a plethora of other economic, political, and social factors (Sakai 2002, 63; Izuhara and Shibata 2001).

In response to this widespread trend of migration and expatriation, the ways in which Japanese business professionals, academics, students, and their families process acculturation and cultural negotiation have been studied by several researchers. In fact, Fiske et al. (1998) noted that Japanese persons are the most studied ethnic group in cultural psychology (quoted in Sakamoto 2006, 561), though the Japanese diaspora is often left out of these studies. The purpose of this paper is to introduce and explore the gender role attitudes of Japanese women and youth diaspora in the United States. In conjunction with their personal narratives, theories of gender role attitudes and cultural identity development will be implemented to help explain the

'family') system served as the basis for patriarchal family structure and gender roles in Japan until it was officially abolished in the Post war Constitution (Sugihara and Katsurada 2002; Lee, Tufis, and Alwin 2010; Sano and Yasumoto 2013; Taniguchi and Kaufman 2014). Despite women's increased involvement in the labor force after World War II, their obligations to the household and to their husbands as *senjyō shufu* ('professional housewife') and *ryōsai kenbo* remain prominent characteristics of gendered cultural identity in contemporary Japanese society (Dasgupta 2005; Taniguchi and Kaufman 2014). This dichotomy of expectations is perhaps most clearly seen in the division of household labor between parents. Reports that compared the allocation of housework among high-income countries showed that Japanese men have consistently ranked at the bottom, averaging only 30 minutes per day on housework, childcare, and eldercare—less than 10 minutes of which are spent with their children—compared to women, who complete 27 hours of housework per week (North 2009, 25). It is clear that many women are unsatisfied with this gender norm: a multitude of surveys have indicated that Japanese women are more willing than ever to delay marriage and/or not have children, citing reasons such as a desire for economic independence and personal freedom, and, possibly, to avoid the double burden of expectations that come with being both a successful career woman and a housewife (Sugihara and Katsurada 2002; Nakano and Wagatsuma 2003; Dalton 2013).

Japanese Women Overseas

Much of the existing literature on Japanese migrants examines business professionals or academics who "sojourn" overseas (within Asia or to Western countries) with their spouse and/or family to understand their reasons for migration and their experiences living in the host culture while maintaining their home culture values (Tang and Dion 1999; Izuhara and Shibata 2001; Sakai 2002; Thang, MacLachlan, and Goda 2002; Sakamoto 2006; Nukaga 2012). Few studies offer insights into expatriate or diaspora groups' experiences with migration and host culture interaction, and fewer still study perceptions of gender among older Japanese expatriates or youth diaspora.

One such study is Izuhara and Shibata's (2001) research on the circumstances and challenges of Japanese women growing older in British society. The authors found that the primary motivators prompting women to migrate were pressure from the Japanese social system to adhere to gender roles and family norms, and the women's desire to "maximize their well-being and enhance their life chances" (Izuhara and Shibata 2001, 584). In Britain, the women maintained their Japanese cultural values of uniformity but were not dictated by the same social standards that guided their education, marriage, and employment choices, and were thus enabled to view Japanese society through a fresh, critical lens.

Sakai's (2002) findings on Japanese women and men living in Britain are also significant to the discourse surrounding cultural identity and globalization. Sakai (2002) concluded that Japanese men typically migrate overseas for business where they are regarded as representative of all Japanese identities, and as such tend to regard their male Japanese-ness as a positive asset while Japanese women take advantage of their freedom from the oppressive gender hegemony when abroad to dismantle their identities and continuously build new ones.

Development of Gender Role Attitudes

A prominent study in the field of cultural psychology and gender ideology is Takeuchi and Tsutsui's (2016) work on theories of gender role attitude development. The authors suggest two strategies for how gender role attitudes are formed and influenced: individual-level factors (divided into interest-based and exposure-based explanations) and societal-level factors (divided into cohort replacement and intra-cohort change explanations). The interest-based explanation posits that an individual will put their interests before their attitudes—that is, one will not support egalitarian gender role attitudes if it does not benefit them. The exposure-based explanation suggests that an individual's attitudes reflect their lived experiences and interactions with sociocultural norms, such as ideological influences from

parents, observations of parents' behavior, employment experiences, and "entrance into the traditionally gendered relationships of marriage and parenthood" (Takeuchi and Tsutsui 2016, 105). At the societal level, cohort replacement occurs over a long period of time in which younger generations hold innately egalitarian values that will likely persist throughout their life, eventually replacing the older generations' traditional attitudes. Intra-cohort change, on the other hand, is generated by social structural or institutional changes, such as women's increased participation in the workforce or economic recession, and can trigger an attitudinal change in adulthood.

Methods

My research draws on a qualitative study involving bilingual interviews in English and Japanese conducted in March and April 2021 with people of Japanese heritage from both the United States and Japan. The study aimed to collect their beliefs, perspectives, and experiences regarding gender roles, gender discrimination, and living abroad, with a particular focus on the Japanese youth diaspora and expatriate women living in the U.S. Interview questions were designed in a way to encourage participants to talk at length about their personal experiences and opinions to the extent that they were willing and comfortable to share with me. The participants in this study are a sample of 11 individuals ranging from 22 to 63 years of age at the time of interview, of a middle-class socioeconomic background, with ethnic Japanese heritage, and experience living in Japan (i.e., they were raised in Japan, they studied abroad in Japan, and/or they regularly visit Japan).

Five interviewees—two men, two women, and one genderqueer person—were born between the years of 1996 to 1999, with ages ranging from 22 to 24 at the time of interview. This group of participants are of the Japanese diaspora in the U.S., all of whom have mixed Japanese heritage as biracial, multiracial, or multicultural individuals. Except for one participant who resides on the West Coast, all diaspora participants reside in the Northeast/Mid-Atlantic region.

Six interviewees, all Japanese women, were

born between the years of 1958 to 1973, with ages ranging from 47 to 63. Five of the interviewees are Japanese expatriates who currently live in the Northeast/Mid-Atlantic region, while one lives in Tokyo, Japan. Four of these six participants have studied abroad for a period of at least one to four years at a college or university in either Texas or Washington State. Three of those who studied abroad are now in an intercultural or interracial marriage and reside in the U.S.

All diaspora participants were raised in New Jersey, except for one who was raised in California and Hawai'i. The expatriate participants were raised in various parts of Japan, including Kumamoto, Shizuoka, Kagawa, and Tokyo Prefectures. Participants' places of heritage are scattered throughout Japan in the Kantō (western), Chūbu (central), Kansai (southern central), Shikoku (southwestern), and Kyūshū (southern) regions, with about half of all participants hailing from Tokyo Prefecture. The longest time these individuals have spent in Japan ranges from one month to 40 years, not including the one participant who currently lives in Japan. Six of the interviewees, all expatriates, grew up in Japan and spent their formative years there; three diaspora participants studied abroad in Japan between 2017 and 2020; and all interviewees visited Japan within the last four years, the majority of whom were last in Japan in 2019. Participants have been assigned pseudonyms by the author to maintain their anonymity. The views expressed by the participants should not be taken as being wholly representative of their generation, gender, ethnicity, or current beliefs. For a full list of the participants, see Table 1 below.

Results

In this section, the participants' perceptions of gender roles and their gendered lived experiences in both the U.S. and Japan will be introduced. Through their narratives, we may begin to understand the relationship between gender role attitudes and intercultural experiences, as well as how gendered cultural identities can inform analyses of expatriate family dynamics and international movement.

Pseudonym	Birth Year	Gender (self-identified)	Diasporic Generation	Year of Immigration	Study Abroad Destination and Term
Satsuki	1958	woman	New first generation (<i>Shin Issei</i>)	1992	—
Yoshie	1957	woman	New first generation (<i>Shin Issei</i>)	2000	—
Nozomi	1963	woman	—	—	Texas, 1986-87
Kayano	1965	woman	New first generation (<i>Shin Issei</i>)	1984	Texas, 1984-88
Yukari	1973	woman	New first generation (<i>Shin Issei</i>)	2004	Washington, 1997-98
Kaede	1973	woman	New first generation (<i>Shin Issei</i>)	2008	Washington, 1992-96
Aiden	1996	man	New second generation (<i>Shin Nisei</i>)	—	—
Satoru	1996	man	New second generation (<i>Shin Nisei</i>)	—	Tokyo, 2018-19
Rory	1998	genderqueer	New second generation (<i>Shin Nisei</i>)	—	—
Selene	1998	woman	Fourth generation Japanese American	—	Tokyo, 2019
Kasumi	1999	woman	New second generation (<i>Shin Nisei</i>)	—	Kyoto, 2019-20

Table 1: Participants and their backgrounds, ordered from oldest to youngest

The Double Burden Dichotomy

Overall, expatriate participants described the expectations of Japanese men as being “outside” the home while the expectations of women are “inside.” Yukari believed her parents were a representative model of gender roles for most Japanese households, explaining that:

[They] were the stereotypical Japanese husband and wife. What I mean by

stereotypical is, the man supports the household by going to work...the father goes to work and earns money. And the mother stays at home, does housework, raises the kids, everything. Everything inside the house.

Nearly all participants in both interview groups gave the same answer when asked to describe their perception of gender roles in Japanese society; the words “rigid,” “limited,” and “old-

fashioned” were frequently used to characterize gendered expectations. Participants were also unanimous in their description of the gendered division of labor observed among their parents. Women were responsible for managing the household, such as cooking, cleaning, housekeeping, and child-rearing, while men contributed little to household affairs in order to work full-time and overtime hours at the office.

Participants in both groups used descriptors such as “tamed,” “obedient,” “quiet,” and “respectful” when asked about the qualities expected of women. Selene remarked that being a Japanese woman meant “being as dainty and as invisible as possible, but also being accessible to men when they want.” Participants also responded that being a Japanese woman is synonymous with motherhood and supporting roles, leaving little opportunity for upward mobility to hold executive positions.

Three expatriate participants provided personal anecdotes on experiencing misogyny in the workplace. Kaede, who worked in customer service and hospitality for 12 years in Japan, stated that she often experienced gender discrimination. She recalled a particular incident that took place in the mid-2000s in Tokyo when a female customer did not accept Kaede’s service because she was a woman and told Kaede’s female manager that women cannot become managers in Japan. After this experience, Kaede remembers thinking, “oh, I see, it’s not good to be a woman.” She believes that this mentality of internalized misogyny in both women and men in Japan is something that cannot be changed because it is ingrained in the societal mindset. Kaede also implied that sexist beliefs are not restricted to certain regions of Japan—such as the rural countryside where the patriarchal system remains firmly entrenched—nor limited to the typically conservative elderly, as she noted that the customer in this incident was a woman in her 30s residing in metropolitan Tokyo. Multiple expatriate participants mentioned the importance of the environment in shaping and influencing one’s thinking, suggesting that more progressive values are linked to urban areas whereas conservatism is associated with the

rural countryside. However, Kaede’s experience with discrimination in Tokyo highlights the patriarchal value system’s omnipresence regardless of where one was raised or where one currently lives.

Nozomi described her experience working at an accounting office in the early 1980s in Japan, recounting how only women staff would serve tea to all the employees and clean the office every morning, including both men’s and women’s bathrooms. She explicitly voiced her discontent to upper management about the unfair expectations of serving and cleaning, and questioned the purpose of these enforced gender roles. Although her boss informed her those were the responsibilities of new employees, Nozomi observed that when a new male employee was hired, he did not serve tea or clean the bathrooms as she did. Upon confrontation, her boss explained, “Well, he *is* a man.” Nozomi expressed that she “really felt discriminated against” at that moment. She also recalled working for a different Japanese company where her male manager would condescendingly refer to the women employees as “girls.” She remembers thinking, “isn’t there something wrong with that? [...] It’s unthinkable!” Although she was ambivalent about the existence of gender inequality in today’s society, Nozomi recognized the double burden of the gender roles that were forced on her. Unlike men, women are not only tasked with waged work but are also expected to quietly carry out “domestic” work in the office, such as serving, cleaning, and other similar duties.

Immediately after graduating from college in Japan, Satsuki moved to the U.S. to work in New York, then later returned to Tokyo in the 1980s where she worked at her first Japanese company. She remembers being surprised by the gendered division of labor in her office, similar to Nozomi’s workplace. Satsuki said she was particularly opposed to cleaning out ashtrays in the office because she does not smoke. She described the following exchange with her boss:

I said, “I’m not going to clean the ashtrays.” And I was told, “Oh, I see. It’s because you lived in America.” So they believe women don’t usually say this

kind of thing and that's why they had to find a reason for why I spoke up—"oh, because you're American."

Although Satsuki describes the inside of her mind as "completely Japanese," her speaking up and voicing disagreement was coded by her male superior as an intrinsically American, non-Japanese trait. The notion that defying gender roles is not compatible with being Japanese is reflected in many participants' remarks that abiding by gender roles is a "natural" part of the Japanese identity.

Providing for a Family vs. Raising a Family

Both participant groups overwhelmingly responded that being a man in Japanese society means having a wife and children and embodying the roles of breadwinner, decision-maker, and leader of the household. Other answers included being a hard worker, engaging in physical labor, making personal sacrifices for the greater good of the family and/or their company, and not outwardly showing emotion.

Selene lived with a host family in Tokyo while studying abroad in 2019 and stated that she rarely saw her host father because he was always busy with work. She acknowledged that he supports the family by providing an income, but reflected, "What's the point in bringing home money if you don't know how to raise the family?" A few individuals in both participant groups stated that their own fathers were so consumed by work that they rarely saw or spent time with their fathers during their childhood.

The participants who observed the disappearance of their fathers from home and family life recognized the undesirability of this lifestyle for their future families and were thus motivated to reconstruct the gender roles they grew up with to increasingly prioritize gender equality and personal happiness. The participants mentioned making conscious efforts to encourage egalitarianism in their own homes by demonstrating to their children a more equal division of household responsibilities between the parents.

To be Japanese, American, and Everything In-Between

Less than half of the participants offered positive outlooks for gender equality in Japan. Nozomi, who has lived in Japan for most of her life except for a brief time in Texas, repeatedly used the word *rafu* (lit. 'rough'), meaning casual or relaxed, to describe the current state of gender dynamics in Japan. A few expatriate participants compared the current state of gender equality to when they were last in Japan and remarked that although the situation has gotten better, there are still many sectors that can be improved, such as the labor force, media and entertainment, and in the home. One participant, Yoshie, mentioned the problematic comments made by Yoshiro Mori, the then-president of the 2022 Tokyo Olympics organizing committee, who suggested that women talk too much (Rich 2021), to illustrate that "that kind of thinking is deeply rooted" among older Japanese men. However, another participant, Kasumi, brought up Mori's comments to argue that it is a "typical mindset" even among younger men. She described a time when she was conversing with male Japanese peers while studying abroad in Kyoto and felt that the men were "put off" by her direct manner of speaking, which she labeled an American trait. Kasumi said, "There was this one guy who kept being like, *anta kowai*, 'you're scary,' and it was like, why, I'm just talking freely. I don't know, it felt sexist."

The majority of participants seemed to have pessimistic views about Japan's progress on gender equality. Two expatriate participants even declared that Japan may be incapable of changing its gender norms. Kaede said that change would be ideal but remarked:

No matter what, in the end—and this may be true for Asia—men are at the top. And it should change but I don't think it will. I always thought about leaving Japan and going abroad because of that.

Of Japanese society and the workforce, Satsuki believes, "it's not changing. Or it can't change. Even after decades pass, it's still...in people's minds there's no system like that." Kasumi was pleasantly surprised by the outcry in Japan over Mori's comments but seemed to remain skeptical about the potential for further action: "In my experience, I feel like a lot of Japanese

people our age don't really think that critically about what's happening politically." To make a case in point with Kasumi's statement, one young male participant, Aiden, said that he views Japan's gender roles as "old-fashioned" but was the only participant who was indifferent about gender roles because he felt it would not affect him whether egalitarianism was introduced or not. Another youth participant, Rory, stated matter-of-factly, "It's not equal at all." They observed that "Japan is very rooted, deep-rooted in their tradition" and believes it is a country incapable of accepting new or fluid gender roles.

One memory that stood out to Rory occurred when they were in Japan and a family member told them to be quiet. Rory countered the scolding by declaring, "I'm not Japanese, I'm American." Satoru made a similar statement when describing the pressure to raise a traditional, heteronormative, nuclear family. He remarked that he would have to make sacrifices to fulfill that expectation, but also acknowledged that "there's no way" he could meet his parents' expectations:

I'm still gonna appreciate and remember the history of the family, but [...] I'm not fully Japanese anymore. I'm gonna do my own thing, I'm gonna become more American. [...] I'm gonna take my children's happiness and development over trying to be this example of what a Japanese man should be.

Breaking the Cycle of Misogyny

Every participant responded that their views on gender roles are different from their parents' generations. Kayano believes that, in her parents' era, "it was so natural that women follow men," though she observed gender equality has improved since then. She also claimed that she is personally satisfied with the current state of gender dynamics in Japan but wishes for increased gender equality for young people. Another participant, Yukari, declared, "If I were asked if I could do the same thing as my mother, I can't do that, I don't want to. That's why I definitely didn't want to marry someone like my father."

Kaede gave a particularly striking anecdote in her answer: "My [way of] thinking, my parents

say they can't believe it. They always ask me, 'Why do you think like that?'" She remarked that her 80-year-old father has never cooked, washed dishes, done laundry, or even filled a bathtub with water before because those tasks were coded as "wifely duties." Kaede explained that since her hometown is in the countryside, "that kind of thinking is really strong." She left Japan immediately after graduating high school to attend university abroad as she did not want to stay in Japan and follow the norms expected of women. Kaede initially had no desire to even get married after observing the relationships of her parents and grandparents, believing that "I thought it would be impossible for me." She mentioned how her younger sister strongly agrees with their parents' views and embodied the traditional norms expected of her, "But that turned out to be a lot of stress for her, she said it was too much." Even now, Kaede says she cannot stay in her hometown for more than two weeks because she becomes frustrated by the stark differences in gender role attitudes. Kaede's family also express confusion with her support for egalitarianism:

That's why my mom and sister say to me, "You're strange. Why are you so selfish?" My friends say that too. [That's why] I think it won't change. [...] Women do everything inside of the house. Men go outside and work and earn money. This is fundamental, that's the base.

Discussion

Overall, the results of this study were largely in alignment with the findings of similar studies which collected perceptions of gender roles from Japanese individuals, insofar that interviewees in my study and others experienced conflict—whether interpersonal or within the self—as a consequence of the pressures of gender norms in Japanese society (Nakano and Wagatsuma 2003; Sakamoto 2006; Belarmino and Roberts 2019).

Using Takeuchi and Tsutsui's (2016) individual and societal theories of attitudinal change, we can better understand the expatriate and diaspora participants' gender role attitudes in relation to their personal experiences. The individual-level, exposure-based theory explains that attitudes are

influenced by events that happen to or near individuals—including the influence of parents' ideology and their behavior, level of education, and work experiences—with the implication that encounters with misogyny are reflected in their opposition to traditional gender roles (Takeuchi and Tsutsui 2016, 105). For example, the culmination of Kaede's observations of her parents' relationship, her experience with sexism in her workplace, and her time abroad in the U.S. are reflected in her staunch position against patriarchal customs. Those who have had limited exposure to values outside the system they grew up with, however, tend to hold more conservative beliefs, such as Kaede's friends and family in Japan. Meanwhile, the societal-level cohort replacement theory helps explain how the youth diaspora's positive attitude toward dismantling gender roles is replacing the older cohort's traditionalism as they have yet to be initiated into the gendered institutions of marriage and parenthood, and hold "intrinsically egalitarian values [...] acquired during childhood" (Takeuchi and Tsutsui 2015, 105).

The diaspora participants' cognizance of and disagreement with the gendered Japanese cultural identity (i.e. women as obedient housewives, men as stoic breadwinners), along with the expatriate women's value change towards egalitarianism, support Nakano and Wagatsuma's (2003) research on the complex methods of social change through family relationships and generational conflict. They determined that change can occur in a multitude of ways, such as the youth making different decisions than their parents; the youth making the same decisions as their parents but in different historical contexts; the older generation reenacting the past; and the older generation shedding their old values to adopt new ones (Nakano and Wagatsuma 2003, 150). The recent shift towards gender egalitarianism was achieved through a combination of those methods that were negotiated between generations, as well as increased private and public discourse on individual agency that "made new forms of action thinkable, and therefore possible" (Nakano and Wagatsuma 2003, 146). As presented in my interviews with the older expatriate women, they are adopting new values by actively choosing and exercising

egalitarianism in their marriage and parental practices, while the youth diaspora is pushing against traditional concepts of family dynamics by negotiating gender norms with their parents and practicing self-agency.

The participants' responses also highlight the ways in which one's reluctance to follow established gender norms can affect patterns of migration and their sense of belonging to the Japanese cultural identity. Gender role attitudes can exert influence over one's decision to migrate and can also determine the likelihood of a migrant becoming an expatriate. Whereas remaining in Japan, for example, seems to only offer a "pre-determined path in life" for women in particular, migration and expatriation give women a chance to form their own lifestyle and critique their home culture's social norms from an outside perspective (Izuhara and Shibata 2001, 578). Paired with Takeuchi and Tsutsui's (2016) exposure-based theory, we can therefore conclude that exposure to the American value system and development of negative perceptions of Japanese social norms prompted interviewees Kaede, Yukari, Kayano, and Satsuki to not only consider going to the U.S., but to stay in the U.S. Their narratives support Sakai's (2002) research on Japanese women in Britain and their tendency to view Western countries as "a land of new opportunities" where a perceived freedom from hegemony gives them the opportunity to "reevaluate and adopt different identities" other than or separate from their Japanese selves (69-71).

As illustrated by the majority of the expatriate women and a few of the diaspora participants, the pressure to abide by Japan's gendered cultural identities was a contributing factor in both their desire to leave Japan and to remain in the U.S. Nukaga's (2012) study of Japanese migrant and expatriate mothers suggested that these women inhabit dual identities constructed from the values of their home and host cultures that hold, at times, conflicting ideologies of gender and parenthood (68-69). Lee, Tufis, and Alwin (2010) similarly wrote about the cognitive dissonance that arises from the "juxtaposition of beliefs" about gender roles and egalitarianism, or the "dual consciousness" experienced by some of the Japanese population (198). In conjunction with

Sakamoto's (2006) study of Japanese expatriates in the Midwestern U.S., the expatriates and diaspora I interviewed regarded their American and Japanese selves as inhabiting separate spheres of life: the 'American' self is brought forth in professional environments or when one needs to be assertive, while the 'Japanese' self is allocated for more casual, interpersonal situations (569-572). This "dual" concept was a common thread between identity-related narratives introduced by expatriate participants Kaede and Satsuki and diaspora participants Rory and Satoru, who shared the belief that to identify as Japanese meant endorsing traditional patriarchal views, and that to identify as American meant supporting egalitarianism.

Echoing Satsuki's experience nearly 40 years ago of being told she is American because she did not conform to the normative role of a Japanese woman (with no option of inhabiting both identities nor between them), the youth Japanese diaspora seemed to operate with a similar logic that progressiveness indicated not belonging to the Japanese cultural identity, but rather belonging to the American cultural identity. Interestingly, the notion that existing between these identities or existing within both in a way that was not mutually exclusive of each other was not mentioned by participants. Cognitive dissonance arising from a dilemma of identity (whether cultural, gender, or both) rooted in gender role attitudes was another unexpected outcome of these interviews. To build upon the concept introduced by Lee, Tufis, and Alwin (2010) and Nukaga (2012) of dual consciousness/identities, widening the scope of future studies to include the lived experiences of diaspora and individuals across the gender and sexuality spectrum will undoubtedly expand the parameters of the dual identity model.

Limitations

This study intended to introduce the gender role attitudes of Japanese expatriate women and youth Japanese diaspora in the United States. However, I acknowledge that there are limitations in this particular study's methods and participants. First, all but two participants resided in the Mid-Atlantic region at the time of

interview. Involving people of Japanese heritage residing on the West Coast, where there are larger Japanese ethnic enclaves, and in the South and Midwest, where Japanese communities are fewer in number, can deepen our understanding of generational and geopolitical perceptions of gender. Second, this research was demographically limited in its participant pool. Various socioeconomic statuses, multiracial and multiethnic individuals, (dis)ability, and those who identify outside of the gender binary should be included to provide a clearer representation of the lived experiences of historically marginalized groups. Expanding the reach of this study to other countries where there are sizable populations of Japanese immigrants, expatriates, and diaspora is also recommended for further analysis of a settlement area's impact on gender ideology and identity development. Though an often-overlooked community, the diaspora in this study brought great depth to the research topic, and it is expected that their contribution will inspire similar models of participant diversity in future research.

Conclusion

Scholars have pointed to the expansive Confucian moral system ingrained in Japanese society as a contributing factor for why Japanese people, particularly the older population, may not regard individualistic values, like leadership and assertiveness, as highly as traditional Japanese values, such as conformity and obedience (Rindfuss, Liao, and Tsuya 1992; Sugihara and Katsurada 2002; Lee, Tufis, and Alwin 2010; Takeuchi and Tsutsui 2016). Following these trends in research, I assumed that the older expatriate participants in my study would hold more conventional views on gender roles, while the younger diaspora was conversely expected to skew towards more progressive beliefs. However, the interviews indicated otherwise: the older generation was mostly on par with the younger participants' egalitarian beliefs, and was, in some instances, more critical of gender roles than the younger generation. This further supports Lee, Tufis, and Alwin's (2010) findings that progressive views on gendered labor are not solely a product of industry and age, but rather a result of individuals responding to their

social-institutional and economic surroundings.

The relationship between gender role attitudes, dual consciousness/identity, and migration should be further explored to answer the following questions: How does dual identity differ among expatriate, diaspora, and other immigrant populations? How can one identify as Japanese but voice discontent with such an inexplicable part of its societal norms? Can egalitarian values coexist with the Japanese cultural identity if they are perceived as two inherently contradicting concepts? Although these issues cannot be satisfactorily explored with the limited scope and sample size of this paper, these questions should be considered in future research concerning diasporic identity, migration, and gender role attitudes.

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