

*Negotiating Kendo Capital and Gendered Identity in a
Japanese Sports University Kendo Club*

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Abstract

This thesis explores how female Japanese sports university kendo practitioners negotiate their identity to accumulate kendo capital and personal meaning in the processes of club membership. To make sense of Japanese women's sports university kendo, an ethnographic research project was conducted over an 18-month period spanning over 2013. In culturally protected social fields such as kendo, ethnography is invaluable as a method as it provides new and exciting ways to understand and theorise the relationship between sport, culture and gendered identity. Evolving from warrior culture, kendo is considered to be one of Japan's most traditional and treasured physical heritages. To preserve a sense of 'traditional' identity and cultural ownership, modern kendo, re-produces some aspects of Tokugawa period (1603-1867) warrior culture. The epicentre of modern kendo is within the education system. In Japan, sport clubs play a vital role in educating members with cultural values deemed beneficial for their futures. These values are conservative and can assist members in gaining government employment. Kendo clubs are highly gendered social spaces where women learn that their primary role in society is one of mother and wife. As a result of this social role projection, women receive less resources and development opportunities in kendo compared to men. In this way kendo formally institutionalises gender. Given the entrenched male proprietorship of kendo and its symbolic value, it is difficult to change how women are positioned in the field of kendo. However, as a result of their positioning, women can enjoy the freedom of expressing a 'bigendered identity' and experience intrinsic reward in kendo more so than men as they are bound to a separate sphere of oppressive systems and articulations. Albeit a result of patriarchy, women do experience agency and can positively create their own *raison d'être* through the practice of kendo.

Declaration

I, Katherine Sylvester, declare that the PhD thesis entitled: *Negotiating Kendo Capital and Gendered Identity in a Japanese Sports University Kendo Club* is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Signature:



Date:

14th December 2015

Dedication

For my angel, Mica, and my mum, Bronwen

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables.....	x
Glossary.....	xi

CHAPTER 1

<i>Why Research Japanese Women's Kendo?</i>	1
Kendo and 'tradition'.....	3
Gender, Society and Sport.....	4
Twinkle toes.....	9
Encountering Japan and starting kendo.....	10
Returning home and feeling disconnected.....	11
Reconnecting and being inspired.....	12
Connection.....	13
Research significance.....	14
Chapter summary.....	14

CHAPTER 2

<i>The Sword Educating Women</i>	18
Gendering religion and philosophy.....	20
Bushido and women.....	23
Self-cultivation.....	26
Birth of modern kendo.....	30

CHAPTER 3

<i>Ryōsai Kenbo Education and Employment</i>	34
Invention of 'traditional' Japanese gender identity.....	35
Meiji reform on women's rights.....	37
Civilising Women's Education.....	38
Meiji Sports.....	41

Supporters of Women’s Education.....	43
Women’s paid labour.....	45
Taishō <i>ryōsai kenbo</i>	47
Women’s Education and Career Nexus.....	56
Pressure to marry.. ..	59
Women’s life cycle patterns	61
Repackaging discrimination	64
Issues of child care and maternity leave	69
The sport club and career nexus	70

CHAPTER 4

<i>Positioning Myself in the Field</i>	75
<i>Nihonjiron</i> and ethical considerations.....	75
Compiling knowledge.....	80
Literature on women’s kendo	81
Selecting the field	82
The field.....	84
Participants	86
Seeing the field... ..	87
Hearing the field.. ..	88
Readjusting.....	90
Thematic analysis	90
Applying Connell.....	92
Applying Bourdieu	97

CHAPTER 5

<i>Surveying Sport University Kendo</i>	101
Survey design.....	103
Accessing participants	105
Key themes.....	105
Faults with the survey.....	109
Survey Summary	110

CHAPTER 6

<i>In the Field</i>	112
Developing TSSU <i>habitus</i>	114
Learning how to receive	119
Learning through drinking.....	121
Learning how to discipline	123
Learning how to train hard.....	125

CHAPTER 7

<i>Pink Towels</i>	133
Lower positioning.....	138
TSSU men – the ‘main dish’.....	143
Gender regimes.....	144
Feminine Kendo capital.....	145
Definitions of femininity	149
Women’s work..	151

CHAPTER 8

<i>Regulated Liberties</i>	155
New style of leadership.....	162
Three virtues – <i>kikubari, kokorobari, mekubari</i>	164
Catching a cold.....	169
Women’s agency re-signifying patriarchy	172

CHAPTER 9

<i>The Women’s club Nexus</i>	174
Playing ‘the game’	176
Group dynamics and <i>seishin</i> development	177
<i>Zubudo!</i> <i>Donyokuni!</i>	179
Winning is everything.....	183
Women’s club capital – being ‘cool’	184
<i>Sempai-kōhai</i> intimacy	190
<i>Hameta!</i>	197
<i>Nomō!</i> Sharing beer and real emotions.....	199
Mutual suffering and lifetime friendships.....	202

CHAPTER 10

Conclusions and Future Directions 205
Summary of chapters 209
Understanding through the body..... 216
Future directions.. 220

REFERENCES..... 223

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Global Gender Gap Index 2015..... 247
Appendix B: Interview Schedule..... 250
Appendix C: Interview Consent Form..... 252
Appendix D: Letter to Participating University..... 253
Appendix E: Survey..... 254
Appendix F: Survey Report 267

List of Figures

Figure 2.1:	Shinto altar in TSSU kendo dojo.....	18
Figure 2.2:	Shinto ceremony performed in dojo.....	21
Figure 2.3:	Women’s club meeting in dojo.....	22
Figure 2.4:	<i>Daruma</i> in the corner of the dojo.....	28
Figure 2.5:	Club members holding a meeting after their meditation session.....	30
Figure 4.1:	Graduation ceremony attire.....	46
Figure 4.2:	“Women's labor force participation rate by age group by cohort”.....	62
Figure 4.3:	“Employment type breakdown of labor force participation rate by age group”.....	63
Figure 6.1:	Female members preparing for competition.....	112
Figure 6.2:	Night out with female club members at En.....	122
Figure 6.3:	Training at 5am.....	126
Figure 6.4:	Day 1-3 list of camp attendees.....	129
Figure 6.5:	Day 10-16 list of camp attendees.....	129
Figure 7.1:	Seating arrangement at kendo camp dinner.....	140
Figure 7.2:	Typical set up of competition.....	141
Figure 9.1:	Female members walking together after kendo training.....	205

List of Tables

Table 7.1:	Ideal-type representation structures of labor, power and cathexis at the macro level gender order of Japanese society.....	153
Table 7.2:	Ideal-type representation structures of labor, power and cathexis at the micro level gender order of kendo.....	154
Table 7.3:	Ideal-type representation structures of labor, power and cathexis at the sub-micro level TSSU kendo club.....	154

Glossary

There are a few Japanese terms I will use consistently throughout this thesis. These are words that are not commonly used in English or the Japanese terms are more compact which will assist in grammatical sequencing and flow. Japanese words in this thesis are italicised. Japanese words with long vowel sounds have macrons. Words that are found in *Websters Collegiate Dictionary*, such as ‘kendo’ and ‘bushido’ are written without italics or macrons.

<i>Dō</i>	Path – ‘a way’
<i>Bun - bu</i>	Letteredness-Martiality
<i>Hameta</i>	To be released from disciplining
<i>Jendā</i>	Gender
<i>Joseirashii</i>	Feminine
<i>Joseirashiku</i>	Femininely
<i>Joseirashisa</i>	Measure of femininity
<i>Kakko ii</i>	Cool – admirable - masculine word
<i>Kantoku</i>	Coach
<i>Kawaii</i>	Cute
<i>Kawaikunai</i>	Not cute / unlikeable
<i>Kawairashisa</i>	Cuteness
<i>Kikubari</i>	Consideration
<i>Kōhai</i>	Junior
<i>Kokorobari</i>	Awareness (with the heart)
<i>Mekubari</i>	Awareness (with eyes)
<i>Naginata</i>	Halberd
<i>Nihonjiron</i>	Theories on the Japanese
<i>OB</i>	‘Old Boy’ (alumni)
<i>OG</i>	‘Old Girl’ (alumni)
<i>Onnarashiku</i>	Womanly
<i>Otsuki</i>	Support role
<i>Ryōsai kenbo</i>	Good wife – wise mother
<i>Sarariiman</i>	Corporate company employee
<i>Seishin</i>	Spirit
<i>Seishin kyōiku</i>	Spiritual education
<i>Sempai</i>	Senior
<i>Sensei</i>	Teacher

CHAPTER 1

Why Research Japanese Women's Kendo?

Through the analysis of Japanese sport's university women's kendo club, this thesis explores the intersections between religion, philosophy, warrior culture, gender, social role and identity negotiation. Specifically, it examines how particular historical and social forces have shaped women's kendo practices and how they negotiate their identity, compete for and accrue various forms of capital in response to the higher symbolic value of men's kendo participation. Although there are several skilled female kendo practitioners in Japan, very few hold leadership and senior teaching positions. There is not one woman who has achieved the highest rank available, 8th black belt. Many consider 'tradition' would be broken and a consequent demise of kendo would occur if a woman would achieve the top rank. Women's positioning in kendo has much to do with how kendo clutches on patriarchal practises to maintain an ideology of 'tradition'. Despite women's subsidiary positioning within kendo, women also can experience intrinsic rewards that often men do not, as men themselves are bound to a gender marked sphere of oppressive pressures.

This thesis critically examines how traditional gendered identity is simultaneously negotiated and gender hierarchy is actively re-positioned through the practice of kendo. The following sub-questions aim to guide the examination of Japanese university women's kendo and the ways in which women's participation resignifies patriarchy in spite of the liberating potential held in women's actions.

- What are the socio-historical processes that have impacted on kendo for women.
- How and why does gender continue to be re-produced in kendo.
- Regardless of gender regulating practices, how do women benefit from kendo.

This research project argues that the concept of 'tradition' in kendo is a 'modern invention' and through upholding 'tradition', kendo women continue to be discriminated against. The notion of 'tradition' is problematic and empowers men with more opportunity and resources which divides and naturalises gender specific characteristics and the gender order. As a 'traditional' physical culture, kendo is a social field that re-produces and re-positions gender more so than other facets of Japanese society due to its' associations with patriarchal warrior culture. However, as a result of a residual 'traditional' culture, notably, gender segregating practices, women do not compete with men and are consequently blockaded from threatening the norms of social role identity. Social role identity norms project that a women's role is domestic, whilst a man's role is career oriented. Paradoxically, as a result of women's participation in culture that represents masculine identity, kendo women can experience 'bi-gendered' freedom more so than other women, and some intrinsic rewards more so than kendo men.

The research and research questions I address here evolved from my experiences in Japan. During my 21 years of participation in kendo, I have had the opportunity to both train and compete in multiple (cultural, international) training and competition settings. The most rewarding experiences have been training with, or competing against, skilled Japanese female practitioners. However, I was always perplexed by the contradictions in kendo spaces. Despite the gendered systems and articulations in Japan, kendo (with the helmet on) is a space where women are encouraged to be masculine in terms of public and aggressive self-expression and self-assertion. A shift occurs when women are not in practice (the helmet off), as their demeanour becomes feminine in terms of self-reservation and an astute awareness of others. In Japan, although social roles are clearly defined by sex, gender performativity in kendo is transient, complex and dependent on the social situation. Hence, females can embody a 'bi-gendered identity' which is demonstrated in the skillful and seamless shifts between masculine and feminine performances.

The aim of this introduction chapter is to briefly provide a contextual background locating Japanese women in kendo. I will also describe the process of how I became connected to women's kendo. I conclude this chapter by outlining the chapters of this thesis.

Kendo and 'tradition'

Kendo is considered to be one of Japan's most traditional and treasured physical cultures with deep historical connections to ancient mythology and the religious/philosophical based practises of the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) samurai. However, a large component of how kendo is practiced today, developed during and after the Meiji period (1868-1912) Bennett (2014), yet kendo is considered to epitomise 'traditional' Japanese identity and culture. As such, many people consider that the true essence of kendo can only be grasped and embodied by Japanese people exclusively.

The notion of Japanese 'traditional' identity is an example of Hobsbawn's (1983) term 'invented tradition', and was formulated in the Meiji period to maintain cultural identity confidence whilst Japan underwent rapid modernisation. Embarking on a modernisation and 'civilisation' period under the Meiji government's nationalist policy, *ryōsai kenbo* 'good wife – wise mother' (previously applied predominately to the samurai class) was promulgated to the broader population (mainly the new middle and upper classes), and the Meiji Civil Code (non-class specific) was indoctrinated to broader Japanese society. This mixed ideology, which forged a new identity, yet labelled as 'traditional', drew on the idealised images of the Victorian woman and the samurai classed Japanese women (Ikeda, 2014a) and restricted women's legal rights that led to obedience towards and dependence on men (Ueno, 2009). As part of upholding 'tradition' and a sense of cultural identity, this formulated gender ideology hierarchising men above women and separating their spheres and characteristics, continues to be re-produced by the Japanese government through education and employment practices. This ideology is even more so fixed in

education and employment fields that intersect with kendo to protect 'tradition'.

Gender, Society and Sport

Sport remains classified as a masculine field that disadvantages women globally (Kelly, 2013).

Although there have been some positive changes, sports still contribute to the stabilisation and naturalisation of the gender order (Musto & McGann, 2016). Sport participation reflects broader social practices in most cultures, and many men consider that sport is significant in the development of masculine identity (Vincenti, 1997). Hall (1996, pp. 11-12) explains:

Sporting practices are historically produced, socially constructed, and culturally defined to serve the interests and needs of powerful groups in society. Sport therefore, is seen as a cultural representation of social relations and here includes gender, class, and race relations.

Sport participation plays a significant part as an ideological tool in social re-production and reflects historically defined relationships between men and women. Griffins (2014, p. 269) describes practices in the US, which are not dissimilar to practices in Australasia:

Perceptions of women and men athletes have always been embedded in cultural expectations of masculinity and femininity. Whereas athletic prowess, physical strength and competitive toughness in a man are expected and celebrated, the same qualities in a woman are regarded with suspicion, unless she can counterbalance these qualities with exhibitions of femininity and heterosexuality. As a result, women's sports and women athletes are often trivialized and marginalized as second rate imitations of male athletes and men's sports. At the same time, women who are athletic, strong and tough are stigmatized as unfeminine/not sexy at best and lesbian at worst.

Sport in the West is a powerful site for the construction of masculinity, male identities, and heterosexuality and the increased entry of women into the sporting arena has been actively resisted (Mean & Kassing 2008; Hagreaves & Anderson, 2014). The increase in women's sporting presence has drawn attention to female athletes' sexuality and women feel they need to negotiate their physical beauty, size, and femininity (Caudwell as cited in Mean & Kassing, 2008). Sporting women expressing masculinity tend to be positioned as "illegitimate women, often derided as 'lesbian' not as an identification of their sexual desires, but as an insult to their identification of

the category woman” (Saunders, 2015, p. 891). In reaction, female athletes often emphasise their femininity to avoid victimisation (Hagreaves & Anderson, 2014).

How sporting women are marginalised in Japan is slightly different, as are the mechanisms that deter women from its’ field of power. According to Vincenti (1997) in Japan, both men and women share the belief that men have a greater capacity for status and strength and as a result women seldom hold positions of power because it goes against the natural order of society. A vibrant example of how gender hierarchy is re-positioned in sport despite changes in definitions of masculinity, is observable in the Japanese national football teams, ‘Nadeshiko Japan’ and the ‘Blue Samurai’. The team names in themselves imply that sport plays an influential role in maintaining representations of ‘traditional’ gendered identity, arranging masculinity through samurai imagery and femininity via pink carnations (*nadeshiko*). Ikeda (2014b, p.103) implies this is a common cultural metaphor for women’s and men’s sporting teams and maintains an “manifestation of the longevity of gender-based idioms and images”.

Although the women’s football team has been the more successful internationally, they seem to be “resigned still to walk half a step behind the soccer-warrior males” (Kelly, 2013, p.1). Paradoxically however, externally feminised masculinity and masculinised femininity have built strong gendered narratives in media around the national football teams. Mandujano-Salazar (2016) brings to light how mainstream media representations of Japanese female and male football players are used as an instrument to cleverly re-naturalise traditional gender role ideals. Male football star’s ‘feminised masculinity’ is marketed as attractive to women through slender, athletic, fashion oriented and cosmopolitan imagery (Mandujano-Salazar, 2016).

Japanese media has not changed the masculinised narratives of football however, as men are constructed as experts and players, whilst women are supporters of the male players. Mandujano-Salazar (2016) implies that this dominant discourse reflects a negative relationship

between long-term professional achievement and womanhood, and it sends the message that Japanese women who enter a field dominated by men and put their job success over their search for a family are no longer feminine, therefore undesirable. In reaction, periodically women who intentionally deviate from their social responsibility are criticised. Yoshiro Mori, the ex-Prime Minister of Japan (who is coincidentally the president of the Tokyo 2020 Olympics Organising Committee) publicly stated in 2000, “It is truly strange to say that we have to use tax money to take care of women who don’t even give birth once, who grow old living their lives selfishly.” (Beech as cited in Fuse & Hanada, 2009, p. 843). The chapter’s that follow provide several examples of ‘catch phrases’ which derogatively describe Japanese women who pursue careers and are content with singlehood over motherhood.

Japan still lags in terms of gender relations when compared to other industrialised countries (Fuse & Hanada, 2009). Women’s position in society, in terms of leadership has barely improved and women are still very disadvantaged in many areas (Fuse & Hanada, 2009), which of course, extends to sport. Kelly (2013) describes how Japanese women’s sport participation faces several barriers which has had much to do with how modern sport developed in the national education system and the persistent hierarchical gender ideology that developed in the late 19th century. From the Meiji period onwards, women’s education and sport participation was underpinned by *ryōsai kembo* ideology. *Ryōsai kenbo* continues to be a part of the hidden curriculum still today (Koyama, 2013) as women learn their position in society by how they participate in education sport (Manzenreiter, 2013a).

In education sport clubs, women learn the roles they play are important but have less status than male roles (Vincenti, 1997). Japanese school sport clubs play an important role in reproducing and re-naturalising the notion of sex-based separate spheres (Blackwood, 2010). Practices normalise the idea of sex-based separate spheres at a very real experiential level as well

as at a symbolic/ideological level for society as a whole (Blackwood, 2010). Vincenti (1997) found that the Japanese sport club provides a sense of tradition for both men and women and is therefore an important aspect in social re-production. As a part of the cultural learning that occurs in education sport, developing gender appropriate skills and attributes is a fundamental aspect of membership. Most often in co-ed sport clubs (except in some cases where the women's team has an exceptionally high national ranking compared to the men's team), women perform domestically orientated tasks and receive less resources and opportunities than men. Women's positioning is even more so projected in club sports that are explicitly defined as 'traditional' and masculine such as Japanese kendo.

In kendo, practices at the university club level reflect macro-level social spaces and institutional arrangements that consent to men's careers being worth long-term investment more so than women. Modern kendo is largely practiced in the education system, specifically the school sport club. School kendo clubs are most often central to member's lives, and depending on the type of institution, practises influence dispositions and past/future trajectories. There are several reasons why members invest in sport clubs. Through membership, cultural capital can be accrued by being obedient to rules, practicing leadership, learning be a good teammate, and how to support or communicate with others (Miller, 2013a). Courtesy and inner resilience are among these highly valued outcomes (Niehaus & Tagsold, 2013). Membership also provides assessment of teamwork capabilities and connections to alumni networks (Manzenreiter, 2013a). Umezaki (as cited in van Ommen, 2015) has shown through empirical evidence that membership in an OB (old boy) network increases the chances of finding employment.

Through the club, specifically university level, members can accrue forms of capital that have a broader reach to other fields, specifically government employment. As such, the university kendo club can be a location of where a 'cultural apprenticeship' takes place. The development

of cultural capital happens through specific learning mechanisms. Matsunaga (2015) explains that in Japan, learning occurs corporeally, and through repetition until it ‘sticks’ to the body. Learning through the body simultaneously is considered to train the mind, and tolerating pain and suffering is seen as a way to strengthen and the whole self (Miller, 2010). There are several spiritual and educational elements of club sport, even when the activity is removed, character development expressed through fortitude remain (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). Embodied fortitude and instinctiveness in the machinations of human relationships are considered to be cultural capital what I refer to as ‘kendo capital’ in this thesis. Kendo capital is accruable for women and men, however its’ economic transferability has restrictions for women which, reflects ‘traditional’ attitudes on a woman’s role in society.

Gender is normalised in kendo fields as women are re-positioned and practices explicitly re-produce certain universal characteristics deemed beneficial to their projected social roles. Gender is formally institutionalised in kendo fields and there is little space for women to permanently change the culture due how firmly patriarchy is entrenched. As such, women and men have very different learning outcomes of membership which reconnects to notions of ‘traditional’ identity. In addition to these socio-historical influences, contemporary employment culture also shapes and informs women’s kendo participation. Due to how deeply gender norms are embedded in society, women and men consider women’s marginalisation as sex ‘distinction’ rather than sex ‘discrimination’. Which indicates that women’s role and position in society is not considered to be ‘lower’ in the hierarchy rather appropriately positioned.

The preceding pages aimed to provide a contextual background of how women, sport intersect and overlap with kendo. Before I summarise the chapters of this thesis shortly, I will firstly describe the process of how I became connected to kendo. My interest in kendo is personal and has had a great impact on my life. Through this research, aside from aspiring to gain a deeper

understanding of women's kendo, another important aim was to unravel why I felt a strong sense of inspiration and belonging by training with elite Japanese kendo women. I reflect that the marginalisation I experienced participating in hegemonic masculine sports as a child was not experienced in the same way whilst I participated in kendo. I would discover at a later point however, that women's participation in kendo is marginalised but instrumentally different.

Twinkle toes

It has been particularly difficult to transcend traditional assumptions that differences between the sexes are biological rather than cultural, and that feminine – masculine appropriate sports and male sporting superiority are in the 'natural' order of things. (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 7)

I learned how to use my body and enjoy physical activity by engaging in ball games with my Dad around 4-years of age. Thereafter I was always actively playing outside, seeking physical adventures. I remember being extremely disappointed and confused at receiving gifts of dolls or anything 'girly'. In protest to receiving dolls, I would draw all over their bodies, mess up their hair or cut it off completely. I loved watching the television series, *Robin of Sherwood*. Play as a child was outdoors and adventurous. I remember playing in our front yard, wearing a plastic bow on my back, hiding behind trees aiming at imaginary foes, and engaging in sword fights with broken off branches.

I experienced a similar sense of adventure from participating in primary school lunch time informal sports such as soccer, handball or rugby. I was the only female player and was the first or second picked to be on a team. I considered myself to be pretty good at sports and felt my identity was connected to sports. My nickname was 'twinkle toes'. I gained much enjoyment and confidence from participating in sports that, little known to me at the time, were considered to be men's sports. In informal rugby games I recall the feeling of empowerment, running through opponents and dragging their bodies across the field to score a try. Although I was aware I was the only female participating I wasn't conscious I was a girl when engaged in play. I felt I was

stronger and more skilled than most of the others. It was only near the end of primary school (as I was about to enter high school) that I was told girls don't play sports like rugby. It was then that my peers started to tease me and I was prevented from participating by my teachers.

I received a strong message (as a 12-year-old) that girls can't play sports like boys do. In fear of being ostracised at high school I internally rejected sports like rugby altogether. During that first year of high school, I felt as though I had lost a sense of self and my self-confidence. My participation in sport was no longer unconscious and natural. Inscribed somewhere inside of me was the belief that it was wrong for a female to enjoy physical aggression, competitiveness and freedom of expression through sport. I had become conscious of the social regulations of gender and regrettably at the time I did not resist. Later I joined a girls' soccer team. Although I enjoyed playing soccer I somehow felt restrained and missed the feeling of empowerment I gained from contact sports like rugby.

Encountering Japan and starting kendo

My relationship with Japan began while watching the 1980 miniseries *Shōgun* starring Richard Chamberlain. I was totally mesmerised by the series' love affairs, costumes and sword duels. I imagined that parts of Japan were still like the feudal period, as depicted in the series, although I had seen many images of Japan's advanced technology. As a young child I had developed a romanticised, nostalgic view of Japan which was very different from reality, as I discovered when I went on a high school exchange to Japan as a 15-year-old. The first few months were isolating and lonely until one of the teachers at the school suggested I join a school club.

I decided to join a sports club as most of the students at my high school were club members. I could have joined any ball sports clubs but I was drawn to kendo. When I first saw kendo I remember how exciting it seemed with the piercing screams, foot stomping and clashing of

bamboo swords. I had never seen or heard anything like it before. From the beginning, unlike my experiences in rugby, I felt that my participation in kendo was remarkably accepted and supported.

In the club I made two very good female friends. I spent most of my day with them at school and at kendo practise. I never felt as though I spent too much time in the club or that there was something else I would rather be doing. The club became the centre of my life and my 'reason for being'. As a result of doing kendo I came to enjoy living in Japan and developed strong female friendships. I learned to reconnect with my authentic self and connect with others who were similar. I felt special and that I was able to express my physical body in kendo as I had in rugby. This was an extremely rewarding experience.

Returning home and feeling disconnected

After I finished my exchange in Japan, I returned to New Zealand and continued my schooling. Despite playing other sports I could not stop thinking about kendo and searched for a kendo club. As a result I joined a small club with two other males. I found that it wasn't the same experience in practice as it had been in Japan with women. The men used their physical power to dominate rather than connect with their opponents. Despite the fact I was as physically strong as the men I did not enjoy practising kendo at that time as we did not connect in the same way. Although I still wore kendo armour and used a bamboo sword it was as though these two experiences of kendo reflected two completely different activities. In New Zealand the relationship with my body and with other members did not provide satisfaction and the sense of unity experienced in Japan. The kendo in New Zealand was awkward, clumsy and painful. I then disengaged with kendo for 5 years. However, I thought about kendo every day and yearned to re-experience how I enjoyed kendo in Japan.

Reconnecting and being inspired

In 1999 I moved to Australia in search of a new life. I decided to try kendo again in the hope that the experience would be similar to that experienced in the club. As soon as I started I realised that in those 5 years without kendo I greatly missed the relationship and freedom experienced through my body whilst practising kendo. After my first training session I felt euphoric. However, I did not develop close relationships with other women or men in the club and we rarely socialised, despite training two to three times per week together. For most, kendo was just a hobby and I did not feel inspired to train the same way I had in Japan. Although this experience of kendo was different, I was able to express myself, relate to my body, and gain a sense of success and confidence through my participation in weekly practice and competition.

It wasn't until I had the opportunity to experience Japanese kendo again that I felt fully reconnected. The famous Japanese Sports University, *Nippon Taiiku Daigaku* sent a group of students to Australia to perform a martial arts demonstration. During these visits the kendo students would train at my club, which is when I had the opportunity to train with skilled Japanese female practitioners. Finally, I felt reconnected. These female students were assertive and aggressive and yet they did not use physical power. My style of physical power play was futile and counterproductive against these women and I was most often struck precisely on a target, even before I moved. I was intrigued how cute and friendly the female students seemed until we started to practise together, when they unapologetically annihilated me. The joy I felt playing the *Nippon Taiiku Daigaku* female students felt similar to my first kendo experience as a club member in Japan. Although I was completely out-skilled by the students, I felt inspired by training with them.

Rediscovering the feeling of love and inspiration for kendo I decided to go to *Nippon Taiiku Daigaku* for two months and train with several highly skilled and elite female practitioners. I also

shared their living spaces and daily lives. For the first time (in any context) I had female role models. By sharing their daily lives, I felt extremely fortunate and very inspired to improve my kendo. I felt a sense of purpose and belonging which I did not experience living in New Zealand or Australia. There was something about practising kendo in Japan that created some feeling of emotional connection. I loved kendo and felt I was able to be myself. As a result of training with these women my kendo improved and I felt motivated. I did not feel disconnected to training in Australia as I had developed strong relationships in Japan. In the following year I had reached the level of 4th black belt and won my first national championships. My motivation to improve continued as I was also selected to represent Australia at the 2006 and 2009 World Kendo Championships.

Connection

At the 2009 World Kendo Championships held in Brazil, I had an unforgettable bout with the captain of the Japanese women's team. I experienced a connection with the heart of my opponent during our match. In that bout I felt no fear, no tension in my body and a total sense of freedom. It was as though I could read my opponent's emotions and anticipate her movements. I was in control. In kendo terms I experienced 'no-mindness' or within the context of Western sports science *flow* (Csikszentmihaly, 1990). It felt as though time had slowed down and I had a heightened sense of awareness. My response was harmonious and automatic. I absolutely revelled in every second of our bout. This connection surprised me as I could sense her weakness but did not have the desire to beat her. After I returned from the championships I reflected on that particular match. I was perplexed as to why I enjoyed the match so much and why I did not want to take advantage of her weakness. Even more so I could not stop thinking about the experience of *flow*. Something happened where I felt a unity of mind, body and spirit within. The *flow* experience was connected directly to Japanese women's kendo.

Research significance

This thesis is significant because there is a scarcity of critical sociological research (published both in Japanese and English) into Japanese women's sport (especially kendo). As such this study endeavours to contribute significantly to knowledge, awareness and understanding of Japanese women's kendo. This thesis reveals the cultural barriers and marginalising practices women can experience in Japanese kendo, which also affects how women practice kendo outside of Japan. The specific aim of this thesis is to elevate the awareness and understanding of Japanese women's kendo. This is achieved by exploring how gender is contested, re-produced, performed and challenged through kendo, and how agents in the kendo field negotiate potentially contradictory modalities of being, according to balancing various forms of cultural capital they consciously and subconsciously utilise in line with the logic of the 'game' they are playing.

Chapter summary

To grasp a foundational understanding of gendered practices in Japanese kendo it is crucial to reflect on Japanese mythology, warrior culture, religion, philosophy, education and employment patterns. Chapters 2 and 3 provide a review of historical literature review of Japanese women in society, which positions women in kendo. I introduce each chapter with a vignette which brings to life the field. The purpose of the vignette is to illustrate the richness of the empirical data and its relevance to the literature for analysis.

In chapter 2, "*The Sword Educating Women*", the historical significance of the sword and its connection with gendered identity is explored. This chapter associates the sword to bushido culture and how its' religious and philosophical underpinnings have influenced women's education and kendo. This chapter explains how the symbolic relationship between masculinity, nationalism and the sword have remained. An overview of modern kendo and the development of women's kendo will conclude this chapter.

Chapter 3, “*Ryōsai Kenbo Education and Employment*”, delineates change and the development of Japanese women's education from the Meiji period onwards, and emphasises how learning for women continues today to be influenced by Confucian philosophy. It also explains how the concept of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) extends to educational sports clubs as a representative of Japanese society and culture. This chapter will touch on club sport and the encouragement of women's participation in martial arts. It will also discuss how women's participation in martial arts and sport in education was propagated for nationalistic purposes. This chapter also describes women's employment patterns and issues from the Meiji period to the present day. The gendered practices of employment fields overlapping with kendo are reflected in structures and practices of Japanese sports university kendo clubs like TSSU. The preceding chapters contextualise the phenomenon and provide an insight as to how gender identity is shaped and continues to be re-produced in Japanese kendo. This overview assists in making sense of women's practices and positioning in kendo today.

Chapter 4 “*Positioning Myself in the Field*” explains the method and process regarding collection and analysis of the data. During an 18-month period I wrote daily observational field notes and conducted semi-structured interviews with the students and teachers of TSSU. Thematic analysis was applied to the qualitative data by hand through the process of open, axial and selective coding (Ezzy, 2013; Giampietro, 2008). The theoretical framework is also explained in this chapter. Bourdieu's (1984) conceptual tools of *habitus*, *capital* and *field*, and subsequent theories of *symbolic violence* and *regulated liberties*, with Connell's (2002) theory of *gender regimes* are applied to an analysis of the women's club cultural practices in the following four chapters. Together Bourdieu and Connell's social theories provide the framework to deconstruct how gendered dispositions are reproduced through *gender regimes* of Japanese kendo and its overlapping fields and how simultaneously dispositions contribute to its re-production.

Chapter 5 “*Surveying Sport University Kendo*” interprets the main results of a survey that was conducted with 7 sport university kendo clubs. This data was analysed using SPSS statistical software. Although the survey provided some valuable demographic data; the qualitative data in comparison was substantially more informative and rich as it communicates lived experiences. This survey was designed to test homogeneity across kendo clubs that had similar settings to TSSU. The findings and limitations of the survey are summarised in this chapter.

Chapter 6 “*In the Field*” is a reflexive description of events which lead to my *quasi* membership to the women’s club. Central to gaining access to the field was the daily commitment to women’s kendo training and socialising with members. This chapter is as much about the negotiation and understanding of self within the dojo, as it is with other members of the club. I consider how my unique social, physical and cultural trajectory facilitated access to the field, albeit as an outsider ‘belonging’ or having ‘a place’ in the field of university kendo club.

Chapter 7, “*Pink Towels*”, describes gender hierarchy at TSSU and applies Bourdieu’s notion of *symbolic violence* and Connell’s *gender regimes*. TSSU culture reflects the *gender regimes* of education and employment institutions. As a result, women’s club members are subjected to *symbolic violence* as they are denied resources and this is considered to be the ‘natural order of things’. At TSSU, women have limited access to the *sensei*, with less support and space allocation compared to the men. Gender hierarchy was evident in the lower positioning of women within the dojo which was replicated across most club related activities. This chapter provides an array of examples and expounds on several aspects as to how and why gender is performed and reproduced in the dojo.

Chapter 8, “*Regulated Liberties*”, describes agency and *regulated liberties* performed by female members and how these performances did little to change the gendered structure of TSSU kendo. Bourdieu describes *regulated liberties* as “small exercises of power that arise within the

existing symbolic system or social field, but which resignify it in some way” (Olive & Thorpe, 2011, p. 429). This suggests that the performances of *regulated liberties* and unintentional subversive behaviour did not change the fixed patriarchal structure of TSSU, and veritably their performances resignified patriarchy and contributed to reproducing gender.

The final analysis chapter, Chapter 9, “*The Women’s club Nexus*”, discusses the socialising practice of the club. In this chapter I will explore member's *raison d’être* and how their sense of purpose and belonging is intricately intertwined with one another to form the women’s club. Bourdieu’s *habitus*, *capital* and *field* complex are applied to the women and further explores how these interactive processes contribute to women’s access to the field and ‘feel for the game’. The processes of becoming a member and gaining a position in the club which provide symbolic capital is devised through the club's gendered disciplining methods, alcohol socialisation and *sempai-kōhai* relationships. As such these aspects of club culture are the interactive focal points of this chapter which provides insight to the benefits and disadvantages of kendo club culture for women as a result of gendered practice.

The final chapter, “*Conclusions and Future Directions*”, summarises the main findings of the research and concludes that although women have the opportunity to perform agency and masculinity in kendo temporarily, these performances do not subvert patriarchal practice, as Confucian philosophy and the imperial nation-state family ideology continue to influence the reproduction of gender and social inequalities for women in society. Despite the gender order, women can benefit from membership to a kendo club as it provides a reason for being, self-development opportunity and lifelong friendships. Lastly, I provide recommendations for change and future research directions.

CHAPTER 2

The Sword Educating Women



Figure 2.1: Shinto alter in TSSU kendo dojo¹

“There are definitely gods in the dojo watching us” Kana explained. “Really, why do you say that”? I asked. Kana then told me the story of her experience of a god in the dojo. “I was really cheeky as a first year *kōhai*. I did harmless naughty things in secrecy to give myself a laugh. For example, it was my responsibility to clean the teacher’s room, the one that is situated in the dojo. One time when I was sweeping the room I hid a pile of dust under the mat. After I finished cleaning my *sempai* came and checked my cleaning and passed it. At the time I thought it was funny that she did not find the pile of dust. However, during training on that same afternoon I could not stop thinking about that pile of dust and was really worried about it. As soon as training finished I quickly went to the room to put the hidden pile of dust in the rubbish bin. When I lifted the mat the dust was gone! It wasn’t in the rubbish bin either! I was convinced that a god took it to protect me from my *sempai* being angry at me. From that time, I really believed that gods were in the dojo. Because I felt there were

¹ The influence of shintoism is strong in kendo and can be seen both in the physical structures of the dojo and club practices. Figure 2.1 shows the shinto alter positioned at the top of the dojo, symbolising purity and housing the presence of the gods. The presence of the gods is respected by the members. All members bow to the altar multiple times during the day, which includes entering and leaving the dojo, and before and after training.

gods in the dojo I started to think that even if you lose in kendo it is ok". Kana looked at me and her eyes sparkled, "I really believe everything will be ok". I felt something in the way Kana looked at me. I began to think maybe there is a spiritual presence in the dojo.
(Personal communication)

The field note above illustrates a deeper relationship between the dojo², religion, philosophy and education for women. Whilst perhaps appearing as superstition, Kana demonstrates a clear belief in the relevance of religion to the meaning of what takes place in the dojo. This extends not only to kendo practice but to seemingly mundane activities, in this case cleaning, which was most often performed by female members. The female members were responsible for cleaning the teacher's room and their offices. The point of this field note is to highlight that in the Japanese context, as a martial art, kendo draws on a combination of religion, philosophy, and history to give it meaning and that members are expected to express moral aptitude when they were in the dojo space either training or performing 'work'. Members also enjoyed leisure time in dojo as long as this was not 'work time' – being that of training or chores for the club. In this way, not only was kendo a part of their education, but also their chores. Whilst 'working' members felt watched by the gods, which led the members to self-regulate their behaviour. In this way the dojo is a multi-dimensional educational space. In the case of women, this extended to the gendered chores they performed for the club.

This chapter aims to connect the religious and philosophical underpinnings of the sword and its' influences on early education for women and the development of women's kendo. Kendo, literally 'the way of the sword', originates from a warrior class whose ethics derive variously from Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Kendo is believed to have developed from masculine warrior culture and it considered to be a 'tradition' reserved for men. There have been female warriors throughout Japanese history; however, their existence has been variously

² Many martial arts in Japan are practiced in a dojo. The word dojo is derived from the Buddhist Sanskrit, meaning the site of enlightenment (Kiyota, 2009).

contested, marginalised, celebrated and denied. Often female warrior's portrayals have been hyper-feminised to protect masculine identity and 'tradition' found in the sword. Nakamura (2013, p. 246) suggests that "what we can essentially see in the myth is a way to control the feminine in a patriarchal society, a way in which patriarchal consciousness takes away real power from women". Myths and legends have inherited present patriarchal consciousness (Wehr as cited in Nakamura, 2013, p.248). How female warriors have been depicted throughout history provides an insight to how women are positioned in kendo. Reviewing the gendering practice of Shintoism and Buddhism and the philosophy of Confucianism provides a further insight into women's education and positioning in modern kendo.

Gendering religion and philosophy

Okano (1995) suggests Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism have contributed significantly towards discrimination of women. In one way or another they assert that women are born with different abilities and are therefore automatically a lower status. The gendering aspect of these religions and philosophies is widespread. For example, in Shintoism, women are considered to be impure by menstruation (Kasulis, 2004), whilst Confucianism has paid special attention to maintaining gender hierarchy and education consisting of womanly cultivation (Sekiguchi, 2010). Many streams of Buddhism implicitly expressed women have inferior spiritual capacities and can be a negative influence on a man's spiritual quest (Okano, 1995; Ueki, 2001).³ The gendering practice of Japanese religions and philosophy is evident in the dojo. A subtle example of gendered religious influenced is in following and image (see Figure 2.2) and field

³ Although one of the most important Except for Dōgen's Sōtō school of Zen, most sects of Buddhism viewed that women, by their gender, were incapable of the full range of enlightenment due to their inferior spiritual capacities, although it was believed that by transforming into a man they could become enlightened (Humes, 1996). There were some sympathisers of women in Buddhism, such as the monk Dōgen Zenji (1200-1253), who founded the Sōtō school of Zen. He believed in equality of the sexes and that women should have access to the dharma and criticised the exclusion of women (Faure, 2003; Okano, 1995). However, Dōgen did not believe women should lead men and later indulged in the exclusion of women (Okano, 1995).

note which captures the stylised detail of Shinto ritual and its centrality to significant moments (such as a lead into a major tournament) in the club. H *sensei* explained the pre-competition Shinto ritual, “it can be said that respect is paid to something spiritual by facing the club flag. The ‘something’ may include a sense of solidarity and predecessors' achievements or efforts. The flag symbolises the ‘something’. We are not conscious of such acts. We just do them as routine”. (Personal communication)



Figure 2.2: Shinto ceremony performed for members who were about to compete in a major kendo competition

A Shinto ceremony was held today to wish the competitors good luck for the competition. The female club members prepared nine cups for rice wine and nine small dishes filled with meticulously cut little squares of dried seaweed and squid for all the club members and teachers to share. The 3 teachers sat at above the flag, in hierarchical order on cushions facing the students, with the male members to their right and female members sitting directly in front of the teacher. The male manager announced the competitors and the captain entered the dojo and marched in with the males at the front and the females behind. Two females closed the doors behind the competitors. The teachers addressed the competitors and encouraged them have the courage and do their best. The teacher’s words are fundamentally Buddhist and philosophically rich and offers his words of wisdom to inspire spiritual growth through daily practice and competition. A male competitor announced their intentions to do their best, followed by a female. Both female and male 1st year *kōhai* then nervously march in an orderly configuration (obviously very rehearsed) and place the rice wine and snacks on a tray and take them to the teachers first. Working down the hierarchical order, a female *kōhai* then

sat in front of me and bows in kneeling seated position and gives me a cup and dish where I place it beside me and we bow again. I then take a sip of rice wine and a piece each of seaweed and squid.⁴ After every member shared the wine and snack sang the TSSU song, finishing with our left feet stomping in unison where the same male member once again spoke and concluded the ceremony with some melodic uplifting words expressed with full spirit. (Field note).

This field note not only captures the symbolism of Shintoism but points to gendered aspects of the ritual such as the segregated order of all members and the division of labour. These practices (discussed in detail in chapter 7) are replicated across all club activities. Figure 2.3 is a symbolic image of how Shinto, Buddhist and Confucian practices continue to influence the positioning and performances of TSSU female members. In this photograph the women's club is conducting a meeting in the dojo. The women are typically positioned furthest from the altar and their meetings are publicly informal, light in content and short in time compared to the men's meetings. This image characterises how women's kendo is typically positioned lower than men's kendo.



⁴ Rice wine plays an important role in Japanese ritual. Rice wine is can be consumed to mark a beginning of a new enterprise, a celebration and purification rites. Myths and folklores tell of gods enjoying rice wine and parties (Kasulis, 2004). Drinking wine and eating snacks in this ritual encourages communal bonding and solidarity with *kami*, each other and competition success.

Figure 2.3: The women's club holding their daily meeting after kendo training

Women's positioning in kendo reflects the general Buddhist belief that women, by sex, are not capable of enlightenment. Modern kendo reproduces this belief by insisting that women do not have the qualities to achieve the highest rank in kendo, 8th black belt, benchmarking a special quality which resembles enlightenment. Although there are several women attempting the 8th black belt exam every year, not one woman has challenged this perception of women's ability. Often I heard teachers comment that women do not have the technical skill or physical strength to achieve 8th black belt although men in their seventies have passed the test. A male teacher provided an insightful, more accurate explanation as to why a woman has not yet passed the prestigious exam: "if a woman becomes 8th black belt it will collapse the infrastructure of how kendo is organised" (Personal communication). Another teacher explained that if a woman did become 8th black belt it would be problematic for her to cope with the amount of travel and physical exertion the rank requires, given her primary role of wife and mother. He also explained that it would be difficult and perhaps awkward for a female 8th black belt to deal with physically strong men who would come to her in preparation for their 8th black belt exam (Personal communication). Women's exclusion from the upper ranks of power reflects the patriarchal culture of kendo and Japanese society which have denied women opportunity to develop the skills and human relationships necessary to achieve 8th black belt. Women's marginalisation can be further understood through reviewing how bushido culture influenced the development of kendo.

Bushido and Women

The Tokugawa period, also known as the era of the samurai, had the greatest influence in shaping the cultural practice of Japanese society (Hane & Perez, 2009). This was an era of unsurpassed cultural growth where the general society influenced the creation of new cultural forms (Nishiyama, 1997). It was during this era that social hierarchy evolved and Japanese society

was stratified into four classes (Hane & Perez, 2009). The samurai had the highest positioning in society, loyally serving their lords and having the responsibility of upholding morality (Hane & Perez, 2009). The bushido praxis that is, encompassed Shinto genuineness and purity of heart, Confucian loyalty, and Buddhism's self-discipline and self-control (Kasulis, 2004). According to Benesch (2014) there is diversity in the writings of warriors that were dependent on region, historical periods and ranks. However, there is a similarity in the writings which suggests there was a samurai ethic and the samurai who practised martial arts valued *bun* (letteredness) and *bu* (martiality) (Benesch, 2014).

With a strict code of behaviour, bushido also extended to their wives and family (Hane & Perez, 2009; Nitobe, 1969). In the samurai class the division of labour was gender segregated and influenced by Confucian philosophy, whereby women's position was supportive and subordinate (Hane & Perez, 2009; Hendry, 1995; Sekiguchi, 2008, 2010). Hane and Perez (2009, p.15) suggest that "the hegemony established by the Tokugawa Ieyasu marked the beginning of things that would leave a lasting imprint on Japanese life".

The samurai class, in particular, had lived by Confucian principles where a women's role was supportive and within the home (Hane & Perez, 2009; Hendry, 1995; Sekiguchi, 2008, 2010). According to Manzenreiter women's practice in Japan today remains based in Confucianism which evolved from samurai class practice:

In Japan cultural orientations and habitualised practices as well as legal codifications, support the maintenance of a gendered order to which men are placed super-ordinate positions to women and women are regarded as weak, passive, subordinate and dependent. The underlying principle is the reductions of women to their primary roles in family reproduction and home keeping, which by coincidence is also rooted in Confucian traditions (2004, p. 211).

What are considered to be traditional notions of gender in contemporary Japan can be traced back to the Tokugawa period when Confucian philosophy strongly influenced the division of labour, feminine virtues and the status of samurai women (Hendry, 1995; Saito, 2006; Sekiguchi, 2008,

2010). Education for samurai women consisted of learning Confucian texts and womanly virtues. In the peaceful Tokugawa period the *naginata* was the most common martial art for samurai women (Turnball, 2013). It was utilised as a self-defence weapon and to develop womanly virtues (Bennett, 2010). Under the Tokugawa rule women of the samurai class were required to be trained in arms, such as the dagger and *naginata*, to protect their wards and family honour. How much training they received depended on the family's political and economic circumstances (Wright, 2001).

According to Koyama (2013, p. 12) Tokugawa samurai women were expected to be proficient in the 'Four Virtues'. According to Koyama (2013) these were:

Feminine virtue (*futoku*, the various virtues a woman had to display); feminine speech (*fugen*, the language used by a woman); feminine form (*fuyō*, appearance, dress, and deportment proper to women); and feminine skill (*fukō*, the practical skills appropriate to a woman).
(p. 12)

Embodiment of feminine virtue was considered to be particularly important as there were several texts on the subject (Koyama, 2013). In general, the texts did not include teachings on how to raise or educate children; rather they were aimed towards teaching the appropriate skills for wives and daughters in law. Boys and girls received completely different education and only mothers taught their daughters. The most representative of the texts was Kaibara Ekiken's (1630–1714) *Onna Daigaku* (Greater Learning for Women) first published in 1672 (Roberston, 1991). The text was simple compared to other complex Confucian texts and indoctrinated that women were subordinate and inferior to men and they were to obey fathers and husbands of the household (Earhart, 1982; Saito, 2006). The texts taught women to abide by the "triple obedience" doctrine, that is, she was to obey her parents when she was young, her husband when she was married and her son when she was old (Bingham & Gross, 1987, p. 32). The following passage from *Onna*

*Daigaku Takarabako*⁵ demonstrates how women's inherent natures were considered to be troublesome and in need of surveillance:

In general, the evil disorders of the mental state of women are these: failing to be gently obedient; being angry and vindictive; speaking ill of others; jealousy; and lack of wisdom and judgment. These disorders are found in seven or eight out of ten women. This is why women are not equal to men. A woman must reflect and rebuke herself, and work to improve and rid herself of these evils. In particular, the five disorders are brought about by lack of wisdom and judgment. A woman's nature is yin. Yin is dark, like the night. Compared with men, consequently, women, being foolish, do not see when something obviously should be done. They do not know when something ought to be criticized. They do not recognize when an action will be harmful to their husband or children. They form grudges against innocent people, they rage and curse, or jealously hate. They work to establish their position but are hated and shunned. Not realizing they are their own worst enemy, they make a sad sight, and labor in vain. Even in raising their children, they love and dote excessively, making it hard to teach anything. Being this foolish, a woman should show humility in all things, and obey her husband. (Koyama, 2013, pp. 16-17)

As women's capabilities were severely underestimated and reinforced in such texts, women were not considered to be reliable educators of their sons. It was not until the Meiji Restoration that girl's elementary education became compulsory and women were expected to educate their children with the intent to modernise and civilise Japan (Koyama, 2013).

Self-cultivation

The Zen sect of Buddhism was popular among the samurai and influenced rituals found in budo and other activities, and were used as a method of self-cultivation where values of human courtesy, spirit, self-discipline, focus and mind-body integration could be developed (Gannon, 2004; Tanaka, 2010; Uozumi, 2010).⁶ The ways of *dō* (path) intended to develop the warrior class' ethical and virtuous character and were developed from doctrines of Buddhism. Although enlightenment was pursued by the samurai, it was not reserved only for the noble classes. The practice of Zen was encouraged so that "every person could attain enlightenment by insight into

⁵ Consisting of 19 different passages describing different types of virtue, *the Onna daigaku takarabako* was the most representative of all Tokugawa period instructional texts for girls (*jokunsho*) (Koyama, 2013, p. 15).

⁶ According to Mann (2012) Zen existed in the 7th century under Tendai Buddhism. However, it was not until the 13th century that Zen Buddhism was introduced more widely into Japanese culture. During this period, the Buddhist monk Eisai (1141-1215) developed the Rinzai sect of Zen and gained a strong following from Kamakura warlords (Earhart, 1982).

his or her own experience and the surrounding world” (Earhart, 1982, p. 99). As a result of the secularisation of Buddhism, through repetition and mindfulness, self-cultivation and enlightenment could be achieved through activities other than meditation such as ‘way of tea’ and calligraphy. *Dō* became a lifelong pursuit of cultivating oneself and living in harmony with others through such activities (Mann, 2012).

Kendo is underpinned by Buddhist methods of self-cultivation which is clearly stated in “The Concept of Kendo”. In 1975, to maintain traditional values and to encourage students and teachers to consider kendo to be a path of self-cultivation the AJKF (The All Japan Kendo Federation) outlined the true way of kendo in the following statements (Bennett, 2015, p. 188).

The concept of Kendo

The concept of Kendo is to discipline the human character through the application of the principles of the Katana (sword).

The purpose of practising Kendo

To mold the mind and body,
To cultivate a vigorous spirit,
And through correct and rigid training,
To strive for improvement in the art of Kendo,
To hold in esteem human courtesy and honor,
To associate with others with sincerity,
And to forever pursue the cultivation of oneself.
This will make one be able:
To love his/her country and society,
To contribute to the development of culture
And to promote peace and prosperity among all peoples.

These statements embody Japanese cultural values underpinned by Buddhist self-cultivation philosophy. In kendo practice, one can cultivate their character through training the mind and

body. The Buddhist influenced concept of *seishin* operates as a type of spiritual education in kendo, which is a way to teach Japanese values.⁷ Figures 2.4 demonstrates the presence of the Buddhist philosophy of self-cultivation in the dojo.



Figure 2.4: A *daruma* rests in the corner of the dojo as a good luck charm⁸

Buddhist influenced self-cultivation was expressed through how members set their training objectives in kendo. Character development could be achieved in kendo from enduring and overcoming mental and physical hardship. In the women's diary, members wrote training

⁷ Spielvogel (2003, p. 23) suggests "spiritual education, in its contemporary form, strives through acts of emotional, mental and physical hardship", which can be achieved through kendo training and club associated activities. Kendo training is based on high repetition techniques and forms, the goal being that movements become natural or operate at a subconscious level. Such an approach is grounded in 'remember through the body' (Kondo, 1992; McDonald & Hallinan, 2005; Spielvogel, 2003), and in this way "learning is accomplished through doing" (Spielvogel, 2003, p. 144).

⁸ *Daruma* are modelled after the Buddhist monk, Bodhidharma who lived between 500-600 A.D. *Daruma* dolls are seen as a symbol of perseverance and good luck, making them a popular gift of encouragement with a blank eye to be completed when a person's wish is granted. The doll has also been commercialised by many Buddhist temples to use alongside goal setting. Many kendo clubs and kendoka use Daruma to set kendo competition and exam goals.

objectives that reflected the TSSU self-cultivation ethic of correct mental posture such as: *toko ni zenryoku de torikomou* (I will work with endless strength); *tsuyoi kimochi de shūchu kiranai* (with a strong feeling I won't lose focus); and *saigo made akiramenai* (I won't give up until the end). Character development could also be achieved through correct physical posture: *ashi wo tomenai negenai* (to not let your legs stop or recede); and *kamae wo kuzusanai* (do not break stance) (see chapter 9 for an explanation of character development and kendo).

Since kendo evolved from warrior culture, the practice of meditation is also part of kendo practice. Meditation appealed to the samurai as it focused on practical training of mind and body (Earhart 1982).⁹ Meditation is a daily ritual at TSSU. Before and after kendo practice at TSSU a brief a meditation session (approximately 60 seconds) is held to bring the mind into the present, and reflect and engage the correct mindset. In Figure 2.5 a meditation session is about to take place during winter training camp. Meditation is a major component of winter training camp. At the camp, daily sessions will last 30 minutes. The camp is utilised as an opportunity to gain spiritual strength through enduring, extreme hardship (mentally and physically) for two weeks during the coldest period in Japan (the camp will be explained in chapter 6).

⁹ Meditation was practical to the samurai to discipline their minds, act courageously and instantaneously with spirit from their centre of energy in lower abdomen during combat (Ellwood, 2008). For the warrior meditation was practised to maximise their fighting ability (Mann, 2012).



Figure 2.5: Joshibu members holding a meeting after their meditation session

As depicted above, some of the the rituals of TSSU evolved from bushido culture. During the camp members will sit on a meditation cushion which is wrapped in a kendo training jacket and will have their bamboo sword placed next to their cushion during meditation. The presence of kendo equipment during meditation connects kendo to the practice of mindfulness which is the core emphasis of Buddhism. I have provided an overview of how Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism practices have shaped kendo culture and how they continue to influence the practice of kendo spaces like TSSU. In detail I will now describe how kendo developed historically in a chronological manner.

Birth of modern kendo

It was during the Tokugawa period that application of the sword developed from combative killing techniques to educative ways (All Japan Kendo Federation [AJKF], 2009; Tanaka, 2010; Sakai, 2010). In the middle of the 18th century protective equipment) and bamboo swords were developed and used in some domain training schools to allow safer sparring (AJKF, 2009; Sakai, 2010; Tanaka, 2010).

In 1853 the shock arrival of Commodore Perry's Black Ships forced Japan to open its doors and sign trade agreements with the United States and Europe (Gannon, 2004). The imperial family replaced the shōgun system in 1868, and Japan entered the era known as the Meiji Restoration (Gannon, 2004). As the Meiji government sought to modernise rapidly, it adopted many Western systems and attempted to rid Japan of its feudal past (AJKF, 2009; Sakai, 2010; Tanaka, 2010). The samurai sword combative techniques were considered inferior to western military technology (AJKF, 2009; Tanaka, 2010). The samurai consequently lost their status as the ruling class (Tanaka, 2010) and the majority lost privileges and blended into Japanese society (Benesch, 2014). With the disbandment of the class system in the Meiji period, kendo became popular among commoners (Draeger as cited in Mann, 2012). As Japan was facing an increasing threat of foreigners in the 19th century the samurai "turned increasingly to an idealised past for guidance" (Benesch, 2014). Benesch (2014) suggests that the bushido discourse is a modern paradox, which in times of instability the trend of nostalgically turning to a romanticised cultural past to reaffirm Japanese identity was not limited exclusively to samurai.

The word bushido was unknown before the 1880s and developed to "promote theories regarding Japan's martial character both at home and abroad" (Benesch, 2014, p. 76). There were negative attitudes toward the former samurai in the 1880s. As such Meiji bushido was romanticised and inspired by Western chivalry that impressed Japanese travellers abroad which would have an effect on views of Japan later on (Benesch, 2014). Throughout modern history, the intermittent revival of the samurai ethic and culture has been welcomed by general society and has contributed to generating *nihonjiron* (theories on the Japanese) discourses. It was during this period that hegemonic notions of gender were formulated from Western and traditional culture as part of the nationalist policy in the Meiji restoration period (*Nihonjiron* will be discussed further in chapter 5).

Immediately after Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–1895, the Dai-Nippon Butokukai (Great Japan Society of Martial Virtue) was established in order to promote the ideals of bushido, and preserve traditional systems of martial techniques (AJKF, 2009; Tanaka, 2010). From 1911, the Ministry of Education introduced kendo as an elective subject in high schools (AJKF, 2009; Tanaka, 2010). With the rise of nationalism, it was decided that kendo or judo may be added as optional subjects in the physical education curriculum for boys and *naginata* for girls (Bennett, 2010; Ikeda, 2010; Tanaka, 2010; Uozumi, 2010). Post World War II, kendo and other martial arts were banned as they were seen as a vehicle for developing militaristic aggression and nationalism (AJKF, 2009; Bennet, 2010; Tanaka, 2010). The new 1946 Japanese Constitution was clear about its “standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes” (Article 24) (Ochiai, 2013, p. 108). The democratic ideals stressed during the post war years by the occupying Allied Forces General Headquarters did not allow the practice of kendo until a ‘sportized’ version was developed and renamed *shinai kyōgi* in 1950.

From 1953 kendo was formally permitted to be practised in the general community and was also reintroduced in high schools and universities (AJKF, 2009; Tanaka, 2010). Backed by democratic ideals and GHQ reforms, women began to practise kendo in the education system. Kendo rapidly became popular for women; however, it wasn't until 1962 when the first All Japan Women's Competition was held (Shinzato, 2010). The birth of women's kendo accompanied the sportification of kendo and postwar democratic reforms (Shinzato et. al., 2013). At the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, for example, women's kendo was showcased to promote Japan as a democratic and modern society (Sylvester & McDonald, 2011). Into the late 1960s and 1970s the proliferation of women's kendo steadily increased as martial arts became popular for women and children as “Japan's economic growth, self-confidence, and a renewed sense of national pride escalated” (Uozumi, 2010, p. 18). According to the AJKF (2008) approximately 110,000 active female

participants were registered in Japan in 2008. Female participation in kendo is greatest within the education system, where females make up approximately 25–30% of total participation from elementary to university level. Outside of the education system participation is considerably lower for females at only 13% of the overall number. And only 19% of active registered kendo participants who hold a black belt grading are women.

Although participation has steadily increased for women and the participation patterns have developed in line with changes in the ‘M curve’ life cycle (see chapter 3 for explanation of ‘M curve’), very few women hold teaching or leadership positions in kendo. Evidence of this can be observed by the absence of women with 8th black belt, only 2% of executives within the main kendo organisation in Japan are women (Japan Society Sport and Gender Studies [JSSGS], 2010) and there are very few women in police and university kendo teaching positions. However, more recently, there has been a slight increase in teaching and professional athlete positions for women in the prefectural police elite kendo squad and coaching in university clubs.

This chapter aimed to connect the gendered religious and philosophical underpinnings of warrior culture and its’ influences on early education for women and the eventual development of women’s kendo. By reviewing the gendering practices of Shintoism, Buddhism and the philosophy of Confucianism provided an insight to the positioning of women in kendo. How these practices influenced TSSU culture was brought to life by the vignettes and images. How TSSU women’s kendo is influenced by the concept of the Confucian inspired *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife – wise mother) will be explored in the following chapter, and explains the developments of *ryōsai kenbo* and how remnants of the concept continue to be reproduced in education and employment for women.

CHAPTER 3

Ryōsai Kenbo Education and Employment

This chapter considers how the concept of *ryōsai kenbo* from its roots in samurai culture and through the Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–1926) and Shōwa (1926–1989) periods and beyond, have shaped education and employment practices for Japanese women. The concept *ryōsai kenbo* firmly generated gender specific social roles and characteristics for women and these were reproduced through the education system (Koyama, 2013). Based on Confucianism, *ryōsai kenbo* sanctioned the gendered division of labour (Sekiguchi, 2010), whilst the Meiji Civil Code greatly restricted women’s legal rights that led to obedience towards and dependence on men (Ueno, 2009). Embarking on a modernisation and ‘civilisation’ period under the Meiji government’s nationalist policy, *ryōsai kenbo* (previously applied predominately to the samurai class) was promulgated to the broader population (mainly the new middle and upper classes), and the Meiji Civil Code (non-class specific) was indoctrinated to broader Japanese society. In the following field note, we can see that tasks performed for the club are gender appropriate based on gender role ideology underpinned by *ryōsai kenbo* which continues to influence women’s education, participation in sport, and employment.

I am beginning to notice how many of the practices at TSSU kendo club are gendered. The work for the club that the members perform is divided in to gender appropriate tasks. It seems that the female members tend to do more cleaning and the preparing of food and drink in most club situations. The female members also clean the teachers room and prepare their tea. Because the women’s club is situated near the dojo entrance they tend to greet guests first. The men are almost always positioned closest to the teachers and altar and tend to sit to the left hand side to the teachers. This positioning of women in the dojo is also replicated in other club activities. Men’s competition has greater significance and this is transparently obvious in every corner of the dojo from their space allocation to the order in which men’s names and competition results are organised. A club coach explained that the men’s club is the ‘main dish’ and the women’s club is the ‘side dish’.
(Field note)

This field note illustrates how many practices at TSSU re-produce hierarchical gendered practices. Since the club is recognised as a space for members to experience a ‘cultural apprenticeship’ learn life skills to prepare them for Japanese society as adults, and kendo is a ‘traditional’ activity, it is of little surprise that tasks for women consist of practising life skills for the home and family. At many levels, the structure of the club supports the men as the ‘breadwinners’ or as the coach explained ‘main dish’ and the women are the foundation or the ‘side dish’. This distinction between roles of the women’s and men’s club replicates a ‘traditional’ gender ideology in Japanese society where men work outside the home and women support and work inside the home (Sugimoto, 2010). The gender regimes of TSSU reflect remnants of *ryōsai kenbo* continuing to educate women to become ‘good wives’ and ‘good mothers’. The field note above is an example of how, although rarely referred to these days, *ryōsai kenbo* continues to be re-produced, suggesting that deeply hidden cultural biases remain in Japanese society (Koyama, 2013) as women’s education has maintained re-producing traditional feminine ideals beyond the 20th century (Ikeda, 2010; Kanazaki, 1991; Koyama; 2013; Mackie, 2003; Sekiguchi, 2010).

Invention of ‘traditional’ Japanese gender identity

Myth always plays an important role in establishing the core of people’s identities because myth is a central element in all cultures, religions, social systems and politics. (Nakamura, 2013, p. 235)

To understand women’s participation in Japanese kendo it is necessary to understand how gendered notions of ‘traditional’ Japanese identity emerged. In some ways gender regimes and notions of gender are maintained and protected by defining gendered practice as part of ‘traditional’ Japanese culture. However, many of these ‘traditional’ practices were imported from the West. Since the early 19th century the idea of character dichotomy, where women have one set of traits and men another, has been very strong in Western culture (Connell, 2009, p. 60) and

women's role as wife asserting power within the household was another idea imported from the West during the Meiji period (Ueno, 2009, p.100).

To maintain a national identity whilst undergoing modernisation, the Meiji government drew from upper classed Tokugawa samurai and Victorian cultures. The two cultures were merged intending to reflect Western modernisation and Japanese tradition. The hybridised ideology, drew on the idealised images of the Victorian woman and the samurai classed Japanese women to forge a new nationalist identity (Ikeda, 2014a, p. 1925).¹⁰ What emerged from this synchronisation of cultures was a new national identity which even today is considered to reflect a traditional Japanese identity. *Ryōsai kenbo* education was based on this hybridised identity to build Japan as a strong nation-state (Koyama, 2013) emphasizing that women be 'intelligent incubators' (Ueno, 2009).

The policies of the Meiji Civil Code became responsible for the enactment of cultural practices which continue to persist in society today. As highlighted above, 'traditional' Japanese gendered identity is an example of Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) term 'invented traditions'. According to Ikeda (2014b), Japanese 'traditional' feminine identity via *ryōsai kenbo* is a product of the modernisation period and can therefore be seen as an invented tradition. Aoki suggests that Japanese femininity is not a product of 'tradition'; rather it was formulated under the influence of Confucianism in the process of modernisation (as cited in Ueno 2009). Similarly, Ashikari asserts that in the Meiji era "an ideal image of middle-class women became a symbol of tradition and native culture, and it still survives as such in contemporary Japan" (2003, p.55).¹¹

¹⁰ Boys underwent a similar process, but the ideal image was to reflect the samurai spirit of chivalry and British moral ethics (Ikeda, 2014).

¹¹ How this imagery survives in contemporary culture is explained in Mason's (2011) insightful chapter on how Japan, in an attempt to re-empower itself, nostalgically returned to samurai and bushido culture. Mason turns to three influential writers: Nitobe Inazō (1868–1912), Mishima Yukio (1925–70), and the contemporary Hyōdō Nisohachi, to unfold the complexity of militarism, gender and national identity. Mason writes (2011, p. 86) "Nitobe, Mishima and Hyōdō each employ complex constructions of bushido to create a narrative of an ideal past and posit its relevance to

Meiji reform on women's rights

From a Confucian perspective, women with power were considered to be troublesome and therefore disempowering women was believed to maintain an archetypal empire (Sekiguchi, 2008). This perspective influenced women's agency in Meiji Japan, as they had very few legal rights; for example, they were not allowed to attend or speak at public meetings and were restricted in the public sphere (Mackie, 2003). Lublin (2010) suggests that there were regulations on what women were allowed to publish. As of 1888 women could only publish on topics that contributed to *ryōsai kenbo*, whereas media that dealt with political or social issues was only publishable by Japanese men who were 20 years of age or older (Lublin, 2010, p.55).

Perhaps the most defining policy positioning women in society was the finalising of the Meiji Civil Code in 1898. The Meiji Civil Code implemented the family system as the basic unit of society placing the family at the core of national identity (Ochiai, 2013). Before the code was actioned, there was a diversity of marriage practices which depended on region and class. The code imposed a version of patriarchal samurai family practices on all strata of society (Mackie, 2003). The family system became the basis for the 'family state' ideology, that saw the state as an extension of the home in which all citizens were the children of the emperor (Ochiai, 2013, p.105). The family system placed women in a subordinated position within the household (Anderson, 2010; Lowly, 2007), and directly encouraged protection of the male bloodline with the family system, an institution of marriage. Marriage rendered women the property of the household and awarded ownership of her possessions to the family, specifically the most senior male (Mackie,

masculinity in his particular moment". According to Mason (2011, p. 70), "contrary to received notions about bushido as a wholly masculine trope, their writings demand that we recognise the strategic use of 'femininity' in visions of bushido and, by extension, Japan's national identity". What is clear in Mason's chapter is that all three writers favour militarism and believe war engenders masculinity, and that it is believed to be healthy for the nation. According to these writers, Japanese men have been in phases of emasculation in the peaceful eras of the Tokugawa period, the postwar period, and present day.

2003). The family system was a family model formulated to suit a modern state which reorganised the family and separated public and private spheres (Ueno, 2009). The father had authority over all members and it was his duty to ensure loyalty to the emperor. The imperial loyalty to the emperor through compulsory education introduced "nation-as-family" (Buckley, 1997, p. 23). The family system affirmed the principle of primogeniture (Mackie, 2003) where people were freed of social castes but women were legally dependent on husbands and had no individual rights (Koyama, 2013).

Civilising Women's Education

Ryōsai kenbo was introduced into girl's middle school education following the Sino-Japanese war (1884–5) (Ikeda, 2010; Masaki, 1999). In 1887, The Minister of Education, Arinori Mori (1847–1889) stated that the main aim of girl's education was that they become 'good wives' and 'good mothers' (Mackie, 2003). The Meiji government adopted Confucianism as the official ideology for the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 (Ueno, 2009). The educational textbooks endorsed by the Monbushō (Ministry of Education) from 1889 onwards largely consisted of Confucian moral teachings. The 'Imperial Rescript on Education' issued in 1890 modified statements on gender relations in an endeavour to 'civilise' Japan rapidly (Sekiguchi, 2010). The Imperial Rescript on Education pressed Japanese culture and veneration of the emperor on all citizens, which according to Guttmann and Thompson (2001) is another example of Hobsbawm's and Ranger's 'invented tradition'.¹² For example, the proposition that "between husband and wife there is distinction" which constituted one of the Confucian "five ethical relations" was replaced one month before the constitution circulated with the phrase "as husbands and wives be harmonious". This change adjoined the statement that "men pursue their duties without, while

¹² The reformers of the rescript wanted to slow Western influences on Japan (Guttmann & Thompson, 2001). This is an example of how traditions are invented to assert social control in times of threat or uncertainty.

women govern within". The relation of domination that inevitably accompanied this proposition became the "ultimate foundation of social morality" (Sekiguchi, 2010, p.110).

Ekiken's *Onna Daigaku* received much criticism in the Meiji period. The text may have only come under such scrutiny by other Japanese intellectuals so that Japan would appear to be a progressive modern nation on level with the West.¹³ According to Youngtae (1999, p. 84):

Intellectuals and statesmen alike adopted what they considered appropriate manners for gentlemen in their everyday conduct. Opening doors for women was a sure sign of a newly acquired gentleman's manner. However superficial, adopting the trappings of Western "chivalry" served the purpose of making Japan "look like" the West.

It was believed by liberal thinkers that the social position of women reflected a country's level of civilization (Anderson, 2010; Germer et al., 2014) which influenced the Meiji government's promotion of women's education. In the Meiji period, Western and Japanese reformers viewed that the weakness of Japan was due to the subordination of women (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000). Both Western observers of Japan and Japanese reformers concluded early on that how women were treated was a measure of the level of civilisation of a society (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, p. 153). What was not mentioned by Japanese and Western commentators was that Western women actually had very few legal rights. What was perceived as women's high status in Western countries was mostly limited to chivalry (Ueno, 2009).

¹³ In the Meiji period, Japan frantically adopted Western practices out of uncivilized and primitive self-consciousness (Hane & Perez, 2009). The government sought to Westernise Japan to become as rich and powerful as the West. Western educators were invited to Japan, whilst Japanese students and educators were sent abroad (Hane & Perez, 2009). Westernisation extended to adopting Christianity, Western clothing, hairstyles, and eating beef (Hane & Perez, 2009). The government regulated several practices, such as regulating mixed bathing which was influenced by Western Europe's "shame for the body" (Matsuda, 2006, p.119) and banning public nudity (Masaki, 1999). Naked bodies were considered to be "barbarous" and "immoral", particularly within the middle classes (Masaki, 1999, p. 201). The government also regulated general society through "strict sexual morals" (Masaki 1999, p. 204). The "shame for the body" was influenced by Victorian attitudes to 'love, chasity, marriage, and the family, all rooted in Christianity' (Ballhatchet, 2007, p.177). According to Lebra (2004, p. 197) "body etiquette was enforced for the lower classes against their inclination". For example, "wearing clothing and footgear was not the norm among lower-class Japanese until the end of the nineteenth-century" (Nomura as cited in Lebra, 2004, p. 197).

More so than Western nations, Japan promoted middle-class women as ideal models of domestic womanhood and simultaneously depended on lower-class women for industrialisation (Faison, 2007, p. 3). Liddle and Nakajima (2000) point out that the social role and experience of women was divided by class:

The good wife, wise mother ideal was economically dependent on the family, restricted to the middle class, and used to position Japan as a 'civilised' nation. The factory girl who 'went out to work' came from the lower class, contributed to the support of the family, and created the wealth that helped to transform Japan into a major imperial power. (pp. 64-65)

During the Meiji period, the number of female students and female teachers increased dramatically, which suggests greater importance was placed on women's education (Patessio, 2013). For example, in 1896 there were 128 female teachers and by 1900 there were 419 (Patessio, 2013). A similar pattern can be found for female students. In 1898 there were 8,000 female students and by 1900 there were 12,000 (Mackie, 2003). The development of tertiary education for women took much longer with the first university, *Joshi Eigaku Juku* (Women's English College) opening in 1900, followed by *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō* (Japan Women's University) in 1901 (Mackie, 2003).¹⁴ *Ryōsai kenbo* was promulgated mostly throughout the upper and middle classes of Japanese society (Masaki, 1999). Private and public educational institutions for upper-middle class women utilised *ryōsai kenbo* education with the intention to develop women who would support their husbands, give birth to, and educate strong national youth who were supporters of the Meiji government (Ikeda 2010; Patessio, 2013).

Koyama (2013) clarifies the motivation of *ryōsai kenbo* by suggesting that binary opposition between men and women did not necessitate superior and inferior positions. It was believed that men's and women's inherent differences are equally valuable and that they reciprocally bolstered each other. *Ryōsai kenbo* affirmed equal status for men and women given

¹⁴ In 1903 an act was passed to open vocational schools for women. It was not until the postwar period that women could gain credits for attending a national university (Mackie, 2003, pp. 26-27).

their complementary natures but not equal rights (Koyama, 2013). Vogel (2013) suggests that women were socially inferior to men but that they had power in their own spheres and that men's and women's responsibilities were complementary. Koyama (2013, p.47) explains that promoters of *ryōsai kenbo* expressed that “for them (men and women) to intrude on each other's territory is seen as a rejection of “masculinity” and “femininity” and as the embodiment of the undesirable “equal rights”. However, inequality was a reality as “the social role embodied in the type of jobs done by men – that is, productive labor – was clearly superior in economic terms to the role played by women in the household – that is, reproductive labor” (Koyama, 2013, p. 48). In other words, *ryōsai kenbo* encouraged citizens to believe that women had equal status to men and power within their domestic role. However, this was often not the case as women's roles were less valued in economic terms.¹⁵

Meiji Sports

The government institutionalised physical education in 1872 in the form of gymnastics (Guttmann & Thompson 2001; Manzenreiter, 2001) and modern sport, soon followed (Kusaka, 2006). Exercise was in the beginning deeply associated with military drills (Shimizu, n.d.). Gymnastics had been popular in Northern Europe to yield the masses and to catch up to leading nations (Inagaki as cited in Manzenreiter, 2001). The repetitive nature of gymnastics was useful as a mechanism to promote group cohesion and an awareness of hierarchy (Inagaki as cited in Manzenreiter, 2001). Government officials and educators viewed that gymnastics was an effective way to modernise Japan (Manzenreiter, 2013a).¹⁶ Some Japanese female teachers were sent by

¹⁵ The illusion of equality and power for women persists in the 21st century. And as Koyama suggests, “it is still considered ‘natural’ for men and women to divide the roles of working outside and running a household according to sex, and those roles are said to be ‘equal’ on the grounds that they mutually reinforce each other” (2013, p. 48).

¹⁶ A German-style of gymnastics, *Turnen* had been practiced in Northern Europe from the first half of the 19th century (Manzenreiter, 2013a; Pfister, 2003). *Turnen* spread to Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and many other countries (Genst & Guttmann as cited in Pfister, 2003). According to Manzenreiter, in countries like Austria (2013a, p. 34) “school gymnastics were based on strictly regulated and standardized movements, suppressed individuality and promoted group consciousness”. According to Naul (2011, p.39) by the Taishō period “all three major concepts of teaching PE were

the Ministry of Education to study abroad in the USA and England, whom brought back with them the Swedish style of gymnastics (Ikeda, 2010). Swedish Gymnastics in particular was considered to be compatible with femininity and women's roles (Pfister, 2003). According to Pfister, (2003, p. 80) gymnastics and sport "were often adapted to the particular conditions there, combined with the traditional physical cultures of the country or were given new meanings and associations".

Sport was generally not a part of girl's education; rather girls engaged in physical education that promoted 'feminine' practices and included Western calisthenics and dance (Kietlinski, 2011).¹⁷ Girl's physical education was established to promote *ryōsai kenbo* and many educationalists recommended gymnastics for learning "polite attitudes, behaviour and appearance" (Ikeda, 2010, p. 540). Physical Education for women gradually shifted to modest strenuous exercise to benefit their roles as healthy mothers to raise strong male national defenders of Japan (Guttmann & Thompson, 2001).¹⁸ Girl's physical education was Westernised from its inception as there was no precedent for girl's education in Japan pre Meiji (Ikeda, 2010).¹⁹ Although

already more or less assimilated: German Turnen, Swedish Gymnastics and American-style games and sports".

¹⁷ Initially gymnastics were thought to decrease femininity and the elegance of women, and consequently prevent chances for marriage (Ikeda, 2010; Kanazaki, 1991).

¹⁸ Competitive sports were rare for women since it was considered to be unladylike and dangerous to women's health. Since this view was also held in the West there was little pressure on Japan to change women's participation in competitive sports (Kietlinski, 2011).

¹⁹ Reflecting Meiji nation-state ideology, sport practices were very different for Japanese boys. Western and Japanese games and sports were a part of the physical education curriculum but sport as a social institution developed through extra-curricular activities (Inoue as cited in Kusaka, 2006). In Japan, the sports club ethos of "muscular spirituality" for boys developed from merging the autonomous and physical self-discipline aspects of English Public boarding school culture with Confucianism (Kiku as cited in Manzenreiter, 2001, p.501). For Japanese boys, sport was influenced by British boy's public school morality, namely, the concept of "muscular Christianity" (Ikeda, 2014a, p.1925). The Confucian influenced nationalistic education policies found in the 'Imperial Edict on Education' encouraged Japanese sports men to cultivate virtues including: 'fairness; determination/endurance; self-control/discipline/obedience; co-operation/collaboration/team spirit; simplicity/cleanliness; and, doing one's best' (Kusaka, 2006, p. 32). According to Manzenreiter within sport clubs "stoic endurance, strict obedience, and self sacrificing rigour were core qualities of the elite ethos furnished" (2001, p.500). Sport club origins can be found in the boarding school system of national higher schools in Meiji Japan (Cave, 2004; Manzenreiter, 2013a). Higher schools intended to shape young men to be the leaders of society and sport clubs was seen as a way to build strong character in the new elite (Cave, 2004). The sport clubs were Confucian influenced, male-only institutions limited to the elite and "in every respect, club life maximized the individual's feelings of dependence on first the team, the school and, ultimately the nation" (Manzenreiter, 2013a, p. 93). Clubs formed at first national highschool (*Ichikō*) in Tokyo encouraged letteredness and martial arts and bushido spirit. Great value was placed on spiritual and moral purification rather than enjoyment and victory (Cave, 2004). According to (Cave, 2004, p. 388) the "*bukatsudō* became not only a means for institutionalizing elite samurai values

physical education was largely influenced by Western practices, the purposes for participation were clearly defined and gendered under *ryōsai kenbo*. Ikeda (2010) suggests that participation in physical education did not result in emancipation, but it did pave the way for women's liberation movement, which will be explained later in this chapter.

Supporters of Women's Education

There were influential male supporters of education for women in the Meiji period, notably Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), Naruse Jinzō (1858–1919) and Kanō Jigorō (1860–1938). Fukuzawa was revered as a leader of modern Japan and the chief exponent of “civilization and enlightenment” (Hane & Perez, 2009, p.105). He criticised social hierarchy and stated that the status of women should be equal to that of men like it appeared in the West (Fukuzawa, 2012). Ekiken's *Onna Daigaku* and moral learning for women was criticised spiritedly by Fukuzawa in his collection of essays that were published in the newspaper *jiji-shinpō* (The Times) and later collated in the book, *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, translated by Eiichi Kiyooka (1988). In *Encouragement for Learning* (first published in 1872), Fukuzawa critiqued the “triple obedience” doctrine and inequality between husband and wives (Fukuzawa, 2012, p. 62). Fukuzawa felt compelled to replace the most popular text of the time, Ekiken's *Onna Daigaku*, with his version, *Shin Onna Daigaku* (The new Greater Learning for Women) in 1899 due to the continued demand for traditional girls' moral education (Sekiguchi, 2010). Fukuzawa modified Ekiken's version by replacing women should “fully devote themselves to work within the house”

within education, but also a way of expressing and strengthening national feeling”. Club activities for women emerged in the Taishō period and offered what was considered to be feminine appropriate sports (Manzenreiter, 2013a). Takai (as cited in van Ommen, 2015) analyses the *bukatsu* as originally a male-bonding institution and women's delayed involvement provides a site to understand how gender ideology has seeped into sport club practices. The sport club endured the postwar reforms on education and was revitalized in the 1960's (Manzenreiter, 2013a). Due to the education reforms women increasingly joined clubs such as kendo (Shinzato et al., 2013).

with “women govern within and fully devote themselves to housework”. Fukuzawa included ‘govern’ with the intent to empower women’s role within the home and that is was of equal value to men’s role (Sekiguchi, 2010). Inadvertently Fukuzawa also firmly reinforced that “men pursue their duties outside while women govern within” as he believed that domestic duties were best suited to women and defining gendered social roles contributed to the modernisation of Japan (Sekiguchi, 2010).

Naruse believed women should receive an education to be ‘good wives’ and ‘good mothers’ and also develop an independent mind to be prepared to fulfil their roles as citizens of the nation. Naruse opened the first post-secondary school (*Nihon Joshi Daigakkō*) for women in 1901. Empress Haruko was also a strong supporter of women’s education but insisted that women’s education should follow Confucian influenced ‘womanly cultivation’ (Sekiguchi, 2010, p.110). Kanō’s philosophy on women’s education was forward thinking compared to Naruse and Fukuzawa. Kanō’s focused on the health benefits for women rather than an education motivated by *ryōsai kenbo*. Kanō developed *kōdōkan* judo in 1882 and promoted it globally.²⁰ The main purpose of Kanō’s judo was to cultivate a well-balanced person and to live an “economical and rational way of life” (Hamaguchi, 2006, p. 12). The modern sport of judo was known for being open to women (Kietlinski, 2011). Kanō devised special training techniques for women and accepted them as members with equal training opportunity in his dojo (Kanō, 2009). Kanō allowed women to train under him as early as 1893 and formally launched the *Kōdōkan*’s

²⁰ Kanō believed that by synthesising Eastern and Western education methods a superior form of weaponless combat could be created (Guttmann & Thompson, 2001). Kanō aimed at changing the martial arts emphasis on the concept of character building through training of techniques (Hamaguchi, 2006). Kanō was inspired by ‘Olympism’ and combined the best use of energy to maximum efficiency and mutual prosperity for self and others (Bennett, 2015, p. 7). Other martial arts were later modelled on Kanō’s judo (Inoue as cited in Manzenreiter, 2001). Kanō developed the grading system which was applied to other martial arts (Bennett, 2015; Hamaguchi, 2006). Budo greatly influenced how other sports were practiced in the education system and experienced a ‘Japanization’ or ‘*budō*-ization’ process (Inoue, 1998). In other words, Western sports were adapted to incorporate methods used in budo that reflected Japanese values. In this way participation in Western sports could be of practical use.

women's division in 1924 (Bennett, 2015, p. 7). This was unique as women had a relatively low social position during the 1900s and consequently had rare access to such activities (Kanō, 2009).

Women's Paid Labour

The Japanese economy was predominately agrarian until the Meiji restoration. The emergence of female wage workers was slow due to their participation in agricultural labour (Kawashima, 1995). Due to industrialisation, female factory wage workers first appeared in the Meiji period (Faison, 2007; Kawashima, 1995; Mackie, 2003).²¹ In the Meiji period the cotton textile industry was an economic breakthrough for Japan and assisted in further modernisation (Bingham & Gross, 1987). Sievers (as cited in Bingham & Gross, 1987), argued that without women's labour Japan's economic growth may not have been possible.

At the beginning of the 20th century, "the government and various intellectuals worked actively to (re)define acceptable gender as part of a continuing effort to create a strong national identity" (Lowy, 2007, p. 1). Women's employment grappled with the tension of motherhood and boosting Japan's economy as industry demanded cheap labour but middle-class women's increasing entry into employment threatened familial ideology (Miyake, 1991). Kaneko suggests that "the welfare and interests of women were constantly subordinated to the interests of the nation-state" (1995, p. 11). According to Germer et al. (2014, p. 6) "'true' Japan was identified with an unchanging spiritual (or feminine) sphere and Western influence was reduced to the material (or masculine) sphere lest it should pollute the purity of Japanese spirit men". Men were

²¹ Daughters of samurai families first went out to work in factories to encourage other classes of women into employment. Not soon after it was inappropriate for women of the middle and upper classes to work in factories (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000; Mackie, 2003). Most female employees were from poor peasant families and worked in the factories and prostitution to support their families. The working conditions of the factories were dismal, women were exploited and many contracted fatal diseases (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000). Women also received supplementary educational opportunities and factory owners claimed to act as surrogate parents and instructed moral education for their 'daughters' for their future roles as wives and mothers (Faison, 2007). Although agriculture employed the highest percentage of female labour, by the beginning of the 20th century women were supporting the industrial economy in cotton, silk and weaving factories (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000).

able to enter politics and the public sphere in Western dress and women were expected to wear traditional dress (Sievers as cited in Germer et al., 2014). Maintaining femininity also extended to the fleeting ban on short hair for women during the Meiji period. This ideal is re-produced at university graduation ceremonies in Japan. The female students in this photograph wear traditional kimono (with trousers) and the male students wear suits on graduation day (see Figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1: This image is of a graduation ceremony. The men are dressed in suits whilst the women wear traditional dress²²

²² These days dresslike trousers rarely worn by women, except for graduation ceremonies and some Japanese sports. The trousers, traditionally menswear in Japan, were adopted during the Meiji period by female students and workers, both as a sensible uniform and as attire more appropriate to the demands of workplaces such as factories than the kimono (Kramer, 2013, p. 15). Graduation trousers worn by women are often tied to emphasise the waist and embroidered with flowers.

Taishō *ryōsai kenbo*

Education and career opportunities for women opened up leading into the Taishō period. There was a dramatic growth in girl's secondary education from 1910. Entering the Taishō period *ryōsai kenbo* education was influenced by Western culture. According to Koyama (2013) the outbreak of World War I in 1914 influenced the need for the models of *ryōsai kenbo* to be reconstructed. One factor that triggered a major change in *ryōsai kenbo* thought was the awareness of the activities of women in the West during World War I. In the West, women were engaged in public roles that were previously occupied by men (Koyama, 2013). From 1918, the Japanese government expanded women's education to raise faithful subjects in order to strengthen the foundation of national morality (Reitan, 2011).

One form of Westernisation was how women's participation in modern sport and games. Even in regional secondary schools, girls played tennis, sang Western songs and wore bloomers and tunics (Ikeda, 2010). However, forms of traditional education continued to be taught through subjects like “a classic study of Japanese, *waka* (Japanese poems), playing the *koto* (Japanese harp), sewing, handicraft, housework and cooking” (Ikeda, 2010, p.543).²³ According to Koyama (2013, p.79) during the Taishō period higher education for women was seen as necessary and women were criticised less often for seeking employment. The so-called ‘career woman’ marked a new era. Views were divided on how to solve the ‘women's problem’. Advocates for women's rights opposed *ryōsai kenbo* because it was designed to educate women as women, not as persons (Reitan, 2011).²⁴ According to Reitan (2011) the ‘new woman’ discourse promoted by feminists

²³ It should be noted that “The norm of Japanese womanhood was class specific, for the teaching of ‘advanced’ domestic science was not available to lower-class women” (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000, p.72).

²⁴ Ikeda (2010) suggests that ironically the women's liberation movement emerged in response to the realisation of women's independence under *ryōsai kenbo*. Two prominent activists of their time, with opposing views on women's rights were Yosano Akiko (1878–1942) and Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971). Hiratsuka, a graduate of *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō*, established the famous feminist journal, *Seitō* (Bluestocking). The *Seitō* society brought the image of the ‘new woman’ to the public (Ikeda, 2014; Reitan, 2011) and critiqued the so-called ideal virtues of women's “chastity, self-sacrifice, and obedience” to men (Reitan, 2011, p.89). Hiratsuka based her ideas for women's liberation in the “women's realm” of reproduction and valued motherhood far in excess of a mere biological role (Koyama, 2013, p.83).

presented a danger to the ideal of the *ryōsai kenbo* and conservative Japanese because of its links to individualism. The ‘new woman’ discourse drew upon personalism, a form of philosophical idealism that grounded its ethical claims in universal truths about the human personality. Personalism demanded political participation, freedom to choose occupation and gender equality. Its ideal was the full realisation of an individual’s potential, or self-actualisation (Reitan, 2011).

The feminisation of certain employment sectors began to develop from the Taishō period and women entered the job market in greater numbers predominantly as cheap labour (Mathias, 2014). In the Taishō period the number of middle-class citizens elevated dramatically in the cities (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000). The core of middle-class women were urban salaried workers whose educational background assisted in their entry into white-collar or professional employment such as teaching, nursing, midwifery, telephone operators, clerical work in offices and banks, and shop work (Nagy, 1991). More and more middle-class women entered the job market due to employer demand, economic necessity and a desire to be economically independent (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000, p. 117).²⁵ They increasingly joined professional sectors of the labour force as they offered better pay and more prestige than other typical female occupations such as factory, domestic, and agricultural labour (Nagy, 1991).

Whilst job availability for middle class women improved during the Taishō and early Shōwa years; in reality women with skills comparable to men were paid 30% of a male’s wage (Miyake, 1991; Nagy 1991). With the economic boom post World War I, many male teachers

Another leading women’s liberation advocate at the time took quite a different standpoint. Yosano rejected gender differences in character or roles as she considered them to be fabricated constructions. In Yosano’s words, “The differences in character and nature indicated by the opposing words ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ do not exist” and “The highest standard is that of being human” (Koyama, 2013, p. 83). Yosano’s approach was for women to gain inclusion and equality in the “men’s realm” of production. Koyama (2013) asserts that the problem with Hiratsuka’s politics is that it finds women in a secondary position, the reproductive realm. This is an issue since the reproductive realm had no economic value compared to the male realm of production. It should be noted that Japanese women’s activism began in the Meiji period (Lowly, 2007; Mackie, 2003).

²⁵ A survey conducted in 1922 revealed that a percentage of middle-class women were single, widowed or divorced. Many of these women were head of households or sole income earners (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000).

entered the commerce sector, which created more vacancies in teaching for women. Women were hired quickly as they were a cheaper source of labour (Nagy, 1991). They also replaced men hired in service sector jobs as they could be paid less and were considered to be better mannered and subservient (Freedman et al., 2013).²⁶ Women staffed modern entertainment, including dance halls and department stores (Freedman et al., 2013), and they were often hired as telephone operators, ticket collectors and clerks (Jansen, 2000). These industries continue to dominate employment options for Japanese women today.

There was opposition towards working middle-class women as they were expected to represent Japanese womanhood, which was an image of virtue and dependency (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000). Working middle-class women were often harassed as they represented a deviation from *ryōsai kenbo* and were considered to be lacking in moral values (Nagy, 1991). Derogative terms for women were created in the following decades for those who threatened familial ideology. For example, middle-class working women were sometimes referred to as *obasuteyama* (abandoned old woman), as they risked marriage prospects the longer they remained in employment (Nagy, 1991). There was less ambivalence towards lower-class women working, as it was seen as economic necessity for themselves and their families (Reitan, 2011)

Women entering higher education was extremely limited in 1920 there were a total of 3, 691 female students (68, 707 males) enrolled in higher education (Koyama, 2013). By 1922 Japan was heading towards financial crisis which affected middle-class families, and the head of the household's wage alone was not enough to support the family. Economic need pressured women to work between graduation and marriage and even drew married women back to work. The majority of married middle-class working women were teachers with an average of two children (Nagy, 1991). Although some support was given to working middle-class women, the

²⁶ These employment patterns were replicated by trends in the West (Freedman et al., 2013).

government implemented restorative measures towards reaffirming national identity through the middle-class by making employment outside of the home unnecessary for women (Nagy, 1991). Since many middle-class women stated that economic need was their reason for remaining in employment, the government nevertheless set up public job exchanges and projects to keep middle-class men in employment. Training programmes were implemented to help middle-class women run an efficient household on their husband's shrinking wages. In the 1920s the government endeavoured to keep middle-class women within the home by expanding their authority and responsibilities within it (Nagy, 1991). A major change in *ryōsai kenbo* was from 1921 onwards when the content of morality texts used in educating women changed drastically. There was less focus on daughter-in-law duties and more focus on time efficiency, rational scientific housekeeping and childrearing methods. Women's role extended to educating their children within the home and would later be coined *kyōiku mama* (education mothers).²⁷ Women were also taught to be prepared to work in emergency situations where work was to aid their roles as wives and mothers. Whilst encouraging women to work it was also considered vital for women to avoid becoming 'masculine' through employment (Koyama, 2013, p.182). From the end of the Taishō period to the 1930s, Japan continued with the process of modernisation and reinforced collective nationalism in preparation for war. *Ryōsai kenbo* during World War II promulgated robust mothers to bare strong children (Ikeda, 2010). Women were encouraged to give birth to men who would be loyal to the human god – the emperor. In these circumstances, 'traditional'

²⁷ *Kyōiku mama* is a phrase associated with postwar women (Jones, 2012). The dedicated *kyōiku mama* was responsible for children's education as the father was absent due to long working hours. The *kyōiku mama* often helped with homework and provided their children with a nurturing environment for learning within the home (Stevenson, 2012). The prewar version of the *kyōiku mama* was a new generation of higher school educated women who were earnestly dedicated to their children's learning (Jones, 2012). During the Taishō period, education was seen as the new gateway to social ascent in the modern age of meritocracy. Graduation from a higher school for men provided pathways to white-collar employment, whilst higher education for women meant potential marriage to a white-collar worker (Jones, 2012). The obstacle to attending the higher schools was the demanding entrance exams. Most often the *kyōiku mama* were their children's private tutors and closely monitored their education. Mothers saw it as their responsibility to achieve the modern dream of 'meritocratic mobility' through their children (Jones, 2012, p. 75).

martial arts for women gained favour in conservative elements of Japanese society. Western style physical education, dancing, and competitive sports for women lost popularity. Just before World War II, Western sports were abandoned and budo were re-introduced as compulsory subjects in the education curriculum where girls practised *naginata* and archery, whilst boys practised kendo and judo (Ikeda, 2010). Again, here we see how the development of women was intended for nationalistic purposes, not as a means of personal empowerment. Although developing robust physiques could have been viewed as a masculinising process, the intent behind developing women's bodies (to bear strong soldiers and imperial subjects) was very clear.²⁸

Women and war

During the interwar years due to the conscription of male soldiers the domestic economy became increasingly dependent on women (Kawashima, 1995). Limiting women's role within the home was difficult to maintain since the absence of men drew more women into the labour force (Nagy, 1991). Middle-class women were released from the pressures of marriage, as employment opportunities in typically male dominated sectors, such as medicine, opened up (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000).²⁹ These circumstances had less impact on lower-class women as they did not face the same pressure to marry and low-waged, unskilled employment had always been an economic necessity for them (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000). During the 1930s, the absence of men

²⁸ Ironically in earlier periods of girl's education, physique building types of activities were discouraged as they were thought to damage women's reproductive organs and masculinise women, which would ultimately limit their marriage prospects.

²⁹ During World War II, although there was a labour shortage as a result of male conscription, women's role was primarily reproductive and they were encouraged to bear large families of imperial subjects, male soldiers and colonisers (Miyake, 1991). The family-state ideology shifted towards a mother-state ideology equalising the importance of women's roles. In addition to the elevated status of mothers the drawing of women into patriotic associations gained support from feminists, such as Ichikawa Fusae (1893–1981) (Miyake, 1991) as for the first time women's role was not merely within the home. However, this was deceptive as these encouraging implementations by the government were only to maximise women's contribution in the war (Miyake, 1991). Miyake (1991, p. 281) suggests that the Japanese government sought to inspire women primarily with the slogan of "Labor in the Service of the State".

forced women to move into head of family and other male dominated spheres which broke down gendered class identities and patriarchal ideals (Koyama, 2013; Liddle & Nakajima, 2000).

In the early Shōwa period (1930–1940) women initially entered heavy industry (Miyake, 1991). After Japan entered the Pacific War in 1941 women were drawn into “important industries”, such as iron and steel, mining, aircraft and ship building, and steered away from the “nonessential” textile industries (Miyake, 1991, p. 285). Women also entered other male dominated employment in companies such as The National Railroad (Miyake, 1991).³⁰ Unmarried women between 14 and 25 years of age were conscripted, urged to organise themselves into patriotic labour corps, and assist with war work in schools, the workplace and neighbourhoods. They were also required to complete thirty days of factory work (Miyake, 1991, p. 288). In the earlier stages of the war the slogan was “bear more children, and increase the population” but in 1943 it changed to “produce more aeroplanes” (Matsuoka as cited in Liddle & Nakajima, 2000, p. 128). In 1943 due to the labour shortage more women were mobilised into heavy industries. Women’s conditions and wages were poor as they were inspired to join patriotically as “Labor in the Service of the State” (Miyake, 1991, p. 281).

In 1944, widows and unmarried women between 12 and 40 years of age were conscripted, required to form women’s volunteer labour corps and give one to two years’ service in munitions factories. In the same year women’s industrial service was made compulsory for one year. Efforts to draft women did not go well, despite the threat of substantial fines. Even as late as August 1944, women who were mothers and wives were exempted from the draft to preserve the family system (Miyake, 1991). The intention of the government’s pro-natalist policy failed to produce immediate population growth and meet production needs in the factories (Miyake, 1991). Nevertheless,

³⁰ There were still fewer women working in factories compared to allied nations due to the *ryōsai kenbo* concept (Bingham & Gross, 1987).

women's symbolic capital through employment opportunity and social connections increased significantly in this period (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000). Women's participation in wartime employment is significant as their entrance to the wider labour market subverted sex segregation and sex differentials as women were able to demonstrate their abilities.³¹

Post-war women

During World War II education for women was severely affected and sacrificed for the ultra-nationalistic and militaristic state with approximately 3 million girls and young women being mobilised to replace men in society (Hara, 1995). They were encouraged to work hard and embody patriotic loyalty since "the welfare and interests of women were constantly subordinated to the interests of the nation-state" (Kaneko, 1995, p. 11). Japan's defeat in the Pacific War greatly affected education for women. Although the government fired 3 million women to give jobs to returning soldiers (Miyake, 1991) many significant shifts had occurred in women's consciousness. During the war the absence of men caused a dramatic change to a woman's role, which destabilised class structures and patriarchal gender relations. Returning soldiers had lost authoritative power as women had become head of households in their absence. The SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) democratic reforms of the postwar period legally opened political, educational and employment opportunity for women. Significantly SCAP removed the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 which prevented women from voting (Mackie, 2003). Although the postwar reform legally changed gender relation structures, the role of Japanese women had already shifted significantly during the wartime period (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000).³²

³¹ During World War II women experienced a masculinisation process as they filled men's roles (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000). This process associated the middle-class with the lower-class as women were no longer protected financially or restricted to roles within the home. As a result, the family system collapsed during war (Kaneko, 1995). The war caused a breakdown of patriarchal and family-state led society which had shaped a hierarchy structured on gender, class and nation (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000).

³² Prior to the postwar period, several women's groups had been fighting for women's liberation (Lowry, 2007, Mackie,

The Labour Standards Law, which focused on equality in employment, was enacted in 1947 (Yamada, 2009). Article 3 of the law stipulates equal treatment, stating: “an employer shall not engage in discriminatory treatment with respect to wages, working hours or other working conditions by reason of the nationality, creed or social status of any worker” (Yamada, 2009, p. 197). The law excluded ‘sex’ as a reason for discriminatory treatment, despite its stipulation of equality. However, Article 4 of the law did stipulate that “an employer shall not engage in discriminatory treatment of a woman as compared with a man with respect to wages by reason of the worker being a woman” (Yamada, 2009, p. 197). Although wage disparity was illegal, women received roughly 50% of a man’s wage until the 1980s (Yamada, 2009). As part of SCAP democratic reforms on education, women were granted access to the same level of education as men. In 1949, 31 women’s higher education institutions had their status elevated to college or university (Hara, 1995). The two-year college was established as part of the education reconstruction and the number of such colleges steadily increased from 149 in 1951, reaching a peak of 598 in 1996 (Anzai & Paik, 2012). Many such colleges delivered *ryōsai kenbo* education. *Ryōsai kenbo* persisted through postwar Japan and influenced women’s educational choices and consequent employment opportunities (Tanaka, 1995).³³ Many of the courses offered at colleges for women were in the humanities and home economics (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1995). Despite education tending to be oriented towards *ryōsai kenbo*, the rising number of women receiving an

2003). However, in reality women were not given rights until the SCAP reforms. Liddle and Nakajima (2000) argue that women’s liberation, as a result of the democratic reforms of the US, is misleading as the US did this for their own aims of controlling militarist nationalism.

³³ Utilising Bourdieu, Liddle and Nakajima (2000) argue that family strategies for accumulating capital shifts in changing contexts where a daughter’s cultural capital accumulated through education may have more value than her marriageability. Education legitimates cultural capital and converts it to symbolic capital. A diploma from a two-year college was believed to enhance a woman’s marriage prospects. Although two-year colleges do not exclude men, more than 90% of the students have been female. Post 1996, four-year college enrolments exceeded two-year college enrolments for women (Anzai & Paik, 2012), which could suggest that women’s education has steered away from *ryōsai kenbo*. And yet as revealed in the following section there is still the assumption and statistical evidence that women will most often leave work once they are married.

education in the 1960s was feared by some educators as they believed it would lead to the demise of the country (Hara, 1995).

Amendments made by SCAP were paradoxical for women, as political economy and familial ideology tied women's identity to the domestic sphere on one hand, whilst changes in laws opened the public sphere on the other (Mackie, 2003). As Japan underwent rapid postwar industrialisation the housewife became the archetypal figure of femininity, with the *sarariiman* filling a similar role for men (Mackie, 2003). However, the image of women as full-time housewives was not supported by employment patterns (Liddle & Nakajima, 2000). In the 1960s Japan experienced rapid industrialisation, and several wives and mothers were working in low-waged, part-time employment to supplement the household income (Ueno, 2009). Hara (1995) suggests that women's cheap labour has bolstered Japan's economic growth since the Meiji period. Married female employees increased from 33% in 1962 to 58% in 1990 (Ministry of Labour, 1994). Ehara (2013) suggests that family system reforms were inadequate and gender role expectations remained strong, supporting Ueno's (2009) view that patriarchal oppression occurred throughout the postwar period.

Sex disparities in education are attributed to inequalities in the workforce (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1995). Sugimoto (2010, p. 167) explains that "while advocating the *tatamae* of gender equality, the *honne* of many employers appear to be that the bulk of women should remain in subordinate positions in the workforce". Okano (2009) found in her study on young women's transition into adulthood, that women learn early on that their position in society is allocated according to gender. Women realise they do not have equal access to promotion, married women are expected to look after family members and work part-time to supplement the household income (Okano, 2009). According to Tanaka (1995, p. 300) "the framework of female labor supply theory, education is one of the most important human capital investments". Higher

education for women, especially two-year colleges, is believed to be beneficial in the marriage market (Tanaka, 1995).³⁴ Up until the 1980s employment opportunities for university educated women were more limited than those for high school and two-year college graduates. Employers were reluctant to employ university educated women to perform tasks that were considered to be suitable for men. It could therefore be justified that they were often paid less than their male counterparts (Tanaka, 1995). The employment practice of hiring women straight out of high school and two-year colleges as OLs³⁵ based on the assumption they will leave once they are married or have a child was common. Women were therefore left out of lifetime employment tracks for this reason (Tanaka, 1995). Ogasawara (1998) found in her research in a Japanese bank that, 'OL's' (office ladies) are expected to act as office wives (see "Women's Life Cycle Patterns" in this chapter). In full-time employment women can be excluded from advancement as many corporate cultures are male dominated spheres and hierarchy works most comfortably within the same sex (Nemoto, 2013).

Women's Education and Career Nexus

Women's education and employment patterns, from entrance into the paid labour force through to present day has been influenced by *ryōsai kenbo* ideology. From this point onwards this chapter will review contemporary practices of women's employment in order to connect how these practices affect women's kendo participation, employment patterns and opportunities. The role of women and definitions of femininity have been steadily changing in Japan in terms of marriage, childbirth, employment, leisure and sport participation (Hendry, 2013; Ikeda, 2010;

³⁴ University education for women also has a strong correlation to hypergamy. It is suggested that women attain higher education to marry a man of equal education thus creating a high family income level. It is more likely that these women will not return to employment after they withdraw from employment unlike high school and two-year college graduates. Higher education can have negative relationship on women's engagement in employment and this is strongly limited to opportunity, especially after re-entry with time taken for child care/child care responsibilities (Tanaka, 1995).

³⁵ OL refers to a woman who does repetitive simple clerical work without any expert knowledge or management responsibilities (Ogasawara, 1998). The role also extended to pouring tea for clients. OLs were often considered to be office wives, which emphasised that gender roles within the office were not different from the home (Ogasawara, 1998).

Kanezaki, 1991; Karan, 2005; Mackie, 2003; Mitani, 1995).³⁶ In spite of marriage and birth patterns have changing considerably (Fukuda, 2013); employment patterns and opportunities for women continue to reflect the belief that women will leave employment once married (Ueno, 2009). As such women tend to be employed in long-term part-time casual, irregular and non-career tracked positions (Hendry, 2013; Sugimoto, 2010; Ueno, 2009). Exacerbated by a long recession after the collapse of the bubble economy in the early nineties, it is more likely that female university graduates will be employed in non-regular employment than their male counterparts (Ueno, 2009). Japanese women's career pathways tend to be limited and job descriptions fit within a small sector of the employment market. Thus Japanese university students continue to select jobs that are traditionally dominated by their own gender (Kokubo as cited in Adachi, 2013). By reviewing the development of women's employment we can observe how *ryōsai kenbo* has persisted well into the 21st century.

Although the contemporary reality of a woman's trajectory consists of working full-time hours, marrying later and having less children (Hendry, 2013; Sugimoto, 2010); the ideal image of a woman persists to be one proficient in domesticity and able to perform appropriate femininity. At TSSU women learn appropriate femininity to benefit their future social roles by practising gendered tasks within the dojo and in their own apartments. These tasks include cleaning, cooking

³⁶ Changes to definitions of gendered identity in Japan are not limited to women. Masculinities vary and are subject to change (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). For example, modern Japanese masculinity is more likely to be influenced by 'funky' Japanese pop culture, *sōshokukei danshi* (feminised masculinity), and *otaku* (geek-cool) associated with anime rather than the *sarariman* ideology representing Japanese hegemonic masculinity (Dasgupta, 2013). Miller (2006, p.126) argues that the 'feminisation' of masculinity is a shift towards "beautification as a component of masculinity" which is in response to new "media-based discourses" and "imagined female desire". Taga (as cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) documents diverse responses to change among young middle-class men in Japan including new options for domestic partnership with women. Dasgupta's (2013) observations of media and society suggest that the culturally iconic *sarariman* is no longer the archetypal male figure of modern Japan and a globalised new-liberal corporate culture has emerged. Despite the new discourses of the *sarariman* and hegemonic masculinity the core ideology of lifetime employment continues to underpin corporate culture (Mantale as cited in Dasgupta, 2013). McCann et al. (as cited in Dasgupta, 2013, p. 4) suggest "seniority, loyalty and internal skills development in promotion development remain largely unchanged". Ogasawara (1998) observed that a number of large and prominent companies' employed women directly from school. Women who wished to re-enter the employment market sought employment in smaller companies or as part-time workers and received less pay and benefits although they may work full-time hours.

and managing finances. Even in some workplaces women are expected to perform these tasks as part of their job description. In Ishida, Spilerman and Su's (1997) study on education credentials and promotion in Japan, they found that factors such as the name value of a university and long-term networks between institutions played an integral role in job access and promotion. Women were exempted from this study because "all women were recruited after 1986 when the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was enacted and they thus had not yet advanced far in the corporate hierarchy" (Ishida et al., 1997, p. 869). Up until this time women, were not able to capitalise on the name value of tertiary institutions since they were mostly excluded from employment tracks that led to promotion. The major legal step was the 1985 Equal Employment Opportunity Law. After this law more companies hired university educated women which in turn influenced a trend towards women selecting coeducational universities which offered more courses that could lead to jobs. Although there has been a drastic increase in women's employment options, there are several social structures that impede women such as discrete employment discrimination, lack of child care facilities and traditional expectations of a woman's role (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1995). As such women continue to be absent from much of the hierarchy of the corporate structure (Befu, 2001). According to Koshal, Yamada, Miyazima, Kosha and Gupta's (2004, p. 146) study on female employees in organisations, "female managers perceive that business organisations in Japan are male-dominated and little is done for their advancement or to help them fit into the business culture". From the 1990s, the number of female students enrolled in colleges began to outnumber male students and as a result, by 2000, the overall education profile of female workers in Japan began to approach that of men (Koshal et al., 2004). However, this did not change into employment opportunities as the Japanese economy went into prolonged and deep stagnation in the 1990s, resulting in college graduates having difficulty in obtaining good jobs, and the number of job-hopping, part-time, young workers is increasing. In

2003, for instance, approximately 28% of people who graduated from two-year colleges and four-year universities became members of such job-hopping part-time workers in Japan (Yachi as cited in Inoue-Smith, 2014). Although there has been a great increase in irregular employment for both men and women, men tend to occupy the regular job market (see Figure 4.3). Thus education and employment practices continue to maintain *ryōsai kenbo* ideology which can be understood further by reviewing the ‘M curve’.

Pressure to marry

Sugimoto (2010) suggests that in order to gain an understanding of gender relations in Japan it is imperative to review the family system. As mentioned in the earlier in this chapter, the prewar system was fundamentally patriarchal, leaving women with very few legal rights. Although the postwar civil code dismantled many patriarchal structures, the family system persisted behind the scenes in Japanese family life (Sugimoto, 2010; White, 2014). Despite the abolishment of the family system as part of democratic reforms in the postwar period, the family registration system has sustained numerous ways to protect ‘traditional’ patriarchal family structures that prevent women’s independence (Sugimoto, 2010) and preserve a heteronormative view of the family (Mackie, 2014). The family registration monitors and collects detailed information on family members for the state which includes all births, deaths, marriages, adoptions and so forth (Chapman & Krogness, 2014). Events considered to be a deviation from the family unit, such as divorce and children born out of wedlock, carry social stigma, especially for children. Therefore, citizens tend to abstain from such deviations. This can be observed by reviewing Japan’s marriage and birth patterns which has one of the lowest divorce rates and children born out of marriage rates in the world (Sugimoto, 2010).³⁷

³⁷ From 2004, just over 2% of births were born out of wedlock (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, [NIPSSR] 2012). All births are recorded on official documents even if the child is given up for adoption. Women therefore opt for abortion as there is a social stigma attached to having such a birth recorded on official papers.

In spite of the ways in which the family registration attempts to maintain ‘the family’, the declining birthrate is a serious issue in Japan. The current marriage rate has been steadily declining whilst the marrying age has been steadily increasing and statistics suggest there is a relationship between the declining birthrate and marriage (Statistics Handbook of Japan, 2015).³⁸ The declining birthrate is due to women also expressing concerns of high education costs to raise children and that women prefer to marry later as more job opportunities are available to them (Sugimoto, 2010). Okano and Tsuchiya (1999) suggest that marriage is no longer compulsory for women and many career decisions are influenced by whether they want to get married or not.

In her research on corporate culture and singlehood, Yoshida (2011) suggests there are many factors why women remain unmarried such as resistance towards fulfilling conventional social roles or difficulty meeting partners due to gender segregation at work and long working hours. Yoshida (2011, p. 230) found that “women in professional positions called themselves ‘unfeminine’, and from this I sensed that even women in relatively high economic positions accepted the idea that their professional role was improper for women”. It may be labelled as “improper” and “unfeminine” because women are not able to fulfil their social role if they pursue careers. Both women and men are considered to be only half a person and not totally an adult “a person is not fully adult unless they are married with the accompanying responsibilities” (Dasgupta 2005, p. 172). DePaulo (2013a) points out that “it is not surprising then that the role of single women in Japan’s population decline has been a topic of interest for several decades, evidenced by the array of different terms that construct singlehood as problematic”. There have

The family registration claims a status distinction for children born out of wedlock and are only entitled to half of the inheritance of children born within marriages. The system penalises single mothers and their children (Sugimoto, 2010). The family registration puts a restraint on divorce as a two separate registers need to be established and the children are to be recorded on one of the registers. These papers are public documents as they are required for employment and marriage. Parents carefully consider divorce in fear of tainting their child’s registers (Sugimoto, 2010).

³⁸ Japan’s birthrate and marriage rate in 2013 was 1.48 (per 1,000) and 5.3 (per 1,000) respectively (Statistics Handbook of Japan, 2015). Sugimoto (2010) suggest that the birthrate needs to be 2.07 to maintain population level.

been a variety of derogative terms for unmarried women: *kurisuamasu keeki* (women who are left over after the age of 25 like Christmas cake after December 25th); *parasaito shinguru* (parasite singles, a term used for men and women who continue to live at home being supported by their parents); and *make-inu* (defeated dogs)³⁹ (Yoshida 2011, p. 231). The catchphrase in 2008 was *arafō* (“around 40”) which describes single women who have had more choices over prior generations, and who have prioritised careers over family and are blamed for Japan's declining birth rate (Freedman, Miller & Yano 2013). A less pejorative example of such labels for single women is *ohitorisama* (“singleton”). According to DePaulo (2013b):

ohitorisama are usually perceived to be urban, professional women who have the financial and physical wherewithal to consume – food, fashion, beauty services and leisure – as they please. They are committed to work and reluctant to sacrifice their hard-won careers.

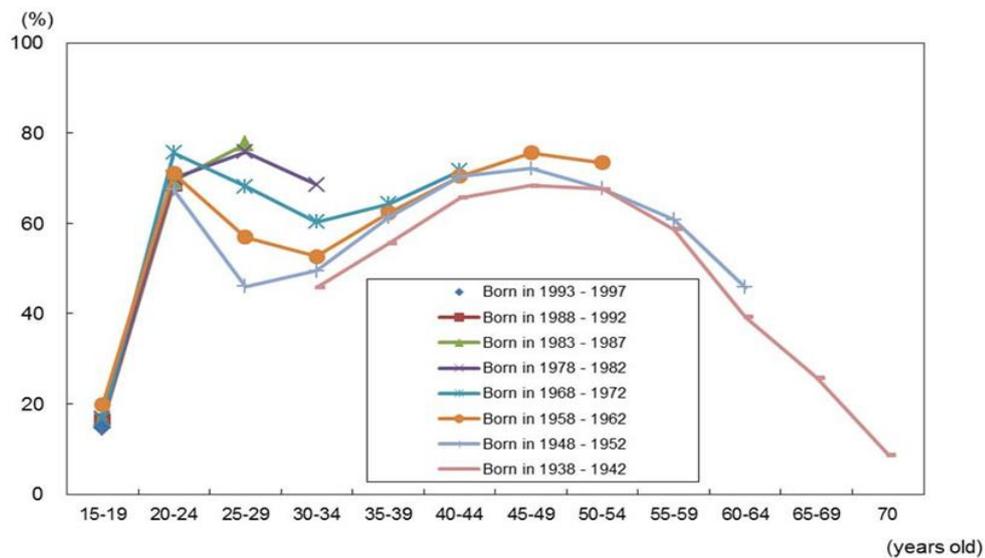
The literature above suggests that the acceptable social role for women is that of wife and mother. Those women that deviate from these roles are often criticised and held responsible for social problems like the declining birthrate.

Women's life cycle patterns

The ‘M curve’ emerged during the economic boom of the 1960s and continues to represent Japanese women's life cycle and employment patterns (Ehara, 2013). Although there have been changes to women's life cycle patterns which indicate women's independence, Ueno (as cited in Nemoto, 2013, p. 156) suggests that “nearly 70 per cent of women workers leave their jobs upon

³⁹ According to Hirakawa, (2011), Sakai Junko's (2003) *The Howl of the Loser Dog (makeninu no tōboe)* was a bestseller and popularised by the phrase ‘*makeinu*’ to describe unmarried career women. Sakai tells the unmarried woman to just “cower” and “expose [her] belly in a gesture of surrender, such as a loser dog does” (Hirakawa, 2011, p. 144). Sakae describes how there is a hierarchy among women “one end of this spectrum is the stay-at-home mom who found a rich husband and whose kids are successful in *ojuken* [the competitive educational race of “examination hell”]. At the other end of the spectrum is “the housewife who has to work part-time to supplement her husband's low income, and whose kids end up becoming delinquent as a result” (Hirakawa, 2011, p. 144). Sakai explains that married women who were at the bottom of the hierarchy could consider themselves to be better off than those who were unmarried (Hirakawa, 2011).

marriage and childbirth and this figure has remained the same in the last two decades”. The ‘M curve’ represents a pattern that ascends when women leave school and work in their twenties, descends when women leave employment to raise children and peaks again in their forties (Ogasawara, 1998; Sugimoto, 2010). This ‘M’ shape is also observable in women’s sport participation (Kimura, 2003). The ‘M curve’ (see Figure 4.2) illustrates that patterns have somewhat remained the same between cohorts, although there have been some changes in the peaks which represent delayed childbirth and marriage. Although many post-industrial countries share a similar pattern, the descent in the middle is more pronounced in Japan (Okano, 2009).



(Notes)

1. Based on "Labour Force Survey (Basic Tabulation)" by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (yearly average)
2. People born in consecutive five years are aggregated to one cohort. For the sake of simplicity, every other cohort is displayed with regard to the cohorts which aggregate people born earlier than in 1978-1982 are displayed. Omitted cohorts have the similar tendency.

Figure 4.2: “Women's Labor Force Participation Rate by Age Group by Cohort”
 (Source: Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2013)

The participants in this study are currently positioned at the first peak (see Figure 4.2). Although the graph reveals some minor changes between cohorts indicating that recently women are staying in employment for longer, the pattern more or less has remained the same across all cohorts. This

‘M’ shape pattern is also evident in Figure 4.3. This graph reports that women are less likely to be employed in regular work compared to men.

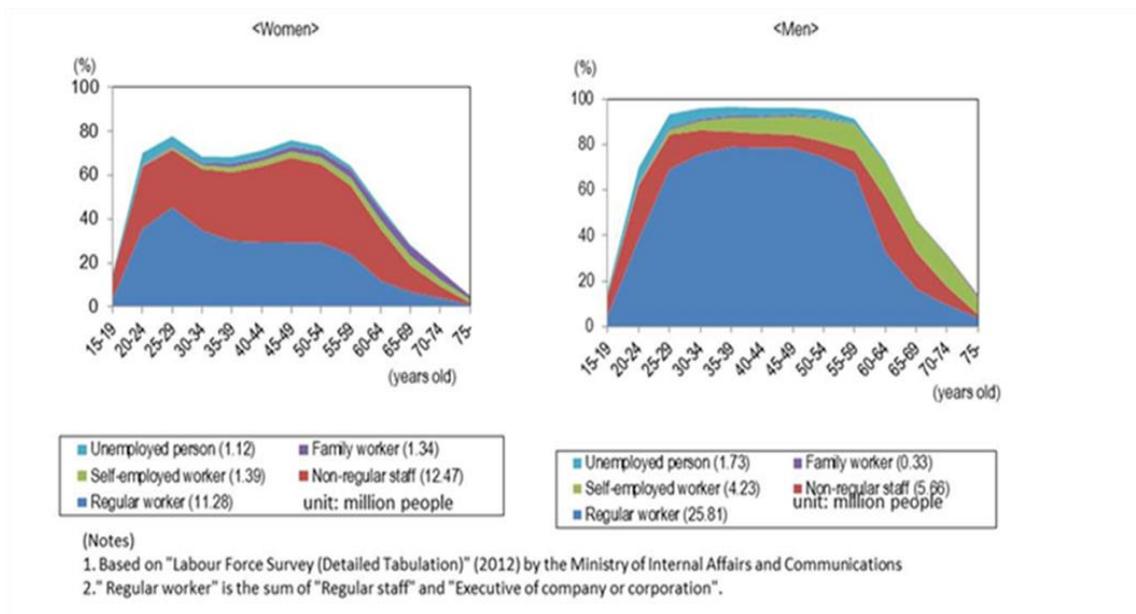


Figure 4.3: “Employment Type Breakdown of Labor Force Participation Rate by Age Group” (By Sex in 2012) (Source: Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2013)

Women in Japan saturate the part-time workforce and employment options are restricted to low paying, low status jobs regardless of part-time or full-time work (Broadbent, 2003). Part-time work can consist of the same number of hours as full-time work without the fringe benefits such as health care and bonuses (Fukuda, 2013; Hendry, 2013).⁴⁰ Women outnumber men in employment areas such as medical, healthcare and welfare, hospitality, education and learning, clerical and service areas (Statistics Japan, 2012). Since 1983 more married women are part-time workers than full-time housewives and mothers (Sugimoto as cited in Liddle & Nakajima, 2000).

⁴⁰ Ogasawara’s (1998) field research in a Japanese bank observed that a number of large and prominent companies employed women directly from school. Women who wished to re-enter the employment market had to seek employment in smaller companies or as part-time workers, and receive less pay and benefits although they may work full-time hours.

In 1983, over 50% of women were employed in the labour force, which marked the conversion of full-time house- wife to dual roles.⁴¹

Many companies since the 1990s implemented budget reforms and cut costs by employing a greater number of temporary, part-time and irregular workers which created a demand for female employees (Nemoto, 2013). Female employees protect the monetary security of career-tracked regular workers which are mostly male (Broadbent, 2003; Nemoto, 2013). In the late 2000s, 70% of part-time or irregular workers were women and most of these women were aged between 45 to 54 years of age (Sugimoto, 2010). Women often work to support household incomes rather than to gain economic independence, where 'good mother' extends to earning extra money to support child's education (Ueno, 2009) (see chapter 3 for a description of the *kyōiku mama*). Part-time work has dominated the option for women returning to work after childrearing, as are several tax benefits for married women who earn under a certain amount (Broadbent, 2003; Sugimoto, 2010). There are less tax benefits for full-time working mothers since “tax, pension, social security, and health insurance are based on the model of a four-person family with a working father and a stay-at-home mother” (Calkins, 2013, para. 7).

Repackaging discrimination

The Equal Employment Opportunity Act (EEOA) in 1986 and the Child-care Leave Law in 1992 were introduced to improve working conditions for women, meet the increased demand for female labour and to reconcile the declining birthrate (Sugimoto, 2010). However, these laws did little to improve women’s working conditions. Sugimoto (2010) points out those employers did not have

⁴¹ This divided women into classes, as full-time housewives were considered to be of a higher economic class than working housewives, whose paid labour was required to supplement the family income (Ueno, 2009). Ueno (2009) suggests the percentage of women working is not necessarily higher for women with a high level of education, as hypergamy is common, where women marry male graduates of the same elite institution, and are therefore less likely needed to work and the full-time housewife is now recognised as a sign of affluence.

to adhere to the laws as there were no penalty clauses. The 1986 EEOA aimed to abolish sexual discrimination in employment, recruitment, hiring, promotion, training and retirement for women. The new act appeased the United Nations and the International Community (Geraghty, 2008; Yamada, 2009) as it was no longer lawful to separate jobs into two categories based on gender (Mackie, 2003). However, discrimination became hidden behind the two-tracked system (Ueno, 2009). Ueno (2009) suggests that in response to EEOA, corporations introduced career tracked and non-career tracked positions which replaced gender discrimination with 'choice'. Very few career tracked positions were filled by women and the women hired in this track graduated from elite universities (Mackie, 2003; Ueno, 2009). Equal opportunity (EO) only applied to same level of education and the EEOA divided elite and non-elite women. EO aligns with education backgrounds which legitimises discrimination (Sugimoto, 2010). As Ogasawara (1998) found in her ethnography of a Japanese bank, gendered spheres were most often divided by the two tracks Okano (2009) notes that during the early 1990s, due to the labour shortage, women were often required to work overtime for little or no remuneration. This is in contrast to men, as their overtime labour demonstrated commitment to the company and provided opportunities to develop relationships with seniors and bosses which could lead to promotion. Since 1960 the number of clerical jobs have increased for women; as many as one third of all women held clerical jobs in 1995, which testifies the importance of OL in the Japanese labour market (Ogasawara, 1998, p. 19).⁴²

The EEOA act was revised in 1997 to abolish discrimination at various stages of employment (Yamada, 2009). Since 1998 the use of part-time workers and non-regular workers

⁴² Many OLs seek to teach female employees how to act properly feminine in the office, and hence “lovable” (Hirakawa, 2011, pp. 148-149). Ogasawara details in her 1998 book, contrary to the stereotype of subservience, many OLs engage in various acts of covert and overt resistance, sabotaging their male bosses and colleagues while laughing at the ‘rat race’ they must run. As Ogasawara points out, the OLs are able to engage in such sabotage because they are excluded from this race, and hence have nothing to lose (Hirakawa, 2011).

has become the main barrier to achieving gender equality in employment (Geraghty, 2008). New laws regarding gender equality in the workplace and equal opportunity in education came into practice in 1999 after the setting up of the Gender Equality Bureau in 1994. Even after further revisions to the EEOA in 2006 and despite the Gender Equality Bureau's efforts to increase the number of women in the public and private sectors, Japan is far behind other developed nations in gender equality and is currently ranked 101 out of the 145 countries on the Global Gender Gap Index [GGGI] (World Economic Forum, 2015) (see Appendix A).⁴³ The 2006 revision attempted to tackle indirect discrimination which had resulted from the initiation of the 1985 EEOA. However, the revisions did not include discrimination against part-time workers (Yamada, 2009). Women's employment was made even more complex in that career-tracked and regular employment is embedded in masculine culture, as Nemoto (2013) points out:

Customs such as working long hours and emphasizing male bonds reward only a handful of women who are willing to emulate masculinity. This legitimizes the workplace exclusion of women who are seen as unwilling to work and incapable of working like most men. The absence of women with power and authority who can disrupt traditional beliefs about masculinity appears to reinforce the persistence of gender stereotypes in Japanese firms.
(p. 161)

Nemoto (2013) found in her study that career-track women in financial firms said they were assigned to typical 'female' tasks, such as pouring tea and cleaning, so as not to stand out from the large number of non-career tracked women. Lebra (2007, p. 271) provides an example of 'an anomaly' in the office who was "dichotomized between upper-ranking male and lower-ranking female, with no allowance for a third category of upper-ranking women". This woman's status was uncomfortable and she was therefore downgraded to a typical female status. Lebra (2007, p.

⁴³ The Global Gender Gap Index was developed in 2006 by the World Economic Forum. It measures the magnitude of gender-based disparities and tracks their progress over time. The report seeks to measure gender equality and the relative gaps between women and men across four key areas: health, education, economy and politics (World Economic Forum, 2015).

271) suggests that “gender issues are not always limited to the male-female dyad but may involve a female-female conflict to disorient the female-male opposition”. Here we see that the workplace itself is heavily gendered, and even female managers or women in the career-tracked system remain associated with gendered tasks and non-career tracked employees due to their sex.

The importance of *sempai-kōhai* relationships will be discussed in chapter 9 but it will also be touched on here, as it is significant in how this Confucian interdependent relationship deters women from career-tracked employment. *Sempai-kōhai* relationships are gendered spaces and it is not normal practice for men to follow women up the promotional ladder. Lebra (1981) found in her research that male same-aged peers were often promoted over women. This is because if a woman was promoted it would upset the gender hierarchy, and men are uncomfortable with interdependent relationships with female *sempai* and therefore women can be at a disadvantage because endowment does not cross sex boundaries (Lebra, 1981). In his field research, Rohlen (1974, p. 123) notes that the *sempai-kōhai* relationship within Japanese banks was clearly sex segregated. Women could form such a bond among themselves, but the career advantage to be derived from such a bond is decidedly limited, since most desirable positions are monopolised by male patrons. Lebra found that “a woman is precluded from a higher position not only because she cannot have a male patron but also because she is considered unfit to be a patron for male followers” (1981, p. 298).

More recently, to improve Japan’s gender scale ranking and address the declining birth rate, the Japanese government has proposed several changes to improve working conditions for women. Addressing women’s employment is a part of Prime Minister Abe’s “Abenomics”. The “Three Arrow” strategy of Abenomics aims to bring Japan out of its 20-year period of stagnation and represents fiscal stimulus, dramatic monetary expansion and structural reform (Patrick, 2014). The third arrow as part of structural reform represents a long-term growth strategy which includes

increasing employment. According to analysts, by closing the gender gap in employment for women, Japan could boost its gross domestic product by 13% (Koike, 2014).⁴⁴ Some male dominated employment spheres, such as The National Police Agency, also propose to increase the number of female police officers from 6.8% to 10% by 2023 (The National Police Agency, 2012). With the rise of feminist consciousness in the workplace, anti-harassment policies for women have been implemented toward a gender equal society (Sugimoto, 2010). There has also been an increased awareness of violence against women.

The Abe government's target, explained above, may be difficult to achieve considering how Japan has ranked on the GGGI since the announcement, and that only 11.3% administrative and managerial workers are women (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2015). On the GGGI (for 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, see 2015 GGGI for indexes over the years) Japan has fallen from 94th place in 2010, 98th in 2011, 101st in 2012, 105th in 2013 to 104th in 2014. However, according to the 2015 index, Japan's ranking has improved and is now positioned at 101 out of 145 countries (see Appendix A).⁴⁵ The number of women in parliament has slightly improved in 2015 after a few years of degeneration: 11% in 2011, 2012 to 8% in 2013, 2014 and 9% in 2015. Whilst there has been an increase for women ministerial positions from 11% in 2014 to 22% in 2015, there was a decrease of women in legislators, senior officials and managers from 11% in 2014 to 9% in 2015. These statistics suggest there are still many barriers and pressures in the workplace and society that make it difficult for women to pursue careers. Despite some progress, gender inequalities still persist in Japanese society, especially in women's participation

⁴⁴ Perhaps over zealously, the government is working towards increasing women's participation in policy and decision making to 30% by 2020 (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2011).

⁴⁵ Three countries were added to the 2015 index. It is therefore difficult to discern whether Japan's overall ranking has in fact improved. Perhaps over zealously, the government is working towards increasing women's participation in policy and decision making to 30% by 2020 (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2011).

in policy decision making processes and leadership (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2013).

Issues of child care and maternity leave

There are several issues with child care facilities and maternity leave schemes that prevent women from maintaining stable full-time employment. Maternity leave benefits do not apply to the majority of women due to their part time and non-regular employment status. Nor are there enough child care facilities for working mothers. Working conditions for women do not support women in dual roles of career and motherhood. Even as women are increasingly in the workforce this does not necessarily mean that gender relations within the workplace are improving for women. Nemoto explains that “a set of gendered beliefs and practices in the workplace that disadvantages and marginalizes women workers and thus shapes sex segregation” (2013, p. 154).

In 2013, the employment rate of women in Japan reached 69.5%, yet more than 60% of women leave the workplace prematurely, mostly owing to childbirth. This pattern is a result of institutional structures and attitudes toward working mothers that make it difficult for women to achieve a work–family balance (Koike, 2014). The government has promised to reduce child care waiting lists to zero within three years to assist women to manage child care and employment (Carney, 2014). The increase of so-called ‘tokenistic’ female managers (women who gain employment due to their gender rather than skill) may cause angst towards women as it did in Nemoto’s (2013) study on Japanese company culture. Even considering there are generous maternity leave concessions, women face maternal harassment and find it difficult to take the maternity leave they are legally entitled to (Kittaka, 2014). This suggests it is very difficult for women to be employed in career-tracked employment without being willingly transferred, or conforming to, the masculine culture of overtime and late night drinking. Nemoto (2013) found in her study that female managers who emulated masculinity, most often were not married and

did not have children. This is a common pattern that forces women to choose between career and family. According to Aronsson (2014), career-minded women in Japan tend to remain unmarried.

Women registered with the National Health Insurance system that is part-time or casual workers are not eligible for maternity benefit (Nakazato & Nishimura, 2013). As such the majority of women do not benefit from the maternity benefit scheme. Prime Minister Abe is planning to introduce a 3-year maternity leave law but many women fear this would result in a loss of skills and cause companies to avoid hiring women, as it would be a financial burden to the company (Iida, 2013). Another pressing issue is that there are not enough child care facilities to support working mothers in Japan. According to the Health, Labor and Welfare Ministry, 24,825 children across Japan were on waiting lists for authorised nurseries in 2012 (Mie, 2013). However, another survey proves that actually 55,222 children in Japan are waiting to be placed in authorised child care centres (Mie, 2013).

Adachi (2013) suggests there is still a gender gap in wages, working hours and length of employment. As such career opportunities and working conditions for women remain discriminatory in a way to protect Japanese capitalism, 'traditional' family structures and masculine organisational culture. Under the guise of social role expectation, women continue to be discriminated against as they participate in low waged and unstable employment, suggesting the concept of *ryōsai kenbo* has persisted well into the 21st century.

The sport club and career nexus

This section will explain the positioning of sport clubs within education and how this connects to employment. We can see how *ryōsai kenbo* has influenced the development and current practices of women's university kendo. This field note is an example of how *ryōsai kenbo* ideology continues to influence women's conceptualisation of their social roles in 21st century Japan.

I sat with Kiku and Kana today as we watched the regional competition together. Kiku and Kana are *sempai* and are not regular team members. I took this chance to ask them a few questions about the club. I have been curious as to why only the first year female *kōhai* live together in the dormitory and the 2nd, 3rd and 4th year female members live in their own apartments. The men's club lives in a dormitory that houses all members and a strict *otsuki* system in place.⁴⁶ I asked Kana why the women's club did not have an *otsuki* system between *sempai* and *kōhai*. She explained the women's club once had an *otsuki* system between *sempai* and *kōhai* but the *sempai* did not think it was important and that they would rather look after themselves. I also asked about the dormitory situation for female members and with little reflection Kana immediately explained that it is important for women to learn to cook, clean and manage home finances for when they are housewives and mothers. Therefore, from second year university, female members live in their own apartments. I don't think Kana really believes she will be a housewife in the near future as she wants to become a police woman after she graduates. Additionally, I thought it was strange she said this since very few female members I have spoken to have expressed that they want to get married and have children soon after graduation. Many female members I have spoken to have expressed that they want to enter into careers in the police or education. It seems that some women rationalise systems and practices based on beliefs that women's role is to get married and have children even though the reality is quite different. A *sensei*, a women's club coach from another university explained most women have no choice but to work after they graduate and return to work soon after childbirth due to changes in the Japanese economy. (Field note)

What is illustrated in this field note is how institutional structures and the gender regimes of TSSU shape the behaviour of female members. The women's club ceasing the *otsuki* between *sempai* and *kōhai* (which practices masculine forms of hierarchy) within their club suggests they consider hierarchy to be impractical and non-transferable in male dominated working environments.⁴⁷ Women do practice hierarchy within the women's club but they are feminine forms of deportment, language and tasks and occur in female-to-female relationships (see chapter 9 for a more detailed explanation).

The sport club is educational encompassing a wide range of sports, music and other activities. For the most part they are autonomous organisations led by students (McDonald & Komuku, 2008) and developed on a model based on moral and cultural education (Inoue, 1998)

⁴⁶ The *otsuki* system provides the social space to learn the intricacies of hierarchical relationships and replicates a teacher-student exchange. In many university kendo clubs, an *otsuki* is a club *kōhai* that performs duties, such as cleaning and running errands for a club *sempai*. At TSSU the same *sempai-kōhai* pair will share a room in the dormitory and maintain this relationship throughout the four years of university. The hierarchical relationship skills learnt in the club are transferable to employment, which can benefit male more so than female members since men are more likely to be engaged in long-term, regular employment. Within masculine organisational cultures the ability to perform relationship based etiquette can result in job security and promotion (see Nemoto 2013). At TSSU women perform *otsuki* duties for teachers and guests but not for their *sempai*.

⁴⁷ See "Repackaging Discrimination" in this chapter.

(see chapter 2 for a historical overview of the club). According to Cave (2014, p. 280) the club demands dedication and practice tends to take place every day of the year which instils cultural values such as *hitotsu no koto ni uchikommu* (devote to a single activity) and *saigo made ganbaru* (keep going until the end). School clubs have long been known as institutions that provide character building opportunity (Blackwood & Friedman, 2015) which are underpinned by *seishin kyōiku* (spiritual education) practices (Cave, 2004). Blackwood and Friedman's (2015, p. 271) study on high school sport club found that members hold more positive self-concepts than non-members. As presented, the benefits of membership range from positive self-efficacy to determining one's career trajectory. The university sport club can be an environment where students learn adult values such as self-discipline, motivation, responsibility, 'groupism', and relational and organisational skills that may not be taught in the classroom (Lee-Cunin, 2004). The club space can provide opportunity for members to experience a form of cultural apprenticeship.

Although there has been an increase in women's participation in clubs in terms of sport's choice, statistics clearly reveal that participation is a gendered practice as boys are more likely to be a member of a sports club and gender dictates which sports are selected (Manzenreiter, 2013a). In social spaces, such as the club, social role re-production is one of the outcomes of membership. In the club members are socialised with skills associated with human relationship etiquette and building as they are considered to be beneficial in adult society (Cave, 2004; Lee-Cunin, 2004; McDonald & Komuku, 2008). Sports club membership also provides assessment of teamwork capabilities and connections to alumni networks (Manzenreiter, 2013a). Umezaki (as cited in van Ommen, 2015) has examined the recruitment of students into jobs by alumni of their institution, and shown through empirical evidence that membership in an OB network increases the chances of finding a job. In particular, the university club, with its emphasis on developing human

relationship based etiquette becomes the location for the accrual of forms of cultural capital. These particular forms of capital can assist graduates gaining employment (Gannon, 2004; McDonald & Hallinan, 2005).

Cultural capital that reflects Japanese values is highly sought by potential employers. During recruiting processes “club activities of prospective employees were often given a place of importance by prospective employers” (Lee-Cunin, 2004, p. 153). In most cases the top companies will hire from the top universities (Gannon, 2004) and within the top universities hierarchy is the most formalised and strictly adhered to. The reciprocal relationship between *kōhai* and *sempai* plays a vital role in the pedagogical processes involved in learning correct etiquette and complex human relationships (Gannon, 2004; Lee-Cunin, 2004).

The club can also be an environment where notions of gender are reinforced and reproduced (Light, 1999, 2000; Manzenreiter, 2013a; McDonald, 2009; Vincenti, 1997). As explained in this chapter a women’s life cycle is based on traditional gender roles and it is more likely that men will pursue careers. The club is therefore, more often than not, an environment that supports the development of men in preparation for the Japanese company (Vincenti, 1997). The re-production of gendered roles is common in the club as it can play an “important role in reproducing and naturalising a ‘masculinist’ gender ideology which places men in public places of performance and women in private, behind-the-scenes support roles” (Manzenreiter, 2008, pp. 248-249). According to van Ommen (2015, p. 91) “successful salarymen are usually expected to perform and embody a set of dispositions that can be broadly divided into categories of ‘hierarchy’, ‘hardwork’ and ‘loyalty’”. As well as alumni networks, club participation can guarantee “a certain degree of devotion, loyalty, physical endurance, proper manners, group awareness and managerial qualities that are desired on the elite career paths of the Japanese company system and government” (van Ommen, 2015, p. 97). It is difficult to ascertain the benefits of club for women as there are

very few studies on the subject and these studies tend to point towards social role reproduction (see Vincenti, 1997).

Miller's (2013a) study of a women's university basketball club discusses the changes in coaching styles to inspire individuality and meritocracy to be more congruous with contemporary company practices. Upon analysing this study, one questions whether the new style of leadership taught in this club is transferable in careers for women since the pinnacle of women's sport participation and their authority most often peaks at university. Although in reality women are more than likely to continue working throughout most stages of their life cycle, according to research as highlighted above, the club prepares men for career paths more so than women. This chapter has reviewed women's employment practices and hindrances to their integration and progression in employment. It has pointed out how women are subjected to discrimination in the workforce under the guise of their expected social role trajectory. This suggests that the gender ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* has persisted well into the 21st century. The following chapter describes the ethnomethodology, analysis of data and theoretical framework applied to this research.

CHAPTER 4

Positioning Myself in the Field

In this chapter I intend to demonstrate the quantitative and ethnographic methods and approaches I used to make sense of the findings. Specifically, I explain how I collected and processed the data and finally applied the analytical framework, utilising the contributions of esteemed social theorists, Raewyn Connell and Pierre Bourdieu. As I mentioned in chapter 1, I have a long history with kendo. One of the aims of this research was to understand my experience of training and competing with elite Japanese women. I therefore decided the best approach was to undertake an 18-month ethnography in an elite Japanese university kendo club.

Nihonjiron and ethical considerations

What distresses me when I read some work by sociologists is that people whose profession it is to objectivize the social world prove so rarely able to objectivize themselves, and fail so often to realize that what their apparently scientific discourse talks about is not the object but their relation to the object. (Bourdieu as cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 68-69)

Reflexivity played a critical role in analysis of the data both during and after the data collection period. To make sense of the field and conduct ethical research it was vital that I balanced my participant observer position was reflexive of my own personality and cultural trajectory in relation to the field. This meant I needed to be aware of essentialism and take into consideration Japan's sociocultural history and specifically contextualise gender in Japan. Phillips (2010) points out that essentialist thinking is "the attribution of certain characteristics to everyone subsumed within a particular category". In one form or another, essentialism is unavoidable through our political engagement. However, the issue with essentialism is to what degree. Phillips (2010, p.

70) suggests “over-generalization, stereotyping and an inability even to perceive characteristics that do not fit our preconceptions are problems”.

In the context of this research, many practices at TSSU were gendered and women were disadvantaged in terms of recognition and opportunity. However, understanding these practices solely from a Western feminist perspective, and failing to recognise that TSSU women were not entirely disempowered in all situations could have resulted in an essentialist analysis. Okano (2009) discusses in her research on Japanese women’s transition into adulthood that Japanese women can be observed as victims of a patriarchal society who are deprived of opportunity. However, as a result of gendered structures in Japanese society, women can also achieve satisfaction in relationships and leisure activities more so than their male counterparts, who themselves endure a form of oppression (Iwao as cited in Okano, 2009, pp. 5-6).

There were several potential ethical issues taken into consideration during the data collection and analysis periods of this research. During the collection period the protection of the participant’s wellbeing and confidentiality was paramount. Although there are approximately 11,000 male and 4,500 female university students participating in kendo (AJKF, 2008), at the top level (which includes TSSU), university kendo is an insular well-connected world. Pseudonyms and fictionalised amalgams were therefore created to protect the identities of participants. These identities and narratives were fictionalised and blended to minimise identification and to capture thematic knowledge. In this study each participant’s name is a pseudonym. I do not use the same pseudonym for a single participant (except for the instructors); rather I combine verbal narratives and actions of more than one person to create a fictional character. It is important to know that each of the participants named in this study can not be identified as one person. The use of fictionalised amalgams is an effective way to conceal small, identifiable cohorts. This method has

been used effectively in McDonald's (2005) ethnographic research in Japanese university rowing and Grenfell and Rinehart's (2003) research in youth figure skating.

To further protect the participants, some personal experiences and opinions entrusted with me have not been included in this thesis. When it came to applying a theoretical framework, potential ethnocentrism, essentialism and 'orientalism', were taken into consideration. Kennedy (2000) suggests there is mistrust as to whether the Orient, can be truly represented by Western writers. In this thesis, Said's (2003) concept of 'orientalism' that considered the hegemonic power of the occidental discourse of the Orient has been considered to safeguard against ethnocentrism. Although Said's 'orientalism' focuses on the Middle East, according to cultural anthropologist, Anne Allison, who has written much on Japan, 'orientalism' is a viewing of other cultures in a way that differentiates and hierarchises the self (Allison, 2001). Kennedy (2000) suggests that 'orientalism' marks a clear distinction between the orient and occident, and often is a created body of theory and practice from the occident. There are few ethnographies on Japanese martial arts undertaken in Japan, and they often lack self-critical awareness resulting in orientalist accounts of spiritual and aesthetic aspects (Cox as cited in Chapman, 2004). Avoiding ethnocentrism altogether proved to be particularly difficult as much sociological literature on Japan reflects 'orientalism' through the perpetuation of *nihonjiron* theory. It is not only non-Japanese scholars that have fallen victim to this. Japanese scholars also have participated in self/auto-orientalism by projecting themselves as a unique homogenous society with specific characteristics regardless of class and racial variables within Japanese society (Lie, 2001).

The *nihonjiron* discourse emerged in the post-war period as Japan underwent an identity crisis to restore confidence (Metzger, 2012). *Nihonjiron* asserted that Japanese people had a set of unique characteristics and Japanese society was culturally homogenous, group oriented, harmonious, egalitarian and dependent on others, as opposed to the individualistic West

(Sugimoto, 2014). The ‘group model’, the ‘consensus model’ reflected in *nihonjiron* discourse dominated social research on Japan until the 1990s (Sugimoto, 2014). Befu suggests that *nihonjiron* discourse was prevalent in the media (as cited in Metzger, 2012) and in pop culture (Dasgupta, 2003). In more recent times the paradigm of Japanese studies has shifted from *nihonjiron* discourse and there is an understanding that Japan is a diverse, multi-class and multi-cultural society (Sugimoto, 2010).

Lie (2001) suggests that Ruth Benedict’s *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946) greatly influenced the *nihonjiron* discourse that was followed by non-Japanese and Japanese scholars. Although Benedict had never been to Japan and neglected several other aspects of Japanese culture, her book was widely welcomed in Japan and greatly influenced how the US viewed Japan (Lie, 2001). Benedict disregarded diversity within Japanese society as she projected Japan as a primitive and homogenous society that emphasised hierarchy and loyalty (Lie, 2001; Sugimoto, 2014). Allison (2001) suggests books on Japan like Benedict’s homogenises US readers as well as creating a ‘we’ that is culturally self-important. Benedict’s book contributed to perpetuating an ‘us’ and ‘them’ mindset which suggests Japan is unique and the West is the US. Nishihara (2014) suggests that *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* and Nitobe Inazō’s *Bushidō: The Soul of Japan* (1900) contributed to a representation of Japan that Japanese intellectuals supported, as they were content with the representation of Japan via samurai culture that these books projected to the West. Nitobe’s book, in particular, provided Japan with a “cultural resource” that could “reinforce their sense of identity” (Powles as cited in Low, 2003, p. 84). Nitobe depended on the samurai image to proclaim the greatness of Japanese traditional ethics (Nishihara, 2014). Lie (2001) suggests Benedict’s book influenced Japanese scholars such as Nakane Chie’s *Japanese Society* (1970) concept of hierarchy and Doi Takeo’s (1973) *The Anatomy of Dependence* concept of dependency. These publications, in particular, emphasise Japanese uniqueness and have been a well-cited

resource in Japanese studies. Such texts are particularly problematic as Japanese authored publications on Japanese society are believed to be reliable resources more so than non-Japanese authored publications. Given the dominance of Western scholarship, Lie (2001) suggests Japanese scholars are limited to make sense of their own culture outside of the intellectual frameworks that distinguish Japan from the US and the West in general.

Kosaku highlights that a large amount of recent *nihonjiron* literature was created and promulgated in the business world (as cited in Metzger, 2012). Hence the development of Japanese hegemonic masculinity via the corporate warrior *sarariiman* – *nihonjiron* discourse. This popular discourse emerged in the 1960s and 1970s during periods of high economic growth and continues to influence perceptions of Japanese masculinity (Dasgupta, 2003). The *sarariiman* represented the ideal husband/father who was a provider (Dasgupta, 2003). Hence, hegemonic femininity was modelled on the wife of the *sarariiman* as the “housewife became the archetypical figure of womanhood, in the same way that the salaryman became the archetypical figure of masculinity (Mackie as cited in Bullbeck, 2005, p. 49). Metzger (2012, pp. 7-8) suggests “a widely-shared knowledge of a cultural stereotype can influence the actions of individuals, and this may also help us explain the ways in which *nihonjiron* affects both men and women”. Metzger explains how adherence to certain behaviours can prove to be detrimental to gender egalitarianism and is difficult to avoid, since many structures in Japanese society continue to support the re-production of hegemonic masculinity through the image of the *sarariiman* (2012, p. i).

Initially my research engaged with Nakane and Doi to make sense of the field since their theories on Japanese society emphasised hierarchy, interdependency and homogeneity, which were recognisable constructs in kendo. Nakane and Doi appeared to provide a framework to understand the practices of Japanese university kendo and connect them to societal practices.

Unaware of the diversity within Japanese society, I tended to look at Japan through the *nihonjiron* lens as most of my interaction with Japan has been within the conservative middle-class world of kendo. However, this view changed as I started to read the publications of researchers in the field of Japanese studies, such as: Befu (2010), Dasgupta (2013), Frühstück (2007), Manzenreiter (2008, 2013a, 2014), McDonald (2005, 2007, 2009), Miller (2013a; 2013b), Okano, (2004, 2009) and Sugimoto (2010, 2014) whose research communicates Japan as a multi-cultural, multi-class, and multi-ethnic diversifying society. These studies provided new ways of understanding Japanese society from a new perspective which influenced the way I analysed the data. However, there are some aspects of *nihonjiron* that resonate with kendo culture such as the ‘group consensus model’, vertical relationships and the concept of intimacy (see chapter 9). This is not surprising given the connection of bushido to kendo and that Japanese kendo projects and principles are a unique cultural activity that only Japanese people can understand.

Compiling knowledge

Acton, Miller, Fullerton and Maltby (2009) suggest that quantitative methods are effective at establishing the accurate social facts but do not establish the motivation or rationale of social actors. To capture the field a qualitative framework was applied to this project via observational field notes, the interview process, a survey and reflexivity. In addition to collecting data via the traditional quantitative and ethnographic research methods, I also compiled various literature on women’s kendo. I found there was very little academic sociological research in Japanese women’s kendo; I therefore read literature in the broader areas of gender, physical culture, and sports club practices for Japanese women. The JSSGS (Japan Society for Sport and Gender Studies) organisation’s 2010 Sport Gender Data Book provided useful information on women’s participation in sport and sporting organisations in Japan. I also became a member of the JSSGS, JWS (Japanese Association for Women in Sport) and JSSS (The Japan Society of Sport

Sociology). It should be noted the term *jendā* (gender) as a framing concept for my research was highly problematic. The term seemed to cause confusion and concern about my research. The word *jendā* seems to have negative connotations in Japan. Some kendo teachers suggested I change my research to a ‘safer’ topic, like the history of women’s kendo instead. One teacher communicated that I needed to be careful using the word *jendā* and it was better that my research appeared ambiguous.

This attitude towards *jendā* may be due to the backlash against feminism after the 1999 Gender Equality Law was passed. Conservative scholars, journalists, celebrities and politicians described feminism as “intending to invade the consciousness and freedom of thought for individuals and to modify masculinity and femininity to match their goals of destroying the family, culture and tradition which would eventually lead to the destruction of Japan” (Yamaguchi, 2013, p. 67). According to Ehara (2013) the terms “gender” or “gender-free” were once seen as expressions of extreme feminist thought and were met with hostility and negativity.

Literature on women’s kendo

Although there are female authored ethnographies in gender studies about Japan, such as: Okano (2009) women’s transition into Adulthood; Allison’s (1994) accounts of a Tokyo hostess club; Ogasawara’s (1998) research in OL company culture; Frühstück’s (2007) research in the Japanese Self-Defence Forces; and Goldstein-Gidoni’s (2012) study on Japanese housewives, there is very little qualitative ethnographic research in the field of Japanese women’s physical culture except for Edward’s (2003) research on the women’s national soccer league and Spielvogel’s (2003) study on Tokyo fitness clubs. In regards to Japanese women’s kendo there are only a handful of published books, book chapters, magazine articles and dissertations. It has proven difficult to find books on kendo authored by a female, except for Maeda Shinko’s (2012) *Josei no tame no kendō shidō hando bukku* (Handbook on Teaching Women’s Kendo). There are two books on women’s

kendo, namely *Kōchi gaku joshi kendō hen* (1981) (Coaching Women's Kendo) and *Jōsei kendō kyōshitsu* (1988) (Women's Kendo Education) both written by the male author, Ozawa Hiroshi.⁴⁸ In 2010–2012 Ozawa wrote a monthly article *Joshi kendō no rekishi to kadai* (History and Challenges of Women's Kendo) in *Gekkan Budō* magazine. The magazine is not widely circulated compared to *Kendo Nippon* and *Kendo Jidai* magazines. These two mainstream magazines rarely feature women's kendo. Other publications include Sylvester and McDonald's (2011) overview of Japanese women's kendo, Sylvester's articles in *Kendo World* magazine, unpublished master's dissertations by Shinzato (2010) *A Historical Study on the Development of Women's Kendo in Japan after World War II*, and Takami's (2013) *Game Contents Characteristic In Women's Kendo: Targeting the 50th all-Japan Women Kendo Championships* and finally Shinzato, Yano, Takano, and Yagisawa's (2013) "The Role of the *Shinai-kyōgi* in the Birth of Women's Kendo". There a handful of other research papers and publications on Japanese women's kendo. The deficient literature on women's kendo is a clear example of how women's participation is marginalised.

Selecting the field

I begin now by positioning myself in relationship to the field. Prior to the commencement of the field research it was difficult to articulate the research question in one sentence. However, I knew I wanted to understand why I felt inspired when training with elite Japanese kendo women and why kendo practices are gendered in Japan. To conduct my research, I needed to select a field. There were certain criteria that needed to be met to achieve my research aims. Initially I selected

⁴⁸ Ozawa Hiroshi received some criticism for his books on women's kendo. When the books were published he was in his early thirties and at that time there were no books written on women's kendo (personal communication). The criticism he received reflects the sensitive nature of senior male proprietorship of kendo. This is an example as to why it is very difficult to find published books on women's kendo.

the university kendo club as kendo mostly occurs within the confines of education and intersects with employment. There are several different types of university kendo clubs and club culture depends on the education format. Club culture can range from being very strict to very relaxed social spaces. I specifically selected a kendo club in a sports university as these clubs are often well established and constitute elite environments where the club is highly structured and central to the member's lives. The members of these clubs often have long kendo trajectories which started from a young age and continue beyond university. The club also needed to have a substantial number of female and male members. These criteria proposed an ideal field in which to understand the impact of the 4-year process of university kendo to female members, how they are positioned against men, and how kendo culture influences their dispositions.

Another important factor was that I needed to select a university I did not have a prior relationship with. Due to my long-term engagement with kendo I had developed a very good relationship with *Nippon Taiiku Daigaku*. This university has been a great source of inspiration for my kendo throughout my participation. In some ways it would have been easier to conduct my research at *Nippon Taiiku Daigaku* as I had already established a sense of belonging and position within the club. However due to this position, developing a rapport with the (young) participants and analysing club practices from a 'fresh' perspective would have been difficult. If I had conducted my research at *Nippon Taiiku Daigaku* I may have not 'given' myself to the field and probably would have experienced a different set of struggles. Thereafter selection of the field was accidental. In some ways it selected me. The relationship with my future research field started in 2010. Due to an introduction from a kendo instructor (a non-Japanese kendo practitioner with considerable symbolic capital), I occasionally trained at TSSU about once a month in the latter half of 2010. One night after kendo training I went to dinner with a TSSU club instructor, H *sensei* and his wife, 7th *dan* K *sensei*. I spoke to K *sensei* about my desire to improve the level of

women's kendo in Australia. She offered to assist our development and from there we organised for her to conduct a women's kendo seminar in Australia. Over a 2-year period we developed a good relationship. When I started to look for a suitable research field she suggested TSSU and said that she and her husband (the head kendo teacher of TSSU) would support me. As Culter (2003, p. 221) observed, to conduct ethnographic research and gain access to participants in Japan, introductions are needed to access the field and this is preceded by the duration of familiarity. I gained access to the club and participants through developing relationships with gatekeepers of TSSU. Since the university met all of the criteria and the gatekeepers seemingly found me, I selected TSSU to conduct my field research.

My unique trajectory as a foreign kendo practitioner allowed access to the field that would not have been open to many other researchers or even Japanese kendo practitioner. Yano (2003) noted in her field research on traditional song, found it difficult to gain access to research participants as a Japanese-American. Although she considered herself to be an American she was of Japanese heritage and expressed frustration that in Japan often "a Japanese face presupposes a Japanese mind" (Yano, 2003, pp. 290-221), which meant she would miss out on the foreigner's advantage. Wacquant (2004) reflects in his ethnography set in a Chicago boxing gym in an African American neighbourhood that his social trajectory as a French Caucasian worked to his advantage, allowing access to the field which may not have been achievable if he were a Caucasian American male. To reiterate, I was granted access due to difference.

The field

TSSU is a private sport's university located in Kuriyama (a pseudonym for the town) that was established in the 1960s. TSSU has excellent sporting facilities and several national and international level athletes who are current students and alumni. Currently there are approximately 2,000 students enrolled at TSSU majoring in sport and health subjects. The majority of the

students are club members of the fifty-five clubs available at TSSU. Many of the clubs trained 1 to 2 times per day, 5 to 7 days per week depending on the national ranking of the club. The higher the ranking of the club nationally, the stricter and more demanding the club practices tended to be. Kuriyama has a population of 45,000 people and is located approximately 50 kilometres away from one of Japan's main cities. There was very little to do in the university town of Kuriyama but drink, eat and sing karaoke. Kuriyama town provided a safe environment for the university students to experiment with drinking and social bonding in the cheap *izakaya* (pubs) and the one karaoke venue.

The dojo is situated near the outer sport's fields. The dojo floor is sprung and constructed from soft cedar wood. It is the best floor I have ever trained on. The walls are adorned with photographs of revered teachers, calligraphy, paintings, member's names, competition results and trophies. The following field note recalls my first impression of the dojo and experience of training at TSSU in 2010.

Training had already started, I could hear bamboo swords and bodies clashing, shouting and powerful foot stomping well before I reached the dojo door. I felt that familiar nervous anticipation. I always get that sick feeling at my first training at a new dojo in Japan. However, upon entering I soon forgot about everything as I felt the sparkling, uplifting energy from the members. It was electric. As I bowed and entered the dojo, a female member rushed towards me and grabbed all my gear and insisted on unpacking it for me. The dojo had a traditional feel. I felt many had trained here and not much had changed for decades. There appeared to be so much kendo history embedded in the floor and the walls of the dojo. At the far end of the dojo, near the altar, were the names of graduated students on the wall. There were dents in the walls, probably caused by hard bodies and rows of solid wooden swords hanging on stands. The floor felt soft, maybe a bit slippery compared to what I am used to, but it is a good kendo floor. There was that familiar smell of damp, sweaty kendo clothes armour. Outside the window I could see rows of kendo clothing blowing around and drying. I felt excited by the energy but that uneasy feeling of anxiety as I was comparatively an unskilled foreign practitioner in an elite, well-established club. (Field note)

As the field note above illustrates, my first experience of TSSU dojo touched the full range of physical senses and emotions. There was something very special about the acoustics that vibrated within the walls of the TSSU dojo that I have yet to experience anywhere else. One thing that was never exhausted throughout my field work was the incredible energy I received from the other

members during training. Their giving of self through full body and spiritual commitment was exhilarating. The women's and men's clubs were equally impressive but the voice tones and body power of the women be differentiated. Most often the men's and women's trainings are held concurrently and have similar content, although training is strictly gender segregated. The women and men trained on opposite sides of the dojo and were not permitted to train with one another. However, the women were allowed to train with teachers and male postgraduate students.

The women's and men's clubs were autonomous and connected by space. There were approximately 20 female members and 60 male members. The main kendo club teachers included two men: H *sensei* and T *sensei* and a female *kantoku* (coach), M *kantoku*. Most often there were two male instructors were present at every training session. The female club coach attended Saturday trainings and competitions. There were other teachers connected to TSSU who occasionally attended training and competitions. These teachers were alumni members of TSSU or alumni of the elite university that the club teachers had graduated from.

Participants

The primary participant group was the members of the TSSU women's club. Many of TSSU members gained entry into TSSU via the recommendation system.⁴⁹ The participants were between 18 to 22 years of age and came from all over Japan. The highest percentage of participants came from the local region (29%). The participants were enrolled in the following university courses: Physical Education (69%), Sports Management (23%) and Health and Welfare

⁴⁹ Students can use their sporting success to gain entry into university recommendation system is a referral system that can be made by a variety of people, including head teachers, sport coaches, or even a student who is in the institution (Goodman, 2011). Many kendo students utilise competition success to enter into good universities. Good universities often provide links to reputable company employment. Some companies will only accept applications from certain universities regardless of applicant's ability. Ishida et al. (1997) suggest that education credentials determine socio-economic success. Those who come from highly ranked institutions are likely to be promoted within the company regardless of their job performance.

(18%). The majority of participants aspired to become teachers once they graduated from university. Other vocational choices were within the police or company employment. Most expected to attain employment through the support of a TSSU kendo club coach or a member of the alumni network.

Many of the participants started kendo as they thought it appeared to be *kakko ii* ('cool' or attractive) and were often inspired by an older brother who was a kendo practitioner. Other participants were encouraged by parents and teachers or started kendo for health reasons. 81% started kendo between 4 to 10 years of age. The majority had been members of their junior high schools and high school's kendo clubs. These statistics indicate a high participation in kendo from a young age. Most members had a past kendo teacher who was an OB or OG graduate of TSSU. This connection was fundamental in the selection process of TSSU. TSSU members had been exposed to TSSU kendo culture and philosophy well before they entered TSSU as a university kendo club member.

Seeing the field

Over an 18-month period from March 2012 to September 2013 I attended every possible TSSU club activity. I attended daily practice up to 9 times per week. Depending on the season, we had 6 to 7 afternoon practices usually starting at 4:20 pm and finishing at 7:00 pm during the week. The 3 morning practices would start at 7:15 am and finish at 8:15 am. In addition to training there were competitions held every one to two months and they would take up an entire Sunday, where we would leave campus at 7:00 am, returning between 8-9 pm at night. I also attended the club's training camps in spring, summer and winter. The duration of these camps were between 5 to 15 days depending on the season. The club had many formal and informal drinking parties, marking important dates on the student's university calendar.

The main method of data collection was the writing of daily descriptive field notes. My observations focused on the physical and social interactive practices within the dojo and other spaces. The longer I spent in the field the more detail and attention I could pay to the minute actions of individuals. The writing of daily reflexive field notes took between 1 to 3 hours, written after training, competitions, incidental conversations, club social events, and recreation time spent with the members. The writing of the field notes became an involuntary routine. I felt a strong compulsion to record my daily experiences, no matter where I was or how I was feeling. I would write field notes on the train; even in peak hour I would write notes standing. Sometimes I wrote into the early morning if there had been a drinking party. I would faithfully write after training no matter how exhausted I was. Needless to say, over the 18-month period I had written almost 1,000 pages of field notes.

Hearing the field

The voices of participants were recorded in two ways: ethnographic and semi-structured interviews. The 'ethnographic interview' was an insightful method of data as most often "the local and temporal framework is less clearly delimited than in other interview situations" (Fick, 2006, p. 166). Ethnographic interviews are conversations that occur naturally during observation and participation in the field (O'Reilly, 2012). The opportunities for ethnographic interviews arose in and around daily training and sometimes spontaneously after training whilst sharing a meal or travelling with participants. These conversations were recorded as part of the field note taking process. I started the semi-structured interview process 9 months into the research. It took time to develop a rapport with the members and work out what I wanted to ask during the interview process. I conducted semi-structured interviews with the female members, TSSU teachers, coaches and OB and OG alumni. The 'semi-structured interview' was useful as a data collection method, as Fick (2006) suggests that it enables the participant's viewpoints to be shared more

openly. This method is flexible and allows for change in order for expansion of the questions depending on the subjective responses and flow of the interview (Gray, 2004; Robson, 2011). The questions were open ended allowing for the participant to control the direction and flow of the interview. The objective of the interview was to gain a deeper understanding of the participant's personal experience of kendo, their perceptions of gendered practices in kendo and their future plans (see Appendix B for interview schedule). The first round of interviews was conducted during winter training camp which was ideal timing, as I had developed a good rapport with the members due to my full participation in the camp. I interviewed the 4th year *sempai* who were about to graduate. At this time the *sempai* were relaxed and very open to talking about their kendo experiences. I approached potential participants and asked if they would like to be interviewed. If they agreed I gave them a consent form to be signed, which explained the content of the interview and assured confidentiality (see Appendix C). Not all participants returned the consent forms. I organised an interview time only with those who returned the signed consent forms.

The interviews took place in a small classroom at the university. Depending on the participant's openness and my relationship with them, the interview lasted between 40 to 90 minutes. Interviews were conducted in Japanese and recorded on a small digital device. During the semi-structured interview, I was very sensitive to whether participants felt comfortable or otherwise. If I felt any sense of discomfort I would lighten the conversation or change the subject. I was surprised at the willingness to talk openly and I believe they enjoyed talking about their personal experiences. Their comments and insights were critical and reflexive as they shared their thoughts and meaningful experiences. After I returned to Australia the interviews were transcribed by a Japanese colleague and translated with her assistance. The ethnographic and semi-structured interview process inspired reflexivity during the collection period, which allowed me to go deeper into the field.

Readjusting

Due to how deeply I had merged into their world and their world became mine, readapting to living in Australia again was an extremely difficult transition period. After I returned to Australia it took almost a year to readjust to the culture. I felt a giant void and a sense of confusion. The parts of my personality that I had developed and was able to mobilise in Japan were impractical in Australia. I deeply missed the relationships I had developed with the club members and the connectivity to others I felt during kendo training at TSSU. I seriously considered giving up kendo in Australia. It became very clear to me that human relationships are central to Japanese kendo and I had become a part of the club. It wasn't until one year later that I was able to read my field notes and transcribe the interviews for analysis. This break in time allowed emotional detachment which enabled me to analyse the data intellectually as an observer.

Thematic analysis

During the collection period, several TSSU practices were emerging as patterns that were replicated in and out of the dojo. It therefore made sense to apply a thematic analysis as themes were clearly surfacing from my observational field work. More complex and inter-connected themes emerged, once I had detached from the field and further analysed the data after I returned to Australia. Thereafter I fully immersed myself and coded the data by hand through the process of thematic analysis.

Although some themes were pre-determined as the research question was underpinned by gender, thematic analysis was selected with the anticipation that organic themes would emerge. In thematic analysis “the coding procedure is divided into three progressive steps: deconstruction (open coding), construction (axial coding) and confirmation (selective coding)” (Strauss & Corbin as cited in Giampietro, 2008, p. 227). Thematic analysis is inductive and encourages themes to surface from the process of coding and concepts that are then linked to an emerging theory (Ezzy,

2013). According to Ezzy (2013) as a sense making approach, thematic analysis is a tactic for reducing and managing large volumes of data without losing the context, for getting close to or immersing oneself in the data, for organising and summarising, and for focusing the interpretation.

The first stage of thematic analysis coding is 'open coding' where themes are highlighted through examining the data (Ezzy, 2013). According to Giampietro during this stage "the ethnographer examines the field for concepts (or categories) that can explain an observed phenomenon" (2008, p. 227). At first I highlighted points of interest as I was writing the data. During the interview process it was evident which aspects of kendo were significant for women. In the interviews women spoke with more enthusiasm and detail about their early childhood experiences of kendo and the self-development and friendships they had developed at university. More complex themes emerged from the data after the collection period as I re-examined the data I colour coded recurring themes and created categories.

The next part of thematic analysis is 'axial coding' where relationships between emerging themes are constructed into a framework (Ezzy, 2013). According to Giampietro (2008, p. 234) in this second phase "the researcher reassembles the concepts developed in the previous phase into a new pattern, the aim being to construct a first coherent framework". As I categorised the data I began to recognise connections between the themes. These sub-themes were categorised again and then connected to a major theme. In the final part of the thematic analysis 'selective coding' is applied to the data which recognises the core theme and it is compared to existing theory (Ezzy, 2013). Giampietro (2008, p. 235) suggests in this final stage the "ethnographer documents/checks the hypotheses formulated during the constructive phase and anchors them to a theory". After the process of coding the data and categorising them into major themes, a theoretical framework was applied to make sense of my interpretation.

Applying Connell

Raewyn Connell's social theories on gender provide the conceptual tools to make sense of the complexities of gender and power in the field of TSSU kendo. Connell is a leading theorist on gender and her contribution to the field is enormous. Connell first developed a social theory on gender relations in *Gender and Power* (1987). Among several of her publications in gender, education and class, her books *Masculinities* (1995, 2005), *Gender* (2002) and a revised edition of *Gender: In World Perspective* (2009) have been translated into several languages. Connell's theory is a social constructionist approach to gender relations and identities, "gender is a specific form of social embodiment. Gender relations form a particular social structure, refer to particular features of the bodies, and gender practices form a circuit between them" (Connell, 2009, p. 68). Her research has paid considerable attention to the concept of hegemonic masculinity and the significance of bodies, and has been well used in sport sociology. Connell's key concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity (2005), *gender regimes* (2002) and the *labour, power* and *cathexis* model (1987) have been successfully applied in sport studies. Examples of such studies are McDonald's (2009) "Learning Masculinity through Japanese University Rowing" and Light's (2007) "Re-examining Hegemonic Masculinity in High School Rugby: The Body, Compliance and Resistance". Connell has also been utilised in several ethnographies to theorise female participation in hegemonic masculine sports, such as: Boyle and McKay's (1995) study on lawn bowl culture in Australia; Lafferty and McKay's (2004) study on Australian women's boxing; soccer in Sweden (Eliasson, 2011); boxing and soccer in France (Mennesson, 2012); global snowboarding (Thorpe, 2009) and Australian rules football (Wedgewood, 2004).

Connell's theories on gender can be effectively applied to make sense of Japanese university kendo. There were several *gender regimes* that were a part of TSSU daily practice (discussed in more detail in chapter 7). According to Connell, (2002, pp. 53-54) *gender regimes*

are gender arrangements of institutions which are constructed based on social roles and are a part of organisational life. These regimes are a part of wider patterns which reflect the gender order of a society. The gender order is a historically constructed pattern of power relations between men and women which has produced definitions of femininity and masculinity (Connell, 2002). In Japan, since gender continues to be re-produced in the classroom (Manzenreiter, 2013a) and kendo intersects with education, it is little surprise the *gender regimes* of kendo reflect the gender order of Japanese society. Research suggests that the club prepares members for adult life (Cave, 2004; McDonald, 2009; Manzenreiter, 2013a; Miller, 2013a). According to Connell (1987, p. 92) women endure constraints and as a social practice it operates “through a more complex interplay of powers and through an array of social institutions”. To decipher social structures an analysis of institutions is necessary and that social embodiment may involve an individual’s conduct or a group, an institution, or a whole complex of institutions (Connell, 2009). Connell asserts that “bodies have agency and bodies are socially constructed” and “bodies are both objects of social practice and agents in social practice” (2009, p. 66). Gender then is both a product of interactions between genders, and a structure that constructs such interactions (Connell as cited in Bricknell, 1998, p. 54).

In Japanese kendo, it is still believed that femininity and masculinity are biologically determined in terms of physical power, technical ability and style of play. Connell’s understanding of gender refutes such biological determinism and provides a coherent explanation as to why gender exists:

Gender is a social structure, but of a particular kind. Gender involves a specific relationship with bodies. This is recognized in the common sense definition of gender as an expression of natural difference, the bodily difference of male from female. What is wrong with this formula is not the attention to bodies, nor the concern with sexual reproduction, but the idea that cultural patterns simply ‘express’ bodily difference. (2002, p. 9)

Sex similarity research has decisively refuted the concept of gender as binary, yet natural differences are constructed for social relations to function (Connell, 2002). There is plenty of research suggesting that correlations reporting ‘natural’ differences between men and women are indeed misleading and overstated (Phillips, 2010). However, these differences continue to be reinforced through the gender regimes of institutions which contribute to the re-production of power. Power operates in institutions in the form of one group’s oppression over another, which is an important part of gender structure. Hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity are crucial to Connell's concept of power. Hegemonic masculinity is one form of masculinity that embodies the cultural specific ideal form of being a man, requiring all other men to position themselves as the masculine ideal, legitimising the subordination of women to men (Connell, 1987). Although a hegemonic form of masculinity may not be the most common and not all men directly practice hegemony, the majority of men benefit from its existence and emphasised femininity is defined by the universal accommodation of women to “the interests and desires of men” and “women's compliance with this subordination”, while other forms of femininity “are defined by complex strategic combinations of resistance and co-operation” (Connell as cited in Boyle & McKay, 1995, p. 558). According to Connell (1987) there is not a hegemonic femininity since all femininities are held in subordination to men. Instead the female equivalent of hegemonic masculinity is better described as emphasised femininity.

To make sense of the gender regimes of TSSU, I use Connell’s (1987) *labour, power* and *cathexis* model to make a structural analysis (see chapter 7). This model was applied successfully to Boyle and McKay’s (1995) and Lafferty and McKay’s (2004) studies. By applying this model to the social space of TSSU we are able to make sense of the complex structuring process of gender and power. Three structures will be outlined: the division of labour, the structure of power and the structure of cathexis which are the major elements of any gender order or gender regime

of an institution. In the analysis societal practices are named 'macro level' structures such as the 'sexual division of labour'. These 'macro level' gender regimes articulate with the 'micro level' practices of TSSU.

Connell (1987) defines the three components of her model as follows. *Labour* is the sexual division of labour and allocates particular types of work to particular types of people. The structure of *labour* is such that women are employed in unskilled occupations or as volunteers with low levels of authority, prestige, and remuneration. *Power* refers to the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity which supports the idealised form of cultural masculinity and subordination of women where women accommodate the interests and desires of men. Finally, *cathexis* refers to sexual, social relationships that are organised through emotional and erotic attachment to others. In explaining Connell's *cathexis*, Boyle and McKay (1995, p. 558) highlight "the hegemonic pattern of desire in capitalist societies presumes sexual difference" and that "cathexis is not fully explained by sexual difference, because heterosexual women are sexualized to an extent that heterosexual men are not". None of these three structures can be independent of each other. *Cathexis* reveals inequalities of power and division of labour reflects cathexis (Connell, 1987). Boyle and McKay (1995, p. 558) suggest that we must distinguish the global or macro relationship of power in which women are subordinated to men in society as a whole, from the micro situation in particular households and workplace settings. It is possible for the local to depart from the global pattern and even contradict (see chapter 9).

Connell has recently reconsidered her theories and this is reflected in her ability to be critical of her own work, which is discussed in Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', and Connell's *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science* (2007). *Southern Theory* is concerned with the construction and reconstruction of social science (2007). Connell criticises the dominance of Northern feminism

(including her own work), and how its discourses dominate and dictate a universalist meaning of gender equality from an objective standpoint. Connell proclaims that “when the claim of universal knowledge or universal values is made from a position of privilege, it is likely to serve hegemony not liberation” (2007, p. x). Northern feminism often does not take into consideration the unique historical and social processes of a culture.

Connell (2007) clarifies that Southern based feminist theory is no more legitimate than Northern based theories. However, their exclusion from global feminism denies their contribution to the realm of knowledge and arrests development of Northern based theories. Connell's (2014a) logic of Southern theory is particularly appealing in the sense that she calls for feminist scholars to be reflexive on how Northern feminism and post-colonialism tends to dominate gender analyses of other 'peripheral' cultures. To understand the content and method of sociology it is important to understand that “sociology was formed within a culture of imperialism, and embodied a response to the colonised world” (Connell, 2007, p. 9). Colonised countries are now caught in a double bind as imperialists own the realm of knowledge and apply feminist theories to the societies they colonised. Connell (2014b, p. 555) asserts that “in reaction against Northern feminism, more exactly a simplified version of it, one school of thought asserts that ‘gender’ is itself a product of colonialism, imposed on societies which previously did not organize themselves in gendered ways”. Connell's view is similar to Chandra Talpade Mohanty who asserted in her paper, *Under Western Eyes*:

Second, concepts like reproduction, the sexual division of labor, the family, marriage, household, patriarchy, etc., are often used without their specification in local cultural and historical contexts. These concepts are used by feminists in providing explanations for women's subordination, apparently assuming their universal applicability. For instance, how is it possible to refer to "the" sexual division of labor when the content of this division changes radically from one environment to the next, and from one historical juncture to another? (1984, p. 347)

As previously mentioned, although Japan was not colonised, it went through a process of self-colonisation as part of the modernisation process as it adopted many Western practices including

gender arrangements. This process also contributed to the invention of 'traditional' identity as part of the Meiji government's nationalist policy. Since gendered practices were by and large adopted from colonial Victorian bourgeois culture, Connell's gender theory can be applied to make sense of TSSU women's kendo practices. As will be discussed in chapter 7, the gendered institutional structures of kendo and overlapping fields are deeply entrenched in patriarchy which informs women's agency and behaviour. Northern based theories can be applied to cultures like Japan by using theorists who are reflexive and have in-depth understanding of the culture of historical processes. Citing Chilla Bulbeck (1998), Connell suggests that "however carefully we acknowledge cultural and economic difference, universalist ideas such as rights and equality remain important for a democratic politics" but "when the claim of universal knowledge or universal values is made from a position of privilege, it is likely to serve hegemony, not liberation" (2007, p. x).

Applying Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu, the philosopher, anthropologist and sociologist, was one of the most influential intellectuals of the 20th and 21st centuries. His contribution to social theory is grandiose as an author of some 45 books and 500 articles, many of which have been translated in various foreign languages (Formosa, 2002). Bourdieu developed key sociological concepts such as *habitus*, *capital* and *field* (Grenfell, 2012) and the binary of structure and agency (Formosa, 2002). As a means of understanding *practice* Bourdieu provided the tools to make sense of the relationship between "structures that shape society and their interaction with the individual person" (as cited in Hunter, Smith & Emerald, 2014, p. 3). These concepts have been widely explored in sport, sociology, physical culture and physical education research (see for example Bourdieu, 1988; Brown, 2006; Clement, 1995; Hunter et al., 2014; Light & Kirk, 2000; McDonald, 2009; Manzenreiter, 2013a; Mennesson, 2012; Thorpe, 2009; Wacquant, 2004).

The theoretical framework of this thesis primarily utilises Bourdieu's (1984) conceptual tools of *habitus*, *capital* and *field*. Bourdieu's key concepts are useful in deconstructing how member's dispositions are shaped by and shape the field. Bourdieu (as cited in Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992), suggests that *habitus*, *capital* and *field* are ongoing interactive processes which influence and configure each other:

A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations "deposited" within individuals bodies in the form of a mental and corporeal schemata of perception appreciation, and action. (p. 16)

Bourdieu explains there is an unconscious relationship between *habitus* and *field* (as cited in Grenfell, 2012), where [(Habitus) (Capital)] + Field = Practice (Bourdieu 1984, p. 101). According to Bourdieu, *habitus* expresses our ways of being, feeling, acting and thinking. We carry within us our history and we bring our history into now and how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not others. Our dispositions evolve, they are durable and transposable but not immutable (not changing, or unable to be changed). *Habitus* develops in response to the *field* where limits will depend on class. Class depends on *capital* and fields prioritise different forms of capital. The *habitus* is embodied through developing social structures and the histories of those structures and is both "a structuring and structured structure" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 139). The relationship between *habitus* and *field* reproduces class and cultural values in kendo which are homologous with conservative middle-class Japanese sociocultural values. As such kendo capital, expressed through symbolic, cultural and physical forms of capital, is recognisable in the overlapping government fields of education, police and prison systems. Bourdieu (1984) hypothesises that:

A sport is more likely to be adopted by a social class if it does not contradict that class's relation to the body at its deepest and most unconscious level, i.e., the body schema, which is the depository of a whole world view and a whole philosophy of the person and the body. (p. 218)

According to Bourdieu, people who share structurally similar positions will share similar experiences of social relations, processes and structures. Thus we are each a configuration of social forces but these forces are social, so even when we are being different we do so in socially regular ways which reinforce and relate back to conformity and difference (Grenfell, 2012).

Capital is power and is developed through forms of credentials. According to Bourdieu (2002):

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections") which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. (p. 281)

Bourdieu (2001) suggests that family acts as a field in that it is the site of transmission of economic, cultural and symbolic capital, however, masculine domination is exercised (greater influence) in the fields of school or the state. Other key concepts of Bourdieu's (2001) such as *regulated liberties* and *symbolic violence* are applied in this thesis and have proven to be useful theoretical tools in gender and identity politics research (see Olive & Thorpe, 2011). Olive and Thorpe (2011, p. 429) describe Bourdieu's *regulated liberties* as "small exercises of power that arise within the existing symbolic system or social field, but which resignify it in some way". Gendered *habitus* occurs in response not to the field but to the gendered norms and *symbolic violence* prevalent throughout society. Bourdieu defines *symbolic violence* as "the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (as cited in Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p. 25) and that it "accomplishes itself through an act of cognition and of misrecognition that lies beyond – or beneath – the controls of the consciousness and will" (as cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 171-72). Often recipients of symbolic violence perceive that being treated as "inferior, denied resources, limited in their social mobility and aspirations" is the "natural order of things" (Bourdieu as cited in Webb et al., 2002, p. 25). Thorpe, Barbour and Bruce (2011, p. 116) suggest that Bourdieu's key concepts offer "new ways to productively

reconceptualise the relationship between gender, power, structure, agency, culture and embodiment expressed in the often contradictory forms of women's experience in contemporary sport and physical culture”.

Although Bourdieu's social theory was developed within Europe from his research on French society and ethnography of Algeria's Kabyle society, his sociology is applicable in making sense of other cultures. What is attractive about Bourdieu's theory is his insistence on reflexivity in social research. Bourdieu's theories contest essentialist ideologies as reflexivity is required in the analytical process which makes the researcher aware of their positionality and can expose unconscious biases. Bourdieu's sociology emphasises the importance of reflexivity and recognises the “objectifying gaze of sociology” and “sociologist as cultural producer” (Wacquant as cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 36). Bourdieu suggests there are three types of biases, namely the social origin of the researcher, the position that the researcher has in the academic field and the intellectualist bias that can create the social world (Wacquant as cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Mennesson's (2012, p. 5) study on women's boxing and soccer utilises Connell and Bourdieu's social theories and forecasts that “the behaviors of the individual athletes can be understood as an interplay between specific gender regimes and dispositional systems”. In this thesis, I apply a similar framework to make sense of Japanese sports university women's kendo participation. The key concepts of Connell and Bourdieu provide a comprehensible framework to understand how dispositions of TSSU female club members are re-produced and how the members simultaneously contribute to its re-production via institutional *gender regimes* and how female's *habitus, capital, field* complex is organised in reaction to it. I tested Connell and Bourdieu's social theories in a survey. The next chapter summarises the findings from a quantitative survey conducted with 7 sport university kendo clubs.

CHAPTER 5

Surveying Sport University Kendo

This survey was designed to test homogeneity across kendo clubs that had similar settings to TSSU (see Appendix E for survey and Appendix F for report in Japanese). Initially I selected the university kendo club as my research field as kendo mostly occurs within the confines of education and intersects with employment. In selecting university kendo clubs to survey, I needed to determine key elements each university shared that would confirm that TSSU practises were not unique, rather they reflected a certain type of kendo and set of values. There are usually a similar set of beliefs and views held by groups. Investigating these beliefs attitudes and opinions of groups with common traits is of value as it is assumed these traits will influence behaviour (Black, 2005, p. 215). To understand why groups of people act the way they do or hold certain views is the common aim of social research (Black, 2015). More quantitative (or mixed methods) studies on gendered sports participation and governance across different types of sports would form welcome additions to the numerous qualitative case studies about gendered (intersectional) identity negotiations (Elling, 2015, p.433). Elling (2015) explains it is important that we recognise, especially at this time, the need for larger, comparative mixed methods studies to expand further the body of knowledge on gender. There is a repetition in studies that are often very strongly framed in ‘normative’ theoretical/methodological perspectives. These studies tend to be a focus how gender inequalities and/or gender normativity still exists, rather than on investigating whether change has occurred and which influential factors have brought about such changes. By integrating better quantitative and mixed methods studies on gendered sport

participation and governance, the body of knowledge on gender can be expanded. Some 'hard figures' that quantitative research presents may also help provide important evidence for monitoring and to help inform qualitative in-depth research into the ways gendered positions impact on sports and vice versa (Elling, 2015, p.434-435).

Questionnaires can be useful for measuring attitudes and behaviours that are not always observable and is an efficient tool for surveying large participant groups (Gratton & Jones, 2010; Nardi, 2014). The questionnaire is also useful for probability sampling and generalising large populations (Nardi, 2014). Although the core methodology of this thesis is qualitative, a quantitative component was included to test my observations of TSSU kendo across the broader field of university kendo. Specifically, through the questionnaire, I aimed to evaluate whether TSSU practises were unique, or if they could be categorised into a type of kendo culture along with other universities. Another aim of this questionnaire was to gain a better understanding on the conscious relevance of gender to the participant's kendo. Through such a mixed method approach it was possible to get a better overview of university kendo to further contribute to the body of knowledge.

University kendo club culture can range enormously, from being very strict to very relaxed social spaces. I concluded that there were several different types of university kendo and club culture depends on the education format. I deliberated that universities that had a kendo club, physical education or health science faculties and links to government employment would correspond with TSSU club culture. I assumed that these clubs too would be well established and constitute elite environments where the club is highly structured and central to the member's lives. I predicted that the members of these clubs would also have long kendo trajectories and that hope to gain government or company employment through the club instructors or of the nationally dispersed OB-OG network.

The criteria for surveyable university kendo clubs required that it was a co-educational institution, there was a men's and women's kendo club and that the club members were enrolled in physical education/health science courses. H *sensei*, the head instructor of TSSU informed me of the 7 universities in Japan that matched this category. On average, the female clubs consisted of 20-40 members and would make up approximately one third of the entire club. Coincidentally, these clubs were the top universities for women's kendo in Japan. These criteria proposed an ideal field in which to understand the impact of the 4-year process of university kendo to female members who have specialised in kendo over a long period. I thereafter created a survey titled 'A sociological study of female kendo club members who attend universities with physical education courses in Japan' (Nihon ni okeru taiiku-kei daigaku shozoku joshi kendō buin no shakai gaku teki kenkyū) (see Appendix E).

Survey design

According to Black (2005, p.215) "questionnaires for quantitative research in the social sciences are usually designed with the intention of being operational definitions of concepts, instruments that reflect strength of attitudes, perceptions, views and opinions". Designing questionnaires that can be filled out in participant's own time is the most common methods of data collection and are best for measuring variables with numerous values (Nardi, 2014). Questionnaires appeared to be a popular method of data collection at TSSU kendo club. I often saw kendo club members filling in questionnaires after training for their peers and other research students. I assumed it would be a comfortable and efficient method to collect data from the selected universities.

The survey was created after I had already completed 6 months in the field and clear themes had already emerged at this stage. The content of the questions were developed from my observations and communications with TSSU members. The survey was written in Japanese and included 45 questions in topics relating to the participant's; kendo trajectories, kendo experiences,

kendo club practices, relationships with peers, *kōhai* and *sempai* and their perceptions of gender. Many of the questions utilised words and terms I often heard whilst conducting my fieldwork. In following Nardi (2014), I made a list of research questions and outlined a set of topics (attitudes) what they actually do (behaviours) who they are (demographics) was organised. Intensity scales were applied to each of the questions which provided better data. Black (2015) points out that it is important to measure how intensely people feel as opposed to what they know or can do. Nardi (2014) suggests that intensity measures are very useful as answers are not black and white and that most of the time we might feel more or less strongly about them. It is not enough that we know that participants agree or disagree, we want to know how strongly they agree or disagree. Intensity measures were used to articulate how strongly participants felt, or how relevant the items were to them. There were 5 intensity or frequency measure points included in several questions. For intensity measures the following choices were available; 'I don't think so', 'I don't really think so', 'I don't think either way', 'I think so a little', 'I think so'. For frequency measures the following choices were available; 'I never do it', 'I don't do it often', 'sometimes I do it', 'I do it often', 'I always do it'.

Nardi (2014) suggests the ordering of questions is very important, starting with simple questions first and that they are in chronological order. The first section of the questionnaire was composed of basic demographic questions and their current education and club circumstances. Thereafter, I divided the questionnaire chronologically asking questions about their socialisation into kendo and their junior high school, senior high school kendo club participation. A large section of the survey asked questions about their university kendo experiences and club culture, focusing on hierarchical relationships, cultural values and perceptions of gender.

Accessing participants

Access to the participating universities was gained through H *sensei* (the head coach of TSSU) and his wife, K *sensei*. Both H *sensei* and K *sensei* had symbolic capital that assisted in the introduction to the 7 universities. I was introduced to the head coaches of the women's clubs at a major tournament. I explained my research to the coaches and handed them a letter explaining the objective and procedure of my survey (see Appendix D). Most often I received immediate approval to survey their students. I then sent the surveys to the universities in a prepaid reply envelope. The data was analysed with SPSS software package and thereafter graphed and a summary of the findings was written as a report in Japanese and sent to each participating university.

Key themes

Two hundred and three completed surveys were returned for the 7 universities. As expected the majority of club members from every university completed the survey. As hypothesised, the results from the survey did indeed suggest that there were similarities between all of participant's kendo trajectories and their club cultures. Gratton and Jones (2010) suggest that undertaking statistical analysis is not that important, rather the important part is to understand what they mean.

The key findings of this survey revealed that the respondents shared similar past and anticipated kendo trajectories and reasons for participation. The survey results deliberated that there were overwhelming similarities in the demographic details of the members. The majority of the participants were enrolled in physical education or health science courses, which meant that their club mates were also their classmates. The participants either lived on campus in a dormitory or in an apartment close to the university. Very few of the participants lived at home with their parents. The members did not socialise often with students outside of the kendo club and spent the majority of their leisure time either in their own rooms or with peers. The members did not

socialise often with *sempai*, *kōhai* or teachers, rather mostly often with peers of the same age. The members did not go home to visit their parents. On average the participants practiced kendo between 6-11 times per week or 12-24 hours per week. These results reveal that the club required a high level of time commitment and they had little time to do much else. The participants studied very little 0-1 hours per day and spent leisure time with their peers either at home resting.

The majority of participants started kendo between 4-12 years of age. The major influencing factors to starting kendo was due to family and friends. Many of the participants were firstly impressed by the *kakko ii* 'cool' image and masculine associations of kendo. The majority of participants were members of junior high school kendo club, whilst participating in other activities like cram school, piano, calligraphy. From high school onwards the amount of other activities was dramatically reduced and the overwhelming majority specialised in kendo only.

The factors influencing the choice of their high school was for kendo reasons. Many selected their high school due to the club having a strict environment, a high level of kendo, a reputable teacher. More than half of the participants had been taught kendo at some stage from an OB-OG from the university they attended, whereby the majority of those were their high school kendo instructors and most often male.

Influencing factors for university selection, similar to high school was also for kendo purposes. Many participants selected their university to strengthen their kendo, achieve the goal of being number 1 in Japan (although only a small number of participants competed regularly for the university) and learn how to teach kendo. In many cases the participants were following their high school *sempai*, a previous kendo teacher was an OB of the university, or the club instructor was renowned. Very few participants selected the university for career purposes. For both high school and university, it is compellingly indicated that kendo was the primary reason for selection. Although I do not have the statistics to compare female kendo trajectories to male trajectories, it

is clear that women's kendo trajectories appear to be short termed and less often economically motivated. These statistics highlight that university is the pinnacle for women's kendo participation.

In descending order, the first careers choices for participants were; a high school teacher, a police woman, a junior high school teacher, company employee, prison guard, or sports trainer. Very few participants aspired to post-graduate studies. The majority selected these careers so they were able to continue kendo. The majority did feel being a member of a sport's university kendo club was beneficial to finding employment. Many participants felt that being part of the club management team would increase their employment opportunities.

In regards to what participants learn as part of membership, most responded to similar points that I had observed at TSSU. The main gains of membership were considered to be etiquette, which includes the use of polite language and deportment, and thoughtfulness towards others. Other items indicated were; learning how to do work for the club and how to behave in social drinking situations. It is important here to highlight that femininity, elegance, and *otsuki* work were not considered to be learnt through membership. As mentioned in chapter 2 *otsuki* work is considered to be a valuable method of reciprocal learning between men. Femininity and elegance was considered to not compliment strong kendo and is therefore not surprising that these elements were not given value. The participants selected strong words to reflect their club's practises. These words are usually associated with men's kendo and masculinity. They also indicated their style of kendo focused on foundations and aspects that reflect moral deportment.

When the participants were asked if what they learnt in the club were also valued in society, almost all of the items were marked positively, including femininity and elegance. These results suggest that the kendo club is a social space for members to experience 'cultural apprenticeship'

as there is a strong correlation between what is learnt in club and what are perceived to be social values.

Many participants did not respond strongly or at all to questions on femininity. When asked if it was important to be taught femininity in the club and other explicit questions in regards to the value of femininity, the responses were ambiguous. The majority choose not to answer questions which indicates either gender is irrelevant to their kendo or they were not comfortable answering these questions. It was clear from the responses that femininity is recognised as important to being fully-fledged adults of society as it is considered to be correct etiquette. In regards to questions about gendered behaviour and style of kendo these questions were answered with low values. Participants did not feel they acted in a feminine or masculine way, nor did they feel their kendo was either feminine or masculine. The majority felt that they learnt femininity from female seniors, their peers, and female instructors. Juniors and seniors felt that seniors were responsible for teaching values and behaviours valued in society. The majority of the respondents felt that striving towards and/or embodying societal values would make them stronger at kendo.

The survey indicated that female *sempai* play a central role in teaching cultural and societal values to *kōhai*. In regards to behaviour towards peers, juniors, seniors and teachers in the dojo there was a clear distinction in behaviour reflecting hierarchical human relationship rules and practices. In front of *sempai* and teachers, members spoke formal language, meticulous etiquette, and were modest in self-expression. In the company of peers and *kōhai* in the dojo, members were far more relaxed and freely expressed themselves. How these relationships operate is another indicator of how the club can be a field for 'cultural apprenticeship' as members learn to behave appropriately.

The participants appeared not to comfortable completing the section on disciplining as there is increased sensitivity in regards to bullying and corporeal punishment in Japanese sports and

martial arts (see Miller, 2010; Uchiyama, 2014). Due to the recent media attention in regards to bullying in sport clubs, these questions were answered carefully and I don't think they represent true practices. The participants indicated most that rather than implement physical or emotional disciplining techniques, seniors were more likely to discuss behavioural issues with juniors. There were some disciplining techniques that were performed occasionally such as hard training, which compared to the men's method of disciplining can be less physically demanding but can be emotionally distressing.

Sempai are deemed responsible for developing juniors for society which hinges on strengthening their resilience and moral character. The survey indicated that moral weaknesses can be detected through how a member behaves in the dojo or in kendo practice. These undesirable behaviours tend to reflect non-commitment and a lack of awareness towards others. *Kōhai* can be strengthened through the methods of disciplining that senior members prescribe which not only corrects the deviance but also strengthens the *kōhai* inner resilience. It is very rare that a male instructor would carry out disciplining methods. It is nearly impossible to get through university without enduring some form of punishment from your *sempai*. To be disciplined is inevitable. The intention of this method is to strengthen the *kōhai* emotional strength. This strengthening, although not fun at the time, is highly valued by members as this forging can prepare them to deal with adult life with more ease.

Faults with the survey

There are several misunderstandings and inaccuracies that can result from quantitative methods when researching social fields. Nardi (2014) suggests that uniform questions and fixed response close-ended items limit differences between respondents and can be ambiguous and easily misunderstood. Nardi (2014) highlights that response categories don't reflect how you really behave. Nardi (2014) behaviour is a much better indicator for how people really feel. In hindsight,

the questionnaire could have been more condensed with more open-ended questions. I received feedback from the students that the survey was too long, and for some it took more than 30 mins to complete.

I predicted that the participants would respond similarly to the questions. I did not include open-ended questions as I expected these would be answered with too much variety or in non-responses. Questions were standardised with the intention to be easy to complete. This would take less time and make the coding process simpler. Although the questionnaire was intended to test my understanding of the field, close-ended questions can, as Nardi (2014) points out, impose researcher's ideas and words. Unfortunately, the use of close-ended questions, particularly in regards to questions in gender, did not give the space to feel out how the participants perceived gender. It was difficult to ascertain whether gender is so naturalised that it does not exist in the member's consciousness or that the questions had little contextual relevance. There is little doubt that women learn gender and gender is normalised through kendo, however, the way in which I asked the questions on gender did not assist in gaining a better understanding.

Results suggested that the word *jozeirashii*, may have more generational significance with 'traditional' connotations of femininity that the participants could not relate to. The word 'femininity' in English is a much broader term. Perhaps *onnarashiku* (womanly) may have been a better word. Or even perhaps the word *kawaii* would have been more relevant as it perhaps reflects a more contemporary and desirable form of femininity.

Survey Summary

This survey was designed to test homogeneity across kendo clubs that had similar settings to TSSU. As hypothesised, the results from the survey did indeed suggest that there were strong correlations between the participant's kendo trajectories and the type of university kendo club. From the beginning of the participant's long kendo trajectories there was a strong male influence

in reasons for participation, and masculine imagery and values continued to shape their practices throughout university. The questionnaire results presented that the clubs were formalised settings with an emphasis on *sempai - kōhai* relationships and total commitment to the club. In this way, the club was a social space for members to engage in a form of a ‘cultural apprenticeship’. There was a strong emphasis on expressing and developing cultural values through kendo, that are recognised as forms of capital in highly structured environments like highly sought government employment. The responses indicated that members seek to develop cultural values in kendo spaces that would be advantageous in gaining government employment.

In terms of gender, explicit questions were asked using the word femininity *joseirashisa*. The responses revealed that there was not a consciousness or connection with this word and how the participants practised kendo or what they valued. However, when it came to questions pertaining to gender the range of non-response and ambiguity suggests confusion or wariness on the subject. The responses showed that this word may express traditional forms of femininity and there may be a contemporary word that signifies modern feminine which is more relevant. It is more likely that gender is normalised and developed unconsciously through implicit learning that occurs through *sempai - kōhai* and peer relationships, the work they perform for the club, rules, etiquette and disciplining methods. The use of mix methods has been useful in this study to expand further the body of knowledge on gender and kendo. The questionnaire has been a positive addition to the centrally positioned qualitative method of this study. Through the key finding and even the faults of the survey structure, the unchanging landscapes and dynamic aspects of how gendered identity intersects with kendo have become more visible. The next chapter engages with the practical issue of doing research in the dojo in the position of the observing participant. It provides insight into the gendered logic of space and discusses the process of becoming a member with four stories which point to inclusion, misrecognition and confusion.

CHAPTER 6

In the Field



Figure 6.1: Female members preparing for competition

This chapter describes how I negotiated my identity and position as a researcher and kendo practitioner to undertake ethnographic research. I consider how my unique social, physical and cultural trajectory facilitated access to the field, albeit as an outsider ‘belonging’ or having ‘a place’ in the field of the university kendo club. It was never easy or seamless; rather it was a constant process of negotiation and renegotiation, trial and error, inclusion and exclusion. In fact, it was my irregular trajectory that allowed both the involvement and detachment necessary to conduct the research and deal with challenges such as negotiating my ‘belonging’ whilst forming authentic, reciprocally enriching relationships.

During the data collection period there were four significant learning processes that informed me of how to ‘fit in’ the women’s club. These processes were directed by female members and were instrumental to gaining deeper access to the members. Although I was aware of my position as a researcher, first and foremost I was a player. After all, I was motivated to understand women’s kendo in reaction to feeling inspiration from practising kendo with elite women. In a sense I wanted to be a part of their world as a player and I was living my dream, training alongside elite kendo women on a daily basis. In time, my *habitus* became more congruous with the field. Since I had fully immersed myself in the TSSU kendo club and in a sense given up my identity to conduct the research, I had become a “self among self” which Sands (2001, p. 25) suggests is an integral part of field work. During the research period I began to see myself as ‘one of them’ where no longer was there a ‘me’ and ‘them’; rather I was Kate whose style of kendo and personality was different, but in many ways I was not any less different than any of the other members. Every member was unique and every member negotiated their identity in search of empowerment and belonging to the club including me.

In the process of the field work, as I became more deeply involved with the women’s club, my focus on gender shifted to the background as it seemed irrelevant in the consciousness of member’s daily experiences. Although gender framed female member’s practice, what was becoming evident was the importance the women placed on human relationships and self-development through kendo. The process of developing relationships with female members was made possible by my 20 years of experience as a practitioner which carried significant capital. Forms of capital that allowed access to the club was reflected through my long-term engagement in kendo, which provided me with and understanding of Japanese culture and language. What was the most beneficial to gaining inner access was my ability to perform etiquette and the culturally valued pay attention to other’s needs, and that I was genuinely motivated to improve my kendo

and learn about their kendo participation. The different forms of capital within the context of kendo will be discussed further in chapters; 7, 8, and 9.

Participation in the daily training regime was an essential part of the ethnographic method as it provided legitimacy to my place in the field. Wacquant (2004) found, in his ethnographic research on a Chicago boxing gym, that it was epistemologically and morally impossible to do research on the ghetto without firsthand knowledge as a participant. Participant research allows the sharing of experiences at an instinctual level which can cross cultural boundaries and cultivate new understandings of oneself and others. Participatory research is multidimensional, unlike quantitative and observational research, as it requires intimacy and reflexivity. Thorpe et al. (2011, p. 119) suggest in research on feminist physical cultural studies that “physical prowess and skill” is a form of culturally valued capital within physical cultures. Sands (2001) writes that access to the field was granted due to sharing a similar amount of anxieties and hard training as his participants and that this somehow gave him the right to conduct his field work. Bolin and Granskog (2003, p. 12) reflect “for ethnography of sport, for a postmodern and truly reflexive ethnography in which the ethnographer is a co-collaborator, an experiential approach is a valuable tool”.

Developing TSSU *habitus*

Due to my cultural trajectory, my *habitus* was initially incongruous to the logic of the field. Although I had some capital which allowed access to the field there were several other aspects of my *habitus* that were misaligned with the other members, such as my age, my ethnicity and kendo style. Although I started kendo in Japan and I had been practising kendo for longer than the members, their kendo was far more developed in terms of fluidity and finesse required in the TSSU dojo. This is a result of the highly repetitive nature of kendo training and that as an indigenous, traditional cultural activity it is a social space that simultaneously produces and re-

produces Japanese cultural values. TSSU member's acute awareness of their bodies in space developed from body-discipline practices of kendo. I could estimate on average a TSSU member had spent at least 1,500 hours per year in the dojo for at least 12 years. The harmonisation with the actions of kendo and the field was a result of the body in space for a long period of time. The Zen influenced discipline of the body, or ascetic practice, is developed through forms and observing of others (Bardsley & Miller, 2011) and involves "corporeal deprivation, pain, and overexertion" (Lebra, 2004, p. 194). These are essential elements of kendo practice. Ascetic practices typically focus on body-centred control of the mind where "the body must be trained to attain spirituality; or rather, spiritualization begins with body discipline" (Lebra, 2004, p. 191). The body is trained first, to develop the mind with the aim to overcome the duality of the 'heart/mind' and body to accomplish 'no mind' in activities (Lebra, 2004). Most of the members had lived kendo to the point of osmosis where their movements and the ability to read others' were viscerally instinctive. This philosophy of the mind and body integration extends to the social body which connects the outer/external self to harmonise with others' in club spaces. My understanding of my body was very much cognitive and focused on the internal self which did not know how to harmonise, or be aware of others, initially. Although I knew I had strong emotional intelligence, which allowed me to 'read the air' at times, I knew I had to develop my awareness and ability to communicate through the body. Commonly people who find their cultural identity mis-matched find that they must use various resources to negotiate their entry and acceptance. They may choose to play up or play down their identity position to compensate for their mis-match in habitus (Puwar as cited in Ratnar, 2014)

To become a part of the club I needed to work out how to adapt my *habitus* to be more congruous with the field. One way I could adapt my *habitus* was to share the pursuit of self-development with members. I learnt how to behave in the dojo and club spaces from the other

members. Like the students, I wore similar branded sports attire and I rode a broken 'hand me down' bicycle around Kuriyama. I realised that to develop a *habitus* that was more congruous to the field, time was an important factor and that I needed to develop relationships through meaningful body-to-body engagement in and out of kendo practice. Every member wanted to feel their presence had a purpose. Much self-confidence and sense of belonging hinged on others, especially when either a *sempai* or *kōhai* wanted a relationship. The members with little symbolic capital struggled to develop meaningful relationships and searched for acceptance and respect through other forms of capital. (See chapter 9 for an explanation on *sempai* and *kōhai* relationships and capital.)

To be a part of this 'game' meant that I needed to also work out a way of being validated through others wanting to practice kendo with me. This meant they also wanted to develop a relationship with me. In a sense I was competing for capital like the other members, fighting for a sense of belonging and purpose. This was perhaps one of the most difficult aspects of daily practice that would affect me for my entire research period. Although my kendo trajectory was beneficial to accessing the field, adversely it was of little use to the member's competitive progress due to my age and kendo style. This was made obvious by who used to line up to practise with me. Most often *kōhai* members would have to line up to play me as part of their club 'work'. Due to my position as guest I had to wait for members to line up to spar with me. I could not practise with just anyone. There was a formalised system as to who trained with whom (see chapter 9). I was very aware from the beginning that I was seen as a foreigner who was uncomfortable to practise and communicate with. In addition, the women's club was not accustomed to having a senior female present at daily trainings. I was the first and given my unique position, the women were not sure how to interact with me and where to place me, which meant we had to 'write the rules' on a daily basis.

At the beginning of my research, very rarely did the regular team members or the 4th year *sempai* line up to play me. I wanted members to feel they wanted to practise with me rather than they had to. I reflected on how to negotiate my 'attractiveness' like the other members who had little symbolic or social capital. My style of kendo held physical capital in Australia as I was able to utilise my physical strength with effectiveness. However, to develop relationships and gain from training together I needed to use less strength to be able to engage in their 'game' of dexterity and intuition. This meant I had to make myself open to learning what they embodied, which resulted in being hit time and time again. I made a conscious effort to earn a position within the club by trying to improve my kendo and attending every training and club event I was invited to. I also had to 'be tough' and not take it personally when I was not invited to some social events, or when some people did not want to practise with me. In addition to my efforts, I realised I had to find something good about myself to give to the club. Through an accidental experience of showing empathy to one of the members who was struggling emotionally and the positive response I received from other members, I soon realised I could take on a caring role, like an elder sister. However, this role required a great deal of reflexivity and a delicate balance of emotional attachment and detachment.

To break down the hierarchical distance that my capital actuated, I encouraged the members to call me 'keitei' (Katie was my name in high school) rather than 'keito-san'. Part of the cultural learning that occurred in the dojo was practising formal language on those in a senior position, such as *sempai*, teachers and guests (see chapter 7 for an explanation of feminine capital and formal language). Those in a senior position or peers used casual forms of language which indicate power or equality. Although the intention of formal Japanese is to empower or flatter the recipient, I felt distanced from the members and wanted them to talk to me on equal terms. I also sought kendo advice from the 4th year *sempai* as if I were a *kōhai*. In Japan, due to age hierarchy,

this is unusual as people who are senior in age do not normally ask for advice from younger people. I also attempted to do most of the same training, but I needed to work out when it was appropriate that I join in on training, or when it would have been interference if I did so. I treated the members with respect and was very appreciative when any of them did anything for me. I also made the effort to take out members and treat them to dinner, especially the members who sparred with me often, or were particularly helpful with questions about the club.

Time was an important factor in developing rapport. As the members became comfortable with my presence through our daily interactions and that I had proven my commitment through attending every training and performing perseverance and doing my best, we started to socialise outside of the dojo in late nights of sharing meals, drinking and karaoke. It was during these social occasions, outside of the formal dojo environment and benefited by alcohol, that real emotions and opinions were expressed. In Japan, it is a common practice that bonding occurs in drinking situations (Allison, 1994; Dasgupta, 2013; McDonald & Sylvester, 2014; Rohlen, 1989). Drinking opened up a freedom of expression which allowed more access to their inner world. Also as a result of socialising outside of the dojo new levels of communication took place in kendo practice as well. As my kendo developed and members felt they could communicate with me, in time, even some *sempai* would line up to spar with me on a regular basis.

I will now highlight four experiences which were integral to becoming a cultural insider and finding a sense of belonging within the club. These experiences were confrontational which encouraged reflexivity due to my *habitus* being incongruous to the field. Exercising Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, Thorpe et al. (2011, p. 117) reflect the moments "of dis-alignment and tension between *habitus* and field give rise to increased reflexive awareness". As a consequence of the four following experiences I strengthened my relationship with other members and my position in the club. Importantly through these experiences I developed a deeper understanding of self

through kendo which helped me to relate to and understand the experiences of the female members. In chronological order, I learnt how to receive by accepting being attended to by a *kōhai* member, how to drink and share real emotions, how to discipline junior members and lastly, how to partake in the process of bonding through hard training.

Learning how to receive

When I started my field research, Saki, a female first year *kōhai* volunteered to be my *otsuki* (as mentioned, females only perform *otsuki* duties for teachers or visitors and not their *sempai*). The role of the *otsuki* is to take care of a person of status, for example, the club teachers, *sempai* or a guest. A teacher or *sempai* act as role models for their *otsuki* offering them their wisdom and guidance. This is one example of partaking in the learning and performance of hierarchical based relationships. Initially I was resistant to having an *otsuki* as I wanted to be neutral and observant without affecting the club's social space and structure. In addition, my sense of self is grounded in being independent, self-sufficient and autonomous. I felt embarrassed receiving such attention as a guest, as I did not know what I could offer her in return. As a guest how could I be of benefit to my *otsuki*? I recall my first experience of receiving an *otsuki*.

One first year *kōhai* called Saki will be my *otsuki* for this year. She trains with me daily, packs up my armour, folds my kendo pants and offers me a cool drink and towel after training. Saki seems very distant and always speaks to me using formal Japanese. She doesn't seem very relaxed. This makes me feel nervous. Am I meant to act in the same way? I just want to be myself and friendly. I guess I need to learn to understand her role and my position as a guest. (Field note)

I came to understand later that each female member needs to contribute to the functioning of the women's club by performing 'work' which includes taking care of guests to the club whereby such 'work' plays a vital role in the member's learning of hierarchy. Saki invested greatly in the performance of her 'work', especially as a *kōhai*. Initially I misrecognised Saki's formality as unfriendly and uptight but I realised that it was necessary for our interactions in the dojo to be formal and that her performance of 'work' be recognised by the other club members. Through my

observations I became aware that during training times, the dojo is where the learning and performance of hierarchy takes place and hence the interactions between the members are generally formal. I came to realise, almost a year later, that I had been of benefit to Saki as a 3rd year *sempai* explained:

“Your relationship did benefit Saki. She felt cared for even just by you asking her about her kendo. The first year of university can be a lonely and confusing time. She actually developed a lot of confidence from your relationship, it was really good for her”.
(Personal communication)

Once I understood how to receive and give to Saki as my *otsuki*, and as we shared leisure time and visited her family home together, naturally I came to appreciate the reciprocal benefits of such relationships. To discover that I was actually of benefit to Saki gave me a sense that I had contributed to the women’s club which in turn strengthened my self-confidence and sense of belonging. I went out for dinner with Saki almost a year later and I asked her how was being an *otsuki* of benefit and she explained:

“It must have been strange for you having an *otsuki*. It only seemed to bother you. I liked doing the work for you. Through setting your armour every day I felt confident I could set armour for any guest that would come. Also I was grateful that you were the only one who would take me out for dinner, none of the other *sempai* did, and this made me feel special”.
(Personal communication)

Especially in the first year of university the *kōhai* are trying to gain the affection and attention of one *sempai* who will look over them and guide them, which extends outside of the dojo where the *kōhai* will be taken out for meals, bought drinks or treated with affection, although this affection is not acceptably displayed in the dojo. Although the *kōhai* have enough money to buy their own meals and drinks, such a gesture exhibits that the *sempai* is taking caring of the *kōhai*. Often the *kōhai* will seek out the *sempai* to connect to whom they admire. This interdependency manifests confidence in both partners as once the *kōhai* feels that they have someone caring for them they feel they will make progress, equally as the *sempai* feel that their knowledge and embodiment of

kendo is worthy of being sought after. Most often every club member is seeking such a relationship and for a *kōhai* and *sempai* to not experience such an interdependent relationship is often a cause of sadness and loneliness. Usually how a *sempai* experienced such a relationship as a *kōhai* will be sought after or reproduced as they become *sempai*. Intimate relationships with male partners seem to come second to club relationships, as their daily routine revolves around the women's club, club members will spend more time and place more value on their relationships with female club members more than with their intimate male partners.

Learning through drinking

In preparation for the World Kendo Championships I did not drink alcohol for 3 months leading up to the competition. Although at the time it was good for my health, my non-drinking did not allow for relaxed socialising opportunities. Although I was friendly with the women as we trained together every day, our relationships were quite superficial as I had only been in Japan for 3 months and we hadn't shown each other our 'real selves' yet. When I returned from the championships I bumped into a 4th year *sempai*, Sayo at a shopping mall and we made a plan to go drinking. I was so excited by this. Finally, I thought, a chance to have fun and make friends. This is the field note from my first drinking experience with female members. This night opened the door into a new world.

Big glasses of beer were clunked down as soon as we sat down at the local favourite. We gulped them down as I guess we were all a little nervous on our first night out together. Rimi ordered raw chicken, jelly fish and grilled intestines to start with. I would never eat this sort of food normally but tonight was my chance to make a connection. We were drinking quite quickly and Yuko and Rimi started to were both so open and relaxed with me straight away. Our conversation started with how much everyone drinks and passes out. We spoke about how it is a shame the girls train with the boys anymore on a Thursday morning. The general feeling is that the boys were not taking the training seriously. Yuko really wanted to know what I thought about all the members. Rimi said she often watches me. I had no idea. They are really focused on competition during university and really want to win the All Japan competition. We had had about four beers and Yuko was getting tipsy. When Yuko was in the bathroom Rimi opened up more and told me that her and Kiku were the closest. She seemed sad about Kiku's personal difficulties. She said they have always been the closest and had a tear in her eye. Rimi invited me back her home town and her birthday's sister tomorrow. I would like to. I wonder if she will remember. Yuko said "Guess who my boyfriend is"? I had no idea as at the drinking party Yuko said she had no boyfriend as it is a club rule to not have one. Mari had

tapped her at the party and said “you can’t say you have one in front of H *sensei*”! Anyway she showed me a picture of a male club member. Rimi then said “do you want to see mine”. Surprised I said ok and she showed me a photo of her *sempai* from two years ago. I was shocked. I said “Really! Is she your girlfriend”? They both started laughing and said “Japanese joke hahaha she is not a lesbian”. The joke is when you don’t have a boyfriend you say one of your friends or *sempai* is your boyfriend I guess?! Shortly after that Yuko passed out with her head on the table and stayed that way for quite some time. Sayo spoon fed me soup. It was very cute. The next day at university I saw a few of the second year members were screaming at cockroaches. Kiku screamed out “Keito *sempai*! Whoops I mean Keito-san”. I liked it that they called me *sempai* rather than san. The honorific ‘san’ seems so distant. Kiku said “I saw your photos from last night. You had fun didn’t you”! I said “I sure did have fun”! Rimi sent me all of the photos and invited me to her sister’s birthday tonight so I am very happy. I have made a friend and found a way in.
(Field note).



Figure 6.2: Night out with female members at En

Making a connection with Rimi, who held significant capital, assisted with connecting to the others. Sayo was loved by all the members. She cared about everyone. She claimed to look after the ‘dark ones’ who needed her light. She could sense when someone was down and she would pick them up. I really enjoyed that night. I felt honoured they trusted me enough to open up to me. I also shared parts of myself. After that night the women’s club opened up to me. What I learnt through drinking was the appropriate space to share real feelings. This is a field note that describes how training changed for me after that night I socialised with the members.

I have noticed that more of the *sempai* line up to play me now. I enjoy training with Miki as I feel our interaction crosses cultural borders and it is a true battle of wills. Miki is spiritually loaded. As we opened our hearts and shared our emotions last night our practise is even more enjoyable today. We spoke about some emotionally raw topics last night, not that I remember clearly what we spoke about. I remember Miki crying but I don't remember why. I think that is the whole point of socialising in this context. It is a chance to release emotions in a safe space and to not remember what you said or what you heard only that you feel a new tenderness for the other. I laugh at my off balance as I miss an attack and almost fall over. I attack Miki's head target and she shouts "No no no no!" and retaliates with a blow to my right *kote* (wrist target) and gives her trademark overzealous shout, nodding her head up and down repeating "Kote! Kote! Koteeeeeee!". Her shout and *sempai* status usually persuades the *kōhai* into self-defeat but not me. I shake my head thinking 'Are you serious – no way!' and I shout back "No! No! Nooooo!" and we laugh even though I know she is annoyed. My connection with Miki feels authentic and through her kendo I can see her life experiences flickering in front of me by how she expresses herself in training. I like playing Yuki also, as she is a regular team member and a *sempai* and hence she has no obligation to play me. Yuki is fondly called 'the kangaroo' as her helmet flaps are curled up and attacking style is similar to the jumping rhythm of a kangaroo. The curls are resultant of years of tension in her shoulders from being under the watchful eye of the *sempai*. Although her *sempai* have long graduated it is as if their vigilant eyes have scarred her shoulders and the dojo remains a panopticon. Yuki protects her curls as a part of her identity although it does not aesthetically represent 'correct' TSSU kendo. The level of kendo and expectation is lower for the women and so her flaps remain. Yuki punches her chest psyching herself up before our swords connect. I don't fall for her patterns anymore but she cut my head target and at that moment of impact sweat detonated like shattering glass from her helmet. Looking up I can see every droplet pausing motionless. I feel I have been cut in half. There is something special about being cut at the right time when you are open and vulnerable. You feel gratitude for your vulnerability being recognised for it is a chance to close the weakness and become stronger. Mutually satisfied we finish our fight smiling. (Field note)

Learning how to discipline

A *kōhai* may be disciplined by a *sempai* for deviating from correct etiquette practices of which may include acting or speaking in a disrespectful manner to a teachers, *sempai* or guest. One method to correct a *kōhai* is through a gruelling continuous exercise. In this situation a *kōhai* must continuously attack a *sempai*, where the *sempai* controls the duration and level of intensity. For this method to be successful there must be a trusting relationship between the *sempai* and *kōhai* where the *sempai* performs disciplining to benefit the *kōhai's* learning or the *kōhai* is in fear of that particular *sempai*. From my observations and conversations with club members, how and why *sempai* dish out disciplining is an example of the gendered reproduction of club culture.⁵⁰ Depending on the situation and *sempai*, this form of corrective punishment can continue every

⁵⁰ As opposed to the men's club, the female *sempai* will usually give a less physically severe type of disciplining which is often out of sight and in the far corner of the dojo.

day for weeks until the *sempai* feels that the *kōhai* has thoroughly learnt the lesson. In the first few months into my field research I was encouraged to discipline a *kōhai* after she made an audacious comment to me after training. I perceived the comment as being offensive and that it did not align with club etiquette.

Without asking for her advice, Sayu, a first year *kōhai* suggested to me today that I should use less strength in my kendo. I was really surprised that she said this to me. Immediately in anger I replied “you shouldn’t say such things to *sempai*”, (although I am not her *sempai*, I am a guest. I wasn’t sure what to say in that moment. I think I meant to say I am senior to you but that came out of my mouth). A *kōhai* would never give advice to a *sempai*, or to a guest. Why did she feel comfortable to say this to me? Am I too kind? What do I do now? I feel really annoyed.
(Field note)

Sayu had been behaving audaciously towards me for months and I think this comment finally broke my patience. However, in some ways I was responsible for her comment because I had made all efforts to break down hierarchy between members and myself. I wanted to be liked to be a part of the club so I did not set boundaries. From breaking down the hierarchy I had confused the *kōhai* how to behave towards me. As a result, some members, especially the first year *kōhai* acted in a disrespectful way by saying careless comments. Because the members knew I was kind they would push the boundaries. I worked out if the first year *kōhai* are scared of you or think you are ‘cool’ they will respect you. This is why some of the less skilled *sempai* and less popular *sempai* were cold and detached to induce fear and respect from the *kōhai*. Although I felt angered by this comment, as a researcher I did not want to disrupt the social space and I feared not being liked if I said anything. However, I decided to seek advice from a 4th year *sempai* called Rina. Rina felt personally responsible and she was surprised and embarrassed by Sayu’s comment. Rina told me I would have to discipline her and if I didn’t one of the other 4th year *sempai* would have to. Rina explained that I am too kind and that I would have to discipline for Sayu’s learning. Rina suggested I could take her to a corner and discipline her where I wouldn’t feel self-conscious. Although I felt uncomfortable I agreed to do it, as it was necessary to correct Sayu’s behaviour

for her learning and to maintain the reputable level of etiquette of the club. Rohlen (1989, p. 28) suggests “compliance with these basic routines defines one as a social being and a member of the group”. As such I felt I needed to carry out disciplining to be part of the group.

At training today Rina instructed Sayu to approach me and ask me for *kakarigeiko*. I felt very uncomfortable. We felt we were on display as the female members were watching us. I gave Sayu a hard practise and I didn't enjoy it at all. After training I explained that I disciplined her because of her comment and that she shouldn't say such things to people senior in age as it is disrespectful. Sayu said “thank you”. (Field note)

I felt that my willingness to carry out disciplining for the benefit of the *kōhai* and the female club strengthened my position as the members were then able to utilise my existence as a part of their learning. As a result of this experience in my learning how to give, Sayu's etiquette greatly improved and I realised I was valuable to the club member's learning process which aligns with Rohlen's (1989, p. 31) suggestion that “misbehavior is the group's problem, not the problem of an external objective system or the responsibility of the misbehaving individual alone”.

Learning how to train hard

What finally consolidated my sense of belonging was my full participation in the winter training camp. The yearly training camp takes place for two weeks during the coldest period of winter and is considered to be notoriously the most severe university camp in Japan. There is great importance placed on how well the camp is organised and participated in by every single club member. A successful camp implies a successful year as one of the club mottos states “*kangeiko wa ichinen no hajimari de ari, ichinen no shimekukuri desu*” (The year starts and concludes with winter training camp). As the 4th year *sempai* graduate at the completion of camp, during the camp I felt that the female members were treasuring every last training session together and that the *sempai* were earnestly passing on their embodied knowledge to *kōhai*. The camp's success depended on every member's full commitment to the camp. Every member needs to be strong

during the camp and participate every day – even if they feel unwell they must go on and not show they are unwell – for the group and for the camp to be a success means spiritual growth and group bonding.



Figure 6.3: Training at 5am

Throughout the year I had experienced discomfort in training on many occasions. The discomfort arose from always being viewed as 'the other' (not being Japanese), the weather, fatigue, pain, or when I practised with a difficult opponent. However, in my discomfort, although I could not physically stop training, I always felt I had the choice as to whether I could mentally withdraw from training or not. Considering my Australian identity and that most women my age in Japan do not continue to train like I do (I was training daily, almost to the same extent as the students), at any time it was acceptable for me to choose how I would participate as already my existence in their world exceeded their expectation of women's participation in kendo. I never felt my age was an issue until I went to Japan, taking into account hierarchy and women's life cycle patterns.

However, for my research I had decided to use the student's method of training as my point of reference, what to aspire towards – for better or for worse I chose to keep up with them and commit to the training in order to share their club experience and develop relationships with them. In saying this, there were times when I could not train due to the intensity or knowing my participation would slow the group down. If I was injured or had a cold, I knew I could adapt how I trained with no criticism for self-preservation. However, in regards to the camp, the purpose of participation is to achieve spiritual growth and group bonding. I knew if I wanted to experience self-development and gain respect and a sense of belonging I would need to commit to the training and continue until the very end, no matter how sick, injured or exhausted I felt. I could not stop and I could only give my best at all times. I realised to some extent that perhaps I had protected myself from feeling discomfort that I could not control or escape from, which reflected strongly in the fear of the training I was feeling.

The night before the camp I went out to dinner with a 4th year student and she explained how important it was to 'surrender' to the hard training and not to use my 'foreign guest' status. Right then I decided to give all of myself to the women's club although I was terrified of the mental, physical and emotional pain I would feel in the consecutive 15 days of early morning and afternoon training. As a result of my 'surrendering' and suffering I became a part of the support network that operates within the club during such training camps. I realised that within the club as a collective, spiritual growth through suffering is achieved with co-operation and support from others. This enables a more meaningful experience resulting in the ability to give more of oneself and therefore achieve more growth.

Well into the camp I reached the point where I was well into suffering but, as I could not stop, I had transgressed beyond rational self-protection. I could not move well, I felt confused easily, I felt so much anxiety playing teachers in this state, but I knew I could not stop, miss out

on any time not training with the women and not achieve my daily goals or the camp would be a failure. All I knew was I had to keep going no matter what. Normally I would rest and recover to regain health. But this was the point – to move our mind limits, and limits of others, of what we believe is rational. At one point I thought I had torn a leg muscle but I prayed I could keep going. This is a field note from day nine of the camp.

I couldn't move hearing my alarm at 4:20am. I rolled up out of bed with my head in hands thinking 'how am I going to get through training today'. I feel confused so easily – my brain is no longer functioning. I cannot give up though as I cannot miss anytime not training with the women. I repeat my morning mantra "just get to the dojo". When I arrived at training Hiro and Ri's selfless bright energetic smiles and "good mornings" recharged my spirit. After morning training finished one of the stronger members, Yuko, said to me "let's do our best again tomorrow Kate". I returned the gesture with much relief the days training was over.
(Personal diary – Day 9)

It was through the 'giving all' of myself that I felt I was a part of the collective goal of achieving personal growth together whilst strengthening our relationships within the club. Rohlen, 1989, p. 29) highlights how "participation, thus, not only signifies attachment but represents a form of discipline". During this period and due to my efforts, my position had shifted from *sono ta* (other) which included guests and visitors. This change in positioning happened on the between day 13 and day 14 and my name was shifted from 'other' to the teacher category (see red circles in Figure 6.5). Although my position in the club was not of a *sensei* it did not fit into the other categories of OB/OG or students. The change from being 'other' was of great personal significance and I felt that I had earned a position through my efforts at the camp.

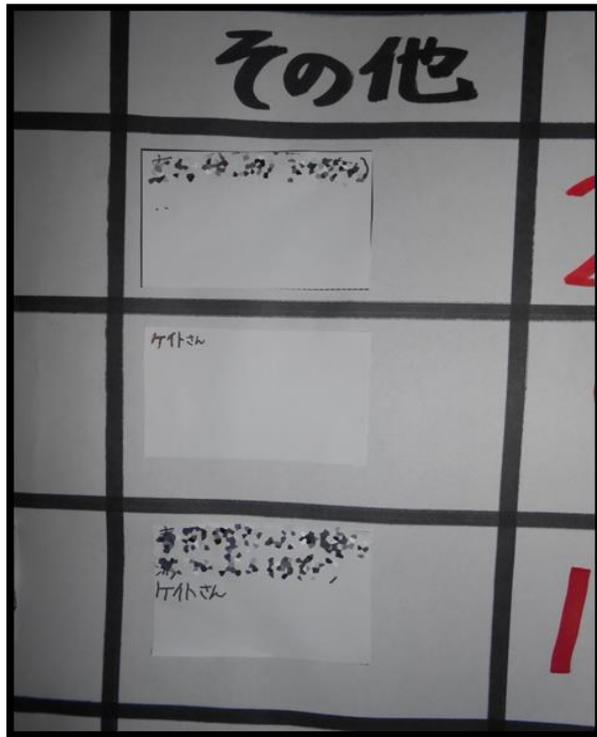


Figure 6.4: Photograph of Day 1-3 list of the camp attendees who are ‘other’

	先生	OB・OG	学生	その他	合計
10日					311
午前					151
午後					
11日					254
午前					
午後					
12日					148
午前					91
午後					
13日					144
午前					93
午後					
14日					140
午前					143
午後					117
15日					225
午前					
午後					
16日					
午前					
午後					
17日					
午前					
午後					

Figure 6.5: Day 10-16 list of camp attendees

As a result of my surrendering to the training and consequent ‘suffering’, my efforts were noticed by other members with significant capital in the club.

After training Hiro, a popular 4th year *sempai* said to me “I was watching you today. Since you are doing your best and training with the same scary teachers as Mika and I, we want to go drinking with you tonight”. Feeling as though I had been awarded a big gold star I enthusiastically replied “yes please”! Although expecting to suffer even more for it the next day. With only a few hours’ sleep Hiro, Mika and myself were delirious at morning training the next day. Throughout the morning we exchanged encouraging shouts of “fight”! and fist to fist punches supporting each other to get through the training. From last night’s experience I feel even closer with the *women’s club*. Hiro gave me a big hug at the end of training today.
(Field note – Day 11)

What makes these two *sempai* significant members is their social capital gained through their self-disciplined competitive approach to practice and their ability to watch over others. Respected *sempai* are not always the strongest players; often they are the ones who have a good understanding and ability of kendo and are able to watch over *kōhai* and are quick to give constructive feedback. The concern is that when *sempai* become regular team members they lose their ability to watch over others as they are concerned with their own competition preparation. Unless a *sempai* feels a connection to a *kōhai* they will not expend the energy to teach. They will ignore the *kōhai* behaviour and bad habits unless the behaviour is breaking club rules and is really disruptive to the club functioning. Due to the personal significance of this experience I survived through to the last day of the camp.

I ran to the train with Hiro today as it was our last training together. I could see she was crying under her helmet. To see her cry and hear her say “thank you for this year Kate, thank you” shot through my heart. Most of the female members were crying today during training as it was the last time this group would train together – ever. After training the female club had their last meeting together. This was the time for the 4th year *sempai* to share their personal reflections of the 4 years spent at the university. I was also asked to give my reflections. My heart was filled with so much emotion and I knew I would start to cry but I shared “my first kendo experience was being a member of a high school club and I loved training with my friends every day. In the past 20 years I have not felt this joy until I came to train with all of you”. I looked around the room and some of the women had tears in their eyes, I started to cry. Hiro shouted out “fight Kate” and so I continued, “Thank you to the 4th year *sempai* – I have had an unforgettable year”. It was a very emotional experience for every member, including myself. (Personal diary – last day of the camp)

On that day I realised that I had achieved what I had been striving for all this time in my 20-year kendo career: not a performance outcome but rather a sense of belonging to a group where each member shared the same 'reason for being'. I realised though that in giving myself totally to kendo and the club and not to anyone in particular, I was able to completely open myself, both emotionally and spiritually. Central to the success of this research was gaining a sense of belonging to the women's club to see beneath the subtexts of performances. Gaining a sense of belonging required several months of negotiating my unique trajectory and identity, which occurred most significantly through the expression of my 'true self' through my feminine capital of caring for others and doing one's best, by being willing to commit myself fully to hard training. Within the context of a women's kendo club such attributes hold value; however, arguably they are less recognisable and valued in Australian society. These two personal attributes, as they seem sincere, gained the greatest recognition from the group and in return a personally rewarding purposeful sense of belonging.

The reflexivity that arose from these four experiences was in reaction to my Western female *habitus* being incongruous to the field of the women's club. As a researcher I had the intent of conducting my field research applying my Western gendered identity, in the sense that I wanted to be independent and not dependent on others. I discovered though that importantly relationships within the women's club are formed around a sense of dependency which results in self-development. For example, when I learnt how to respond appropriately, receive and 'give back' to my *otsuki*, with appreciation, we were able to develop a meaningful enjoyable relationship. I came to understand the reciprocal benefits of such relationships. From drinking alcohol with the members I learnt it was acceptable in this cultural context to share my emotions and 'lose control'. In Western culture there is a sense of embarrassment or shame associated with expressing emotions or losing control whilst drinking. However, in Japan, drinking situations seem to be a

safe environment to express one's true self. In a sense drinking situations can act as a cathartic release. This first drinking occasion was significant as it strengthened bonds with members and opened the doors to the club. I entered the field seeking to occupy a neutral position, wanting to be on the same level as the members. However, as a result of my friendliness a *kōhai* felt it was acceptable that she offers me advice, as if we were on the same level. In knowing this is unacceptable kendo etiquette in the club, I had to discipline her for her own learning. As I have never been subjected to such a disciplining method myself I found it extremely uncomfortable. However, this opportunity allowed me to partake in the club culture and contribute to the *kōhai* learning. Lastly, my education background in sport science contributed to my initial resistance in 'surrendering' to the training camp. From my understanding I know that over training is seen to be of no benefit to performance and can potentially cause serious injury. However, in Japan, kendo training camps provide the opportunity for immeasurable spiritual growth to be achieved with others. This training model is quite different from the contemporary prototype of Western sports which now often emphasises the importance of periodisation to minimise injury and achieve peak performance. That I 'surrendered' and participated in the camp for the sake of it with no expected outcome other than survival, in and of itself granted a sense of comradeship with the members which I discovered I had been seeking all along. I doubt that my field research would have been successful if I had not experienced the discomfort that prompted reflexivity which led to opening myself spiritually and emotionally to the women's club.

CHAPTER 7

Pink Towels

After I am dressed, I walk over to see the competition results on the wall. I notice the men's results always start from the left, followed by the women's to the right. I realise it is the same order as traditional Japanese writing, from top to bottom, right to left. I switch walls and notice the names of past and present students are written in the hierarchical order of sex, then age. As I arrived the women's change room was brimming with 15 3rd and 4th year *sempai*. The female *kōhai* change in the locker area shared with other clubs. I am a little early today and from outside I can hear their animated chatter and laughter. I wait until they come out of the change room before I go in. I think of how spacious the men's change room is, which is inside the dojo and accommodates all 60 male members, and how the walls are adorned with competition photographs and trophies. It is so obvious that the men's club is 'the club'. I notice that there is no space for the women's club to hang their few team photographs taken at competitions so they sit stacked in the corner. Warm-ups are about to begin and the female *kōhai* shuffle quietly to their usual positions while the female *sempai* leisurely reach theirs. The male club captain takes the warm-up with the altar behind him, the captain is positioned at the top of the dojo and faces the club where the men are closest to him, starting from *kōhai* with the *sempai* watching from behind. The captain starts jumping and shouts 'ichi ni san shi' (one, two, three, four) and the entire club responds 'go roku shichi hachi' (five, six, seven, eight), vivaciously limbering their elastic fibres in rhythm. The high pitched voices of the women's *kiai* surge towards the club captain spiritually supporting the club from behind. The atmosphere is electric. A wooden sword posted carefully on the wall moves slightly and the door ajar under the pounding vibrations of ninety pairs of synchronised legs. Yuka promptly repositions everything perfectly. Yuka senses approval from the *sempai*. Warm-ups conclude and the students move to their invisibly marked positions. The men sit in perfect lines closest to the altar and directly in front of the teachers. The women are positioned to the right of the men, furthest from the altar and teachers. Their section is adjacent to the door in the 'lower seat' position. After training Tomo politely passes me a neatly folded, cool wet pink towel with both of her hands. I notice the teachers and male graduate students receive blue towels from their male *otsuki*. I smile and think to myself 'even this towel is gendered!' (Field note)

As part of the cultural apprenticeship (see chapter 1 for explanation of the term), female members learn feminine appropriate behaviour and their position in the gender hierarchy. The above field note illustrates how many aspects of TSSU practice are gendered. Gender hierarchy was evident in the dojo and was replicated across most club related activities. Club practices were inconspicuously gendered in the way that female members trained, gave and received discipline, performed work for the club, held their meetings, adhered to club rules, performed etiquette, and had restricted access to the teachers and the dojo floor.

Due to early socialisation into kendo and the methods of ascetic training (see chapter 5) which include a high volume of repetitive training and hours of practice, gender is deeply embedded in the female member's *habitus*. The method of physical training in Japan actively influences the 'naturalness' of gendered bodies. It is through this training of the body that women learn gender and their position in kendo. Bourdieu suggests that through physical activity:

The masculinization of the male body and the feminization of the female body, immense and in a sense interminable tasks which always demand a considerable expenditure of time and effort, induce a somatization of the relation of domination, which is thus naturalized. It is through the training of the body that the most fundamental dispositions are imposed. (2001, p. 55)

There is a widely held belief in kendo that gendered behaviour is natural and this is reflected in how Japanese women practice kendo. Reproductive differences are seen to play a part in how female members practice kendo and socialise with others. Distinctions between gendered bodies are often reduced to reproductive difference, as Connell explains:

Reproductive difference is assumed to be directly reflected in a whole range of other differences; bodily strength and speed (men are stronger and faster), physical skills (men have mechanical skills, women are good at fiddly work) character (men are aggressive, women are nurturing), intellect (men are rational, women are intuitive). (2009, p. 53)

Here, I will reflect on Marion Young's (1980) "Throwing Like a Girl". Young's central insight is that there are three "contradictory modalities of feminine bodily existence" (as cited in Wedgewood, 2004, p. 140). The first modality refers to how women use less space, keeping their limbs close to themselves when sitting, walking, or even playing sport. The second is the way women refrain from using their whole bodies in a task, and the third and final modality is that women assume they cannot accomplish tasks, even before attempting them, especially carrying heavy objects. Young (as cited in Wedgewood, 2004, p. 141) summarises the "general lack of confidence that we (women) frequently have about our cognitive or leadership abilities is traceable in part to an original doubt of our bodies capacity". According to Wedgewood (2004, p. 141) Young's analysis provides an essential insight into the re-production of male domination

through the body. Two out of three of Young's contradictory modalities were observable within the dojo. For example, the women tended to keep their limbs close to themselves in training in a compact manner. In general, most member's voice was higher in pitch and also less expressive in terms of tone level compared to men. Women also did not maximise their physical power; they did not strike as hard or stomp as loudly as the men. My overall observation is that women refrained from using the potential of their whole bodies in kendo practice, even those who had equal body mass and power to some of the male members. The way in which most TSSU women used their bodies in kendo is an expression of cultural femininity.

Not taking into consideration the variations within a sex, based on the conversations I had with various kendo people, women are believed to be inherently emotionally stronger, physically more enduring, thoughtful, aware, and intuitive compared to men. I observed that several TSSU practices strengthened these attributes in women, which suggests that education plays a fundamental role in the gendering of women's dispositions to nurturing support roles which suit them. This was clearly evident in how the female members were acutely aware of 'attention to detail' such as a door being left ajar by an inch or anything hanging on the wall being slightly out of place. What was interesting is that even though it was not the *sempai* ('s) responsibility to ensure the door or the swords were in their right place, it was their responsibility to ensure the *kōhai* were aware of it. Awareness training was a part of the *kōhai* cultural femininity learning which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Natural differences are constructed for social relations to function (Connell, 2002). According to Connell (2002, p. 53) "gender relations form a particular social structure, refer to particular features of bodies, and form a circuit between them". This attachment to social role appropriateness can be observed in other sporting spaces in Japan where men tend to occupy "public places of performance and women in private, behind-the-scenes support roles"

(Manzenreiter, 2008, p. 11). This distinctive difference between men and women is reinforced in education. Education practices remain gendered in Japan and women can learn their position and role in society from their participation in sport (Manzenreiter, 2013a). This has much to do with the objective of the first women's national sporting organization in Japan. In 1926 the Japanese Women's Sporting Federation (JWSF) "essential purpose was to foster *kenbo* (wise mother)" (Kimura, 2003, p.241). Kimura (2003) points out how there continues to be a strong gender bias in regards to the choices boys and girls select sport education curriculum and club activities. This is extended to the roles that women play in male dominated club activities in high school and university. Women tend to play the role of manager and perform tasks such as recording competition results, preparing food and drinks, washing uniforms and cleaning rooms (Kimura, 2003). According to Matsumoto (as cited in Kimura, 2003) many women do not regard these jobs as chores rather they feel they are contributing to club spirit and engaging in self-development. Hidaka (2010, p. 47) explains that despite gender reforms in Japanese education there continues to be sex-segregated subjects which suggest that education continues to subscribe to traditional gender division. In Hidaka's study, participants across three cohorts revealed that teachers gave more attention to boys as they wanted to cultivate their abilities since society was male centred. Hidaka discovered through her participants that within schools there was a division of tasks based on gender, boys were often leaders and sport festival activities were split into gender appropriate activities. Male teachers also tend to teach 'masculine' subjects which includes physical education. According to Hidaka (2010, p. 47) "the proportion of female teachers in managerial positions diminishes as the level of education escalates". These examples of gender regimes implicate how gender can be internalised based on experiences at school and through sport. This can influence how women see themselves in employment fields. Iwao (as cited in Bulbeck, 2005, p. 48) claims that while Japanese women believe in equal pay for equal work and equality in terms

of opportunity; they do not wish to be equal to men as they see themselves as inherently different. This belief in 'inherent difference' is a result of educative practice which firmly embeds gender into women's dispositions.

Kendo as a social space is complex, since on one hand it provides the opportunity for women to participate in hegemonic masculine sport and develop masculinity, yet women's participation on the other hand is informed by the gendering practices of education, employment and the 'traditional' patriarchal culture of kendo. Although the performance of gender is dynamic and fluid and location specific for female members (see chapter 9), the practices of TSSU kendo reflect the paternal and patriarchal philosophy of the club which is influenced by remnants of bushido culture, conservative social role ideology, and the practices of government institutions.

Since kendo is considered to be a cultural pastime, it is embedded in re-producing traditional ideals of gender identity and maintaining gender hierarchy. Connell suggests that gender arrangements can also be called a "gender regime of an institution" (2002, p. 53). Gender regimes of institutions most often mirror the overall gender order of a society (Connell, 2002). As I will demonstrate at the end of this chapter, TSSU practices reflect Japanese society. Bourdieu (1988, p. 155) suggests that "the space of sports is not a self-contained universe. It is inserted into a universe of practices and consumptions that are themselves structured and constituted in a system".

Although all university kendo clubs vary in cultural practices, sports university kendo clubs share similar practices as they overlap with the fields of government institutions such as the education, police and prisons systems. According to Hidaka (2010, p. 47) "schooling as a social institution has a hierarchical structure. Despite the immense educational and social changes after the Second World War, the gender regime of the pre-war school, which was inclined to be masculine and authoritarian, remain largely intact". The values of these social fields influence

sports university kendo practices and hence the club provides the opportunity for members to accumulate forms of capital that are recognisable in those fields. The sports university kendo club members share a common *habitus* as they have lived similar trajectories. TSSU women's club member's *habitus* and capital are formed by ongoing interdependent processes which are influenced and shaped by the field.

Although the participants performed masculinity in some spaces, due to the gendered practices of kendo and education, female members unconsciously accepted the 'natural order' that places men in front. This was expressed in the way that the participants automatically assumed their 'lower' positioning in kendo spaces in and out of the dojo. These spaces normalise masculine domination, which subject female members to *symbolic violence* on a daily basis. During my field work at TSSU, I observed several examples of how the female members were denied resources and opportunities and viewed these acts of *symbolic violence* as the natural way of things. Examples of *symbolic violence* were demonstrated in the roles women performed for the club, the prestige given to men's competition, the physical positioning of women in the dojo, and the limited space and time allocated to women's development.

Lower positioning

In the dojo an altar is believed to represent purity (Kiyota, 2009) and is commonly positioned in the upper position in most Japanese dojo. When you enter a dojo, you enter from the lower position and face the higher position which is positioned at the front of the room, hierarchically the highest position (Lowry, 2006). In a kendo dojo, typically the teachers, guests and male members are seated in positions which are closest to the upper seating, whilst female members are positioned closest to the door, in the lower position. This positioning of women within dojo finds its origins in bushido culture, which was underpinned by Confucianism. According to Lebra (2007), Confucianism emphasises distinction between the sexes:

Through this dichotomy, woman and man are expected to enjoy harmony as yin and yang based upon role interdependence. Man is placed above woman, just as the heaven is above the earth, and the head above the body. This status asymmetry involving female inferiority, sub-ordination, and vulnerability ties in with jural patricentricity in property ownership, household headship, and succession. (p. 249)

Since bushido is considered to be a male culture and men were the first to practise kendo, their positioning is higher. This position has endured more time and therefore has more embodied knowledge. This can be understood by reviewing the kanji for *saki* (先) and that this character forms part of the words for *sensei* (先生) and *sempai* (先輩). Both *sensei* and *sempai* hold hierarchical positions as they are considered to have more experience and knowledge.

The lower positioning of women was replicated across almost all club spaces. For example, during the pre-training ritual the men's club sit closest to the altar and in order of seniority, filling two rows. The women sit in order of seniority to the left of the men and furthest from altar. This is duplicated when women receive feedback from teachers and sit at drinking parties.



Figure 7.1: During training camp teachers and club members dine together. Only the male members dine formally with the teachers. Most often the female members set up and pack away the dining room



Figure 7.2: A typical competition. The men compete closest to the upper seat. Most often the umpires and honorary guests sitting at the tables beneath the upper seat are men

The locality of female member's names and competition results on the wall of the dojo were placed second to or beneath the men. The first positioning of men was also replicated at competitions. Typically, the women's competition court is placed furthest from the front and the men's tournament ladder precedes the women's.

The first positioning of the men reflects the capital in men's kendo. There is significantly less prestige in women's competition results due to the lower value of women's kendo capital. Women's positioning within TSSU and kendo spaces was considered to be common-sense and legitimised by female members themselves. This legitimisation emerged during the interview process with two members of the women's club:

- KS:** Why do you think at TSSU men sit closer to the altar and their results seem more important?
Hanae: Well...it is left over from history. It is not really discrimination between the sexes. It is not discrimination. Although it does seem that the men are more celebrated.
KS: Is that a tradition of TSSU?
Hanae: Hmm. There is the history of men's kendo to consider. The TSSU men's club were strong from a long time ago. The women don't really have any great competition results yet. I guess that is it. But there are also more men in the club and the quality of the men is higher.

- Kaho:** The men are the central focus of the club.
KS: Would you like the women's club to receive the same amount of support as the men's?
Kaho: Ah - yes. But since the men have greater competition results it can't be helped. The men have won or placed second at the All Japan Kendo competition. But the women have not placed in the top 8 or top 4. But if we did our best and placed first or second maybe we would receive development funding from the school. However, most often men receive funding, not the women. It is a problem for us but it can't be helped at the moment.
KS: One thing I have noticed is that the men are always closest to the teachers and altar.
Hanae: Oh yes, you are right.
KS: I have noticed the same patterns at competitions.
Hanae: Oh yes, I wonder why. Yes, exactly. Men are always first. I think it is tradition, history.
KS: Is that because men started kendo first?
Hanae: Yes, I think so.
KS: Does it bother you?
Hanae: No, not at all, it is just the way it is. It is normal.

Both Hanae and Kaho justified the positioning of the men's club based on competition success and therefore in a sense their positioning was 'it couldn't be helped'. In most of the interviews, the women did not view their positioning and lack of support as discriminatory, rather a result of the difference in level between the men's and the women's club, and provided seemingly rational statements such as: men were the warriors in bushido culture; the history of men's kendo is longer; the history of TSSU men's club is longer; TSSU men's club is stronger; there are more male members at TSSU; and the men's club has had greater competition success. Hanae and Kaho were not of the view that the lack of resources and opportunity influenced their competition results. Rather their lack of competition results influenced their lack of support. Hanae's and Kaho's responses are examples of how TSSU women are recipients of *symbolic violence*. Bourdieu (1992) argues that recipients of symbolic violence do not view such actions as violence against them; rather it is the natural way of things. Reflecting on Bourdieu, Grenfell explains that "such symbolic violence is resistant to conscious control because it is automatic and deeply connected with individual's dispositions – the way we act and the rationality we use to justify such actions" (2004, p. 182).

The 'naturalness' of the gender order at TSSU was accepted, since this order is common in kendo spaces and some spheres of Japanese society. Gender was deeply embedded in the participants in

this study as many had already invested significant time in kendo since primary school age, and prior to entering TSSU most had some sort of embodied knowledge of TSSU culture through a TSSU, OB or OG connection. As such their *habitus* was well accustomed to gender hierarchy in kendo and most certainly considered the gender order at TSSU to be the 'natural order'. Although a few participants recognised that some aspects of kendo culture were increasingly becoming incongruous with societal practice, most often participants associated TSSU practices with bushido and societal practice.

- KS:** Do you think TSSU kendo practices reflect Japanese society? For example, etiquette and how the men's club comes first and they sit closer to the altar?
- Aya:** Mmm, yes. Do you mean in terms of equality?
- KS:** Yes, equality.
- Aya:** I think there is equality now in society. I don't think men are positioned higher but I think there are more male teachers since kendo has a long history. I think there are highly ranked women but they are in a different category. It is difficult. I think there is more equality in society now but kendo is quite different.
- KS:** Still different?
- Aya:** Yes. Martial arts are of course different.
- KS:** Because men started them?
- Aya:** It is a man's world – although I think women are also strong.
- KS:** Will women enter that world from now?
- Aya:** I wonder if they will. I look forward to it.
- Junko:** I think it is historical why the men's club is the central focus. I think it is the same at any club.
- KS:** Is there anything the women want to change about the club?
- Junko:** No, I think it is fine the way it is. I don't think it would make a difference if Risa (current female captain) or k (current male captain) were club captain but I don't think the boys would follow Risa. This is because it is the same in society. Men wouldn't follow the lead of a woman. But if there were no males a woman could take power. In my experience when I was an elementary school student there were no male members in my year level, so I was the captain of the whole kendo club.

Both Aya and Junko could rationalise male proprietorship of kendo. Aya and Junko viewed that women were strong and capable of leadership but aspects of tradition and contemporary societal practices influenced the 'naturalness' of male leadership in kendo. Although both Aya and Junko did not deny women could lead, they were able to justify why they did not. This indicates that some women accept that social roles are gendered and, in doing so, they consent to men receiving more support and opportunity to develop to become leaders, both in kendo and society.

TSSU men – the ‘main dish’

The female members are on their marks, heads tilting down towards their helmets apprehending the 'pop' in their periphery. Their head cloths' are prepared in a way to win putting on them on the fastest. The women's club method to putting on their helmets is different from the men's club. The club captain positioned beneath the watchful gods, pauses and waits for the right moment when everyone is settled and shouts 'put on your helmet!'. The head cloth is thrown on, then the men and a quick tie up of the helmet cords. The women are always the first to put on their helmets, and the fastest to dash and fall over each other to gain a place in the line to fight the teachers. The male members take their time putting on their men and casually walk to the front of the teacher line as they are positioned the closest. Although the women are the first to the women line two men casually assume front line positions. The order is two men at the front of the line and one woman. After the women scramble to gain a place in the line, each 'take a number' and walk back to the women's training area at the lower end of the dojo. Perhaps two women will get to play the teacher in this session. The teacher walks at a comfortable pace to his position, both student and teacher bow to the altar and move into a crouching position facing each other. The male student stands up and breathes out all his synergistic energy from his body 'yaaaaaaaaaaaaaa'. The teacher responds tempering the student's, the right balance to push the student to a despairing darkness, giving hope to come back into the light, stronger. Meanwhile a line of first and second year female *kōhai* are lining up to play me. My opponent glances behind me and asks if she can close the door that has opened a few inches. We break and she quickly closes the door and returns to her position, thanking me as she looks up and senses the *sempai* are watching. As we resume practice I notice that some of the women have stopped training and see that the *sensei* is pushing a male member to the far corner of the women's section of the *dojo*. Such a public performance is a gift from the teacher and is typically a long practice. I have never seen a female member engaged in this type of special practice. This seems to be a ritual reserved only for the male members. Training finishes and the members who trained with teachers sit in a semi-circle to thank *sensei* and receive feedback. I notice that the male members sit to the left and receive feedback first, as the women sit to the right and receive feedback last.

(Field note)

The above field note illustrates how male members received more space and time with teachers than the females. Although all sports university kendo clubs share similar cultures, TSSU kendo club culture is unique in the way it maintains traditional gendered practices more so than other sports university kendo clubs. What differentiates TSSU from other clubs is the teaching philosophy that is overtly directed at teaching and developing men. Although TSSU kendo club existed prior to T *sensei*, his accession is considered to be the genesis of TSSU kendo club. T *sensei* explained that he intentionally established TSSU in this region since most of the strong university kendo clubs were located in the Kanto area. He intended to develop a strong men's club to win the national championships. T *sensei* deterred skilled kendo women from attending TSSU and rather only accepted women with academic abilities. As such skilled kendo women have rarely attended TSSU.

The original philosophy of TSSU was that the women's club support the men's club. One M *kantoku* explained to me that at TSSU "The women's club is the side dish and it complements the main dish, the men's club" (Personal communication – August, 2012). Many of the male members specifically chose TSSU to be taught by the nationally renowned T *sensei* and H *sensei* and to connect to the OB network for employment opportunities. For some female members it was almost accidental that they selected TSSU and had no prior knowledge of the club's esteemed *sensei*. Unlike the males, most of the female members were from surrounding prefectures and did not aspire to enter careers in kendo such as the police. There was an obvious disparity in levels between the men's and women's club, which further justified the prestige and greater level of support the men's club received compared to the women's club. In many ways the women felt fortunate to be in such an elite kendo environment given their own kendo level. This consciousness contributed to the women's club inaction in instigating change towards equalising the status and opportunity.

Gender regimes

Gender regimes of institutions are constructed based on social roles. Institutions like Japanese sports university kendo clubs have gender regimes in place to prepare students for adult life in society. At TSSU the gender regimes that replicate Japanese society are performed by, and reproduced through, the learning mechanisms between *sempai-kōhai* of the same sex which is dissimilar to high school clubs where most often kendo learning takes place between male teacher and student.

Although the TSSU members had experienced gender regimes during high school, women's club members encountered some new gender regimes at TSSU. Most members as first year *kōhai* were shocked by the strictness of *sempai-kōhai* relationships and the amount of work they needed to perform for the club. Often tasks that the *kōhai* were required to perform were

intentionally made time consuming for the sake of it, to develop resilience and commitment to the club. The *sempai-kōhai* relationships between male and female club members were informal. This suggests that the socialising mechanism of learning and performing cultural values occurs between *sempai* and *kōhai* of the same sex. At TSSU the female *sempai* will teach the female *kōhai* the club culture imbued with cultural values which include TSSU kendo style, gendered work and etiquette. For the female *kōhai* there was a stronger emphasis on learning TSSU kendo culture in the forms of style, etiquette and work rather than personalised competitive kendo (see chapter 8).

Feminine Kendo capital

Before one can accrue and utilise kendo capital, they must have a kendo habitus. That is, a disposition that has developed through the ‘doing of’ kendo and complete immersion in the field over several hours, days and years. The process of developing habitus coincides with accumulating physical and symbolic capital which takes place in the club through physical interactions. This is field note describes a member who had little technical kendo capital and instead emphasised her feminine capital when performing work for the club.

Just before I enter the dojo I am greeted by Yuka, the smallest female *kōhai* as she is busily straightening all of the shoes in the doorway. I say ‘konnichi wa’ and she pauses from her work and conscientiously bows and formally replies ‘konnichi wa’ in a higher tone than normal. Her voice is usually raspy and is similar to her kendo shout. Yuka is ‘working’ and is therefore in etiquette mode. Yuka was designated the job since she is the smallest and has the least kendo capital. It took a little while to understand why the female *kōhai* were so much more relaxed with me outside of the dojo and out of site of the *sempai* and teachers. Yuka habitually offers to put my shoes away and as usual I insist putting my own shoes away in the locker below the top shelf reserved for the teachers. How the teacher’s names are arranged is also in hierarchical order from left to right. I walk into the dojo and bow to the altar. The female *kōhai* are closest to the door and are the first to greet me, formally bowing and saying ‘konnichi wa’ clearly. The *sempai* are laughing and joking around with each other, some turn to say a casual ‘hello’. I walk past my armour that has been carefully laid out perfectly by my *otsuki* and walk into the change room. (Field note)

Kendo capital is the fusion of both physical and symbolic capital and can be accrued via various forms. Kendo capital has a broader reach and is recognisable in certain fields as cultural capital.

Kendo capital is cultural capital. Members select sport university clubs to develop kendo capital, in this way the club is purposefully a social space of ‘cultural apprenticeship’. It is the responsibility of the instructors and other club members to reproduce this culture for economic reasons. Students enter TSSU to develop kendo capital to gain employment in fields where it is recognised. These students become OB and OG who act as connections to employment and recruiters to the university and to employment. This cycle maintains the institution’s existence. Physical capital is developed from the rigorous training and moral deportment embodied through performing etiquette and correct kendo. Symbolic capital can be accumulated through graduating from kendo institutions with that have renowned teachers and a certain type of club culture (which usually produce ‘correct’ kendo),⁵¹ relationships with respected instructors OB/OG of TSSU and competition success. Although the men’s club and development of men was the central focus of TSSU, women were not excluded from accumulating capital and a sense of pride that they had graduated (and survived) TSSU. TSSU was nationally renowned for the style of ‘correct’ kendo and disciplined training. Women have the opportunity to accumulate and utilise masculine forms of capital within the women’s club and at university (see chapter 9). However, the masculine forms of capital that could be accumulated at TSSU were transferable to economic capital post-graduation for men, more so than women, which was no surprise considering gendered Japanese employment patterns and the patriarchal structure of kendo.

Seishin (fortitude) is a form of symbolic capital accruable for men and women through the physical practice of kendo. In Japan, the conception of the self is more holistic where, “although

⁵¹ ‘Correct’ kendo is a style of kendo that emphasises moral values and self-development. ‘Correct’ kendo is emphasised at sports university kendo clubs and prepares graduates for employment in education and the police. This style of kendo is the most respected form and reflects cultural values such as perseverance, best efforts, inner-resilience, commitment, attention to detail, self-discipline, and etiquette. Typically, somebody who has ‘correct’ kendo usually has aesthetically beautiful form, and is assumed to be a person of good moral character.

western culture recognises Cartesian differentiation, mind and body are seen as one in the Japanese understanding of the individual, unified by the concept of spirit (this is different to the concept of soul)” (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005, p. 187). In Japan training the body is also training the mind (Miller, 2010). Training the body whilst tolerating pain and suffering is seen as a way to strengthen *seishin* and the whole self, which includes the mind. A common element of club sports is considerable repetition so that one can ‘remember with the body’. In Japan, remembering through the body emphasises the oneness with an activity so that one goes beyond cognitive processes of learning and one learns with the body which is seen as permanent (Kondo as cited in McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). McDonald and Hallinan (2005) suggest that even when the activity is removed, character development achieved through body practices such as *seishin* can prevail. This marks the completion of a ‘cultural apprenticeship’ as members transform from students to responsible adults. Fukuzawa and LeTendre (as cited in Miller, 2010) suggest that Japanese parents want their children to develop *seishin* in anticipation of the future. For example, continuous participation in a sports club is assumed to cultivate endurance, tenacity and perseverance, which are required for academic success (Okano, 2004). A student or athlete that can tolerate punishment is considered to be strong (Miller, 2010) and can therefore advance further. As such there is capital in being able to tolerate suffering. The Japanese concept of the body converts educational capital (in the case of sports) into physical capital which can become cultural capital (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). Although there is capital in *seishin* development for women, the methods of accruing and utilising *seishin* capital is gendered. This is underpinned by social role expectation for women. Independent scholar and critic, Yayoi Aoki is one of the most well-known feminists in Japan. According to Buckley (1997, p. 1), in the 1980s Yayoi was one of the first women to “theorize the relationship between the imperial system and the contemporary conditions of women’s lives” (1997). Yayoi (as cited in Buckley, 1997) explains

that in contemporary society women's role is essentially consigned to reproduction and it is not given value as labour. Capital accruable through membership for women can be called 'feminine capital' which includes specific forms of speech and behaviour. These forms of capital arise from traditional notions of femininity:

There is a cultural tradition that prescribes the appropriate behavior expected of Japanese women, and included within tradition is a "feminine," or *onnarashii*, speech style, which is characterized by, among other features, politeness, tentativeness and the use of special vocabulary (including verb forms) and sentence structures as well as by a distinctive tone of voice and carriage (Endo, 1995, p.29).

Endo (1995) points out that use of feminine language, bringing up girls to be submissive and obedient has been emphasised in women's education for centuries (see chapter 3). During university women have the opportunity to develop and mobilise feminine and masculine forms of capital within the social space of the women's club but not within the greater domain of TSSU club (see chapter 9). Women have little opportunity to mobilise masculine forms of capital post-graduation and therefore feminine capital found in the correct use of language and behavior is more enduring. Developing feminine capital demarcates the differences between men and women and reinforces the gender order.

Maki, a 4th year *sempai*, who was one of the weakest members in terms of competitive kendo, relied on other forms of capital for empowerment in the club. Unlike the other members, she regularly referred to bushido culture in discussions about kendo. She conformed to 'traditional' kendo culture, emphasising etiquette. Her conformity was a result of not experiencing competition kendo like the other members. The latter did not consider themselves or others to be feminine. The other members thought Maki was serious and her reasons for disciplining were strange at times, as she overly conformed to 'traditional' kendo culture. I asked Maki why women seemed so competitive and aggressive in kendo practice yet so polite once the helmet was off. Maki responded:

How women behave in kendo does reflect bushido culture. Women are strong and play a supportive role. That is their role in the club and in society. That does not mean they are disempowered. It is a little different in kendo training however. Women are encouraged to view themselves as better, 'taller' than their opponent and that their heart is resting above their opponent. This is the true nature of kendo practice. This is also a form of etiquette. Once the helmet is off it is no longer correct etiquette to be 'taller' than your opponent. It is correct etiquette to rest one's heart beneath another's. It is generally not good to be proud of yourself or promote yourself in Japanese culture, especially if you are woman.
(Personal communication)

Definitions of femininity

Modesty, elegance and tidiness were considered to be an important part of femininity training in Japan (Lebra, 1984). The prewar and wartime woman was trained in movements that physically minimised exposure and concentrated on feminine style of speech to suit the domestic realm (Lebra, 1984). The feminine appropriate behaviours that Lebra (1984, pp. 42-45) discusses were observable in TSSU. I observed modesty, grace and thoughtfulness reflected in speech and movements of the *kōhai* in the dojo when in the presence of teachers and *sempai*. For example, women were expected to sit with their legs to the side rather than cross legged. K *sensei* explained the way in which the women sit when not in formally on their knees is the way they would sit if they were wearing a kimono. Although it is uncomfortable for women to sit in this position for long periods, it is considered to be unsightly for women to sit cross-legged. At TSSU there was an emphasis on the use of formal language and formal greetings. Women endeavoured to gain recognition (for fear of being disciplined by *sempai*) by using correct feminine speech, which is an investment in femininity. According to Yayoi (as cited in Buckley 1997, p. 4) "the greater one's skill in feminine speech, the greater the difference and the greater the femininity". There were several other forms of femininity that *kōhai* members were encouraged to perform. For example, since it was *kōhai* work to look after guests they were expected to be warm, accommodating and *kawaii* to teachers and guests. In the presence of *sempai* and teachers, *kōhai* were expected to use formal language, be quiet and act modestly with attentiveness and warmth. Their performances were under close surveillance from *sempai* as I observed:

A first year *kōhai* was attending to K *sensei* (H *sensei*'s wife) and whilst packing her armour, K *sensei* said to the *kōhai* "look more cute when talking with me and do you want me to come back to training?" "With that face I don't think so! Look more cute – smile!" The *kōhai* do look very anxious when they think the *sempai* are watching. I think the women are expected to be 'cute' and 'gentle' when attending to guests and teachers. K *sensei* has made a comment before that the students are more worried about what the *sempai* think than the guests and that they are too formal which makes the guest feels uncomfortable. It appears to be ok if the male *kōhai* are formal and serious whilst attending to a *sensei* or a guest. I remember Nami's mother telling me she is worried about Nami's future as she can't put on a *kawaii* face and often expresses her dislike for things (Field note).

The first year of university was very stressful for *kōhai*. The *kōhai* were anxious about performing many aspects of club culture. Stress resulted not only from the unfamiliarity of such tasks but also how they would be disciplined if it was not performed 'up to scratch'. The *sempai* were much more skilled performing etiquette (with warmth) as they had four years of practice and were not under the scrutiny of *sempai* themselves. Performance of femininity was oriented towards the audience for whom pleasantness was to be maintained. Elegance is pleasing to the eye and a subtle 'sexual gaze' which Bourdieu also considered to be a form of *symbolic violence* (Grenfel, 2004). Within the context of TSSU *kawairashisa* (cuteness) more so than elegance was considered to be appropriate femininity, which suggests the meaning of femininity has changed. Indeed ideals of femininity have changed in Japan (Miller, 2006) which was reflected in the participant's response to the word *joseirashisa*. In conversations with the members, in general they did not view themselves as *joseirashii* (feminine) or that they would become *joseirashiku* (more feminine) during their 4-years of membership. They did acknowledge an emphasis on learning etiquette but did not recognise it was related to *joseirashisa* (femininity). In general women's club members were of the view they were adhering to club culture and learning etiquette which they felt was beneficial. They were not aware they were performing femininity by doing so. Without realising, women's club members were developing feminine forms of capital by performing etiquette that was taught via the *sempai-kōhai* relationships and practised in club spaces.

Women's work

Since clubs are considered to be family like environments that replicate the practices of households (Miller, 2010) women perform gendered roles within kendo clubs like TSSU. The work for TSSU was divided between the men's club and women's club and replicates gendered labour spheres (see chapter 3). The men's club was expected to perform and win competitions and maintain relationships between institutions in the outer realm whilst the women were expected to maintain the inner realm of TSSU and support the men's club. Women's work for TSSU included setting up drinking parties and cleaning up afterwards. Women were also responsible for maintaining the overall appearance of the dojo. The smallest statured female first year's role is to manage the maintenance of the entrance dojo and also the swords on the wall inside the dojo. The women were acutely aware of their surroundings. For example, if a door was ajar a *kōhai* was expected to close it, and if a guest required a seat a female *kōhai* was required to provide one. If a *sempai* had to close the door or get a chair for the guest before the *kōhai*, the *kōhai* would be disciplined as it expressed a lack of awareness. In terms of positioning the women's lower positioning near the door of the dojo saw that women would always greet guests and *sensei* first and last as they were leaving. The female *kōhai* set the bedding for guests who stay at the guest house. Although some cleaning duties were divided between the clubs, in general the women's club were responsible for the maintenance of the dojo. The women were also responsible to clean the teacher's rooms and prepare their tea daily. A flower arrangement for one of the teachers was also prepared every day by a female member. The work that women performed for the TSSU club suggests that the appropriate social role for women comprises of domestic labour and OL duties. Up until recently it was commonly viewed that this division of labour maintained women's power and role within the private spheres of the home whilst men occupied the outer public spheres of career. Yayoi (as cited in Buckley, 1997) suggests that power within

the private sphere alone does not hold any public political power, and in a sense men have power in both public and private spheres. What men will do and not do in the home is clearly defined. Women are also expected to perform the same duties for men in public spaces as they would at home (Yayoi as cited in Buckley 1997, pp. 6-7). Yayoi's statement provides a possible explanation as to why women's university kendo culture consists of performing gendered work for the club. These skills are seen as transferable not only to domestic labour but also in the tasks they may be required to perform in some employment environments (see Ogasawara, 1998).

Although Japanese society has diversified somewhat as feminist consciousness and the economy has influenced changes in women's life cycle and employment patterns (Sugimoto, 2010), kendo remains a site where more traditional notions of gender are re-produced. To make sense of the practices and gender order within TSSU, I use Connell's (1987) *labour, power* and *cathexis* model to form a structural analysis (see chapter 5). Boyle and McKay (1995) utilised Connell's *labour, power* and *cathexis* model and tabularised their findings. I borrow Boyle and McKay's (1995, p. 573) format and also utilise Connell's theory to make a structural analysis at three levels. The purpose of the tables is to present how 'macro level' practices are constructed patterns of power relations between men and women (drawn from literature on Japanese society) (see Table 7.1) and how they are re-produced in the 'micro level' of kendo (see Table 7.2) and the 'sub-micro level' of TSSU (see Table 7.3). How practices correlate with the 'macro level' is represented in the tables. For example, in reference to *labour* the tasks that *women's club* members complete for TSSU reflect how women are responsible for domestic labour which correlates strongly with women's labour patterns in Japan (see chapter 3). In terms of *power*, men's control of politics and legislation is reflected in how men control the space at TSSU. In regards to *cathexis* hegemonic patterns of heterosexual relationships are reinforced in a subtle way. Because women

are objectified in society, within the dojo women are de-objectified and intimate relationships between men and women are disapproved of.⁵²

Table 7.1: Ideal-type representation of structures of labor, power and cathexis at the macro level gender order of Japanese society

<i>Labour</i>	<i>Power</i>	<i>Cathexis</i>
Women tend to be employed in part-time and irregular work (Sugimoto, 2010)	Men's control of politics, legislation, business (see Appendix A)	Institutionalised heterosexual coupledness via family registration system (Mackie, 2014)
Women's employment concentrated in sales, service, restaurant, finance, insurance, food and textile industry (Sugimoto, 2014)	Discrimination of women in self-defence force (Frühstück, 2007)	Sexualisation and objectification of women (Miller, 2006)
Women are responsible for domestic labour (Broadbent, 2008)	93% of police officers are men (The White Papers on Police, 2012)	Hegemonic notions of heterosexuality are enduring (McLelland and Dasgupta, 2005)
Employment practices reinforce male solidarity (Nemoto, 2013)	Articulation between hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity (Metzger, 2012)	

Table 7.2: Ideal-type representation structures of labor, power, and cathexis at the micro level gender order of Kendo

<i>Labour</i>	<i>Power</i>	<i>Cathexis</i>
Men employed in teaching postions and police	Only men hold 8th <i>dan</i>	Intimate relationships between male and females are kept private
Symbolic capital in men's competition	98% of executives in kendo organisations are men	Women and men are segregated in kendo spaces
Male-male relationships formalised	Women's competition duration is shorter in time	Women in kendo careers are often unmarried and childless
Women perform domestic duties in work spaces	Women's swords are lighter in weight	Same-sex intimate relationships are not acknowledged

Table 7.3: Ideal-type representation structures of labor, power and cathexis at the sub-micro level gender order of TSSU kendo club

⁵² These practices reflect Confucian and Buddhist philosophy (see chapter 2). TSSU female members are not permitted to colour or style their hair or have pierced ears (explicit rule). When on campus all members are required to wear sport's apparel (implicit rule). Women are intentionally de-objectified to not distract men's commitment to the club. This encourages dedication and loyalty to the club (see van Ommen, 2015).

<i>Labour</i>	<i>Power</i>	<i>Cathexis</i>
Female club is responsible for domestic labour	Club lead by male teachers and men's club captain	De-sexualisation of women in the kendo spaces
Symbolic capital in men's competition	Men's allocated more time and space in dojo	Intimate relationships between male and female members are not permitted (but do occur)
Male <i>otsuki</i> system emphasises male bonding	Men's club receives more funding	Women and men are segregated in kendo spaces
	OB network leads to job opportunities for men	Homosocial relationships emphasised

This chapter has discussed the gendering practices of TSSU. Many subject women to *symbolic violence* on a daily basis. The women consent to such subjection since the gender arrangement of TSSU reflects traditional culture and the gender regimes of society. These regimes of TSSU were believed to maintain the harmonious operation of TSSU and benefit member's social role trajectories. The culture of TSSU was not viewed as discriminatory, but rather represented the 'natural order'. Often throughout my research period participants expressed that the difference between men and women was 'distinctive' rather than 'discriminative'. In a sense this was said to justify the difference in practice between men's and women's clubs at TSSU. The next chapter describes the actions of the women's club which held the potential to subvert women's positioning within the TSSU but in the end produced Bourdieu's notion of *regulated liberties* due to the entrenchment of patriarchy in kendo and the paternal philosophy of TSSU.

CHAPTER 8

Regulated Liberties

The fear of sleeping in and breaking a club rule pulls me out of bed for morning trainings. As I boil the jug with the sun's reflection streaming through the kitchen window I can hear the club member's rusty chained bicycles labouring up the hill. Noting the time I know it is the 4th year male *sempai* as they are quiet, riding alone, listening to music. The male members tend to be solitary in kendo spaces. The 4th year female *sempai* will soon follow with lively chatter. The kendo club member's *habitus* is distinguishable from the other clubs'. They are therefore conscious how they travel as the teachers driving on the way to university can assume what club the students belong to. The *kōhai* will already be at the dojo having cleaned and will be dressed hurriedly, preparing for the arrival of the *sempai*. During practice I notice H *sensei* walking around the dojo. Uncharacteristically he strolls past the women's section. Usually he stays near the men's side of the dojo. Immediately I notice I am trying to do my best and I notice a sudden surge in the energy level from the women. It is not common that the male teachers watch the women's practice. The women and men are kept separate and are not allowed to train together at all since T *sensei* thinks it disadvantages the men, although it would greatly benefit the women training against the men's skill, speed and strength. Training with the men would most certainly benefit the women's competition preparation. There is competition practice today. During the practice the men's club is typically much more vocal in encouragement with cheers and clapping. The women's club reservedly cheer on their team and are mostly unobserved by the teachers. Although the women are out-performing the men this year in competition there is little change in their resources, coaching and positioning within the club. Overwhelmingly the focus remains on the men's club. When H *sensei* gave his feedback the male members assumed their normal position directly in front of the teachers whilst the women sat behind. H *sensei* gave more in depth feedback to the men and apologised for not watching the women's matches and gives them general feedback. The women tell me H *sensei* is watching over them more now than he used to as K *sensei* was there most days before. There are mixed feelings about the M *kantoku* as women's club coach. Some, mostly the *sempai*, indulge in the freedom of having a 'Saturday coach'; others wish they had regular feedback about their kendo on a daily basis. (Field note)

This field note points to several aspects of TSSU member's gendered *habitus*. The difference in the way the male and female *sempai* travelled to the dojo highlights how male member's *bodily hexis* expressed solitude and seriousness as forms of kendo masculinity in public spaces. During competition practice in support of their peers, the male members performed another form of masculinity as they were vocally and physically expressive, whilst the women were reserved. Both of these examples represent women performing femininity and their participation in 'the game' is by proxy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the higher positioning of the men's club reflects the transferability of their physical, cultural and symbolic capital and justified why they

were the central focus of TSSU.⁵³ The centrality of the men's club was illustrated in the amount of resources allocated to them. The description of the changing rooms of the men's club reveals there has been little room made for the women's club. Although the women's club had more competition success than the men that year, very little changed for the women's club in terms of status, support and opportunity. The moments of recognition that are mentioned in the field note above, such as H *sensei* occasionally watching the women's training was an irregular tokenistic effort. However, these moments of recognition had a great, positive impact on the members. When the women noticed he was watching they performed to appeal to him.

This chapter describes how moments of recognition toward the women's club did not change the *gender regimes* of TSSU. During my time in the field, the women's club experienced some changes to their club such as a new coach, an alternative leadership approach steered by the women's club *sempai*, and the daily presence of a female researcher (myself). These changes may have influenced their competition success and some moments of recognition that the women's club experienced. Up until that year the women's club had not achieved many significant competition results for over a decade. As highlighted in the previous chapter many of the women's club members justified that the lack of support and development opportunities were due to their competition results and lower skill level. However, during the research period the women's club

⁴⁸ Many of the male members had entered TSSU on some form of recommendation or received a scholarship which was dependent on the name value of their high school and their competition results. Typically, TSSU male graduates seek secure employment as government employees. There are more opportunities to gain government employment in the police rather than in education. Due to the declining birthrate and ongoing economic recession which has resulted in a decrease in schools and teaching positions, the teacher exams are very difficult to pass (Personal communication). There are fewer career opportunities for women in the elite police kendo squad which can be reflected in the ratio of male to female police officers (93:7) (The National Police Agency, 2012). The name value education institutions and competition success during university was critical in financially securing their future trajectories. Men's kendo and competition results hold greater symbolic capital and can be transferred to economic capital in employment.

outperformed the men in terms of competition results. This proposed an opportunity to challenge the established order and *gender regimes* of TSSU.

The women's competition results (could have) momentarily suspended the established order and in turn disrupted the structures of its overlapping fields. However, due to the limited transferability of women's kendo capital in other fields, the women's success did very little to change their status within the club. Given the entrenchment of paternalism and patriarchy in TSSU combined with a history of male proprietorship in kendo, the reaction (or non-reaction) to their competition success only re-signified their secondary positioning within the club. The competition success achieved by the women's club was an example of a *regulated liberty*. Bourdieu describes *regulated liberties* as "small exercises of power that arise within the existing symbolic system or social field, but which resignify it in some way" (as cited in Olive & Thorpe, 2011, p. 429). There were several examples of how the women's club position was re-signified despite their success. For example, at the AGM (Annual General Meeting) after winter camp, (where OB and OG from all over the country gather as well as the soon-to-graduate *sempai*) there was no mention of the women's club success although the men's lesser competition results were announced. The non-recognition of the women's results largely went unnoticed and was consequently justified, as revealed in interview with a female *sempai*.

KS: I was a little surprised at the recent OG-OB meeting when they did not announce the women's competition results.

Mio: Really? Oh that is right there was no mention. I wonder why. I think at this university the boy's kendo club has an upper ranking and support.

KS: Oh really?

Mio: The women's basketball and volleyball and men's kendo has the highest rank[ing]. They are the closest to number 1 in Japan. But lately women's kendo is getting stronger, the results are better. The women's kendo is ranked lower. It is different from the money that the school gives. So that is why most of the money that the OG and OB give goes towards the boys.

KS: What is the money used for?

Mio: OG-OB money? I don't really know. But a lot of the money goes towards supporting competition costs. But I don't really know.

It seemed that Mio did not notice that the women's competition results were not announced until I brought it to her attention. Her reaction reflects the naturalness of the gender hierarchy at TSSU. Gender is so deeply ingrained in female member's *habitus* that their position is considered to be common-sensical. According to Bourdieu:

When the dominated apply to what dominates them schemes that are the product of domination, or, to put it another way, when their thoughts and perceptions are structured in accordance with the very structures of the relation of domination that is imposed on them, their acts of cognition are, inevitably, acts of recognition, submission. (2001, p. 13)

Women's club members without complaint were readily able to justify their lack of resources and why their success was not celebrated. According to Bourdieu those with the least amount of capital tend to be less ambitious and more satisfied with their lot, and they can misrecognise *symbolic violence* as natural which consequently reinscribes their domination (as cited in Webb et al., 2002, p. 23). At the AGM there was no mention of the women's club competition success which may be because highlighting the women may have cast a shadow on the men. The success of the women's club did not lead to a restructuring of university funding allocated to the club, the number of women wanting to enter TSSU kendo club, or career opportunities for female TSSU graduates. If the men's club had been as successful that year, their success would have affected the above. Women's performances of *regulated liberties* can lead to a momentary suspension to the established order but they do not have the opportunity to increase their symbolic value within kendo due to their gender.

Examples of *regulated liberties* within other kendo fields include women who do enter into kendo career tracked employment in tertiary education and the police as kendo coaches or athletes.⁵⁴ There are very few opportunities for women to pursue careers in kendo due to the

⁵⁴ Kendo careers for police *tokuren* women consist of training in kendo full-time. Usually these athletes will train during the day, 5-6 days per week. On weekends they will often attend competitions. They are only required to perform police duties occasionally. Kendo careers for female teachers in sport universities consist of teaching classes during the day (practical and theoretical kendo or other sport related courses) and attend daily club training which can finish at

naturalness of male leadership in kendo. The few women who do pursue careers in kendo do so under certain conditions. Women who enter kendo careers, like most other career women in Japan (see chapter 3), break social conventions and are assumed to have chosen careers over family. There are implicit rules for women in kendo careers. For example, in some prefectural police departments, female elite kendo squad members do not marry until they retire from competition, unlike the male members who can marry. Men tend to stay in the elite police kendo squad for longer whilst women retire at a younger age. The recent increase of female members who become kendo teachers is viewed as way to prevent power and sexual harassment within the police force rather than increasing developmental opportunities for women (Personal communication).

The non-marriage of women in kendo careers reaffirms ‘traditional’ identity and that women are considered to be the primary caregivers. Giuliano, Turner, Lundquist and Knight (2007, p. 10) suggest “it is crucial that women and girls be exposed to female, rather than male, athletic role models so that their successes are perceived as attainable and relevant”. This is not necessarily the case in kendo. Although women in kendo careers can be a source of inspiration and open spaces for other women, they simultaneously deter women from pursuing the same path. Many women who are university kendo club coaches are also not married. I recall a conversation with a male *sensei* who expressed sympathy for a female teacher at a university kendo club: “W *sensei* must feel lonely at the prospect of never getting married due to her career choice. Those around her (who are mostly female students) also feel sorry for her” (Personal communication). The existence of women in career kendo spaces does very little to unseat its patriarchal hold.

Bourdieu asserts that in dealing with the institution of patriarchy we must recognise that it

7pm at night. Teachers will also attend competitions and interclub trainings which can take place on the weekends. Both of these occupations require an enormous amount of time and commitment.

has “been inscribed for millennia in the objectivity of social structure” and therefore “the male order is so deeply grounded as to need no justification: it imposes itself as self-evident” (1992, p. 171). Befitting to kendo, Bourdieu here describes women’s participation in male social spaces:

Women have the entirely negative privilege of not being taken in by the games in which privileges are fought for and, for the most part, of not being caught up in them, at least directly, in the first person. They can even see the vanity of them...They can watch the most serious games from the distant standpoint...which can lead them to be seen as frivolous and incapable of taking an interest in serious things, such as politics. But because this distance is an affect of domination, they are almost always condemned to participate...which often makes them unconditional supporters who nonetheless know little of the reality of the game and its stakes (2001, p. 75).

As TSSU kendo club provides a cultural apprenticeship for its members, practices mirror kendo fields and Japanese society. As such the competition for capital at TSSU within the ‘women’s game’ was very different to the ‘men’s game’ (see chapter 9 for a detailed description of the ‘women’s game’). Since the symbolic capital played for in the men’s game could be transferred into economic capital, it was taken more seriously and the stakes were higher. The women’s club indicated that their lack of funding and support resulted from their competition performance. Even when they outperformed the men (which they could have utilised to challenge the logic for not receiving resources) they accepted the non-recognition of their success at the AGM. This unquestioning acceptance indicated that gender is so deeply embedded in women’s club *habitus* that they simply knew they were not players in the same serious game as the men. They accepted their game was viewed as frivolous and they were not playing for the same privileges as the men. This is due to the symbolic value of men’s kendo in cultural, education and employment fields. Compared to men, women’s participation in university kendo has very little influence on external relationships between cultural, education and employment fields. The seriousness in the men’s game reflects education practices where “competition in schooling is driven by the close link between schooling and ‘desirable’ careers in large firms and in government, at least for male graduates” (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 74). TSSU women were excluded from the men’s game

due to their gender. Additionally, because the women were of a lower skill level (*T sensei* intentionally did not encourage strong female kendo players to attend TSSU, see “Catching a Cold” section in this chapter) there were only a few who had the potential to accumulate capital to benefit career trajectories in kendo. Bourdieu (1992, p. 173) points to Virginia Woolf highlighting that:

By ignoring the *illusio* that leads one to engage in the central games of society, women escape the *libido dominandi* that comes with this involvement, and are therefore socially inclined to gain a relatively lucid view of the male games in which they ordinarily partake in only by proxy.

The women’s club were not, nor did they want to be caught in the *illusio* of the men’s game because they recognised it was not worth playing and that they were not playing for the same game’s stakes. They did not have the desire to dominate or be recognised in the ‘central games’, which they viewed with detachment. In general, the women’s club did not view their non-participation as an issue and rather preferred the absence of pressure that the men experienced, as it resulted in agency (see chapter 9).

Although TSSU women did not have access to development and opportunity that the men’s game provided, female members experienced agency and some were able to enjoy club membership more so than men. However, some female members wished they had more expected of them and access to development opportunities. Okano (2009, pp. 5-6) suggests in her research on Japanese women’s transition to adulthood, women’s lives can be interpreted in two ways. On one hand there is the popular view that Japanese women are ‘victims’ of a patriarchal society and social and cultural practices oppress women. On the other hand, women have more opportunity to experience contentment through relationships and leisure activities than men who experience another form of oppression under institutional structures. This dichotomy was observed in the women’s club at TSSU. The women’s club appeared to have agency since they made their own rules and regulated their own trainings and there was far less pressure on the women’s club to win

competitions. However, the members were caught up in another *illusio* as women focused their attention on the ‘women’s game’ which had a different set of struggles (see chapter 9).

New style of leadership

During my research period the 4th year *sempai* created a new club culture which disregarded some deep-seated ‘traditional’ women’s club practices. Previously the *women’s club* focused on re-producing femininity through etiquette, club work, consideration towards others and ‘correct’ kendo, which was also emphasised by the previous coach. If these were not adhered to or performances lacked resilience and effort, *kōhai* were often disciplined by being ignored/disregarded,⁵⁵ and other discrete behavioural corrective methods (see chapter 9) by the *sempai*. The new *sempai* decided to create an atmosphere that would allow an enjoyable cohesive learning environment of kendo rather than inflict on the *kōhai* what they had experienced themselves. Previously many of the *sempai* had focused on ‘the small details’ and disciplined for reasons that the *kōhai* and their peers did not always understand. These *sempai* were not particularly skilled in competitive kendo and were not popular with the *kōhai*. In these disciplining scenarios it appeared to be a way for the *sempai* to exercise power and demand respect from discourteous, impertinent *kōhai* by enforcing ‘traditional’ women’s club culture. Whether the intention of disciplining in these cases was to impart the cultural value of respect towards your seniors is debatable. Perhaps it was more so the case that these *sempai* found themselves in a

⁵⁵ Detachment can be a form of disciplining most often performed by women. This disciplining method induces emotional pain by disassociation and is meant to encourage self-reflection when a club’s implicit or explicit rule is broken. On occasion this form of disciplining can be a misuse of power and result in bullying. Detachment as a disciplining method is considered to develop intuition, ability to ‘read the air’, reflexivity, and *seishin* by enduring emotional and physical hardship. The duration of disciplining can also teach the women to push down emotional pain and endure hardship. These interactive processes of cultural learning between female *sempai* and *kōhai* reinforce and re-produce what are considered to be inherent qualities for women. Women are considered to be ‘naturally’ proficient at domestic duties, polite, thoughtful, reflexive and emotionally strong. However, these qualities are not ‘natural’ as they are developed through the disciplining methods of institutions like TSSU kendo club.

personal struggle for power and recognition. In the interviews the new *sempai* were asked what they changed about the club culture when they became *sempai*. To maintain harmony, the *sempai* insisted on the group consensus model of discussion. According to Sugimoto (2010, p. 3) this discussion is reflected in literature on *nihonjiron* discourse. Below are some of their responses:

Mika: We decided to not punish the *kōhai* by detachment. We decided that nobody was allowed to do that. It is not good to discipline verbally but when we are disciplining we (*sempai*) need to have a discussion about it. So then everyone understands the situation and we can discuss/debate/argue about it. So by argument I mean come to an understanding about the situation. *Sempai* in the past would not say anything to anyone about why they were disciplining *kōhai*. The *kōhai* who they were disciplining and the other *sempai* would not know what was going on.

Kiku: I think it is common that the first year *kōhai* will not like the 4th year *sempai*. But I remember it was terrible when we were *kōhai*, even to the point that our throats would dry up during warm-ups. That was terrible. So we decided to create a better atmosphere.

Keiko: I would definitely never behave in the way I was treated as a 1st year *kōhai*. I was punished for reasons that I didn't understand. I did not want to do that sort of thing. I wanted to create an environment where the *kōhai* could enjoy kendo.

Hanako: At first we eliminated jobs that were pointless. We changed how the daily club diary was written, to be written more efficiently so as to not waste time. In previous years *kōhai* were not allowed to go home until the 4th year *sempai* had finished their meetings. In general, we changed rules to be more efficient with time.

Kana: When I entered university though among other things I was told that 'your style of kendo is no good' and 'this university does not practise that style of kendo'. The fact that I could not practise my own kendo was the biggest difference. Because of that I went crazy – out of my mind. I wanted the *kōhai* to practise as individuals, practise their own kendo. I thought it would be best to train with them in a way that would help them grow their individual kendo.

Mayu: Being called from class, *kōhai* having to always be aware of *sempai* feelings. That sort of thing should be rid of. It is not necessary. The terrible things that were done to us – we decided not to do them to others (the *kōhai*). There was so much work. We would be called out of class. However, the teacher stopped that from happening so it does not happen now. When we were first year students during class our phones would ring and we would be told 'come now' to fix something or do other tasks.

Rather than maintain the club culture as they had experienced it, the *sempai* consciously made changes such as lessening the severity of disciplining methods, easing hierarchical relationships and emphasising efficient time management. The *sempai* adapted some club practices to create what they considered to contribute to a positive atmosphere for the *women's club* to both enjoy and develop their kendo, which they had not experienced as *kōhai*. The *sempai* were absorbed in the *illusio* of their new agency and misrecognised their freedom as a result of

their recipience of *symbolic violence* within TSSU and the overlapping fields of kendo. Since the women's club game was viewed as frivolous from an outsider's perspective they had agency to regulate the dynamics of their field. As long as it did not disrupt the men's club or taint the reputation of TSSU, how the women's club operated within the club was of little consequence to the greater club and as a result they were free to make the rules of their game.

Three virtues – *kikubari, kokorobari, mekubari*

Perhaps the most significant change to the women's club during the research period was the change in coach. The previous coach, Y *sensei*, attended training on a daily basis and watched over the women's club for an 8-year period. Y *sensei* was an OB of TSSU and was hired by T *sensei*. Due to Y *sensei*'s relationship with T *sensei*, T *sensei*'s philosophy of women's kendo greatly influenced Y *sensei*'s coaching methods. T *sensei*'s kendo philosophy of women's kendo conspicuously asserted that femininity and traditional social roles should be emphasised and that their secondary positioning within the club be frequently reaffirmed. In the period that Y *sensei* was coach, the women's club rarely achieved competition success. Although Y *sensei* was a very skilled kendo practitioner, member's opinions varied on his teaching methods. Rather than supporting a clear competition goal or long-term developmental kendo for the women's club, Y *sensei* coaching was at times confusing, and he most often directed his focus on reproducing TSSU kendo and etiquette for women (Personal communication with female member).

Although some members felt they benefited from his teaching philosophy, others felt it was old and 'traditional'. During the interviews *sempai* commented with a giggle that Y *sensei* reinforced the importance of *joseirashisa* (femininity) in the form of etiquette and often emphasised a set of virtues, "*kikubari, kokorobari, mekubari*" (awareness with the mind, the heart and the eyes). All of which encompass performances of consideration and awareness toward others using all your senses. In addition to reproducing what was considered a 'traditional'

philosophy, *Y sensei* mismanaged relationships with the highly skilled *H sensei* (teacher second in charge under *T sensei*) and the OG which resulted in less support for the women's club. *Y sensei* was promoted and was no longer able to coach the women's club and was thereafter replaced by an OG, *M kantoku*.

M kantoku had full-time employment outside of the university and was therefore only able to attend TSSU on Saturdays. *M kantoku* ('s) absence during the week meant the 4th year *sempai* were mostly unsupervised and therefore able to explore agency in the women's club and their behaviour was no longer under surveillance. In general, many members found her easy to communicate with as a woman. What emerged from the interview data is that the women's club members felt that *Y sensei* emphasised correct feminine behaviour more so than winning kendo, in direct contrast to *M kantoku*. Although *Y sensei* and *M kantoku* held quite different teaching philosophies, in general the *sempai* felt they had benefited from being taught by both teachers. *Y sensei* focused on feminine forms of correct etiquette. *Y sensei* ('s) education in feminine etiquette was taken light-heartedly as most female members proudly viewed themselves and each other as not particularly feminine in a 'traditional' sense.

Lebra (1981, p. 45) found that despite their training in femininity, the women in her study unashamedly described themselves as having been "rough, unfeminine, or masculine". As Lebra (1981, p. 45) suggests, "this may indicate the primacy of masculine qualities, accepted by male and female alike, which drives some women towards gender neutralization". Matsuda (2006, p. 120) suggests that in Japan "playing a body performing gender is certainly prevalent in women. Women have become tougher and stronger to the extent they know how to diversify and proliferate the female gender body". Most of the women's club erred on the side of masculinity, yet they were taught to perform femininity through forms of etiquette which reinforces social role expectation.

In a personal conversation, Y *sensei* spoke of the benefits of what women learn in TSSU. He felt what women learnt in the club would benefit them as mothers and wives. For example, he felt that membership could benefit women for gendered roles by learning how to manage house finances by performing manager or treasurer roles for the club. He also pointed out that women could teach their children etiquette and moral values and the spiritual strength they developed through kendo could be used to manage the home and their family. Y *sensei* ('s) philosophy on women's kendo echoed *ryōsai kembo* as his teachings proposed to develop their morality and skills to assist in their future roles as wives and mothers. According to Freiner (2012, p. 99) morality education begins in home and observes that "women, because of their societal role in the home, are implicated in the teaching of morality and Confucian nationalism". Y *sensei* did not encourage women to become feminine; rather he was teaching them how to perform femininity as a form of capital. One member expressed that although Y *sensei* taught femininity through the awareness of others she pointed out the members do not become feminine through membership "*demo kihonteki TSSU ni kiteru kiri joseirashiku ni wa narenai de*" ("In general TSSU members don't become feminine") (Personal communication). In addition, many female members felt that *kikubari*, *kokorobari*, *mekubari* was not limited to women and that men performed *kikubari* in the *otsuki* system. However, performances of awareness are situational and gender specific. For example, men's performance of awareness could be beneficial in developing relationships linked to promotion and advancement, which is why it is practiced in the *ostuki* system. For women, *kikubari* contributes to providing comfort for others and their 'lovability'. Women are encouraged to develop 'lovability' as it can benefit building/maintaining relationships in their employment (see Hirakawa, 2011). Although *kikubari* was not restricted to women, in general many of the members felt *kikubari* was considered to be a feminine characteristic more so than a masculine one.

During the interviews members shared examples of Y *sensei*'s teaching in femininity. These teachings included taking your helmet off in an elegant way by tidying your hair and wiping your face in the process, and arranging your own shoes tidily and the shoes of seniors in a way that is easy for them to step into. His teaching also extended beyond kendo and recommended the women keep their rooms tidy. He also moderated women's recreation where he warned women about drinking alcohol in excess and did not allow members to perform *Manzai*⁵⁶ in front of their peers, as it is usually a form of entertainment performed by men. Below are some excerpts taken from semi-structured interviews with *sempai* about the differences in teaching styles of Y *sensei* and M *kantoku*:

- Kiku:** I think the feeling in the club is good this year. I think it is because the *kōhai* are freer to train how they want to.
- KS:** Is that because the coach changed that there are better results?
- Kiku:** Yes. Something to do with the team. We are doing our best as a team, the whole club. Before it was just the regular members with the coach. Now we are all doing our best together as one. I think this is good.
- KS:** Is that because M *kantoku* is a woman?
- Kiku:** She is easy to talk to. Yes, I think that has something to do with it. She understands us. It is easy for the 4th year *sempai* to communicate with her.
- KS:** Other members have mentioned that Y *sensei* often taught the women about women's etiquette.
- Kiku:** Yes he did.
- KS:** What sort of thing?
- Kiku:** Femininity.
- KS:** Rather than kendo and practice and more about behaviour?
- Kiku:** Yes.
- KS:** Things like consideration, awareness?
- Kiku:** Yes, considering other's feelings. He would say that often. Y *sensei* was very close with T *sensei*. He would use the words of T *sensei* for the women.
- KS:** Do you feel appreciative?
- Kiku:** Yes. It was very good. It is good for us that we experienced two teachers. If M *kantoku* was coaching the entire time we would have missed out on some teachings. In the same way if Y *sensei* taught us for the entire time we would have missed out on teachings. I think it is a good thing that we (the 4th year *sempai*) were taught by both teachers.
- KS:** Wow that is great. M *kantoku* doesn't really say anything about femininity does she?
- Kiku:** She doesn't say much about it at all, but she does talk about how to manage relations with OG and how to think about kendo. That sort of thing. I am glad we were exposed to that before we graduated.

⁵⁶ *Manzai* (Chinese characters 漫才 the "comic man") is a traditional style of stand-up comedy that is usually performed by a male-male duo (Katayama, 2008).

Since many of the member's *habitus* had an embodied understanding of etiquette and *Y sensei* had reinforced its importance to the point where it was a part of club culture, a standard level was maintained. *M kantoku* therefore felt it was not necessary to focus on etiquette but rather on other aspects of kendo which she felt had been neglected. During the interviews I asked some *sempai* if the change in coaches influenced club culture and whether it contributed to the recent competition success of the women's club. They responded:

Yuka: *M kantoku* just focuses on getting to the point (to win). Although she doesn't come every day, and she is only able to convey the main points about winning points and struggles with practice when she comes. That is different to *Y sensei*. *Y sensei* came every day and he taught kendo and was able to see other things. He taught other things thoroughly.

Shiho: The environment changed so it is easier for *H sensei* to communicate. The biggest thing is that it is easier for *H sensei* to teach the women. *Y sensei* and *H sensei* were similar in age. *Y sensei* could not refuse *H sensei* ('s) ideas. So *H sensei* could not really say anything. But now since *M kantoku* became the coach she mostly listens to what *H sensei* says. So I therefore think it is now accessible for the women to listen to *H sensei*'s points. The main points about winning a point and most of *sensei*'s experience of kendo training methods. I think the women have become better at getting points I want to become better at winning points as well.

Kana: Yes I think so. I think it has a lot to do with the change in coaches. *Y sensei* does not understand how women feel. *M kantoku* is a woman and an OG. She gives us her reflections on her experiences. She tells us these things now. It is easy for us to understand. For me *Y sensei* was passionate about kendo but there were things that he did not understand. Since the change in coaches we feel understood.

Aki: Not in regards to actual kendo but consideration, for example. Separate from kendo there was the favourite saying that he always used to say '*kikubari, kokorobari, mekubari*'. He didn't really talk about that sort of thing in relation to kendo. I can't remember him talking about that (in relation to kendo). *M kantoku* talks more about how to win. Outside of kendo she lets us be free. In kendo she teaches us how to improve our kendo and it is tangible. Therefore, it is easier to practise (kendo). *Y sensei* did speak about winning but he mostly taught us about things outside of practical kendo, about being a woman.

Contrary to *Y sensei*, *M kantoku* did not emphasise *joseirashisa*; rather she was more pragmatic in her kendo coaching. Her coaching objective focused on getting points and winning competitions. There were mixed feelings about *M kantoku* ('s) coaching. Some women appreciated her clarity and attendance only on the weekends. Others felt she over emphasised winning, which led to the members over focusing on winning and neglecting improving their kendo basics and character building aspects of practice.

Catching a cold

The 'new' focus on winning drew T *sensei's* attention to the women's club. This focus was becoming an issue as T *sensei* sternly pointed out to the women's club after observing the women's training.

T *sensei* gave the students a harsh talking to after practise today. He directed his words towards the women's club. Normally he only faces the men when he is giving feedback to the group. He said to the women, "you are competing in a way that you only want to win and not loose. You are practising this way in your daily practice as well. Those types of attacks are not valid point. Your attacks don't have enough spirit and your bodies are all over the place "*bacha, bacha, bacha*" (un-coordinated). You should be practising with utmost effort and sweat as if every attack matters". The next day T *sensei* came to the women's training, which surprised everyone. The *sensei* never come to the women's training. He explained that he was worried that he was too harsh on the women yesterday and once again explained that the women were focusing on wanting to win with no connection to their opponents. He basically explained that they were training in a way that was outcome focused and neglecting the process of getting a point. The women were moved that T *sensei* made the effort to attend their training. I wonder why he is putting more time into teaching the women's club. (Field note)

In the past T *sensei* had felt it would be a simple task to train the women's club to become national champions and much more challenging for the men to gain victory due to the inherent character traits of men. He explained it is more difficult to gain trust from men. T *sensei* therefore had little interest in training the women to be strong, as it was seen as less of a challenge and potentially detrimental to the men's club if the women were more successful. T *sensei* did not allow skilled kendo women to attend TSSU which contributed to the lower level of the women's club compared to the men's. For the most part T *sensei* intentionally did not impart his kendo knowledge to the women. He feared if the women's club were more successful than the men it would be as if the men had 'caught a cold' and would be spiritually weakened and lose motivation due to their pride. T *sensei* commented "men have a high sense of pride it would be as if the men had caught a cold", or in other words, "if the women were more successful than the men, the men's morale would be weakened") (Personal communication).⁵⁷ Due to women's club change in consciousness towards

⁵⁷ As discussed previously Japanese masculinity is a hybrid of Western body-reflexive practices and Japanese 'spirit'. Spirit is considered to be unique to Japanese masculinity which Western masculinity lacks (Low, 2003). As kendo is an indigenous physical culture, embodiment of *seishin* is an essential element of male kendo identity.

winning competition and competition success T *sensei* shifted his philosophy and support towards the women's club. Although he warned the women of over focusing on wanting to win, he also supported their competition goals as he stated in our personal conversation:

At the moment the women want to become champions. This consciousness is growing within the women's club. I think before the women's club just thought about winning. Their results only reached top 3 in the regional, southern Japan and All Japan competitions. For a period of time the women were left out. If the women were stronger it would spiritually weaken the men's club. I didn't really teach the women before, because I viewed them as future mothers. But I don't think it is fair on the women that only the men win competitions so I have been gradually shifting my attention towards teaching the women and as well. (Personal communication)

T *sensei*'s change in attitude is significant in the way that he was responding to the women's new consciousness positively. To T *sensei* ('s) credit, in our interview he explained how he had recently felt empathy towards the women's club and compelled to teach them more often. He suggested this was important since the women's club had a consciousness and will to win competitions and he therefore felt the need to support their aspirations. He felt it was fair to do so. What cannot be overlooked though is that the women's club had already proven themselves by being more successful than the men's club the previous year without the equivalent amount of opportunity and support the men had received. It is difficult to discern whether T *sensei* became interested in the women's club due to their success and wanted to claim some kind of responsibility. Despite his moments of recognition and support towards the women's club T *sensei* remained adamant towards the appropriate social roles for women. He held a firm belief that women need to focus on raising children and supporting a family post university graduation and that women should not touch a sword for 10 years whilst they are bringing up their children. T *sensei* viewed that raising children should be of greater significance than kendo to women. This reflects institutional practices where "the restricted opportunity structure in the labour market for women, along with gender specific expectations concerning family roles, means that the value

attached to schooling for women is quite different from that of men” (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 75).

It is a complex process to make comparisons between the men's and women's club and judge club practices as disadvantageous or discriminatory towards women. Other than gender hierarchy the level between the women's and men's club justified the priority given to the men's club. Many of the participants whom I interviewed agreed the men's competition was more important. One participant explained that men's bodies reflect the ideal of physicality and representation of a sports university. Therefore, for the men, being beaten by a woman was viewed as a weakness in spirit and suggested a lack of inner strength. Connell (2002) suggests that boys are encouraged to appear hard and dominant, often steered towards competitive sports, and are put under heavy peer pressure to show their toughness. Men are considered to be naturally physically skilled compared to women and use sport to prove their masculinity. When men lose to women in sport it can threaten their masculine identity. This was evident in one of the club practices. At TSSU in preparation for a major women's tournament, female competitors were paired up to fight males in practise matches at the club. Although this practice was to benefit the female competitors, a male *kōhai* was often ridiculed if he lost to a female. One member explained to me at TSSU if a male member loses to a female member in competition practise it was embarrassing and signified a weak spirit. Although not practiced so often now, she had witnessed how in the past if a male member lost to a woman they would have to shave their head. The shaving of the head can be a form of punishment and is usually prescribed when a male member breaks a club rule at TSSU. Although a shaved head is also worn by Buddhist monks, male junior high school and high school students as it reflects commitment, it is also a traditional form of showing contrition in Japan.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Recently AKB48 pop star Minami Minegishi shaved her head and posted an apology video on the band's website to

Women's agency re-signifying patriarchy

Regulated liberties were inadvertently exercised by the women's club without seeking to change gendering practices and structure of the club. Despite their success, the women's club were still able to justify their subjection to symbolic violence. Although there were some instances of recognition as a result of their success, it did little to improve their status and development opportunities. Rather, masculine domination was re-signified through the non-recognition of their success and the agency female members experienced within the women's club, which reflects the entrenchment of patriarchy in TSSU and its overlapping fields. Although it is not impossible to make changes toward gender equality in institutions like TSSU, Bourdieu (1992) suggests that liberation can only come about by group action and by change of institutional practices, and that the disestablishment of patriarchy is possible but it requires a re-organisation of deeper social structures:

The liberation of women can only come from a collective action aimed at a symbolic struggle capable of challenging practically the immediate agreement of embodied and objective structures, that is, from a symbolic revolution that questions the very foundations of the production and reproduction of symbolic capital and, in particular, the dialectic of pretensions and distinction which is at the root of the production and consumption of cultural goods as signs of distinction. (p. 174)

Regulated liberties have the potential to subvert "patriarchal definitions of femininity within existing social structures" (Olive & Thorpe, 2011, p. 429). Like Bourdieu, McNay also recognised that, while symbolic and embodied practices are "often hailed as resistant," regulated liberties typically have an impact "only on the relatively superficial 'effective' relations of a field rather than its deeper structural relations" (as cited in Olive & Thorpe, 2011, p. 429). In the case of TSSU women's club, the *sempai* were able to "subvert patriarchal definitions of femininity" by being successful in competition as they outperformed the men's club. Rather than the women's

show remorse for breaking a rule by spending the night with her boyfriend ("AKB48 pop star shaves head after breaking band rules," 2013).

success being seen as a positive inspiration for the men's club, the women outperforming men, (especially since the men have more resources) highlighted the men's under performance. Although some club practices have incrementally improved the status of the women's club over the years, T *sensei* and his philosophy continues to underpin the cultural attitudes towards the women's club, which protects men's kendo and the masculine representation of the TSSU club.

Japanese kendo claims to provide a genderless space and equal opportunity for women to perform masculinity temporarily. However, when taking a deeper look into the structures and overlapping fields of kendo, to protect 'tradition' women's participation supports patriarchy by re-producing gender. Although at a structural level women's participation can be viewed as discriminatory, how members experience membership at an individual level can vary. Within the women's club women can have power and the freedom to perform gender with fluidity. The *habitus*, *capital* and *field* complex will overlay the analysis of the women's club on a sub-micro level in the following chapter. This chapter explores how women can benefit from the gendering practices of TSSU and how the club is the member's *raison d'etre*.

CHAPTER 9

The Women's club Nexus

The good thing about summer heat is that the alcohol I shared with a few female club members will sweat itself out during morning training. I walk in to the dojo and the two members Yuki and Miki who I went out with last night run towards me to very publicly thank me for dinner. I make a joke about feeling fantastic and that I will give them a hard time in training today. I expect these two will come to me for practise today as a way to say thank you for last night. The 1st and 2nd year *kōhai* are quietly stretching and practicing in front of the mirror. The 4th year *sempai* are joking around trying to judge who has the smelliest sword handle. Occasionally the *sempai* invite a *kōhai* into the fun but the *kōhai* are reserved. Before training starts the female captain picks out a *kōhai* to tease, one that doesn't already have a bond to a *sempai*. The *kōhai* doesn't respond other than smiling in a cute way as she laps up the attention. The captain is enjoying the *kōhai* ('s) modesty and cuteness. Such affection is reciprocally enjoyable. Most members desire an intimate special bond to one *kōhai* or *sempai*. Members who have such a bond only express their closeness in private to not make the others jealous and to maintain appearances and dojo formalities. Curiously I have a mixed line of year levels lining up to play me today. I must have done something right as usually it is only the first and second years who line up as part of their club work obligation. Perhaps it is because of last night's bonding with the popular *sempai* which makes me popular? I observe that the captain is in the corner of the women's section disciplining a *kōhai* intentionally out of view. The disciplining exercise is long and has been going on for more than 20 minutes. Although her kendo is strong, this *kōhai* does not do her club work properly. The captain has been elected to carry out the disciplining in this situation. I know the captain has no joy in carrying out discipline as it takes her energy and focus away from the club. What makes this situation additionally difficult is that the captain has no desire to develop a relationship with this particular *kōhai* as I have heard the captain describe her as *kawaiikunai* (not cute / unlikeable). I glance up at the clock at realise training is about to finish. After the formalities the women gather in the centre of the dojo. Holding their hands behind their backs the *kōhai* are frowning to show they are listening intently to the *sempai*. The *sempai* are relaxed and are watching the *kōhai*. The captain asks if there is anything to be said. All of the *sempai* look at the *kōhai*. A *kōhai* reluctantly raises her hand and stutters in formal Japanese and gives a personal reflection of her weaknesses and she will improve on for the next day's training to contribute to the club. The *sempai* laugh at her clumsy use of language but seem mildly pleased at her effort. The female club manager makes announcements in regards to the approaching tournament. The captain finishes with her trade mark energetic uplifting “*Mata ashita gambatte ikkō!*” (Let's all do our best together again tomorrow!). (Field note)

This field note describes a typical day in the women's club and illustrates how after a substantial amount of time in the field I became partially caught in the *illusio* of the women's club game. By partial, I mean that in some ways my position was non-negotiable and was excluded from what Wacquant refers to as “collective misrecognition” (as cited in Lafferty & McKay, 2004, p. 272). Most of the members adhered to the women's club *illusio* and appeared to play their version of

the game with all seriousness. There is no doubt, no matter how hard I tried, that I would never be other than a quasi-member based on the vast differences in our trajectories. However, even to be a *quasi*-member required participation in the club's methods of self-development and relationship building. It was through engaging in these processes that I was able to gain insight in to these practices and personal significance of kendo for the members. As my *habitus* became more congruous in the field with time, my field notes focused less on the superficial practices of the TSSU club, and more on the deeper processes of gendered human relationships, self-development and capital accrual.

Although the women's club members were subjected to *symbolic violence* on a daily basis and their achievements resulted in *regulated liberties*, the women had a degree of agency that the men did not. In the field note above I describe how the women (most often the *sempai*) engaged in playful interactions in the dojo and appeared to enjoy practise. This is in contrast to the men who seemed to be more austere in the dojo. These findings resonate with Okano's (2009, p. 5) research, in that women are free to have happier lives through non work channels, such as leisure activities and relationships, compared to their male counterparts who are bound to oppressive institutional arrangements.

This final analysis chapter focuses on the *habitus*, *capital*, and *field* complex at a 'sub-micro' level, the TSSU women's club. This chapter analyses how women's club negotiate their identity and perform gender to accumulate and utilise various forms of capital which lead to empowerment within the field. At TSSU the women's club and the men's club are segregated and function mostly as autonomously as self-governing entities. The clubs also overlap occasionally as they perform gendered roles to harmonise the functioning of greater clubs which reflect the ideals of gender identity and societal structures. In this chapter I refer to the field of kendo as the 'macro level' and TSSU kendo club as the 'micro level'. At the macro and micro level men and

masculinity is more prominent than women and femininity. At the micro level typically exchanges are connected to macro level processes which reflects Connell's concept of *gender regime* (Lafferty & McKay, 2004, p. 250). Although the women only participated at the micro level game by proxy (see chapter 8), the sub-micro level game was played with all seriousness, as it emulated some practices of the micro level field. In this chapter I explore the practice of the women's club as a sexless yet gender fluid space. Since all of the players were female members, some filled masculine roles and performed masculinity, whilst others performed femininity to harmonise the functioning of the group.

Playing 'the game'

Purely based on their gender, women's club members had little capital in the micro level (TSSU) which was considered to be the 'main game'. Due to the men's "corporeal nexus" (Lafferty & McKay, 2004, p. 269) of body labour, physical capital and kendo capital and the gendered structures of power and labour, women had less access to resources and fewer opportunities to accrue capital at the micro level. The seemingly discriminatory practices at the macro and micro levels were obscured by the women's club members and seemed irrelevant to their daily experiences. Most appreciated the agency of not being bona fide actors in the other levels as it relieved them of the pressures and expectations that it accompanied. At the sub-micro level, the women's club members were caught in the *illusio* of a different game, which was their 'main game'. Although they appeared to play the game with seriousness which simulated the micro game, they knew they were not playing for 'real stakes' like the men. In the women's club field, there was a temporal suspension of micro level practices that often regulated their participation to be of less significance. In the women's club, member's participation was important to them and they were able to control various mechanisms of their club. For example, as mentioned in the previous chapter the women's club reframed their club culture and directed their energy towards

inclusivity and achieving competition goals. How the women's club utilised competition goals to foster human relationship building and self-development was cleverly constructed.

Since the players were only women, members manoeuvred their identity with fluidity and competed for forms of masculine capital. Even within the women's club the players with the greatest sporting prowess held the most capital whilst the majority focused on self-development and human relationships, aspects which made sense of their game providing self-fulfilment and purpose. Within the women's club those members who performed masculinity had more symbolic capital within the field which demonstrates the value of masculinity in kendo. It was often these members who were better kendo players and received admiration from *kōhai*. In contrast to the men's club, the members who were not good kendo players were able to utilise feminine forms of capital. The roles these members played (often in support roles) were given value and considered to play an integral part to group cohesion and the club achieving its goals. In the women's club masculinity and femininity was performed by women, to the degree that they were "co-actors who combine their strengths on the stage" (Matsuda, 2006, p. 119).

Group dynamics and *seishin* development

Rohlen (1973, p. 1559) suggests that a spiritually strong man is a contributor to society. School sports clubs have long been known as institutions where members are socialised with values and behaviours demanded in adult society. The values associated with spiritual education are evident (Cave, 2004). At TSSU, members have the opportunity to develop such cultural values as resilience and doing one's best through the difficulty of the demanding club schedule. *Seishin* is developed through this process of facing adversity and doing one's best for the club in training, work and maintenance of hierarchical relationships between *sempai* and *kōhai*. As demonstrated in the next section, resilience significantly underpinned the member's individual goals. TSSU is a good example of how Japanese university sports clubs can provide the environment for members

to develop spiritual strength, and in that process they feel they are contributing to the club through the effort of developing themselves. In the club, “the attempt is to forge self-hood and identity through a demanding engagement that is voluntary yet supported by a group and a structure of activities. The intended lesson is that people are dependent on others” (Cave, 2004, p. 403). Committing to ‘*gambatte ikō*’ (let’s do our best together) and enduring hardship collectively to achieve club goals provides a sense of purpose and a deeper development of spiritual strength. According to McDonald (2009) good relationships between *sempai* and *kōhai* members are necessary to develop spiritually. Great importance is therefore placed on hierarchical human relationships for both men and women during the 4-year membership to a sports university kendo club. This learning is seen to be an integral part of developing oneself and understanding others which develops human relationships building skills and leads to the ability to work in group environments. As previously mentioned sports club membership also provides assessment of teamwork capabilities and connections to alumni networks. Reflecting on Japanese employment patterns, club membership benefits male more so than female graduates. This may explain why female members invested less in developing relationships with OG given their capital and ability to assist in employment. After an OG open training I asked a *sempai* why the women’s club seemed tense, and noted that they had cleaned the dojo meticulously and performed etiquette perfectly. Mika explained it is important to give a good impression and avoid negative gossip since in the future graduates could reside and work in the same city as an OG. Mika explained further that reputation is very important. Although there are less career opportunities for TSSU women, they have entered a connected network by joining the club which will follow them for the rest of their lives.

Spiritual strength embodiment and its utilisation post-graduation is gendered, as women are less likely to be employed in leadership and career tracked positions. Spiritual development

and spiritual capital for men can equate to symbolic capital and be transferred to economic capital post-graduation. According to McDonald and Hallinan (2005) spiritual capital can be enduring across various fields and can also provide an edge in the competitive employment market. I observed that most female members utilised the potential to engage in spiritual training as a method to develop meaningful intimate relationships with female *sempai* and *kōhai*. It was evident that members wanted to develop themselves and doing it with others provided a sense of purpose. Dependence on others is considered to be a feminine characteristic and therefore reproduced in the women's club. Women are more likely to be dependent on one another, as opposed to masculine independence which was also demonstrated in TSSU kendo spaces.

Zubudo!* *Donyokuni!

Whilst maintaining what they deemed essential aspects of TSSU club culture, such as performing etiquette and striving towards character building kendo (see chapter 7), the *sempai* influenced changes that encouraged members to '*gambatte ikō*' (let's do our best together) and work towards achieving the women's club goals. The women's club daily diary played an integral role in teaching and adherence to club values. Systematically each member took turns in writing the daily diary entry. The diary included several details but primarily focused on personal reflections on self-development and how members could contribute to the women's club's cohesion and goal achievement. In the diary similar language was used by the members which reflected the values of the club, underpinned by character development aspects of kendo. The entries were written in formal Japanese and in the member's best handwriting, and used common language and similar goals which suggest that the club's culture was being indoctrinated through the club diary. In the first month of the year the club goals were as follows:

Kihon ga dekita ue de keizoku suru chikara mi ni tsukeru

(Learn to persistently train once acquiring sound kendo basics)

Kurushi toki koso kadai wo ishiki suru

(Moments of challenge is the exact moment when you must be conscious of your weaknesses/areas of improvement)

Ki no jūjitsu wo hakari jibun jishin wo shiteru

(For self-fulfilment, you must let go of your ego)

The intention of these initial goals was to teach members to trust in and learn principle club values. For the first month every member wrote the above three points. After every member had taken a turn at writing these specific goals, the goals changed and focused on competition. The aim of setting club competition goals was to motivate members to improve their kendo and include all members regardless of their competition ability. These goals were clearly stated in the women's club daily diary:

Chiku taikai yushō!

Win the regional tournament!

Zen nihon taikai jōi nyūshō!

Win a place at the All Japans!

Zubudo! Donyokuni!

Be tenacious! Stay hungry! (for improvement)!

Below the club goals, entries would include the area of improvement a member was focusing on, a reflection of their weaknesses and state the action they would take to improve themselves. The diary was another mechanism which built commitment to the club and the logic of the field. The diary was both a reaffirmation of femininity and traditional identity at the same time. Often the reflections repeat what they had learnt from a *sempai* or teachers during training. The entry would also include how a member would contribute to achieving the club's goal. The below statement was a typical entry from a *kōhai* member:

Ima jibun wa rirakkusu shita kamae kara massugu shita men uchi wo suru you ni ishiki shiteiru. Jigeiko ya shiai ni naru to chikara ga hairi migi te chūshin no kamae ni natte shimatteiru. Jibun no warui tokoro wo naosu yoi kikai wo nogasanai you ni shitai. Ashita de zennihon no saigo no keiko ni naru wake da ga kiai wo irete women's club ichigan to natte gambatte ikō.

At the moment I am focusing on a relaxed stance and cutting a straight *men* (head). During sparring and competition, I exert power into my right arm and it dominates my centre. I will not avoid a good opportunity to do my best to fix my bad points. Tomorrow is the last practice before

the All Japan Championships. I will put my all my energy into the training. Let's do our best tomorrow, the women's club as one (Women's club diary entry).

The entry below displays a typical reflection from a non team representative member as they state their commitment to the club:

Senshu igai no hitotachi mo senshu wo sasae chiimu zentai wo moriage, yoi fun iki zukuri ga taisetsu da to omou. Sono tame ni jibun ga dekiru koto wo chiisana koto demo yoi kara jikkō shite ikitai. Motto kore kara no renshū wo mori agete aki no dantaisen ni tsunagaru you women's club ichigan natte ashita kara mo gambatte ikō.

The members who are non-competitors can support the competitors and raise the spirit of the whole team. As a group I think it is important we create a good atmosphere. In order to do that I will do all I can. Even if it is a little thing, I want to contribute. To impact on the autumn's team competition let's continue to put more energy into training from now on. Let's do our best again tomorrow, the women's club as one (Women's club diary entry).

In the last section of the diary each member would state their individual goal. These goals were similar and reflected club culture and philosophy. They emphasised basic kendo fundamentals and self-improvement through physical elements of kendo. These elements are believed to lead to improved mental posture. In Japanese culture the body and mind are believed to be one. Working on physical basics in kendo is believed to strengthen one's mental ability simultaneously. These are common examples of individual goals focusing on physical kendo improvement which reproduces homogeneity of kendo form. It is important to note that the following phrases are nuanced and specific to kendo and therefore not direct translations.

<i>Koshi kara mae ni deru</i>	Move forward from my hips
<i>Kata no chikara wo nuite</i>	Release tension from my shoulders
<i>Hidari te wo chuushin kara hazusanai</i>	Keep my left hand on centre
<i>Sen wo totte semeru</i>	Take the initiative
<i>Ashi wo shikkari tsukau</i>	Use my legs with all effort
<i>Koe wo shikkari dasu</i>	Express my voice with all effort
<i>Kamae wo yuttari to okiku suru</i>	Have a calm and open stance
<i>Ashi de semeru</i>	Use legs to apply pressure
<i>Ashi wo tomenai negenai</i>	To not let your legs stop or recede
<i>Men uchi wo massugu utsu</i>	Cut head target straight
<i>Tadashi fuomu de uchikomu</i>	Attack with correct form

Kamae wo kuzusanai

Do not break stance

Migi uchi shinai

To not use right arm power

The goal statements below appeared more often in the diary. These goals reflect explicit *seishin* moral education and self-development aspects common in kendo.

<i>Jibun ni makenai</i>	I won't lose to myself
<i>Jibunrashii kendo wo suru</i>	I will do my kendo
<i>Tsuyoi kimochi wo utsu</i>	I will strike with a strong feeling
<i>Jibun ni kibishiku</i>	I will be strict with myself
<i>Toko ni zenryoku de torikomu</i>	I will work with endless strength
<i>Saigo made akiramenai</i>	I won't give up until the end
<i>Jikan wo taisetsu ni suru</i>	I will value time
<i>Tsurai toki koso wara gao de</i>	When things are tough I will smile
<i>Subete dashikiru</i>	I will give my all
<i>Jibun ni katsu</i>	I will defeat myself
<i>Omoikiri wo taisetsu ni suru</i>	I will value letting go
<i>Iro ga dasanai</i>	I won't show my emotions/feelings
<i>Jibunjishin ni kibishiku suru</i>	I will be strict with myself
<i>Kansha suru koto wo wasurenai</i>	I will not forget to be appreciative
<i>Burezu ni kimochi mo ken mo kendo suru</i>	I won't let my spirit or sword break centre
<i>En wo kiranai keiko wo suru</i>	I will keep the connection with my opponent
<i>Tsuyoi kimochi de shūchu kiranai</i>	With a strong feeling I won't lose focus
<i>Ichi-nichi ichi-nichi zenryoku wo dasu</i>	I will give my best effort everyday
<i>Jishin wo motsu dare ni mo makenai</i>	With self-confidence, I will not lose to anyone
<i>Kurushi toki koso akiramenai de yarikiru</i>	Even when things are tough, I won't give up

The examples of individual goals written above reflect the philosophy of the club and Japanese moral education. The member's entrusted that by reproducing the club culture they were developing themselves and contributing to the women's club achieving their goal. The unofficial club motto for the women's club appeared to be '*gambatte ikō*' and was repeated in many situations. In the last section of the diary (in more or less words) each member wrote their

commitment to the club by stating "*ashita mata women's club ichigan to natte gambatte ikō*" ("Let's do our best tomorrow, the women's club as one"). At the end of each meeting after training the captain energetically reinforced the unofficial group motto by cheering "*gambatte ikō!*". As a result of the member's willingness to '*gambatte ikkō*', each member engaged in *seishin* training whilst striving towards the club's competition goals.

Winning is everything

Bourdieu (2001, p. 94) suggests "men continue to dominate the public space and the field of power (especially economic power – over production) whereas women remain (predominantly) assigned to the private space (domestic space, the site of reproduction)". As a result of limited transferrability of capital in women's kendo post-graduation this production and reproduction dichotomy was evident at TSSU. As such women's positioning in the dojo was within the private space which resulted in a limited availability of scholarships and symbolic capital in their competition results. Since men's competition results held symbolic capital in various kendo related fields the dojo was a highly competitive environment. Due to how the women's club mirrored some of the micro level practices the women's club was also a field of rivals. Albeit short-term, the members were of the view that there was social capital to be gained in being a good kendo player, specifically within the women's club. For example, members placed great value on winning and losing points against one another within the 'domestic space' of the women's club. Even for the non-team players there was a chance to compete for capital through winning points against other female club members in daily practice and internal club competition. Rather than external (public) competition, the internal competition and one-point match with other club members held symbolic capital to be contested for. This symbolic capital could be transferred into social capital. The symbolic capital in the 'domestic space' was gained from winning points or doing one's best in effort adhering to the club culture. By performing the club

culture, and 'doing it right' recognition was gained which granted access to relationships and opened social spaces. Although the relationships of the women's club members may be life-long, the pinnacle of kendo participation is most often within the 4 years of university. The majority of the women's club did not misrecognise that they could transfer their symbolic capital into economic capital post-graduation. Understanding the stakes of their game, they competed for symbolic capital, which could be transferred into social capital to benefit their position in the field during the period of university.

Women's club capital – being 'cool'

Masculinity is not a fixed entity embedded in the body or personality traits of individuals. Masculinities are configurations of practises that are accomplished in social action and therefore, can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 836).

Although Connell and Messerschmidt are referring to men and masculinities, I will apply the above statement to women performing masculinity in the women's club. The configuration of gendered practices of the micro level (TSSU) was to a degree replicated in the women's club. In the women's club women performed masculinity which suggests that gender relations are not restricted to interactions between the two sexes. In the women's club masculine forms of capital could be accumulated through being a team representative, being a leader as a captain or vice-captain, being a strict *sempai*, the ability to consume a high amount of alcohol (specifically beer) (see "Nomō! Sharing Beer and Real Emotions" section in this chapter), training hard, disciplining, enduring disciplining, winning points in daily practise or winning internal competition. These examples of masculine capital were represented in bodily forms and exuded *seishin* and confidence. Although not all members could accrue such forms of capital most members performed masculinity in their style of speech, clothing and mannerisms which was a way of expressing power through physical freedom. Performing masculinity for women was not

recognised as capital in the micro level or in front of female *sempai* in the sub-micro level, as it was considered to be inappropriate etiquette for women. When women performed masculinity they were often in positions of power or in egalitarian situations with peers. Such forms of masculinity were expressions of empowerment and were often performed by female *sempai* in view of club members but not in the presence of teachers, OB or OG. Female *kōhai* performed masculinity in front of peers but not in the presence of *sempai* or *sensei*, OB and OG (see Appendix F).

In the women's club, 'the good players' were considered to be *kakko ii* ('cool') as they had accrued masculine forms of capital and could perform masculinity with ease. For those who embodied *kakko ii*, they accrued symbolic capital as they received admiration which resulted in empowerment specifically within the women's club. The attractiveness of *kakko ii* is a result of how the participants were socialised into kendo. Many of the participants were initially drawn to kendo as they considered it to be *kakko ii* through powerful male imagery of kendo or by a male sibling (see Appendix F). Therefore, many members were striving to be *kakko ii* themselves or be attached to a *sempai* that was *kakko ii*.

The 'good players' of the game had a *habitus* that was well deposited due to their early socialisation in kendo which embedded Bourdieu's (1990, p. 108) notion of *le sens pratique* (feel for the game). This 'feel for the game' was expressed through the Bourdieusian terms *bodily hexis* and *doxa* (as cited in Webb et al., 2002). The 'good players' expressed the 'feel for the game' through their gendered *bodily hexis* (disposition expressed through the body) and adherence to the gendered *doxa*⁵⁹ of kendo. The game's 'good players' actions were anticipatory and played to the implicit rules of the game. The 'good players' or the lucky players with capital are at an

⁵⁹ Bourdieu describes *doxa* as a set of core values and rules which a field articulates as its fundamental principles, which are considered to be inherent and true. They are the unwritten rules of the game. Doxic attitude is bodily and represents an unconscious submission to conditions that are arbitrary and contingent (Webb et. al, 2002, p. xi).

advantage and can accumulate more capital and progress further in the game (Grenfell, 2012). Since most members did not have the kendo skills to rely on masculine forms of capital alone, the 'good players' also played 'the game' with feminine forms of capital such as etiquette, awareness, thoughtfulness towards others and emotional forms of *seishin*, which were human relationship oriented. Since the members shared a similar *habitus* they were "very much a tactician, manoeuvring for advantage in a world where (s)he confronts other tacticians, who are also manoeuvring" (Connell, 2007, p. 41). These feminine bodily forms of capital were subtler, refined and interdependent in comparison to masculine bodily forms.

One member was excused from performing femininity in the club due to her elite kendo skill. Kiku had a national ranking and was supported by the women's club members to strive towards her competitive goals. Unlike the majority of the members, Kiku's labour was performed in the public space of external competition. Her role and relationship with the women's club within the sub-micro field mirrored men's role and women's position at the micro level. Kiku had every intention of utilising her kendo capital to gain employment post-graduation. She was excused from performing certain menial tasks for the club and was given priority access to the teachers and male post-graduate students. Kiku's *habitus* was a little different from the other members. She was not considered to be a 'good player' in the context of TSSU because she was a special case that did not have to manoeuvre her gendered identity to 'play the game'. She played the women's club game by proxy and it was trivial to her. Kiku's kendo skill excused her from the game and she was well aware she did not have to play it. Kiku could be regarded as a *shōrishugi* (person who values winning). The male members were considered to be *shōrishugi* and were more or less excused from performing etiquette and menial tasks for the club as was Kiku.

Those who had competitive aspirations, many were borderline team player, had to ‘play the game’ to gain support from those in power (i.e. 4th year *sempai*) to be selected to compete for TSSU. To be selected, members had to appeal to others through their competition results (masculinity) or best efforts in daily practice and work for the club or relationships with influential *sempai* (femininity). In the context of men’s club, most often the ‘good players’ have been members of revered high school kendo clubs and hold the most symbolic capital as they enter university. Most often these players had accumulated symbolic capital (recognition) through their competition results, social capital (social connections) and embodied cultural capital (*seishin* and etiquette) gained through their high school kendo club. According to Bourdieu (1984) educational capital is guaranteed cultural capital and in the Japanese context, cultural capital in education is weighted higher than economic capital (McDonald, 2005, p. 111). Parents invest in their children’s kendo as it can be a means to access educational, cultural and symbolic capital. This is particularly the case with high school and university kendo as associations to prestigious institutions hold significant capital and greater potential to accumulate more capital to benefit the career trajectories of men.

In the university clubs, members undertake a type of cultural apprenticeship as it is a preparatory field for society. As such femininity is emphasised in the university club, more so than in the high school club. Performance of femininity can result in capital for women and is more transferable than masculine forms of capital. Feminine forms of capital were developed in the process of developing relationships with others and developing themselves. Although feminine forms of capital were more transferable for women,⁶⁰ embodiment of various forms of

⁶⁰ The free expression found in masculinity is not performed by men in front of higher ranked men either. Lower ranked men will behave in a way more associated with femininity such as speaking in keigo (polite form of language) in a gentle voice and will behave modestly. They may even serve food and drinks with gentle attentiveness. During training camps when many *sensei* would visit, the lowest ranking men (often post-graduate students) would serve food and alcohol attentively and sit quietly. I noticed H *sensei* acting with great modesty and attentiveness towards his *sempai* at a training camp. The point here is men will perform etiquette associated with femininity when they are in a subordinate

capital led to empowerment in the women's club field. The 'good players' expressed *bi-gendered embodiment* and seamlessly shifted identities appropriate to the location. Nikki Wedgewood (2004, p. 154) in her study on schoolgirl's Australian Football coined the term *bi-gendered embodiment*, which describes women who have coexistent masculine and feminine identities, and who experience and embody tensions and contradictions in their participation of traditional male sports. In the context of Japanese kendo, however, women experience an alternative set of tensions and contradictions due to cultural difference. Perhaps for kendo women in Japan, there is less tension in their participation, as long as appropriate performances of gender are adhered to, so as not to threaten gender order. The term *bigendered embodiment*, however does provide an alternative way of theorising women's participation in male-dominated sports.⁶¹

Women who participate in hegemonic masculine sports often engage in what Matsuda describes as a gender performance that involves "the simultaneous splitting of the body into the body of the mask used for persona behavior and the body of the true self" (2006, p. 115). Matsuda (2006) suggests this performance is:

Imposed on a person arbitrarily created by culture and society...to perform is also an attempt to simultaneously project self as another. The self that is projected as another is a mask of the self. In this way, gender performance requires the preparation of one more self, i.e. the mask. (p. 115)

position within a male occupied hierarchical structure. Within this structure there are stakes to play for and opportunity to progress up the social ladder and performances of femininity is part of playing 'the game'. However, in the case of women, performance of masculinity is restricted by social context and age where most often femininity is the appropriate behaviour for women. The performances of gender have different meanings for men and women which are influenced by the hierarchically structured sphere to which they belong. As women do not have a position within male hierarchical structure their performances of gender have very different meanings to those of men.

⁶¹ Wedgewood (2004, p. 159) asserts researching women as bi-gendered individuals we can avoid "reproducing the cultural dichotomy of masculine/feminine in our analyses and, instead, consider the complex ways in which this cultural dichotomy is lived, embodied, repressed and perverted". Scraton et al., (as cited in Wedgewood, 2004, p. 154) propose than in theorising women's participation in male-dominated sports there must be "move from a simplistic understanding of socializing processes or the dualities of masculinity and femininity and toward an understanding of the complexities and ambiguities of women's experiences", their performances of gender have very different meanings to those of men.

In hegemonic masculine sports “negotiations of femininity take various positions or performances, depending on context and situation” (Sisjord & Kristiansen, 2009, p. 244). This can be the experience for female members, especially as the “dyadic relationship between onstage and off stage is often a product of power laden contexts” (Spielvogel, 2003, p. 116). Spielvogel (2002, p. 197), refers to this as the “construction of situational selves”. Hendry (2013) explains that there is public behaviour, which does not express one’s true feelings, and an other self, which represents private behaviour and one’s true feelings. Through situational performances one is able to perform the “appropriate ‘face’ or ‘wrapping’ for a particular occasion and one is able to successfully fulfil one’s social role in the world” (Hendry, 2013, p. 45). Performances of masculinity for women were reflected when women were able to express their true selves in private and inner spheres. Some women who did not embody masculine capital performed femininity in meticulous etiquette or took on a caregiver’s role such as Keiko. Although Keiko was perhaps the weakest player in terms of kendo skill (as a first year *kōhai* she had the role of maintaining the overall appearance of the dojo) she was admired by some for her stubbornness in ‘sticking to the rules’ and caregiving ability. This interview excerpt suggests that women can utilise other forms of capital within their social group.

Hana: I really admired Keiko *sempai*. I thought she was amazing.

KS: Why is that?

Hana: She held her opinions strongly. There were 10 *sempai* and even if it were nine against one, she still held a strong opinion. Even if the nine others held a different opinion, she still held hers. The *sempai* used to play around a lot but Keiko was the only one who didn’t like it. So even if others thought to do something sly, Keiko would have nothing to do with it. Although it is not a good word to use I think she was stubborn. Even if it was nine against one, she fought till the end. I thought she was amazing.

As mentioned, non-team representative members performed etiquette more often than team players. This demonstrates that etiquette was utilised as a form of capital for those with less competition success (masculinity). Non team representative players negotiated other forms of capital to establish a position of power and roles within the club. These roles included the hard

worker, the mood moderator, the caregiver, the discipliner and the good model of etiquette. Using Bourdieu's term, "field of struggles" Grenfell (2012) points out that each social field is a competitive game that actors improvise in their quest to maximise their positions: "The game that occurs within social fields is competitive with various social agents using different strategies to maintain or improve their position. At stake in the field is the accumulation of capital" (Grenfell, 2008, p. 68). All members committed to '*gambatte ikō*' and often contributed their individual strengths towards achieving club cohesion and club goals. The non team members were motivated to work hard in club training and performance to support the team members to contribute to achieving club goals. Such members were considered to be 'hard workers' which carried significant capital, as it is also considered a Japanese cultural value. The hard workers did not have as much value in the men's club as there was pressure on winning in competition. In the men's club competition players had a responsibility to maintain TSSU national ranking and secure funding from the university. In the women's club, the hard worker gained recognition and respect for their effort and often were considered to be the supportive backbone of the club. One 'hard worker' wrote this of this consideration in support of the club's strongest player preparing for the All Japan Kendo Competition: "*Konshū wa Harue no zen nihon taikai mo aru no de taikai ni mukete Harue wo sakari agete ikeru you ni shitai*" ("Because Harue is competing in the All Japan Kendo Competition this week I will do my best to help her reach her peak").

***Sempai-kōhai* intimacy**

In the club interdependent, affectionate relationships between *sempai* and *kōhai* are greatly sought after by club members. In such relationships a *raison d'être* can be gained which can positively influence a member's sense of self-confidence, fulfillment and purpose. These relationships can provide motivation and inspiration to develop oneself. The relations of *sempai-kōhai* reportedly last even after their graduation from school (Dunn as cited in Enyo, 2013, p. 1). Often these

relationships will continue throughout one's life where members will fondly call the other *sempai* or *kōhai* well after graduation. Most members long for such relationships during university and for those that don't have such a bond, they can experience loneliness.

The *sempai-kōhai* relationship within the club are characteristically interdependent and replicate familial structures such as the parent/child and older sibling/younger sibling relationships (Rohlen as cited in Miller, 2013, p. 74). The words *sempai* and *kōhai* are written in Chinese characters: *sem* means 'ahead' or 'before' and *pai* means 'companion', whilst *kō* translates as 'after' or 'behind' and *hai* also means 'companion' (Enyo, 2013). In exchange of obedience the *sempai* will protect and teach *kōhai* with both encouragement and criticism. Ideally the *kōhai* is completely obedient and accepting towards senior guidance (Rohlen, 1989, p. 19). In a sense, obedience is attitudinal education (Cave, 2004).

The *sempai-kōhai* system is introduced to students and club members in junior high school. In most sports clubs, the first year of junior high school, high school and university act as a trial period for new *kōhai*. In the first year of university the *kōhai* must perform menial tasks, as it is suggested that one will be a good player once they have formed a submissive personality (Sugimoto, 2010). Almost all TSSU members have experienced the *sempai-kōhai* system in their high school kendo clubs. Some experienced very strict kendo environments prior to university. The *kōhai* that experienced strict high school *club* adjusted more easily to TSSU. However, most women's club *kōhai* were initially shocked at the level of strictness of the *sempai-kōhai* system and the amount of work they were expected to perform at TSSU when they first entered the university. Many TSSU *sempai* recall their first year as so miserable they wanted to quit and cried themselves to sleep every night. In the first year TSSU *kōhai* not only have to readjust to a completely new environment, they also experience unrelenting pressure to learn the club culture of etiquette, work and kendo performance. For women the culture heavily focused on club work

and etiquette. More so than kendo development, aspects of club culture were the focus, as they were seen as more practical to female members in preparation for Japanese society. During their first year *kōhai* soon learn they are required to do their best and conform to a new club culture or they will be disciplined for inadequate performance. Disciplining is intentionally unavoidable for mistakes are utilised as a method to learn club culture, develop *seishin*, develop relationships and an individual identity within the club.

Members focus on learning the intricacies of human relationships and performance of club work with the expectation that these skills are transferable into their adult lives. I observed particular attention was directed at the use of language between *sempai* and *kōhai*. As Ogasawara (1998) found in her ethnography of a Japanese bank and likewise Enyo (2013) in her research on *sempai-kōhai* relationships in university club meetings, I also observed the structure of language use which demonstrates and defines the relationship you have with another. This structure is valued across Japanese society (Ogasawara, 1998). The use of language indicates one's position in the relationship, that is whether you are a *kōhai*, *sempai* or peer. Regarding status, communication between same aged peers is on equal terms. When speaking to your *sempai* a conscientious soft tone of voice is used and *san* is attached after their last name and formal language is spoken. Whereas a senior would speak in their natural tone, they use *chan* after their nickname, first or last name and communicate with informal language. In a sense this use of language empowers the *sempai* and 'infantilises' the *kōhai* as a younger sibling. Enyo (2013, p. 4) interpreted that when the speaker's status is lower than the addressee's, the speaker is socially required to pay respect towards the other speaker by using formal language, while the other, higher-status speaker is not required to pay an equal degree of respect toward the lower-status addressee.

The performance of language was highly valued as part of TSSU etiquette. Although the *sempai* decided to ease hierarchical relationships between *sempai* and *kōhai* the *sempai* endeavoured to maintain a certain level of etiquette in club culture, especially within the *dojo* and during club related activities. As such many of the members felt uncomfortable when certain *sempai* and *kōhai* spoke in informal language to each other inside the *dojo*. The formalities in the context of the kendo club were gendered, as formal relationships were only maintained between *sempai* and *kōhai* of the same sex as female and male *sempai* and *kōhai* used informal language when speaking to each other, even if it was inside the *dojo*. Although a female/male may call a male/female *sempai* the relationship is very different from same-sex *sempai-kōhai* relationships. This is due to the reciprocal learning that occurs between *sempai* and *kōhai* and hierarchical structures within a specific group.

Sempai and *kōhai* relationships, gender segregation and gender hierarchy in university replicates working environments where most often males are in senior positions or male *sempai* *kōhai* relationships dominate working environments. Women are most often in positions that are in service to men or their senior positions are 'othered' and therefore separate from the male *sempai-kōhai* realm. Lebra (1981) found in her research that male peers were often promoted over women. This is because if a woman was promoted it would upset the gender hierarchy and men are uncomfortable with interdependent relationships with female *sempai* and therefore women can be at a disadvantage, because endowment does not cross sex boundaries (Lebra, 1981). Rohlen (1974, p. 123) notes that the *sempai-kōhai* relationship at a bank is clearly sex segregated. Women could form such a bond among themselves, but the career advantage to be derived from such a bond is decidedly limited, since most desirable positions are monopolised by male patrons (Rohlen, 1974). Lebra found that “a woman is precluded from a higher position not only because

she cannot have a male patron but also because she is considered unfit to be a patron for male followers” (1981, p. 298).

At TSSU the men had a strict *ostuki* system in place where particular *sempai* and *kōhai* had established relationships which they would maintain throughout university. The emphasis on hierarchy in the male *sempai* and *kōhai* relationships was much stricter than the women's. This may be due to the likelihood that more men would enter working environments with strict *sempai* and *kōhai* systems and that the alumni networks of OB would benefit men more so than women. The social networking to support one's career normally relies on the dyadic vertical relationships between *oyabun-kobun* (boss-henchman), *sensei-deshi*, (teacher-disciple), or *sempai-kōhai* (Lebra, 1981, p. 298). As such, strict guidelines for these relationships are adhered to by men more so than women. The relationship between male *sempai-kōhai*, male members and *sensei* are much more formalised than the women's relationships within the club. Such structures suggest that kendo is arranged for male patronage since it is less likely that TSSU women will enter working environments with strict *sempai-kōhai* structures, and an absence of the *otsuki* system (between female *sempai* and *kōhai*) there was much less pressure for the women to adhere to guidelines. In a sense the women therefore had more individual freedom to create meaning and rules in regards to their hierarchical relationships within the women's club.

Many women desired *sempai-kōhai* relationships as they provided a sense of purpose, reciprocal attentiveness, warmth and intimacy that differed from other relationships. Such a relationship required a connection as a key ingredient which, like love, can be inexplicable and difficult to attain. The *sempai* that longed for a relationship with a *kōhai* often experienced a close bond with a *sempai* when they were a *kōhai*. The *kōhai*, would almost always instigate such a relationship out of admiration. Often a *sempai* would be attractive to a *kōhai* and the *kōhai* would select the *sempai*. In interview a *sempai* commented on why she selected her *sempai*:

I hadn't seen anyone like that before. So when I saw her I thought "Wow this kind of person exists". This is the image of an ideal person. I thought they were really *kakko ii*. I thought then 'I will remain by the side of this person until the end. (Personal communication)

A *sempai* explained how the relationship started with a *kōhai*.

I noticed that Shizu came to practice with me often, every day. I did wonder what I should do with her. Since she really does her best I thought to take her to dinner. We get along well and understand each other. She is really doing her best. Because she comes to train with me I look after her. She made rice balls for me recently. (Personal communication)

Junior members have a childlike desire to be loved that is present 'in all formal relationships' (Doi as cited in Enyo 2013, p. 14). Dependency is not only the characteristic of a subordinate, but of a superior as well, who needs to demonstrate dependency by "unlimited endearment, protection, and support" (Kyogoku as cited in Enyo 2013, p. 14). People gain emotional satisfaction from relying on other people, usually their superiors (Konráðsson, 2012). Enyo (2013) suggests that *sempai kōhai* relationships are characterised as interdependent, in that they both rely on each other, harmoniously and with mutual affection. The role of *sempai* overlaps with the role of father, while the role of *kōhai* is viewed as similar to the child's role. In the case of female *sempai*, the role overlaps with that of mother. Perhaps for TSSU female *sempai* such relationships provide an opportunity to perform a mothering role for *kōhai*. The *kōhai* also learn to be 'lovable' and develop *kawaiirashisa* which is explained in Bandō Mariko's *Josei no Hinkaku* (The Dignity of the Woman, 2006). Bandō's book encourages ways for women to accommodate the needs of her male bosses' and co-workers' by the art of 'lovability' which is presented as a matter of feminine virtue (Hirakawa, 2011). The *kōhai* learn that to be obedient and lovable to their *sempai* gives protection and access to cultural learning. Female *sempai* are empowered by the *kōhai* wanting to be lovable to them which usually involves the *kōhai* learning what makes the *sempai* happy. This is another example of learning femininity through being lovable and demonstrates how being the object of

love/attention is connected to masculine capital/empowerment and is only temporary for most women during university.

Within the kendo field, women also learn the strategy of survival, negotiate difficult situations, and maintain 'lovability' and *kawairashisa*, which I had difficulty in playing this game. The first significant friendship I made was with a 4th year *sempai*, Akane. Akane had the most symbolic capital in the club. I was drawn to her because she was so infectiously positive and energetic, and most open to me. My friendship with Akane assisted in developing a rapport with the other members. Thus, Akane acted as a 'cultural participant'. Olive and Thorpe (2011, p. 432) reflect how "other cultural participants, especially other women" taught them "when and how to react, when to laugh and when to practice restraint". Akane taught me how to act with restraint and perform appropriately in some situations. She helped me to restrain myself in the following situation:

We visited the municipal prison today for competition practice. One of the kendo teachers there obviously had not had much interaction with foreigners. He kept making jokes about my age, being Australian and wondered how I could train with the TSSU members. I felt embarrassed and really annoyed. If I was in Australia I would be able to confront the unwanted comments but I felt I could not say anything. I must have had a really annoyed look on my face because Akane was trying to lighten up the situation by laughing with the teacher, indirectly encouraging me to do the same (Personal diary).

This situation was particularly difficult to deal with. From my perspective I was being subjected to harassment which was cleverly managed by Akane and her subtle encouragement for me to 'laugh it off' and be *kawaii*. In this situation I was confronted with tensions as it was necessary to negotiate my "multiple and dynamic female, feminist researcher" cultural participant subjectivities in the field (Olive & Thorpe, 2011, p. 425).

Sempai-kōhai relationships can provide emotional bonding and as such they are highly sought after and protected. These relationships are also respected by other members and not encroached upon. Members who had close relationships were expected not to display intimacy or

favouritism in public, to be kind to other's feelings, and maintain 'appearances' and separation formality between *sempai* and *kōhai*. Romantic relationships between male and female members were also discouraged and most definitely kept secret. Such implicit rules may be in place to replicate working environments. Lebra (1981) observed that romantic relationships in the workplace were unacceptable, as it upsets the rule of sphere separation between domestic/private and occupational/public. In TSSU there was some criticism towards those *sempai* who had openly affectionate homo-social relationships with *kōhai* as it was seen to cross the boundary of private and public. In interview with a *sempai* I asked her how she felt about the public relationship between a 2nd year *kōhai* and 4th year *sempai*.

Nami: I think it [as] ok if you become close with your *sempai* after you graduate from university. I think it is ok to socialise and have fun with your *sempai* while you are both students as well. I don't think it is good to show your closeness when you are practising kendo though.

KS: So you don't approve of Kiku's (*sempai*) and Tomo's (*kōhai*) relationship?

Nami: Well, for the other members...

KS: It is not good.

Nami: No.

KS: Why?

Nami: They become a unit. They don't practise with other members. It is not fair. Who will look after the ones that have no one looking over them? They become lonely. I feel sorry for the ones who have no one. I think those *kōhai* feel down. It is sad. I think it is good to have friendly relationships between *sempai* and *kōhai* but I think a distance needs to be maintained.

Hameta !

In Japan, *ai-no-muchi* (a whip of love) is deeply rooted. The idea insists that corporal punishment is inflicted on children for the sake of their own development. (Uchiumi, 2014, p.109) ⁶²

⁶² Uchiumi (2014) discusses corporal punishment in his paper on corporal punishment in Japan. Uchiumi (2014, p. 109) defines corporal punishment as "penal regulations accompanied by physical pain given to a low-ranking person by a high-ranking person in circumstances where a hierarchical power structure is clearly secured". Corporal punishment is very topical and complex issue in Japan (see Miller 2013b). The definition I use to describe disciplining at TSSU differs from corporal punishment and was most often utilised as method of *seishin kyōiku* and was not considered to be a form of corporal punishment. In disciplining situations at TSSU, the *sempai*, not the teacher (except for extreme situations) would discipline a *kōhai* as part of *seishin kyōiku*. Often a *kōhai* would be disciplined for lack of effort in regards to performance of etiquette, training and work for the club. This form of disciplining strengthens and is referred to as forging. Another form of disciplining which is applied to actions such as intentionally breaking a club rule receive hazing or gruelling training as an explicit form of punishment which could be considered to be excessive corporeal punishment. From a non kendo player's perspective it is difficult to tell the difference between disciplining and punishing. However, kendo practitioners can determine the difference based on their intuitive sense of intent of the discipliner and knowledge of the situation. However, due to the increased awareness of corporal

Disciplining performs a very special role within a sports university kendo club. Sports club members consider that ideally a *sempai* would be “kind enough to scold” and there was kindness within their strictness (Cave, 2004, p. 404). At TSSU when a club member has endured the process of disciplining, often they would exclaim proudly with relief “*hameta!*” (“I have been released from disciplining!”). In most kendo clubs it is almost impossible to not be disciplined during 4 years of club membership. Enduring being disciplined is integral to spiritual and personal development as well as membership to the club. Physical and emotional disciplining in the club was once considered to be an important part of *seishin kyōiku*. A *kōhai* will be disciplined for breaking *doxa*. During this disciplining period the *kōhai* were not allowed to socialise but they could express their emotional suffering in the dojo as a sign of remorse. When a member is being disciplined in the club it becomes a hot topic of conversation as every member is aware of the situation. Often peers (and occasionally *sempai*) will offer their advice and support. The *kōhai* must persist with daily disciplining until the *sempai* feels they have learnt their lesson and they either express remorse for or change their behaviour.⁶³

Once the *sempai* feels satisfied; the end of disciplining is indicated during kendo practice as the *sempai* allows the *kōhai* to hit their helmet target and will tap their chest plate.⁶⁴ The women didn’t feel comfortable disciplining and most often didn’t want to form a relationship with those they had disciplined. The *sempai* would rather spend time with their peers or favoured *kōhai*.

punishment, disciplining practices have mostly been eliminated to not be misinterpreted as violence.

⁶³ There were distinct differences between how the women and men disciplined. Connell (as cited in Hidaka, 2010, p. 53) argues that discipline is one of the “masculinizing practices”. The men would inflict a physically violent type of discipline, whilst the women would inflict a long drawn out style. The men’s method is seen as a “masculinity test” of enduring physical hardship which strengthens physical *seishin*. The women’s method is not viewed as a “femininity test” but similar to a test of toughness like the “masculinity test” for men. Although the women’s method of disciplining is also physical, it differs from the men’s method in that it is less physically violent and usually lasts for much longer in time duration which is considered to be beneficial in strengthening emotional *seishin*. This is an example of how gender can be internalised based on kendo pedagogy.

⁶⁴ In the men's club the disciplined *kōhai* would be taken out to drink and a bond is formed with the *sempai*.

I observed that the TSSU women appeared focused on enjoying kendo and their chosen relationships.

Disciplining within the club is very complex. Disciplining is very tied to one's sense of belonging to the group and attachment to others. There was a great sense of relief when the period was over as it meant the *kōhai* were freed from disciplining and other restrictions placed on them. In addition to such release, the benefit of disciplining was that they had strengthened spiritually and developed their character which aligned with club culture and a belief that such toughening up will make hardships in adult society easier to deal with. There was some sort of pride attached to surviving discipline, and appreciation that a *sempai* cared enough to expend the energy disciplining them. Disciplining can strengthen dynamics within peer groups and contribute towards lifelong relationships, as members have endured suffering and hardship together. As such the experience, although not enjoyed at the time, can be viewed as positive.

***Nomō* ! Sharing beer and real emotions**

Socialising with alcohol is a way to develop relationships in kendo where you drink beer, express your real emotions and practise kendo together the next day feeling seedy. I would never practise kendo hungover in Australia; but I remind myself it is a cultural practice and 'all part of the research' I say to myself. The social bonding that occurs whilst drinking intensifies and improves relationships with other members and therefore directly impacts on one's kendo enjoyment and position within the club. Training whilst hungover is another opportunity to experience suffering together in a 'fun' light-hearted way. (Personal diary)

Alcohol consumption in Japanese culture provides a space for relaxation and social bonding (McDonald & Sylvester, 2014). Learning how to drink in both formal and informal situations plays an important role in university life. Drinking alcohol is encouraged in university sports clubs and contributes to members' social and cultural education as it provides an opportunity to learn how to drink and be appropriately drunk in formal and informal situations. Such situations are set up to replicate company cultures where students learn how to drink with their colleagues, seniors and bosses (*sempai*, teachers and alumni) (McDonald & Sylvester, 2014). The women's club

drinking with *sempai* offers an initiation into the club for new *kōhai*. *Kōhai* are usually invited out to drink as a reward if they display they are appealing to the *sempai* as 'hard workers'. One *sempai* reminisced on her most memorable experience of TSSU. As a *kōhai* she recalls:

Chika: My most memorable experience at TSSU was with Kiku *sempai*. When I first entered TSSU the women's club were having competition practice with another university. The visiting university's club manager had left the schedule behind at the dojo. I remember it was a really rainy day. I was shopping at the time when I received a call from Kiku *sempai*. Kiku *sempai* thought I was at the dojo and asked if I could bring the diary. I thought to myself 'how long would it take to go back' but I didn't want to give an excuse so I replied "Yes, I understand". It took me 15 minutes to get to university by bicycle. I was sweating so much. I wasn't sure if I was wet from sweat or from the rain. I ran up the stairs as fast as I could. The Buddha statue was illuminating light and was glittering with rain drops. I thought it looked so beautiful. With sweat, rain and tears everything glittered in front of me. At that time my mind and body felt frazzled. Amidst the pain I was so happy to see the sparkles all around. "I am alive and doing my best" I thought to myself. After I found the diary I rang Kiku *sempai* and told her "I found it!" She asked "Weren't you at the dojo? How long did it take?" It was a bit difficult to tell her I had come from shopping so I said "I was at the dormitory - I am sorry". She replied "Oh you went there just for me?" I admire Kiku *sempai* and she was like a heroine to me, so to get a phone call from her made me feel really happy. She asked me to go to her house. When I arrived and gave her the diary she asked me to hop on the back of her bicycle and we went drinking together. That was the first memorable experience I had with Kiku *sempai*. We often went out together after that.
(Personal communication)

The *sempai* will most often pay for a *kōhai* ('s) meal, and during dinner the *kōhai* will serve *sempai* by preparing chopsticks, plates, serving food, topping up drinks and ordering. It was also important that the *kōhai* keep up the drinking pace with the *sempai* and to be constantly aware that the *sempai* was being cared for. For female *sempai*, university may be the last place they feel empowered in this role of a *sempai* as it is unlikely they will be a *sempai* in their adult life.

In both informal and formal drinking situations members are given the opportunity to share real feelings and put aside rank. In Japanese culture, it is a social responsibility to control your emotions and needs to be considerate towards others, maintain a positive atmosphere and to not meddle with social harmony. To suppress one's true emotions until the appropriate release time is considered to be stoic, displaying inner strength and the cultural value of resilience (McDonald & Sylvester, 2014). Drinking alcohol socially allows an opportunity to 'let go' and express the real

self in an appropriate environment which provides 'emotional catharsis'. Through informal socialisation a bonding process occurs (Rohlen, 1989, p. 28)

In formal drinking situations, such as the drinking party or drinking socially with *sempai*, members are given the opportunity to practise social etiquette and communication skills which can result in the formation of habitus. Thus habitus can be deployed in adult life and could be recognised as a form of 'drinking capital' and can benefit members in their adult life. However, it is more beneficial for men to accumulate such 'drinking capital' as it is more likely they can utilise it in their working life, more so than women. This was observable at TSSU as there were more formalised drinking opportunities for the men encouraged by the *otsuki* system and disciplining practices. At the drinking party, the men were given more time to communicate with the *sensei*.⁶⁵

So how do women benefit from learning how to drink? Although 'drinking capital' for most women may not transfer into their working life it did benefit them during their time at university. The ability to drink beer is encouraged as it is the selected beverage to be commonly shared. Even if club members do not like beer they will drink it as it contributes to shared experience and therefore promotes social bonding or drinking to bond). Drinking the same alcohol enables a collective experience and open communication between teachers, *sempai* and *kōhai* (McDonald & Sylvester, 2014). Therefore, members transitioning from *kōhai* to *sempai* (i.e. the third years) would make a concerted effort to drink beer so they could teach *kōhai* how to drink, so they could communicate with *sempai* and teachers. There was capital in drinking beer and the amount, as it resulted in admiration being strong. Being a strong beer drinker was considered to be *kakko ii* and

⁶⁵ This was particularly evident at the summer training camp where only the men's club would rotate to sit with the teachers.

evidence of a transitioning into adult life. Often the female members would boast how many handles of beer they had consumed or by how much they had increased their tolerance. The ability to drink reflected the strength of one's spirit and maturity. Informal drinking with *sempai* was an opportunity to bond. It was special for a *kōhai* to be asked by a *sempai* to drink with them, as it provided an opportunity to put aside rank and potentially form a bond. In such situations the *kōhai* could ask *sempai* for advice about their kendo or any other issues regarding the club or their personal life. To strengthen relationships and to find a sense of belonging to the club it is particularly important to socialise with club members outside of dojo. A result of socialising is a mutual understanding as drinking provides a space to share one's real feelings and to let go of control. In the letting go members release their stress which usually results in tears. Members also create drinking adventures which are often entertainingly shared the next day with the other club members or retold for years to come.

Mutual suffering and lifetime friendships

Nami: TSSU is like a family. With my peers we form strong deep bonds. I think more so than high school, the relationships you form at university simulate family. I think most of us are facing the same direction and very few turn away. I think TSSU is unique in that sense.

Hardship often seems to be instrumental in deepening friendships (Cave, 2004, p. 402). The hardship the *sempai* endured as *kōhai* created strong bonds between them. From their experience the *sempai* also instigated change in club culture to open up communication between year levels and provided a more trusting, enjoyable kendo environment than experienced in previous years. These changes inspired group solidarity as the members willingly engaged in '*gambatte ikō*' (let's do our best together) to achieve group goals and engage in spiritual development. Perhaps more so than the extrinsic reward of achieving competition success, which they did – the intrinsic rewards of belonging, a sense of purpose and developing significant relationships with other

members seemed more valuable to the majority of the members. In the pursuit of developing significant relationships and a sense of purpose club members deepened their spiritual strength and self-confidence. The lasting value of such relationships was expressed by a senior club member during interview shortly before her graduation.

Mika: I am really sad about graduating. But even though I say I am sad I knew the day would come when we would separate. It is regretful but days and months will pass and we will spend time together again laughing. Even though I am sad now, even with the sadness that I am feeling now I know the next time it will be joyful to see each other again. Even though I cry in front of the others (my peers – the 4th years) I am grateful towards my peers, and feel moved to say ‘thank you for these 4 years’ are all the words that I can think to say. It seems like a wise saying but ‘I may feel sad now but the day will come when we meet again and laugh together’. I feel lonely that we will soon part but the loneliest thing is well...everyone has looked after each other. I have so many memories like that. But the sadness I feel now will change to happiness next time we meet. I believe the time will come when we will laugh and will say “we really cried at that time didn’t we!” and “That time was really sad wasn’t it!” I believe we will see each other again and I will do my best every day, believing we will see each other again.

The *sempai* of that year adapted their behaviour towards *kōhai* due to their own personal experience of suffering that was imposed on them by their *sempai*. It could be argued that the suffering they experienced was rewarding in the sense they had survived hardship and some felt it had strengthened their inner resilience. In addition, if the *sempai* hadn't suffered and supported each other through those challenging years they would not have experienced the enjoyment, freedom and closeness of their relationships in their final year. Although the change in culture did little to subvert the patriarchal structure of TSSU kendo, the women’s club experienced intrinsic reward from membership. This chapter has discussed how even at the sub-micro level, despite all agents being women, these practices mirrored some aspects of gender regimes at the micro level. Uniquely female members experienced *bi-gendered embodiment* in the sub-micro field.



Figure 9.1: Female members returning home together after kendo training

CHAPTER 10

Conclusions and Future Directions

The aim of this research, driven by personal experience and inspiration training with elite female Japanese kendo practitioners, was to understand how females negotiate and develop gendered identity through the practice of kendo. In other words, I wanted to examine the ways in which being and doing kendo, in a totally embodied sense, provided young women with both the structure and structuring logic of their practice. Further, this thesis critically examined how gender order is actively reinforced and re-positioned and how gendered identity is reproduced through the practice of kendo.

The best way to understand this was to share the lived experience and conduct an ethnography at a Japanese sport university kendo club. I utilised the theories of Bourdieu and Connell to make sense of women's kendo practises in the micro-level social field of TSSU dojo and was thereafter able to link TSSU practises to macro-level institutions such as kendo, education and employment. By reviewing literature and applying key theories of Bourdieu and Connell, I was able observe patterns and make sense of the gender regimes that were occurring in TSSU club spaces. I observed that the behaviour of the female members was an interplay between specific gender regimes and dispositional systems.

Initially I was focused on Japanese women's kendo from the perspective of marginalisation and segregation set, however the deeper I immersed myself in the field, I began to realise that the discriminatory gender regimes of micro (TSSU) and macro (kendo) levels seemed, for the most part, irrelevant to women's club members as they were caught up in the *illusio* of their own game. For the majority, importance was placed on the daily micro-interactions between women's club

members, which revealed that the women's club was their 'reason for being'. After several months I realised that was starting to see a 'game within a game' in the women's club and I found myself wanting to be a part of it. A new set of questions arose and I became curious to how and why women negotiated their identity and accrued and competed for various forms of capital within the sub-micro field of the women's club. The women's 'game' and *habitus* are however informed by the *gender regimes* associated with 'tradition'.

This thesis has argued that the concept of 'tradition' in kendo is a 'modern invention' and through upholding 'tradition', kendo women are unashamedly marginalised. The ideology of 'tradition' empowers men with more opportunity and resources which separates and naturalises gender specific characteristics and the gender order. As a 'traditional' physical culture, kendo is a social field that re-produces and re-positions gender more so than other facets of Japanese society. However, as a result of kendo's patriarchal practices, women are denied access to its' field of power, all of which allows women to experience 'bi-gendered' freedom more so than other women, and reap intrinsic rewards more so than kendo men. As reflected in the interview data, for the most part, many female members were not, nor did they want to be caught in the *illusio* of the men's game because they recognised they were not playing for the same game's stakes. The female members did not have the desire to dominate or be recognised in the 'central games', which they viewed with detachment. In general, the women's club did not view their non-participation as an issue and rather preferred the absence of pressure that the men experienced, as it resulted in agency and enjoyment.

Through this research process, I have come to realise why I was drawn so strongly to kendo. Kendo has provided a space for me to freely express my 'bi-gendered' identity and a consequent sense of belonging, or at least the desire to belong. This realisation has provided an insight into the cultural differences between the barriers and challenges that sport women experience in Japan

and Australasia. The overarching fact that remains is, sport is classified as a masculine field that disadvantages women globally (Kelly, 2013). Sport is considered to be a field that signifies masculinity, women who participate in specific sports can pose a threat to masculine identity and other social norms. As Hall (1996) highlighted, sport is seen as a cultural representation of social relations which includes gender. Therefore, how women are marginalised in hegemonic masculine sports depends on the cultural location.

In the West, characteristics of sport are framed around heterosexual norms and women often emphasise femininity to avoid victimisation. This has caused female athletes to self-consciously negotiate their physical beauty, size, and femininity to remain within these norms. In the West, women have more access to the field of power, due to how sporting spaces are less gender segregated, identities tend to be more fixed, and women can pursue dual roles of careers and family. As a result, women can challenge male dominance, therefore the mechanisms deterring women from the field of power are different to Japan. Japanese sporting women in Japan are often victimised if they pose a threat to fulfilling their social responsibility of motherhood. This influences women to retire young from sport and not seek leadership positions within sport.

Japanese soccer is a clear example of how women are deterred from challenging the field of power and institutionalisation of gender through sport practises. Mandujano-Salazar (2016) implied that the dominant discourse of sport in Japan, reflects a negative relationship between long-term professional achievement and womanhood, and it sends the message that Japanese women who enter a field dominated by men and put their job success over their search for a family are no longer feminine, therefore undesirable. In reaction, periodically women who intentionally deviate from their social responsibility are criticised. Although this sentiment resonates in kendo, systemically, in the name of 'tradition' kendo women are blockaded from the field of power and

women's assumed inability to lead and embody the same potential as men is supported by how women's practises are marginalised and gendered is re-produced in the following ways:

- Competition match times are shorter for women (1 minute)
- Standard bamboo swords are lighter and shorter for women (70 grams - 1 inch)
- Women and men are gender segregated in kendo spaces
- Women are physically positioned lower in all dojo/club/competition spaces
- Women are expected to perform and become proficient in domestic duties for club
- Women kendo receives less prestige, opportunity, resources
- Women are blockaded from achieving 8th black belt
- There are few career opportunities for women
- There are few women in leadership/coaching positions
- High ranked women do not teach or umpire adult men
- Women's kendo pinnacle is most often university level

In spite of these gendering practices, what Japanese kendo does allow that hegemonic masculine sports in Australasia do not is a space to express masculinity, not only in personality traits, but also in physical appearance without being monitored and criticised. As such, women have space to express a 'bi-gendered' identity in kendo, as an expression of masculinity is central to good kendo and character development. This acceptance is partially due to how strictly spaces are gender segregated and women do not compete with men in their field of power nor challenge masculinity, rather masculine representation during practise is seen as appropriate. However, this freedom in expression is only permissible in certain spaces and often expires at the end of university for most. When women continue to participate in sport at a high level into child bearing

age, they pose a threat to societal norms, which exposes them to criticism. What both sporting cultures have in common is they attempt to portray women as undesirable if they go beyond social norms.

To reiterate, I have come to understand that the ways in which sports women are marginalised in Japan and Australasia are culturally specific yet proportionally reflect dominance of men over women based on sexuality, fertility and the sexual division of labour. The significance of these cultural differences have impacted on my sport participation. In New Zealand, as a child I teased for being ‘a man’ by playing hegemonic masculine sports and prevented from participating. In Japan, I have revelled in the freedom to express my true self in kendo spaces, but my potential is marked by my gender rather than who I am as an individual.

Summary of chapters

The literature review and analysis chapters aimed to answer these sub-questions to support the argument statement.

- What are the socio-historical processes that have impacted on kendo for women.
- How and why does gender continue to be re-produced in kendo.
- Regardless of gender regulating practices, how do women benefit from kendo.

To grasp a foundational understanding of gendered practices in Japanese kendo it was crucial to reflect on Japanese mythology, warrior culture, religion, philosophy, education and employment development and patterns. Chapters 2 and 3 provided a review of literature of Japanese women in society, which positions women in kendo. Specifically, in chapter 2, “*The Sword Educating Women*”, the historical significance of the sword and its connection with gendered identity is explored as there are several socio-historical processes that have shaped how university women’s kendo is practised. The gendered practices of Buddhism, Shintoism and Confucianism, assert, in one way or another, that women are born with different abilities and are therefore automatically

a lower status. The sword has an extended historical relevance to Amaterasu, Shintoism and the Imperial family, which overtime has become of symbol of masculinity. As a result, women who fought in combat are not considered to be samurai and when samurai women are referred to, it is in relation to wives or daughters of samurai men. Women's education was mainly available to elite samurai class and consisted of learning feminine virtues and deportment via Confucian texts. This positioning of women in kendo today, mirrors bushido culture, which placed women in the domestic realm and excluded them from participation in the public realm. Beliefs and rituals played an integral role in structuring patriarchal systems of bushido culture, and they continue to influence modern kendo practices through symbolic relationship between masculinity, nationalism and the sword.

Modern kendo developed in the Meiji period, yet its established its roots in bushido culture and seeks to maintain and foster a sense of national identity and 'tradition' by re-producing patriarchal structures of warrior culture. Although women did participate in kendo prior to 1950, the birth of women's kendo is believed to have occurred in the post-war period coinciding with the reinstatement of kendo as a sport into the education system by the occupying forces. Kendo as a modern sport, assigns symbolic value to competition, which provides pathways between education and employment. Due to the historical significance of the sword and masculine identity, these pathways are more accessible to men than women. To rationalise women's participation in kendo, the fields of kendo are social spaces that re-produce 'traditional' gender ideology.

Chapter 3, "*Ryōsai Kenbo Education and Employment*", delineates change and the development of Japanese women's education from the Meiji period onwards, and emphasises how learning for women continues to be influenced by Confucian philosophy. In the Meiji restoration the Imperial family was reinstated and their bloodline to Amaterasu reaffirmed. Women's education was promulgated in wider society and underpinned by the concept of *ryōsai kenbo*,

which institutionalised gender with the intent to modernise and ‘cultivate’ Japan. Sport was generally not a part of girl’s education; rather girls engaged in physical education that promoted ‘feminine’ practices and included Western calisthenics and dance (Kietlinski, 2011). Girl’s physical education was established to promote *ryōsai kenbo* and many educationalists recommended gymnastics for learning “polite attitudes, behaviour and appearance” (Ikeda, 2010, p. 540). Physical Education for women gradually shifted to modest strenuous exercise to benefit their roles as healthy mothers to raise strong male defenders of the nation (Guttmann & Thompson, 2001).

What materialised from the modernisation period was the notion of ‘traditional’ identity, which hybridised samurai and Victorian bourgeois culture, and framed the ideal woman to be middle class, financially dependent and domesticated. The newly introduced family system and family-state ideology also adopted samurai household practices which all of Japanese society was expected to adhere to. As a result of *ryōsai kenbo* and the family system, new restrictions were placed on women which took away their legal rights and positioned them within the domestic realm. Women’s paid labour from the outset was regulated by the family-state ideology and to maintain Japan’s capitalist and production needs. In the Taishō period, it was tolerable for women to work in suitable employment between leaving school and getting married as it was deemed important to raise the status of women to develop society and the nation, but middle-class women’s increasing entry into employment threatened familial ideology (Miyake, 1991). The feminisation of certain employment sectors began to develop from the Taishō period and women entered the job market in greater numbers predominantly as cheap labour (Mathias, 2014).

In spite of the ways in which the family system attempts to maintain ‘the family’, the declining birth-rate is a serious issue in Japan. The current marriage rate has been steadily declining whilst the marrying age has been steadily increasing and statistics suggest there is a

relationship between the declining birth-rate and marriage (Statistics Handbook of Japan, 2015). Women who deviate from the social roles of wife and mother are often criticised and held responsible for social problems like the declining birth-rate. The ‘M curve’ emerged during the economic boom of the 1960s and continues to represent Japanese women’s life cycle and employment patterns (Ehara, 2013). This ‘M’ shape is also observable in women’s sport participation (Kimura, 2003).

Although Japanese society has experienced several changes in patterns of marriage and childbirth, education and employment for women continue to be influenced by *ryōsai kembo*. As a result, women continue to be hired in non-regular employment and as cheap labour with the belief they will eventually leave employment to get married and have children. To improve the status of women and reverse the declining birth rate the Abe government has proposed an increase of women in leadership and improve maternity leave schemes. This is difficult to achieve considering the current percentage of women in these positions and that Japan’s ranking on the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) has not improved in recent years. Despite some progress, gender inequalities still persist, especially in women’s participation in policy decision-making processes and leadership (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2013). Statistics and employment practices suggest there are still many barriers and pressures in the workplace and society that make it difficult for women to pursue careers.

The preceding chapters contextualise the phenomenon and provide an insight as to how gender identity is shaped and continues to be re-produced in Japanese kendo. This overview assists in making sense of women's practices and positioning in kendo today as several of the aforementioned societal practises were re-produced at TSSU.

Chapter 4 “*Positioning Myself in the Field*” explains the method and process regarding collection and analysis of the data. During an 18-month period I wrote daily observational field

notes and conducted semi-structured interviews with the students and teachers of TSSU. Thematic analysis was applied to the qualitative data by hand through the process of open, axial and selective coding (Ezzy, 2013; Giampietro, 2008). The qualitative data was substantially informative and rich as it communicated lived experiences. The theoretical framework is also explained in this chapter. Bourdieu's (1984) conceptual tools of *habitus*, *capital* and *field*, and subsequent theories of *symbolic violence* and *regulated liberties*, with Connell's (2002) theory of *gender regimes* are applied to an analysis of the women's club cultural practices in the following four chapters. Together Bourdieu and Connell's social theories provide the framework to deconstruct how gendered dispositions are reproduced through *gender regimes* of Japanese kendo and its overlapping fields and how simultaneously dispositions contribute to its re-production.

Chapter 5 "*Surveying Sport University Kendo*" interprets the main results of a survey that was conducted with 7 sport university kendo clubs. This survey was designed to test homogeneity across kendo clubs that had similar settings to TSSU. As hypothesised, the results from the survey did indeed suggest that there were strong correlations between the participant's kendo trajectories and the type of university kendo club. The use of mix methods was useful in this study to expand further the body of knowledge on gender and kendo. Through the key finding and even the faults of the survey structure, the unchanging landscapes and dynamic aspects of how gendered identity intersects with kendo have become more visible.

Chapter 6 "*In the Field*" is a reflexive description of events which lead to my *quasi* membership to the women's club. Central to gaining access to the field was the daily commitment to women's kendo training and socialising with members. This chapter was much about the negotiation and understanding of self within the dojo, as it is with other members of the club. I considered how my unique social, physical and cultural trajectory facilitated access to the field, albeit as an outsider 'belonging' or having 'a place' in the field of university kendo club.

The three core analysis chapters substantiated the argument of this thesis. Chapter 7, “*Pink Towels*”, described gender hierarchy at TSSU and applied Bourdieu’s notion of *symbolic violence* and Connell’s *gender regimes*. Chapter 8, “*Regulated Liberties*”, described agency and regulated liberties performed by female members and how these performances did little to change the gendered structure of TSSU kendo. Chapter 9, “*The Women’s Club Nexus*”, explored member’s *raison d’être* and how their sense of purpose and belonging is intricately intertwined with one another to form the women’s club.

The club is considered to be a location of ‘cultural apprenticeship’ that mirrors structures in Japanese society. In the club, members learn gendered human interaction and can accrue forms of capital that will assist them as adults in society. As part of the apprenticeship men’s labour is performed in the public space of competition and is considered to be ‘the main dish’ whilst women’s labour primarily within the private space of the dojo and their competition participation is considered to be ‘the side dish’.

Within the greater macro-level field of kendo and micro-level of TSSU, women were identified as recipients of *symbolic violence*, who are normally treated as “inferior, denied resources, limited in their social mobility and aspirations” and they perceive this as the “natural order of things” (Bourdieu as cited in Webb et al., 2002, p. 25). Although the competition success held the potential to emancipate women from symbolic violence, their achievement only reaffirmed their secondary positioning and resulted in a regulated liberty which are “small exercises of power that arise within the existing symbolic system or social field, but which resignify it in some way” (Bourdieu as cited in Olive & Thorpe, 2011, p. 429). This reaction to their success exposes the entrenchment of patriarchy that is so deep that even a heretical break could not change the gender order. Bourdieu points out that it is difficult to change patriarchal structures due to how “the male order is so deeply grounded as to need no justification: it imposes

itself as self-evident” (1992, p. 171). T *sensei* and his ‘catching a cold’ philosophy discretely prevented women from gaining status within the club. This was easy to maintain since no matter to what degree the women’s club achieved success, macro-level practices do not assign economic capital to women’s kendo.

It is more difficult for women to transfer the capital accrued in university into economic capital in employment. This non-transferability of capital reflects discriminatory employment practices and the male proprietorship of kendo. For the few women who are able to transfer their kendo capital into economic capital, their advancement is limited compared to the men who are more likely to accrue more capital and move through the ranks of promotion. Women who do enter into kendo careers are exposed to implicit rules in regards to marriage and childbirth. Although women are present at all levels of kendo, they only participate by proxy in what is considered to be the ‘central games’ of kendo. Women were not taken in by these games, as they knew they were not playing for the same stakes as the men. However, at the sub-micro level, within the women’s club, they were caught in the *illusio* of a different game, which was a ‘game within a game’, one that excludes and does not concern men. Although the women’s club game is considered to be frivolous by outsiders, the women’s club members played it with all seriousness.

In some ways the women’s club operates as an insular society where women fulfil the roles of both men and women so that the group functions harmoniously. However, those that play male roles do so with playfulness as they are not playing for the ‘real stakes’ of economic and symbolic capital. Within the social space of the women’s club, women experience agency and an unhinging of their hetero-normative gendered identity that usually informs femininity in spaces also occupied by men in the micro and macro-levels. In the women’s club, women have the opportunity to develop masculinity in the forms of leadership, physical expression, use of space

and mentoring others. However, the pinnacle of such expression is most often university as women enter in gendered spaces in employment. As such the cultural learning of femininity is focused on as *sempai* are very strict with *kōhai* in regards to accruing feminine forms of capital such as; awareness, attention to detail, communication, deportment and adherence to club rules that reinforce appropriate feminine etiquette. Women also learn femininity by caring for others and looking after the collective needs of the club.

Positively however, as a result of discriminatory educative and employment practices female kendo practitioners can experience a form of agency that their male counterparts do not. Women can enjoy the intrinsic rewards of kendo through struggle and the support of friendships without the pressure of accumulating economic and symbolic capital in the process. In this sense, in considering Buddhist philosophy, women's participation is purer – perhaps a truer form of kendo.

Understanding through the body

Researching cultural fields through the body provides an insightful way to understand culture as reflected through sport. The ethnographic method not only provides insightful and meaningful methods to study others but the reflexivity it requires prompts the understanding of the self and one's own culture through sport. Club sports deliver important socialisation processes for women. The club provides a way to understand the self, and others, through the doing of sports. The method of sport's training in Japan requires the social body to be exposed to a sustained set of practices, partake in repetitious movements and interact with certain groups of others over long periods of time. In this way a culture becomes deposited in the body and our *habitus* reflects the culture we are a part of. "The habitus is constructed through and manifested in the shapes of bodies, gestures and every day usages of the body ranging from sitting and eating to ways of walking and running and using the body in sport" (Manzenreiter, 2013a, p. 12). The kendo club

is more than just a sport; it is a significant space in the production of identity. The dedication required to be a member of a club, participation in club sports is powerful and it shapes choices. Due to how membership is for the most part experienced through the body, we can learn about others through study with the body.

In this thesis I endeavour to avoid essentialism and homogenising all Japanese kendo practitioners. As Manzenreiter (2013a, p. 256) points out “meanings of sports and ideas about sports not only differ over time, but also in time for populations and locations”. This difference was observable even within kendo, which is a highly ritualised sport. There are several ways in which people participate in kendo. For example, some university kendo clubs do not emphasise cultural values at all and do not practice daily. It is in observing and being a part of micro-interactions that a deeper understanding of a field can be achieved. In this thesis I focus my research on the specific field of sport university kendo. Although there was some diversity in this field, sport university kendo seeks to project itself as conservative and homogenous, as it networks with government institutions. In this thesis I also consider Connell’s (2007) *Southern Theory* and endeavour to not carelessly apply Northern based theories. Connell warns us of the dominance of Northern feminism (including her own work), and how its discourses dominate and dictate a universalist meaning of gender equality from an objective standpoint. Connell points out that “when the claim of universal knowledge or universal values is made from a position of privilege, it is likely to serve hegemony not liberation” (2007, p. x). I purposefully selected Bourdieu and Connell as their theories demand reflexivity and an awareness of one’s position in the social world. Since this study was conducted as ethnography, I was engaged in a constant process of reflexivity as I tried to make sense of what I was observing and how I was reacting to what I was experiencing.

Studying through the body, crosses cultural borders and opens new ways of sharing meaningful lived experiences. It is through lived experience, and visceral body to body micro-

interactions that new understandings of others and one self can be spiritually (or felt) and cognitively achieved. As we move through space we are continually interacting with others. We perceive others based on our experiences and 'knowledge' of what the world should look like and be like. Once we are aware of how culture has influenced who we 'are', intuitive parts of our *habitus*, can cross barriers of verbal exchanges providing other ways to communicate, which can be achieved with others through sport. This intuition, or ways to communicate viscerally within a cultural setting, is not restricted to those who are born into that culture. With enough time, and the total giving of oneself, 'cultural outsiders' can also develop similar dispositions, and ways to communicate within cultures other than their own and explore other aspects of their personality.

During my fieldwork, most of the time I spent with participants was in training, between 2-4 hours 6 days a week. Although we spent a lot of time shouting at each other we rarely interacted verbally in conversation during training, instead we communicated at different levels through our bodies. After 9 months or so my awareness and empathy towards others had increased dramatically. Although I had become spiritually 'tough' in my physical body through hard training, my emotional self and empathy was heightened. Outside of training, I could feel what other's emotional state and I could often anticipate how people would move. Although I knew my Japanese had improved, due to the amount of time I had spent with the members in training, our exchanges in other social spaces flowed much more easily. I was able to tell stories and jokes which incited humour and emotion although my Japanese was not grammatically perfect. In many respects I felt I was able to be myself with some members more so than friends in Australia that I had known for years. I felt safe and appreciated to express parts of my personality I have not felt comfortable expressing in Australia.

My participants also surprised me as my cultural assumptions of homogeneity shed away in one on one socialising situations and the interview process. In these interactions they were very

open in sharing their opinions and experiences about kendo and life. I realised each participant was very much an individual and they felt comfortable to be themselves when they did not need to be aware of others. The trust they had in me was gained through how I gave myself to the field and made myself vulnerable to the women's club. In addition to contributing to the field of knowledge through participant observation field research, at an individual level, sport ethnographies can also provide meaningful ways to connect with others and connect with one self.

As I described in a field note in chapter 5, on the last day of the winter camp, there was a farewell party held for the 4th year *sempai*. Each *sempai* gave a moving reflection on the challenges and joy they had experienced over the past 4-years. Every *sempai* thanked other members for their support and acceptance. I was asked to give my reflections. Due to the amount of emotion in the room and my exhaustion from winter training camp, my voice started to quiver as I began to speak. I explained to the women's club that I had not enjoyed kendo since I was a 16-year-old exchange student. There and then I realised I had achieved a dream and a sense of belonging that I had been searching for over the past 20 years. During the camp I had 'let go' and shed several layers through the shared experience of suffering and spiritual growth. In that process I reconnected with my true self which naturally expressed a 'bi-gendered identity'. What was special about this moment is that I realised I was not alone. I was surrounded by women who also embodied a 'bi-gendered identity' and experienced similar physical empowerment and agency through kendo. I had never experienced this comradeship participating in hegemonic masculine sports in New Zealand or Australia. Although kendo is a traditional hegemonic masculine culture and sport, women's participation is not stigmatised and there are many females who practice kendo in Japan. Women's kendo participation in Japan does not threaten masculinity due to how practices are gender hierarchised and segregated. Kendo also provides a social space to reproduce femininity which reaffirms 'traditional' ideals of Japanese identity.

Future directions

Is it possible for gender relations to become equal through changing the model of sport in Japan? Is there a point to changing current models if women can indeed experience agency and freedom through sport participation? Although women can be empowered through kendo they also endure inequality in micro and macro-level spaces as their participation is considered to be frivolous. As a result of the nominal symbolic value of women's sport participation, sporting women are denied equal access to educational and employment opportunity. Since educational sports socialise individuals to norms and values of society, that is, a woman's role in society is first and foremost, wife and mother, could gender equality be achievable by redressing those models that re-produce gender ideology? Since the Abe government is paying attention to issues of gender equality, perhaps the focus could be redirected to the area of educational sport. As it stands at the moment, the field of kendo has several discriminatory structures in place that denies women equality.

In Japan there has been an effort to increase women's participation in kendo. To mark a change in women's participation trends, the All Japan Housewife Competition was replaced 7 years ago by the All Japan Inter-Prefectural Women's Team Competition. The All Japan Inter-Prefectural Women's Team Competition attracts the best female players from around Japan ranging from 16 to 53 years of age (AJKFa, 2015). There has been a marked increase in women's kendo seminars led by female *sensei* and there are now more females umpiring at the highest level of women's competition. Elite kendo women are also returning to kendo sooner after childbirth (in some cases within 6 months) and competing at the highest level of competition, The All Japan Women's Kendo Championships. This participation pattern differs from prior years and reflects the change in recent 'M curve' trends where women spend shorter periods rearing their children and return to work and their activities sooner. Although Japanese women's kendo has developed

somewhat in terms of participation opportunity, kendo continues to re-produce gender ideology through segregation and low representation of women in kendo careers and leadership positions.

On the All Japan Kendo Federation website, statistics of competitors who compete at the top level of competition are available. These statistics provide the occupation and average age of competitors from the last 5 years. Fifty-three of the 64 male competitors who compete at the All Japan Kendo Championships are police men. The average age is 30, ranging from 21 to 38 years of age. One competitor has entered this competition eleven times (AJKFb, 2015). The statistics for the women are much more diverse. Out of 64 female competitors at the All Japan Women's Kendo Competition, 21 are high school and university students, 20 are police women and 13 are teachers. The average age is 25, ranging from 18 to 51 years of age. There was one entrant who had competed at this competition 22 times (AJKFc, 2015). By reviewing and comparing the statistics of the All Japan Kendo Championships and the All Japan Women's Kendo Championships, we can observe patterns that correlate with gendered practice in kendo fields and Japanese society. For example, the younger average age of female competitors and their student status tells us that the pinnacle of women's kendo participation is in the non-professional sector compared to men. There are far fewer professional positions for women in kendo. This is clearly stated through the number of police who competed at the 2014 competitions: 31% female competitors and 83% male competitors. The average age also indicates that men have a longer time to develop and focus on their kendo. How and where women's championships are held also gives us an idea of the symbolic capital in women's kendo. The women's competition is held in 'out-of-the-way' locations such as Himeiji, or Fujieda city, which results in small spectator numbers. This is in stark contrast to the men's competition which is held at the Nippon Budokan in Tokyo on a national holiday, Culture Day, and is broadcast live on NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation).

For kendo to be a gender equal field, how women's kendo is marginalised needs to be addressed. This would require questioning what 'tradition' is and should it be maintained for the sake of it? Another pressing issue is how kendo employment is dominated by men. One aspect of employment culture that requires an overhaul, are the practices of gender segregation and how promotion relies on relationships between men. Although change would require government intervention, once employment fields transform their practices towards gender equality and dismantle 'traditional' cultural forms of gendered human relationships, education fields would adapt to these changes. This holds the potential for gender neutral education and for women to experience their true potential through equal opportunity.

How women experience kendo in employment is yet to be researched. Future ethnographic projects could examine women who graduate from sport universities and enter kendo careers in the police, prison and tertiary education sectors. This thesis could be the foundation of a longitudinal study that follows the trajectories of TSSU women's club members who have entered diverse employment fields such as the police, prison system, education and other company employment.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Global Gender Gap Index 2015

Japan

Gender Gap Index 2015

Rank
101

(out of 145 countries)

Score
0.670

(0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Demographic and Economic Indicators

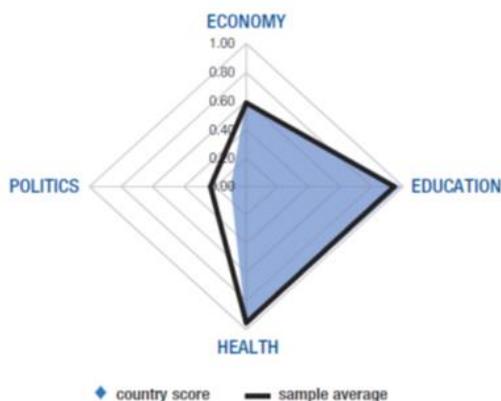
GDP (US\$ billions)	4,779.54
GDP (PPP) per capita (constant 2011, international \$)	35,635
Total population (millions)	127.13
Population growth (%)	-0.16
Overall population sex ratio (male/female)	0.95

Country Score Card

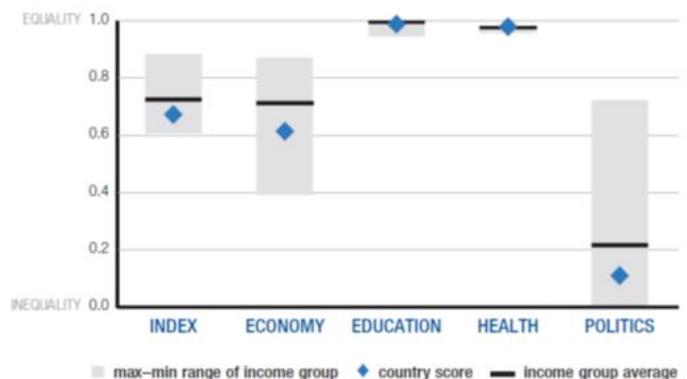
	Rank	Score	Sample average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio	0.00 = INEQUALITY	1.00 = EQUALITY
ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION AND OPPORTUNITY	106	0.611	0.592					
Labour force participation	82	0.77	0.67	65	85	0.77		
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	69	0.65	0.60	—	—	0.65		
Estimated earned income (PPP US\$)	75	0.61	0.54	24,389	40,000	0.61		
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	116	0.10	0.27	9	91	0.10		
Professional and technical workers	81	0.87	0.64	47	53	0.87		
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	84	0.988	0.946					
Literacy rate	1	1.00	0.89	99	99	1.00		
Enrolment in primary education	64	1.00	0.93	100	100	1.00		
Enrolment in secondary education	1	1.00	0.64	100	99	1.01		
Enrolment in tertiary education	106	0.90	0.92	58	65	0.90		
HEALTH AND SURVIVAL	42	0.979	0.957					
Sex ratio at birth (female/male)	99	0.94	0.92	—	—	0.94		
Healthy life expectancy	1	1.06	1.04	78	72	1.08		
POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	104	0.103	0.230					
Women in parliament	125	0.10	0.27	9	91	0.10		
Women in ministerial positions	51	0.29	0.24	22	78	0.29		
Years with female head of state (last 50)	64	0.00	0.20	0	50	0.00		

Country Scores Compared

Against sample average



Against income group range and average



Index over the years

SAMPLE		INDEX		ECONOMY		EDUCATION		HEALTH		POLITICS	
Year	No. of countries	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
2015	145	101	0.670	106	0.611	84	0.988	42	0.979	104	0.103
2014	142	104	0.658	102	0.618	93	0.978	37	0.979	129	0.058
2013	136	105	0.650	104	0.584	91	0.976	34	0.979	118	0.060
2012	135	101	0.653	102	0.576	81	0.987	34	0.979	110	0.070
2011	135	98	0.651	100	0.567	80	0.986	1	0.980	101	0.072
2010	134	94	0.652	101	0.572	82	0.986	1	0.980	101	0.072
2009	134	101	0.645	108	0.550	84	0.985	41	0.979	110	0.065
2008	130	98	0.643	102	0.544	82	0.985	38	0.979	107	0.065
2007	128	91	0.645	97	0.549	69	0.986	37	0.979	94	0.067
2006	115	80	0.645	83	0.545	60	0.986	1	0.980	83	0.067
2006–2015 CHANGE			▲ 0.026		▲ 0.066		▲ 0.002		▼ 0.000		▲ 0.036

Selected contextual data

EMPLOYMENT AND LEADERSHIP

Female, male adult unemployment (as % of female, male labour force)	4.0, 4.6
Female, male part-time employment (as % of total female, male employment)	33.4, 10.1
Female, male workers in informal employment (as % of non-agricultural employment)	—, —
Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (% of total non-agricultural employment)	43
Average minutes spent per day on unpaid work (female, male)	299, 62
Percentage of women, men with an account at a financial institution	97, 96
Ability of women to rise to positions of leadership ¹	3.8
Firms with female top managers (% of firms)	—
Share of women on boards of listed companies (%)	4
Firms with female participation in ownership (% of firms)	—
Percentage of total R&D personnel (FTE) (female, male)	—, —

EDUCATION AND TECHNOLOGY

Out-of-school children of primary school age (%) (female, male)	49, 51
Female, male primary education attainment rate (% aged 25+)	87, 86
Female, male secondary education attainment rate (% aged 25+)	87, 86
Female, male tertiary education attainment rate (% aged 25+)	28, 32
Percentage of tertiary-level students enrolled in STEM studies (female, male)	14, 86
Percentage of tertiary-level graduates in STEM studies (female, male)	14, 86
Percentage of PhD graduates (female, male)	30, 70
Percentage of individuals using the internet (female, male)	78, 85
Percentage of individuals using a mobile cellular telephone (female, male)	73, 71

HEALTH

Cardiovascular disease age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)	58.9, 108.0
Cancer age-standardized deaths per 100,000 excl. non-melanoma skin cancer (female, male)	73.2, 144.9
Diabetes age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)	2.5, 5.4
Chronic respiratory disease age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)	8.9, 26.2

HEALTH (cont'd)

HIV/AIDS age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)	0.0, 0.1
Malaria age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)	0.0, 0.0
Tuberculosis age-standardized deaths per 100,000 (female, male)	0.5, 1.2
Malnutrition prev., weight for age (female, male) (% of children <5)	—, —
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births) ²	6 [5–7]
Total fertility rate (children per women)	1.4
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 girls aged 15–19)	4.5
Antenatal care coverage, at least one visit (%)	—
Births attended by skilled health personnel (%)	100
Contraceptive prevalence, any method (% of married or in-union women aged 15–49)	54
Existence of legislation permitting abortion to preserve a woman's physical health	Yes

FAMILY

Singulate mean age (years) at marriage (female, male)	30, 31
Early marriage (% of women aged 15–19)	1
Mean age of women at the birth of the first child	30
Length of paid maternity leave (calendar days)	98
Provider of maternity leave benefits	Government
Percent of wages paid during maternity leave	67
Length of paid paternity leave (calendar days)	—
Provider of paternity leave benefits	—
Percent of wages paid during paternity leave	—

RIGHTS AND NORMS

Parental authority in marriage ³	0.0
Parental authority after divorce ³	0.0
Female genital mutilation (% of women aged 15–49)	0.0
Existence of legislation on domestic violence ³	0.3
Existence of legislation on gender-based discrimination	Yes
Inheritance rights for daughters ³	0.0
Women's secure access to land use, control and ownership ³	0.0
Women's access to financial services ³	0.0
Women's secure access to non-land assets use, control and ownership ³	0.0
Year women received right to vote	1945, 1947
Quota type (single/lower house)	—
Voluntary political party quotas	—

¹ Survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1 = worst score, 7 = best score)

² Bracketed numbers show the range between the uncertainties, estimated to contain the true maternal mortality ratio with a 95% probability

³ Data on a 0-to-1 scale (1 = worst score, 0 = best score)

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

インタビュー TSSU 剣道女子部

大学までの剣道

あなたの剣道経歴についてお聞きします。

- 何歳から、どうして剣道を始めましたか？家族は剣道をやっていますか？
- 小学校、中学校、高校の時代剣道に対して印象深いことをお聞かせください。
- どうしてあなたの中学校と高校選びましたか？
- 中学校と高校の剣道部は厳しかったですか？何が厳しかったですか？

大学の剣道

- どうして TSSU を選びましたか？
- 最初入った時に何が大変でしたか？
- あなたが指導を受けた剣道の恩師・先生の中では TSSU の OB・OG がいますか？
- 家族の中では TSSU の OB・OG がいますか？
- OB・OG と繋がりがあるとどんなことに有利だと思いますか？
- 剣道の文化は大学によって違うと思いますか？
- TSSU 剣道の文化はどのようなものだと思いますか？
- 大学剣道部員に対して学んだことはなんですか？
- どうやって剣道に強くなりましたか？
- 日本の礼儀と言うのは何ですか？例お聞かせください。
- 4 回生になった時に女子部の何を変えましたか？
- 4 回生になった時に女子部の何が変わりましたか？
- 一番中がよかった先輩は誰でしたか？なぜよかったですか？

- その先輩になにを学びましたか？

社会的な価値観

- 女子部と男子部の違い所がありますか？例お聞かせください。
- TSSU の剣道部は日本の社会を反映していると思いますか？

キャリア

- 就職先として何を希望しますか？
- どうしてその就職を選びましたか？
- 剣道を継続するために就職しますか？
- OB・OG の繋がりですべて就職ができましたか？
- 大学の先生の繋がりですべて就職ができましたか？
- 決まった就職先に OB・OG がいますか？

卒業

- もうすぐ卒業しますが4年間の中でもっとも印象深いことをお聞かせください。
- 女子部の交友関係について何がよかったですか？

Appendix C: Interview Consent Form

調査協力同意書

調査協力者の皆様へ

本調査にご協力くださり、ありがとうございます。「日本における体育系大学所属女子剣道部員の社会学的研究」へのご協力をお願い致します。

体育系大学所属女子剣道部員に対し、以下の4点を中心に調査を行います。

- 体育学系女子剣道と武道文化、上下関係、ジェンダー（性別）意識などの関わりについて検討します。
- 女子剣道部員の行動様式、練習方法について検討します。
- 体育系大学所属女子剣道部員の部活環境は社会人になるためにどのように役立つかについて検討します。
- 就職や将来性にどのような影響があるかについて検討します。

調査の目的、および下記の調査手順、調査によって起こり得るリスクについて、研究チームメンバーにより説明を受けております。私は18歳以上であり、本調査に関する説明事項を理解した上で、参加することに同意します。

調査手順：

調査協力者は研究員（ケイト・シルベスター）と60分のインタビューを行います。インタビューでは協力者の剣道歴や経験、についてご質問いたします。

インタビューを通じてご提供いただいた情報は厳密に保管され、研究チームのメンバー以外の第三者が触れることはありません。また、研究成果の報告では、複数の協力者から収集したインタビューデータを統合した形で扱い、インタビューの書き起こしも匿名での表記となりますので個人名や機関名が出ることはありません。本調査に関し、質問をする機会も与えられ、また調査への参加同意は、同意書提出後であっても、いつでも撤回できます。

同意書

ご署名： 日付：

ご連絡先：

Appendix D: Letter to Participating University

*大学女子剣道部監督

*先生

「日本における体育系大学所属女子剣道部員の社会学的研究」の調査依頼について

前略、先日の全日本女子学生剣道優勝大会の際にお願いいたしました「日本における体育系大学所属女子剣道部員の社会学的研究」の調査用紙を同封させて頂きました。お忙しいところ恐れ入りますが、女子剣道部員にお配り頂き、調査にご協力を頂ければ幸いです。ご記入いただきました調査用紙は、同封の返信用封筒と着払い宅急便の送り状をご利用の上、11月中を目途にご返送して頂ければ幸いです。どうかよろしくお願いいたします。

この調査では体育系大学所属女子剣道部員に対し、以下の4点を中心に分析を行います。

- 体育系女子剣道部と武道文化、上下関係、我慢、ジェンダー（性別）意識などの関わりについて検討します。
- 女子剣道部員の行動様式、練習方法について検討します。
- 体育系大学所属女子剣道部員の部活環境は社会人になるためにどのように役立つかについて検討します。
- 女子剣道部員は就職や将来性にどのような影響があるかについて検討します。

尚、このデータは論文作成のためだけに用い、大学や個人の情報については十分取り扱いに留意することをお約束します。

調査・分析担当

ビクトリア大学スポーツ社会学部

博士課程 ケイト・シルベスター

Appendix E: Survey



調査・分析担当
ビクトリア大学 スポーツ社会学
博士課程 ケイト・シルベスター

体育系大学の女子剣道部の社会学的研究

この調査は、日本の体育系大学に所属している女子剣道部員の行動様式と武道文化について明らかにすることを目的としたものです。お忙しいとは存じますが、どうか全ての項目に、正直にお答えいただきますようお願いいたします。「複数回答可」とある質問には当てはまる項目全てに○印を付けてください。

このデータは学術研究のためだけに用い、大学や個人の情報が直接公開されることはありません。

はじめに、あなたご自身と剣道部の事についてお聞きします

- Q 1. あなたの出身地をお書きください _____ 都・道・府・県
- Q 2. あなたの年齢は 年齢 _____ 才
- Q 3. あなたの学年は 学年 _____ 年生
- Q 4. あなたの所属する学部、学科名をお書きください。
学部 _____ 学科 _____
- Q 5. あなたの出身高校名をお書きください _____ 高校
- Q 6. あなたはクラブ内で幹部や係など特別な役割がありますか？
1. キャプテン 2. 副キャプテン 3. 主務 4. マネージャー
5. 学連 6. その他 (_____) 7. 幹部ではない
- Q 7. 平均すると週に何回、合計何時間ぐらい稽古がありますか？
_____ 回 合計 _____ 時間くらい
- Q 8. 平均すると週に何回、合計何時間剣道部のミーティングがありますか？
_____ 回 合計 _____ 時間くらい

Q 9. 剣道部の禁止事項は何ですか？（複数回答可）

1. ピアス 2. 髪の毛を染める 3. 遅くまで遊ぶ
 4. 飲酒 5. 喫煙 6. バイク
 7. アルバイト 8. 男女交際 9. その他（ ）

Q 10. あなたは週に何コマ授業がありますか？

_____回

Q 11. 一日に授業以外に何時間勉強をしますか？

_____時間

Q 12. 自由時間には何をしていますか？あてはまる回答の番号に○を付けてください。

全然しない	あまりしない	時々する	よくする	いつもする
1	2	3	4	5

同級生と食事に行く	1	2	3	4	5
同級生と遊ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
先輩と食事に行く	1	2	3	4	5
先輩と遊ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
後輩と食事に行く	1	2	3	4	5
後輩と遊ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
剣道部ではない人と遊ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
剣道部ではない人と食事に行く	1	2	3	4	5
大学の剣道の先生と食事に行く	1	2	3	4	5
携帯ゲームで遊ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
部屋の掃除をする	1	2	3	4	5
料理をする	1	2	3	4	5
ショッピングに行く	1	2	3	4	5
寝る	1	2	3	4	5
実家に帰る	1	2	3	4	5
その他（ ）					

Q 13. あなたのお住まいは、次のうちどれですか？

1. 大学の寮 2. 剣道部の寮 3. アパート 4. 実家

Q 1 4. 門限がありますか？

1. はい () 時 2. いいえ

あなたの剣道経験についてお聞きします

Q 1 5. 何歳から剣道を始めましたか？

_____ 歳

Q 1 6. どうして剣道を始めましたか？（複数回答可）

1. 友達がやっていたから 2. 兄弟がやっていたから
3. 姉妹がやっていたから 4. かっこいいと思ったから
5. 自分がやりたかったから 6. 両親が勧めたから
7. 両親が礼儀を学ばせたかったから 8. その他 ()

Q 1 7. 中学校時代に剣道部に入っていましたか？

1. はい 2. いいえ

Q 1 8. 高校時代に剣道部に入っていましたか？

1. はい 2. いいえ

Q 1 9. 中学校時代に剣道以外の種目や活動をしましたか？（複数回答可）

1. ピアノ 2. ダンス
3. 塾 4. 書道
5. 他の武道 () 6. 他のスポーツ ()
7. その他 () 8. 剣道だけしていた

Q 2 0. 高校時代に剣道以外の種目や活動をしましたか？（複数回答可）

1. ピアノ 2. ダンス
3. 塾 4. 書道
5. 他の武道 () 6. 他のスポーツ ()
7. その他 () 8. 剣道だけしていた

Q 2 1. あなたが高校を選んだ理由をお選びください。（複数回答可）

1. 有名な剣道の先生がいたから 2. 強くなれそうだから
3. 楽しいそうだから 4. 剣道が強い大学につながりがあるから
5. 友達がいるから 6. 就職に強い大学につながりがあるから
7. 家族が卒業したから 8. 厳しいから

- 9. 地元が近いから
- 10. 剣道の推薦で誘われたから
- 11. 大学の推薦がとりやすいから
- 12. 恩師の剣道の先生が高校の剣道の先生と同じ大学の出身だから
- 13. その他 ()

Q 2 2. あなたが指導を受けた剣道の恩師・先生の中であなたが現在通っている大学のOB・OGはいますか？（複数回答可）

- 1. 道場の先生
- 2. 小学校の先生
- 3. 中学校の先生
- 4. 高校の先生
- 5. OB・OG はいない

就職 キャリアについてお聞きします

Q 2 3. あなたが大学を選んだ理由をお選びください。（複数回答可）

- 1. 試合に出られるから
- 2. 強くなれそうだから
- 3. 稽古が厳しいから
- 4. 稽古が厳しくないから
- 5. 就職に有利だから
- 6. 雰囲気がいいから
- 7. 施設がいいから
- 8. 日本一になりたいから
- 9. 家族がOBだから
- 10. 家族がOGだから
- 11. 恩師の剣道の先生がOBだから
- 12. 恩師の剣道の先生がOGだから
- 13. 高校の先輩がいるから
- 14. 高校の推薦がもらえたから
- 15. 中学校の先輩がいるから
- 16. 地元から近いから
- 17. 大学の先生に勧誘されたから
- 18. 有名な剣道の先生がいたから
- 19. 有名な女性選手がいるから
- 20. 剣道の指導について学びたいから
- 21. 上下関係が厳しいから
- 22. 上下関係が厳しくないから
- 23. 恩師の剣道の先生が大学の剣道の先生と同じ大学の出身だから
- 24. その他 ()

Q 2 4. 大学を卒業してからどんな職業に就きたいですか？

希望の順に3つ回答してください。

- 1. 小学校の先生
- 2. 中学校の先生
- 3. 高校の先生
- 4. 会社員
- 5. 警察
- 6. 刑務官
- 7. トレーナー
- 8. 大学院
- 9. 大学の先生
- 10. その他 ()

第一希望 _____ 第二希望 _____ 第三希望 _____

Q 2 5. あなたが上記の職業を希望したのは、剣道が続けられるからですか？

1. はい 2. いいえ

Q 2 6. 体育系大学剣道部員なら、就職に有利だと思いますか？

1. わからない 2. 有利ではない 3. 多少有利 4. とても有利

Q 2 7. 剣道部の幹部になることは就職に有利だと思いますか？

1. はい 2. いいえ

Q 2 8. 大学の大会には出場していますか？

1. 全く 2. 時々 3. いつも

Q 2 9. あなたの高校での最も良い試合結果を書いてください。

1. (結果) _____ 2. なし

Q 3 0. あなたの大学での最も良い試合結果を書いてください。

1. (結果) _____ 2. なし

大学剣道部員に対しての価値についてお聞きします

Q 3 1. 大学での剣道部生活を通して以下の項目が身に付くと思いますか？

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う
1	2	3	4	5

挨拶	1	2	3	4	5
道場の中での気配り	1	2	3	4	5
相手への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
先輩への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
来客者への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
先生への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
自信を持つこと	1	2	3	4	5
我慢	1	2	3	4	5
女性らしさ	1	2	3	4	5
上品さ	1	2	3	4	5
敬語の使い方	1	2	3	4	5
お付きの仕事	1	2	3	4	5
チームワーク	1	2	3	4	5
忍耐	1	2	3	4	5
上下関係	1	2	3	4	5

コミュニケーション	1	2	3	4	5
楽しさ	1	2	3	4	5
気配り	1	2	3	4	5
仕事が出来ようになる	1	2	3	4	5
友達ができる	1	2	3	4	5
飲み会での正しい行動	1	2	3	4	5

Q32. 以下の項目は社会生活に必要な行動や価値だと思いますか？

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う
1	2	3	4	5

挨拶	1	2	3	4	5
道場の中での気配り	1	2	3	4	5
相手への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
先輩への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
来客者への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
先生への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
自信を持つこと	1	2	3	4	5
我慢	1	2	3	4	5
女性らしさ	1	2	3	4	5
上品さ	1	2	3	4	5
敬語の使い方	1	2	3	4	5
お付きの仕事	1	2	3	4	5
チームワーク	1	2	3	4	5
忍耐	1	2	3	4	5
上下関係	1	2	3	4	5
コミュニケーション	1	2	3	4	5
楽しさ	1	2	3	4	5
気配り	1	2	3	4	5
仕事が出来ようになる	1	2	3	4	5
友達ができる	1	2	3	4	5
飲み会での正しい行動	1	2	3	4	5

Q 3 3. 以下の項目について回答の番号に○を付けてください。

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う
1	2	3	4	5

剣道部で男性に教える内容と女性に教える内容が違うと思う・・・1 2 3 4 5

女性らしくあることの指導は大切だと思う・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・1 2 3 4 5

※4・5に○を付けた方はQ 3 4の質問にもお答えください。

それ以外の方はQ 3 5へお進みください。

Q 3 4. なぜ女性らしくあることが利益になると思いますか？

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う
1	2	3	4	5

上品になるから・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・1 2 3 4 5

結婚しやすいから・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・1 2 3 4 5

社会人としてのマナーが身につくから・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・1 2 3 4 5

女性として当たり前だから・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・1 2 3 4 5

礼儀だから・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・1 2 3 4 5

Q 3 5. 普段剣道以外の社会的な行動や価値を指導してくれる人はだれですか？

(複数回答可)

- | | | | |
|----------|----------|--------|-------|
| 1. 男性の先生 | 2. 女性の先生 | 3. OB | 4. OG |
| 5. 男性の先輩 | 6. 女性の先輩 | 7. 同級生 | |

稽古の特性と道場の中での行動

Q 3 6. あなたの大学の女子剣道部員の剣道(稽古)の一般的な特徴をお選びください。

(複数回答可)

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. 厳しい | 2. 力強い | 3. 柔らかい |
| 4. 強く打つ | 5. 軽く打つ | 6. 体幹が強い |
| 7. 踏み込みの力が強い | 8. 体当たりを強くする | 9. 足さばきを大切にする |
| 10. 竹刀の振りかたを大切にする | 11. 攻め合いが長い | 12. 攻め合いが少ない |
| 13. 強い気持ちで攻める | 14. 誘いが上手い | 15. 仕掛け技が得意 |
| 16. 応じ技が得意 | 17. 引き技が得意 | 18. 間合いが近い |

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 17. 静か | 18. かわいらしい |
| 19. お喋り | 20. 気持ちを抑える |
| 21. 自分の意見をしっかりもっている | 22. 来客者への気配りがある |
| 23. 芯がしっかりしている | 24. 裏表がある |
| 26. 緊張がある | 27. その他 () |

Q 3 9. 以下の項目について当てはまる答えの番号に○を付けてください。

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う
1	2	3	4	5

- あなたの剣道は女性らしい・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ 1 2 3 4 5
- あなたの剣道は男らしい・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ 1 2 3 4 5
- 稽古以外の行動は女性らしい・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ 1 2 3 4 5
- 稽古以外の行動は男らしい・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ 1 2 3 4 5
- 上級生になるにしたがって女性らしくなる・・・・・・・・・・ 1 2 3 4 5

Q 4 0. 普段剣道部の中で女性らしさはどなたに教えられていますか？（複数回答可）

- | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| 1. 男性の先生 | 2. 女性の先生 | 3. OB | 4. OG |
| 5. 男性の先輩 | 6. 女性の先輩 | 7. 同級生 | |
| 8. 女性的なことは全く教えられていない | | | |

先輩・後輩（上下関係）についてお聞きします

Q 4 1. 以下の項目について当てはまる答えの番号に○を付けてください。

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う
1	2	3	4	5

- 先輩に剣道以外の社会的な行動や価値を教えられるのを期待している・ 1 2 3 4 5
- 剣道に強くなるためにこれらの価値は必要だと思う・・・・・・・・ 1 2 3 4 5

Q 4 2. 以下の項目は先輩として後輩に教える重要なことだと思いますか？

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う	
1	2	3	4	5	
我慢	1	2	3	4	5
挨拶	1	2	3	4	5
女性らしさ	1	2	3	4	5
上品さ	1	2	3	4	5
敬語の使い方	1	2	3	4	5
お付きの仕事	1	2	3	4	5
チームワーク	1	2	3	4	5
忍耐	1	2	3	4	5
上下関係	1	2	3	4	5
コミュニケーション	1	2	3	4	5
楽しさ	1	2	3	4	5
仕事が出来ようになる	1	2	3	4	5
友達ができる	1	2	3	4	5
飲み会での正しい行動	1	2	3	4	5
自信を持つこと	1	2	3	4	5
相手への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
先輩への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
来客者への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
先生への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
道場の中での気配り	1	2	3	4	5
剣道の基本	1	2	3	4	5
試合の技	1	2	3	4	5
剣道の指導力	1	2	3	4	5
その他 ()					

Q 4 3. 以下の項目は後輩として教えてほしいことだと思えますか？

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う
1	2	3	4	5

我慢	1	2	3	4	5
挨拶	1	2	3	4	5
女性らしさ	1	2	3	4	5
上品さ	1	2	3	4	5
敬語の使い方	1	2	3	4	5
お付きの仕事	1	2	3	4	5
チームワーク	1	2	3	4	5
忍耐	1	2	3	4	5
上下関係	1	2	3	4	5
コミュニケーション	1	2	3	4	5
楽しさ	1	2	3	4	5
仕事が出来ようになる	1	2	3	4	5
友達ができる	1	2	3	4	5
飲み会での正しい行動	1	2	3	4	5
自信を持つこと	1	2	3	4	5
相手への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
先輩への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
来客者への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
先生への気遣い・心遣い	1	2	3	4	5
道場の中での気配り	1	2	3	4	5
剣道の基本	1	2	3	4	5
試合の技	1	2	3	4	5
剣道の指導力	1	2	3	4	5
その他 ()					

Q 4 4. 以下の項目は先輩として後輩に注意すべきこととと思いますか？

そう思わない	あまりそう思わない	どちらともいえない	まあそう思う	そう思う	
1	2	3	4	5	
剣道部の禁止事項を破ること	1	2	3	4	5
大学の規制を破ること	1	2	3	4	5
よく練習を休む	1	2	3	4	5
気配りが無い	1	2	3	4	5
練習に集中していない	1	2	3	4	5
気を抜く	1	2	3	4	5
言葉遣いが悪い	1	2	3	4	5
基本を直していない	1	2	3	4	5
試合内容がよくない	1	2	3	4	5
試合に負けた	1	2	3	4	5
稽古内容がよくない	1	2	3	4	5
仕事できていない	1	2	3	4	5
頑張っていない	1	2	3	4	5
先生に掛っていない	1	2	3	4	5
先輩に掛っていない	1	2	3	4	5
敬語を使っていない	1	2	3	4	5
練習に遅れること	1	2	3	4	5
やる気がない	1	2	3	4	5
着装が悪い	1	2	3	4	5
髪の毛が整っていない	1	2	3	4	5
私生活が悪い	1	2	3	4	5
その他 ()					

Q 4 5. 剣道部の活動全般で問題があった場合はどのように指導しますか？

(1年生以外)

全然しない	あまりしない	時々する	よくする	いつもする
1	2	3	4	5

間違えている所を説明する	1	2	3	4	5
後輩が間違ったことに気付くまで稽古しない	1	2	3	4	5
激しいかかり稽古	1	2	3	4	5
無視する	1	2	3	4	5
禁酒をさせる	1	2	3	4	5
遊びを制限する	1	2	3	4	5
長いかかり稽古	1	2	3	4	5
説教をする	1	2	3	4	5
暴力を振るう	1	2	3	4	5
正座をさせる	1	2	3	4	5
掃除をさせる	1	2	3	4	5
その他 ()					

以上で質問を終わります。

多くの質問にご協力いただきまして、ありがとうございました。

Appendix F: Survey Report

「体育系大学の女子剣道部の社会学的研究」

結果報告書



2012年11月調査

博士課程 ケイト・シルベスター
ビクトリア大学 スポーツ社会学部

調査の概要

- 1) 調査対象：体育系大学に所属している女子剣道部員。回答者の数：N=213
- 2) 調査期間：2012年11月21日 - 2012年11月30日
- 3) 調査方法：2012年11月11日愛知県で行われた第31回全日本女子学生剣道優勝大会で体育系大学女子剣道部の監督に研究目的が書かれた用紙を手渡し、許可が与えられたため女子剣道部員に調査を行った。調査用紙は7大学に送付した。
- 4) データ分析：SPSSを用いて分析を行った。

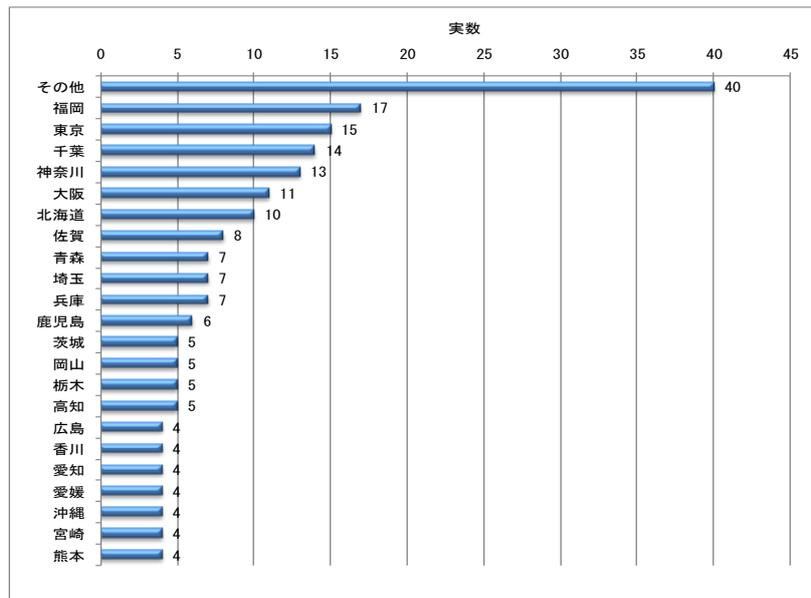
結果・考察

回答者の属性

回答者は213人で性別は全て女性である。図表1には、回答者の出身地が示されている。出身は福岡県が最も多く17人、次いで東京都が16人、千葉県15人、神奈川県14人という結果となった。図表2には、回答者の学年が示されており、1年生57人(26.5%)、2年生53人(24.7%)、3年生59人(27.4%)、4年生44人(20.5%)となった。

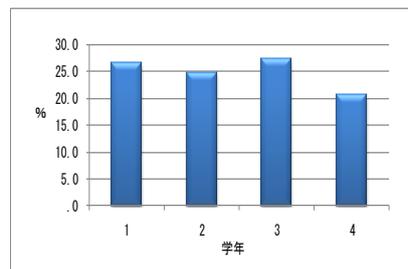
図表1. 回答者の出身地

県	実数	%
福岡	17	8.0
東京	15	7.0
千葉	14	6.6
神奈川	13	6.1
大阪	11	5.2
北海道	10	4.7
佐賀	8	3.8
青森	7	3.3
埼玉	7	3.3
兵庫	7	3.3
鹿児島	6	2.8
茨城	5	2.3
岡山	5	2.3
栃木	5	2.3
高知	5	2.3
広島	4	1.9
香川	4	1.9
愛知	4	1.9
愛媛	4	1.9
沖縄	4	1.9
宮崎	4	1.9
熊本	4	1.9
岩手	3	1.4
岐阜	3	1.4
山形	3	1.4
群馬	3	1.4
秋田	3	1.4
新潟	3	1.4
静岡	3	1.4
長野	3	1.4
長崎	2	.9
島根	2	.9
石川	2	.9
山梨	2	.9
徳島	2	.9
福井	2	.9
福島	2	.9
和歌山	2	.9
京都	2	.9
宮崎	1	.5
山口	1	.5
滋賀	1	.5
大分	1	.5
東京都	1	.5
奈良	1	.5
富山	1	.5
流山	1	.5
合計	213	100.0



図表 2. 回答者の学年

学年	実数	%
1	57	26.5
2	53	24.7
3	59	27.4
4	44	20.5
合計	213	100



回答者の大学と剣道部について

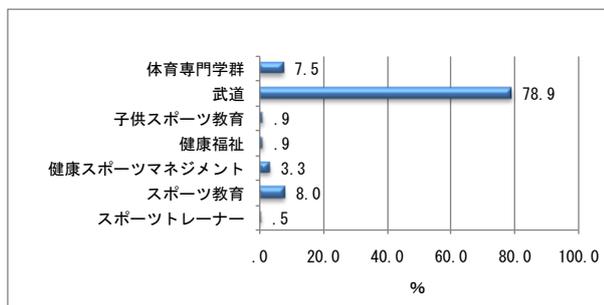
表 3.1 と図表 3.2 には回答者の所属する学部と学科が示されている。1 人を除いた全ての回答者が体育学部 に所属しており、学科では武道学科が 168 人(78.9%)と最も多い結果であった。

表 3.1 所属する学部

	実数	%
人間	1	.5
体育	212	99.5
合計	213	100.0

図表 3.2 所属する学科

	実数	%
スポーツトレーナー	1	.5
スポーツ教育	17	8.0
健康スポーツマネジメント	7	3.3
健康福祉	2	.9
子供スポーツ教育	2	.9
武道	168	78.9
体育専門学群	16	7.5
合計	213	100.0

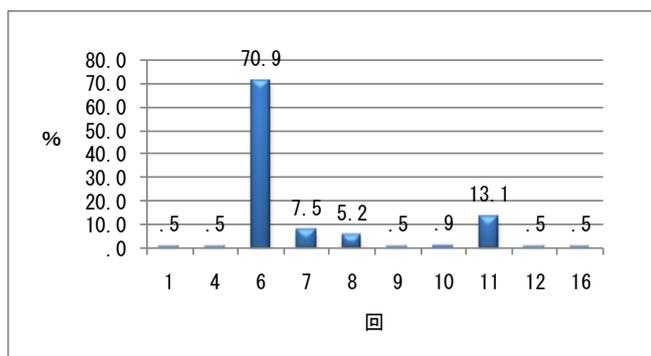


回答者の稽古への参加率

図表 4.1 と図表 4.2 には、回答者の稽古への参加率が示されている。一週間の平均稽古回数は週に 6 回稽古する部員の割合が 151 人 (70.9%) と最も多い結果になった。また、一週間の平均稽古時間は 12~18 時間の中に多くの回答が集中する結果となった。

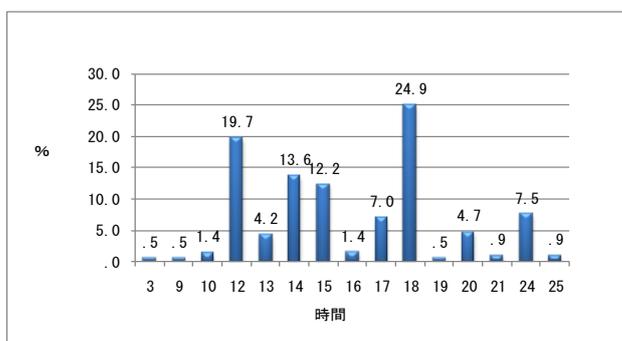
図表 4.1 一週間の平均稽古回数

回	実数	%
1	1	.5
4	1	.5
6	151	70.9
7	16	7.5
8	11	5.2
9	1	.5
10	2	.9
11	28	13.1
12	1	.5
16	1	.5
合計	213	100.0



図表 4.2 一週間の平均稽古時間

時間	実数	%
3	1	.5
9	1	.5
10	3	1.4
12	42	19.7
13	9	4.2
14	29	13.6
15	26	12.2
16	3	1.4
17	15	7.0
18	53	24.9
19	1	.5
20	10	4.7
21	2	.9
24	16	7.5
25	2	.9
合計	213	100.0



回答者の剣道部のミーティングへの参加率

表 5.1 には、一週間の平均ミーティング回数が示されている。「ミーティングはない」が最も多く 123 人 (57.5%) となった。また表 5.2 に示されているとおり、平均ミーティング時間では、「ミーティングがない」を除くと 1 時間が 28 人 (21.1%) で多い結果となった。この結果から、日々のミーティングはあまり行われていないことが示された。また、この質問は稽古後の反省会やミーティングを意図していたが教室などに集まりテーマを決めて話し合うなどの正式なミーティングと回答者がとらえたため、このような結果が示されたが、実際には同上での反省会などはその都度行われていることも考えられる。

表 5.1 一週間の平均ミーティング回数

回	実数	%
0	123	57.7
1	28	13.1
3	16	7.5
4	2	.9
6	30	14.1
7	14	6.6
合計	213	100.0

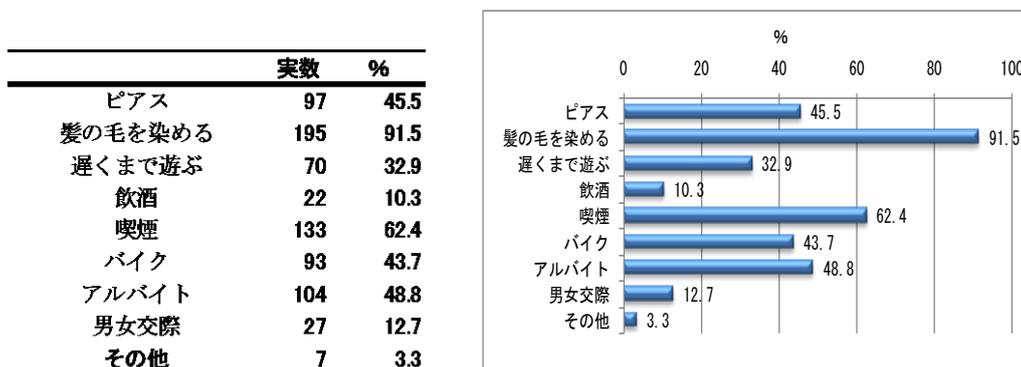
表 5.2 一週間の平均ミーティング時間

時間	実数	%
0	124	58.2
0.15	3	1.4
0.5	14	6.6
1	45	21.1
1.5	4	1.9
2	5	2.3
3	15	7.0
5	1	.5
6	2	.9
合計	213	100.0

剣道部の禁止事項

図表 6 には、剣道部の禁止事項が示されている。禁止事項は「髪の毛を染めること」が最も多く 91.5%、次いで「喫煙」62.4%、「アルバイト」48.8%、「ピアス」45.5%となった。その反面、飲酒や男女交際については10%代の回答となった。

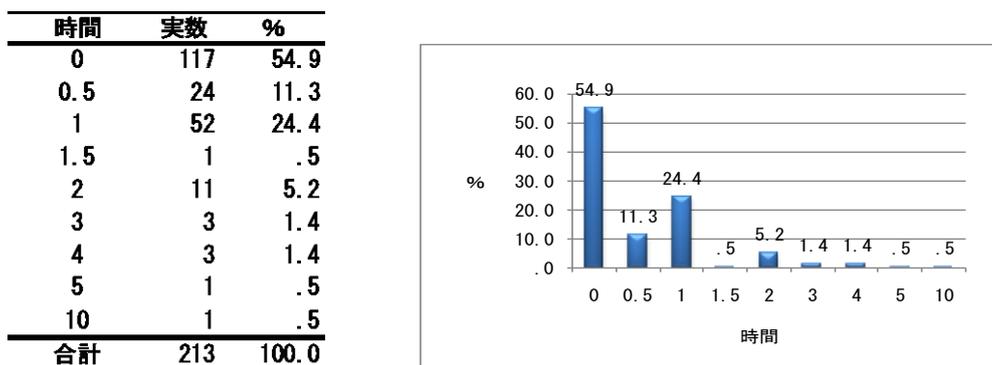
図表 6. 剣道部の禁止事項（複数回答可）



一日の授業以外での平均勉強時間

図表 7 には、回答者の一日の授業以外での平均勉強時間が示されている。「0 時間」が 117 人 (54.9%) と半数以上を占めた。部員は大学生であり、アルバイトが禁止されているところが多いことを考えると、自由時間の過ごし方については検討の余地があると思われる。

図表 7. 一日の授業以外での平均勉強時間

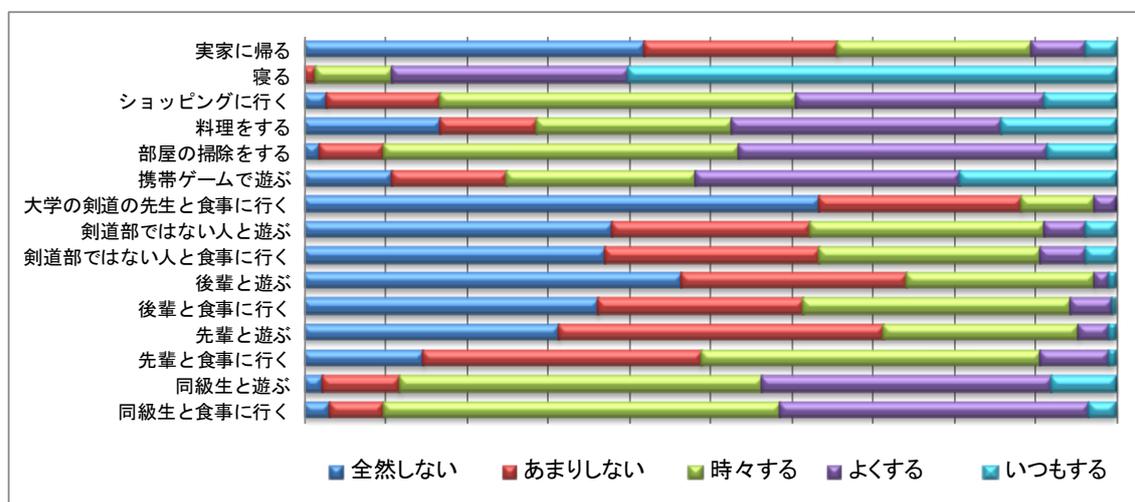


自由時間の活動率

図表 8 では、回答者の自由時間について質問を行った。自由時間に「いつもする」項目は「寝る」が最も多く 128 人(60.1%)となった。自由時間に「よくする」項目は「同級生と食事に行く」と「部屋の掃除をする」が最も多く 81 人(38.0%)、次いで「同級生と遊ぶ」76 人(35.7%)という結果となった。

図表 8. 自由時間

項目	全然しない		あまりしない		時々する		よくする		いつもする	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
同級生と食事に行く	7	3.3	14	6.6	104	48.8	81	38.0	7	3.3
同級生と遊ぶ	5	2.3	20	9.4	94	44.1	76	35.7	17	8.0
先輩と食事に行く	31	14.6	73	34.3	89	41.8	18	8.5	2	.9
先輩と遊ぶ	67	31.5	85	39.9	51	23.9	8	3.8	2	.9
後輩と食事に行く	77	36.2	54	25.4	70	32.9	11	5.2	1	.5
後輩と遊ぶ	99	46.5	59	27.7	49	23.0	4	1.9	2	.9
剣道部ではない人と食事に行く	79	37.1	56	26.3	58	27.2	12	5.6	8	3.8
剣道部ではない人と遊ぶ	81	38.0	52	24.4	61	28.6	11	5.2	8	3.8
大学の剣道の先生と食事に行く	135	63.4	53	24.9	19	8.9	6	2.8	0	.0
携帯ゲームで遊ぶ	23	10.8	30	14.1	50	23.5	69	32.4	41	19.2
部屋の掃除をする	4	1.9	17	8.0	93	43.7	81	38.0	18	8.5
料理をする	36	16.9	25	11.7	51	23.9	71	33.3	30	14.1
ショッピングに行く	6	2.8	30	14.1	92	43.2	65	30.5	19	8.9
寝る	0	.0	3	1.4	20	9.4	62	29.1	128	60.1
実家に帰る	86	40.4	51	23.9	51	23.9	14	6.6	8	3.8

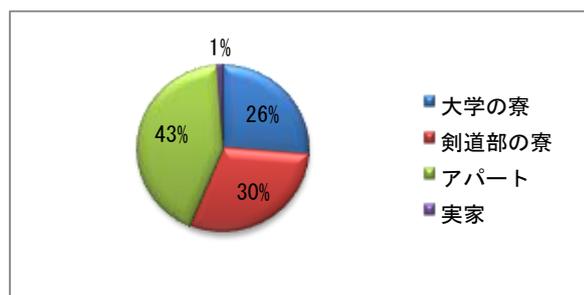


住環境

図表 9 には、回答者の住まいが示されている。お住まいは「アパート」が最も多く 91 人(42.7%)となった。また図表 10 には、回答者の剣道部での門限の有無が示されている。「門限がない」が 115 人(54%)で、「門限がある」を若干上回る結果となった。

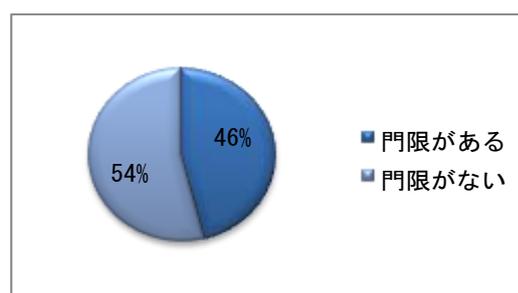
図表 9. 住まい

	実数	%
大学の寮	56	26.3
剣道部の寮	64	30.0
アパート	91	42.7
実家	2	1
合計	213	100.0



図表 10. 門限

	実数	%
門限がある	96	46
門限がない	115	54
合計	213	100.0

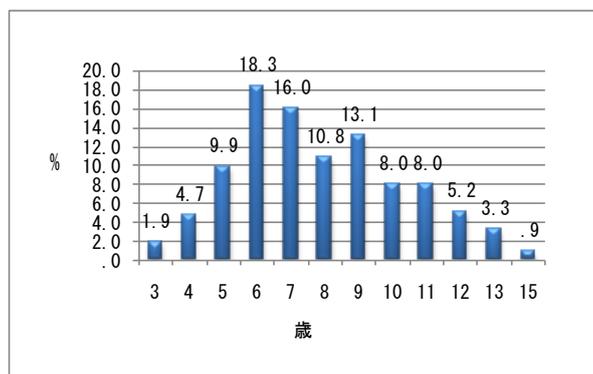


剣道経験について

図表 11 には、回答者が何歳から剣道を始めたかが示されている。ほとんどは小学校時代から始めており、その合計は 130 人(61.1%)であった。

図表 11. 何歳から剣道を始めたか

歳	実数	%
3	4	1.9
4	10	4.7
5	21	9.9
6	39	18.3
7	34	16.0
8	23	10.8
9	28	13.1
10	17	8.0
11	17	8.0
12	11	5.2
13	7	3.3
15	2	.9
合計	213	100.0



図表 12 には、回答者が剣道を始めたきっかけが示されている。剣道を始めたきっかけは「兄弟がやっていた」が最も多く 75 人(35.2%)、次いで「両親が勧めた」が 61 人(28.6%)となった。

図表 12. なぜ剣道を始めたか (複数回答可)

項目	実数	%
友達がやっていた	38	17.8
兄弟がやっていた	75	35.2
姉妹がやっていた	29	13.6
カッコいいと思った	34	16
自分がやりたかった	37	17.4
両親が勧めた	61	28.6
両親が礼儀を学ばせたかった	4	1.9
その他	22	10.3

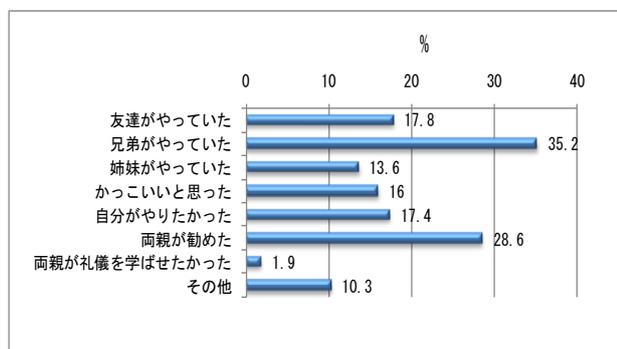


表 13 には、中学校時代の剣道部の参加率が示されている。また表 14 には、高校時代の剣道部の参加率が示されている。ほとんどが中学校時代と高校時代に剣道部に所属した。図表 15 には、中学校時代の剣道以外の種目や活動が示されている。「剣道だけしていた」という項目は最も多く 48.8%、次いで「塾」36.2%、「書道」17.4%、「ピアノ」19.2%という結果となった。図表 16 には、高校時代の剣道以外の種目や活動が示されている。「剣道だけしていた」という項目が最も多く 181 人(85%)となった。

表 13. 中学校時代に剣道部であったか

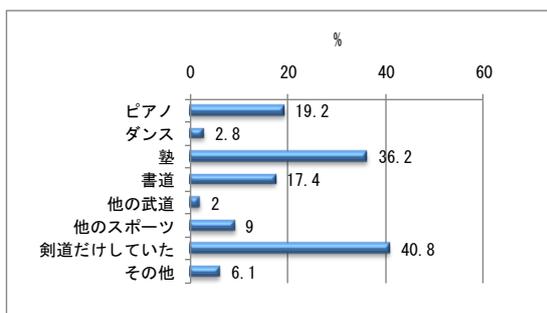
	実数	%
中学剣道部員	210	98.6
道場のメンバー	1	.5
無回答	2	.9
合計	213	100.0

表 14. 高校時代に剣道部であったか

	実数	%
高校剣道部員	212	99.5
高校剣道部員ではない	1	0.5
合計	213	100.0

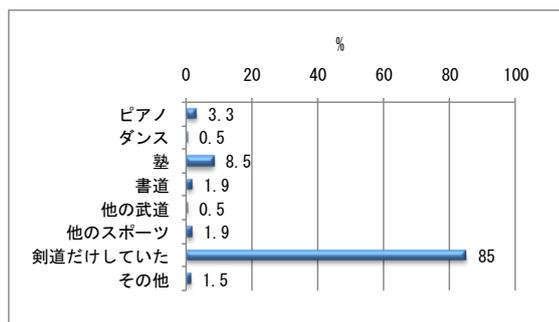
図表 15. 中学校時代の剣道以外の種目や活動（複数回答可）

項目	実数	%
ピアノ	41	19.2
ダンス	6	2.8
塾	77	36.2
書道	37	17.4
他の武道	4	2
他のスポーツ	19	9
剣道だけしていた	87	40.8
その他	13	6.1



図表 16. 高校時代の剣道以外の種目や活動（複数回答可）

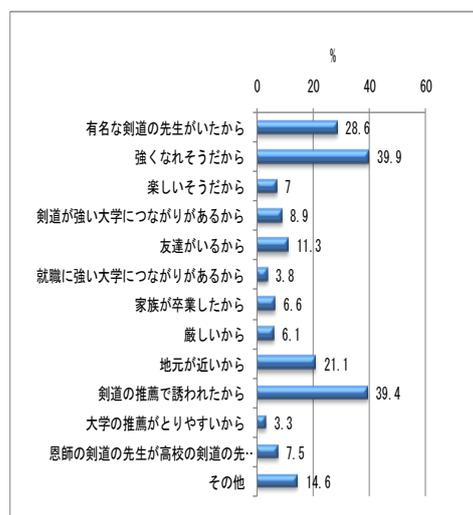
項目	実数	%
ピアノ	7	3.3
ダンス	1	0.5
塾	18	8.5
書道	4	1.9
他の武道	1	0.5
他のスポーツ	4	1.9
剣道だけしていた	181	85
その他	3	1.5



図表 17 には、高校を選んだ理由が示されている。高校を選んだ理由では「強くなれそうだから」が最も多く 85 人、次いで「剣道の推薦で誘われたから」が 84 人と続いた。

図表 17. 高校を選んだ理由（複数回答可）

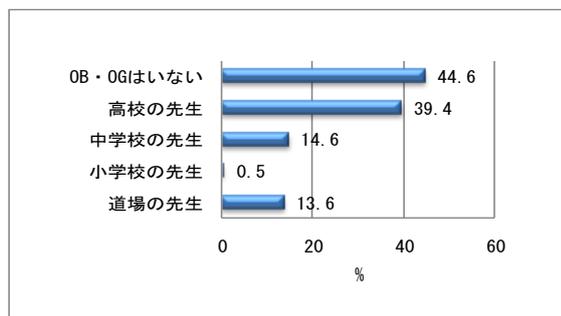
項目	実数	%
有名な剣道の先生がいたから	61	28.6
強くなれそうだから	85	39.9
楽しいそうだから	15	7
剣道が強い大学につながりがあるから	19	8.9
友達がいるから	24	11.3
就職に強い大学につながりがあるから	8	3.8
家族が卒業したから	14	6.6
厳しいから	13	6.1
地元が近いから	45	21.1
剣道の推薦で誘われたから	84	39.4
大学の推薦がとりやすいから	7	3.3
恩師の剣道の先生が高校の剣道の先生と同じ大学の出身だから	16	7.5
その他	31	14.6



図表 18 には、指導を受けた剣道の恩師・先生の中に回答者の現在通っている大学の OB・OG がいるかが示されている。「OB・OG がない」が最も多く 95 人となった。しかし、148 人は指導を受けた剣道の恩師・先生の中では少なくとも OB・OG が 1 人はいた。また「高校の先生」という項目が最も多く 84 人となった。

図表 18. 指導を受けた剣道の恩師・先生の中に回答者の現在通っている大学の OB・OG がいるか（複数回答可）

項目	実数	%
道場の先生	29	13.6
小学校の先生	1	0.5
中学校の先生	31	14.6
高校の先生	84	39.4
OB・OG はない	95	44.6

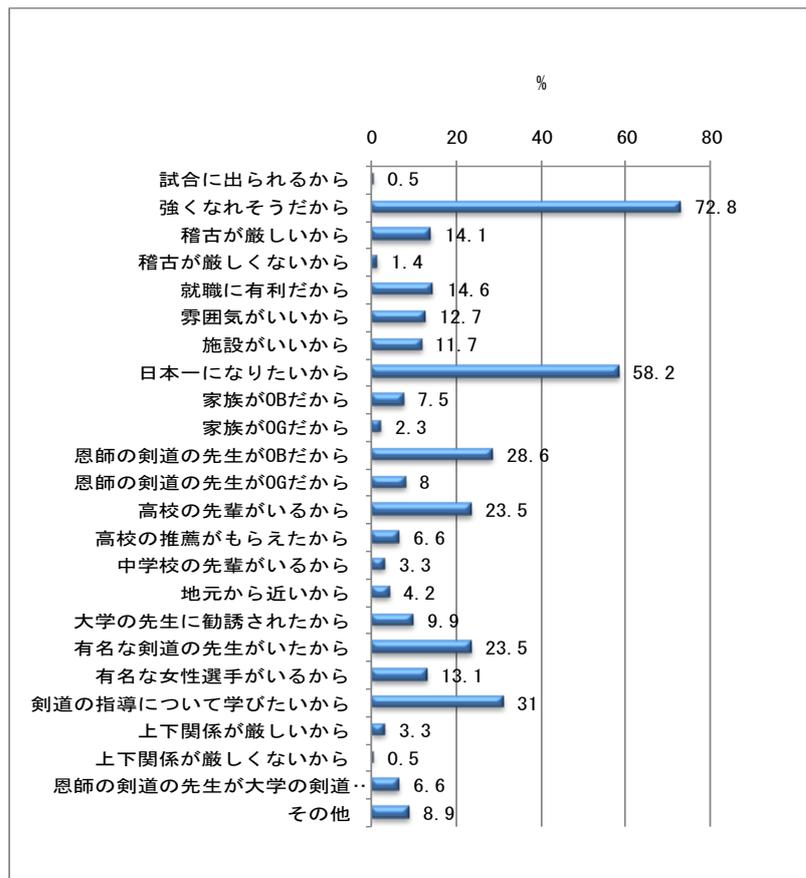


就職 キャリアについて

図表 19 には、大学を選んだ理由が示されている。大学を選んだ理由は「強くなれそうだから」が最も多く 155 人で、次いで「日本一になりたいから」124 人、「剣道の指導について学びたいから」66 人、「恩師の剣道の先生が OB だから」61 人となった。

図表 19. 大学を選んだ理由（複数回答可）

項目	実数	%
試合に出られるから	1	0.5
強くなれそうだから	155	72.8
稽古が厳しいから	30	14.1
稽古が厳しくないから	3	1.4
就職に有利だから	31	14.6
雰囲気がいいから	27	12.7
施設がいいから	25	11.7
日本一になりたいから	124	58.2
家族がOBだから	16	7.5
家族がOGだから	5	2.3
恩師の剣道の先生がOBだから	61	28.6
恩師の剣道の先生がOGだから	17	8
高校の先輩がいるから	50	23.5
高校の推薦がもらえたから	14	6.6
中学校の先輩がいるから	7	3.3
地元から近いから	9	4.2
大学の先生に勧誘されたから	21	9.9
有名な剣道の先生がいたから	50	23.5
有名な女性選手がいるから	28	13.1
剣道の指導について学びたいから	66	31
上下関係が厳しいから	7	3.3
上下関係が厳しくないから	1	0.5
恩師の剣道の先生が大学の剣道の先生と同じ大学の出身だから	14	6.6
その他	19	8.9

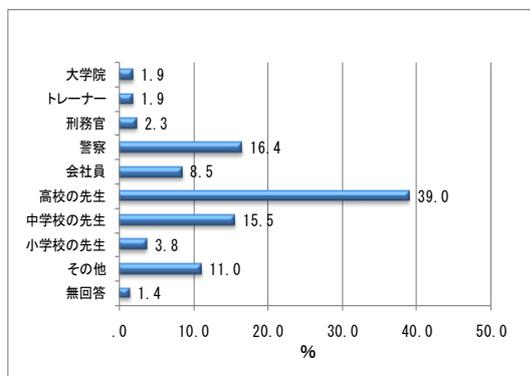


図表 20.1、図表 20.2、図表 20.3 には、大学卒業後の希望職種（希望の順に3つ）が示されている。第一希望では高校の先生が最も多く 83 人(39%)、次いで警察の 35 人(16.4%)となった。第二希望では中学校の先生が最も多く 59 人(27.7%)となった。第三希望では警察と高校の先生が最も多く 30 人(14.1%)であった。回答者が就きたい職業は、降順に高校の先生、中学校の先生、警察、会社員であった。また図表 21 の質問では、128 人(60%)が「職業を希望したのは剣道が続けられるから」と回答した。

図表 20. 大学を卒業してからどんな職業に就きたいか（希望の順に3つ）

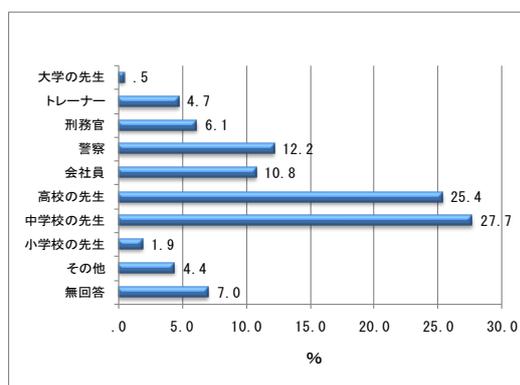
図表 20.1（第一希望）

項目	実数	%
無回答	3	1.4
その他	23	11.0
小学校の先生	8	3.8
中学校の先生	33	15.5
高校の先生	83	39.0
会社員	18	8.5
警察	35	16.4
刑務官	5	2.3
トレーナー	4	1.9
大学院	4	1.9
合計	213	100.0



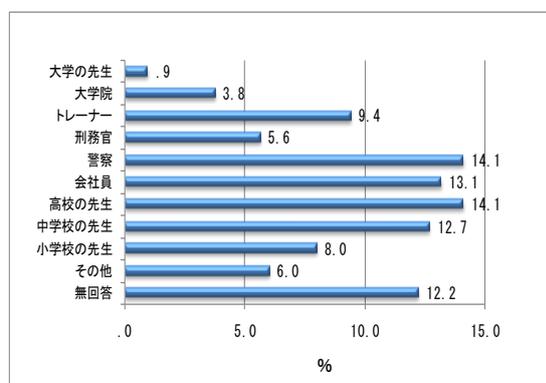
図表 20.2（第二希望）

項目	実数	%
無回答	15	7.0
その他	8	4.4
小学校の先生	4	1.9
中学校の先生	59	27.7
高校の先生	54	25.4
会社員	23	10.8
警察	26	12.2
刑務官	13	6.1
トレーナー	10	4.7
大学の先生	1	.5
合計	213	100.0



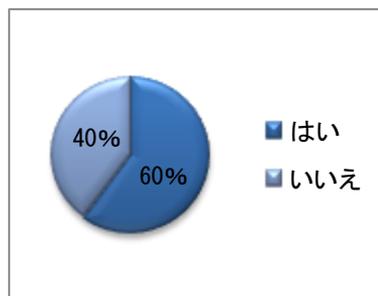
図表 20.3（第三希望）

項目	実数	%
無回答	26	12.2
その他	13	6.0
小学校の先生	17	8.0
中学校の先生	27	12.7
高校の先生	30	14.1
会社員	28	13.1
警察	30	14.1
刑務官	12	5.6
トレーナー	20	9.4
大学院	8	3.8
大学の先生	2	.9
合計	213	100.0



図表 21. 上記の職業を希望したのは、剣道が続けられるからであるか

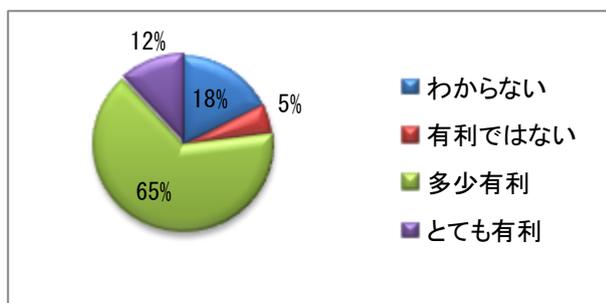
項目	実数	%
はい	128	60.0
いいえ	85	40.0
合計	213	100.0



図表 22 では、体育系大学剣道部員なら就職に有利であると思うかという質問を行った。「多少有利」が最も多く 139 人となった。

図表 22. 体育系大学剣道部員なら就職に有利であると思うか

項目	実数	%
わからない	38	17.8
有利ではない	11	5.2
多少有利	139	65.3
とても有利	25	11.7
合計	213	100.0



図表 23 には、部の幹部になることは就職に有利であると思うかという質問を行った。有利であると回答したのは 162 名 (76%) となった。

図表 23. 部の幹部になることは就職に有利であると思うか

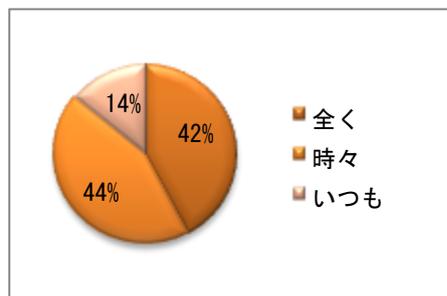
項目	実数	%
はい	162	76.0
いいえ	51	24.0
合計	213	100.0



図表 24 には、大学での大会の出場頻度が示されている。「全く」大会に出場しないという回答が最も多く、90 人(42.2%)となった。

図表 24. 大学での大会の出場頻度

項目	実数	%
全く	90	42.2
時々	93	43.7
いつも	30	14.1
合計	213	100.0

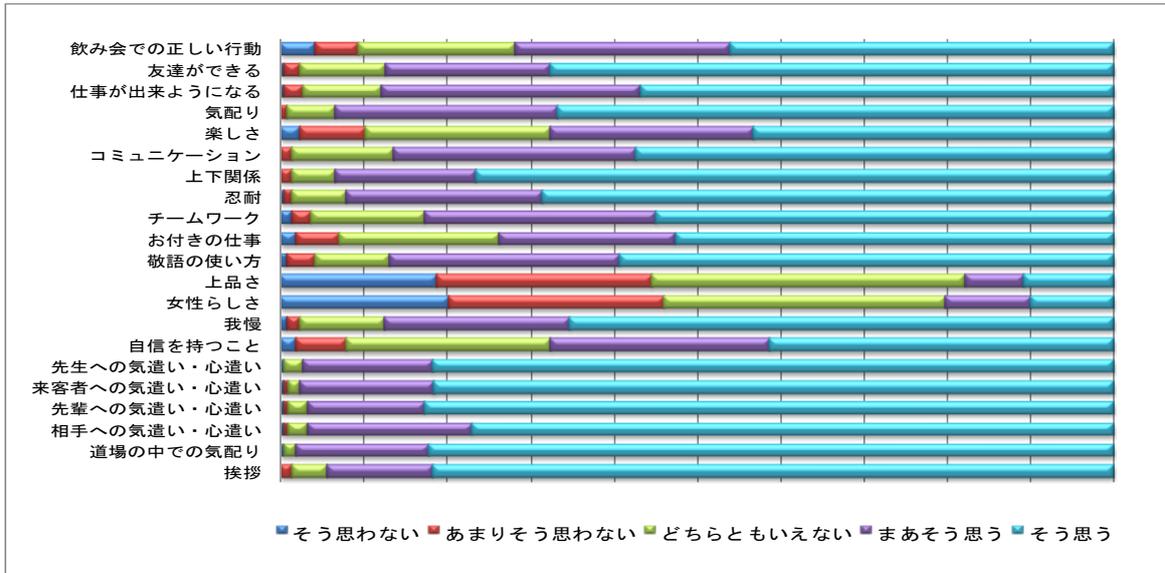


大学剣道部員に対しての価値について

図表 25 には、大学での剣道部生活を通して身に付くことが示されている。「そう思う」「まあそう思う」の項目の合計の値が最も高かったのは「道場の中での気配り」で計 209 名(98.2%)であった。次いで「来客者への気遣い・心遣い」が計 208 名(97.7%)であった。上記のことから、礼儀に関することが身に付きやすいということが示唆された。

図表 25. 大学での剣道部生活を通して身に付くこと

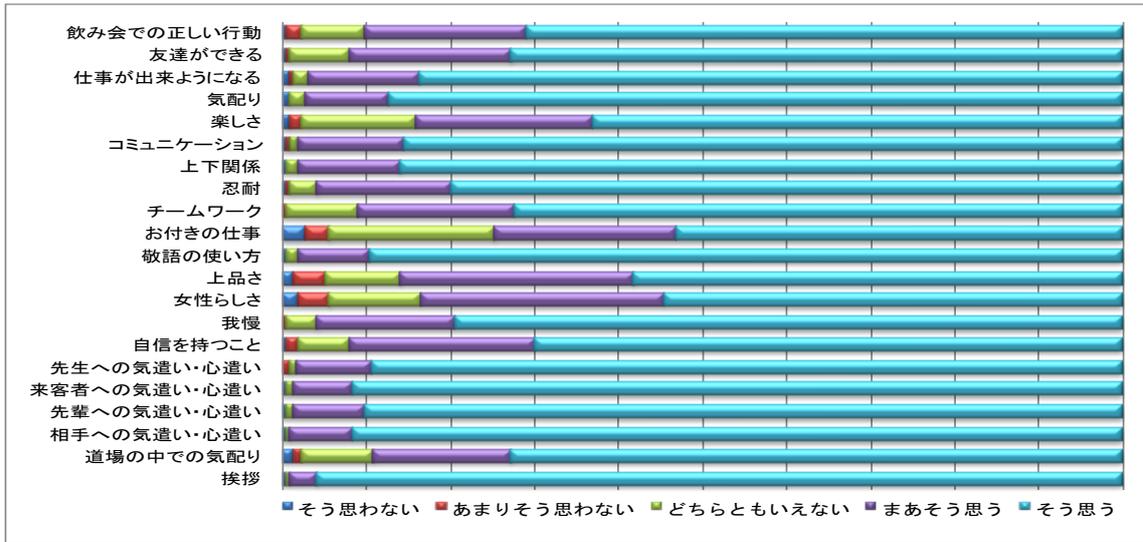
項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
挨拶	0	0	3	1.4	9	4.2	27	12.7	174	81.7
道場の中での気配り	1	0.5	0	0	3	1.4	34	16	175	82.2
相手への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	1	0.5	5	2.3	42	19.7	164	77
先輩への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	1	0.5	5	2.3	30	14.1	176	82.6
来客者への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	1	0.5	3	1.4	34	16	174	81.7
先生への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	0	0	5	2.3	33	15.5	174	81.7
自信を持つこと	4	1.9	13	6.1	52	24.4	56	26.3	88	41.3
我慢	2	0.9	3	1.4	22	10.3	47	22.1	139	65.3
女性らしさ	43	20.2	55	25.8	72	33.8	22	10.3	21	9.9
上品さ	40	18.8	55	25.8	80	37.6	15	7	23	10.8
敬語の使い方	2	0.9	7	3.3	19	8.9	59	27.7	126	59.2
お付きの仕事	4	1.9	11	5.2	41	19.2	45	21.1	11	5.2
チームワーク	3	1.4	5	2.3	29	13.6	59	27.7	117	54.9
忍耐	1	0.5	2	0.9	14	6.6	50	23.5	146	68.6
上下関係	0	0	3	1.4	11	5.2	36	16.9	163	76.5
コミュニケーション	0	0	3	1.4	26	12.2	62	29.1	122	57.3
楽しさ	5	2.3	17	8	47	22.1	52	24.4	92	43.2
気配り	0	0	2	0.9	12	5.6	57	26.8	142	66.7
仕事が出来ようになる	1	0.5	5	2.3	20	9.4	66	31	121	56.8
友達ができる	1	0.5	4	1.9	22	10.3	42	19.7	144	67.6
飲み会での正しい行動	9	4.2	11	5.2	40	18.8	55	25.8	98	46



図表 26 には、社会生活に必要な行動や価値が示されている。「そう思う」「まあそう思う」の項目の合計の値が最も高かったのは「挨拶」で、211名(99.1%)であった。この質問でも、礼儀に関することを中心に多くの項目で高い値を示した。

図表 26. 社会生活に必要な行動や価値

項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
挨拶	1	0.5	0	0	1	0.5	7	3.3	204	95.8
道場の中での気配り	3	1.4	2	0.9	18	8.5	35	16.4	155	72.8
相手への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	0	0	1	0.5	16	7.5	195	91.5
先輩への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	0	0	2	0.9	18	8.5	192	90.1
来客者への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	0	0	2	0.9	15	7	195	91.5
先生への気遣い・心遣い	0	0	2	0.9	2	0.9	19	8.9	190	89.2
自信を持つこと	1	0.5	3	1.4	13	6.1	47	22.1	149	70
我慢	0	0	1	0.5	8	3.8	35	16.4	169	79.4
女性らしさ	4	1.9	8	3.8	23	10.8	62	29.1	116	54.5
上品さ	3	1.4	8	3.8	19	8.9	59	27.7	124	58.2
敬語の使い方	1	0.5	0	0	3	1.4	18	8.5	191	89.7
お付きの仕事	6	2.8	6	2.8	42	19.7	46	21.6	113	53.1
チームワーク	0	0	1	0.5	18	8.5	40	18.8	154	72.3
忍耐	1	0.5	1	0.5	7	3.3	34	16	170	79.8
上下関係	1	0.5	0	0	3	1.4	26	12.2	183	85.9
コミュニケーション	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	0.9	27	12.7	182	85.5
楽しさ	2	0.9	3	1.4	29	13.6	45	21.1	134	62.9
気配り	2	0.9	0	0	4	1.9	21	9.9	186	87.3
仕事が出来ようになる	2	0.9	1	0.5	4	1.9	28	13.1	178	83.6
友達ができる	1	0.5	1	0.5	15	7	41	19.2	155	72.8
飲み会での正しい行動	1	0.5	4	1.9	16	7.5	41	19.2	151	70.9

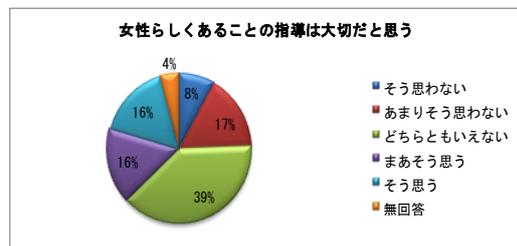
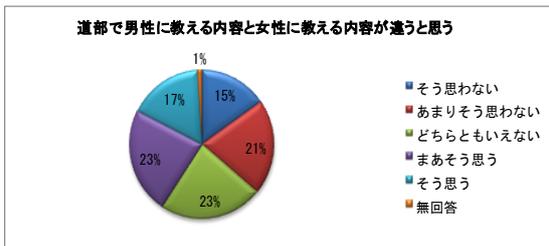


指導内容

図表 27 では、指導内容について示されている。「剣道部で男性に教える内容と女性に教える内容が違うと思う」という項目では「そう思う」が 35 人(16.9%)、「まあそう思う」が 50 人(23.5%)であった。また「女性らしくあることの指導は大切だと思う」の項目では「そう思う」と「まあそう思う」が 35 人(16.4%)で同数となった。

図表 27. 指導内容

項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う		無回答	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
剣道部で男性に教える内容と女性に教える内容が違うと思う	33	15.5	45	21.1	50	23.5	50	23.5	35	16.9	2	0.9
女性らしくあることの指導は大切だと思う	17	8	35	16.4	82	38.5	35	16.4	35	16.4	9	4.2

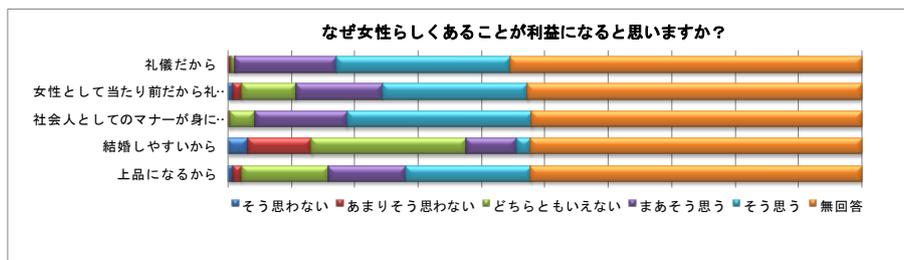


女性らしくあることの利益

図表 28 には、女性らしくあることの利益が示されている。「そう思う」「まあそう思う」の合計値が最も高かったのは「社会人としてのマナーが身につくから」で、93 人(43.7%)だった。次いで「礼儀だから」が 87 人(40.8%)で続いた。逆に「結婚しやすい」の項目は合計値が 10.3%と特に低い値を示した。

図表 28. 女性らしくあることの利益

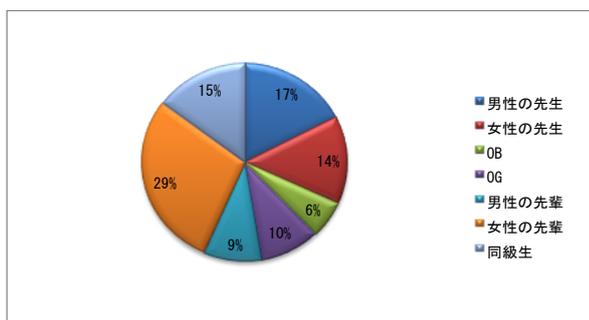
項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う		無回答	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
上品になるから	2	0.9	3	1.4	29	13.6	26	12.2	42	19.7	111	52.1
結婚しやすいから	7	3.3	21	9.9	52	24.4	17	8	5	2.3	111	52.1
社会人としてのマナーが身につくから	0	0	1	0.5	8	3.8	31	14.6	62	29.1	111	52.1
女性として当たり前だから礼儀だから	2	0.9	3	1.4	18	8.5	29	13.6	49	23	112	52.6
礼儀だから	0	0	1	0.5	14	6.6	32	15	55	25.8	111	52.1



図表 29 には、普段剣道以外の社会的な行動や価値を指導してくれる人が示されている。その中でも、「女性の先輩」が 138 人 (64.8%) と特に多く、「男性の先生」が 84 人 (39.4%) と続いた。

図表 29. 普段剣道以外の社会的な行動や価値を指導してくれる人 (複数回答可)

項目	実数	%
男性の先生	84	39.4
女性の先生	69	32.4
OB	29	13.6
OG	46	21.6
男性の先輩	44	20.7
女性の先輩	138	64.8
同級生	71	33.3

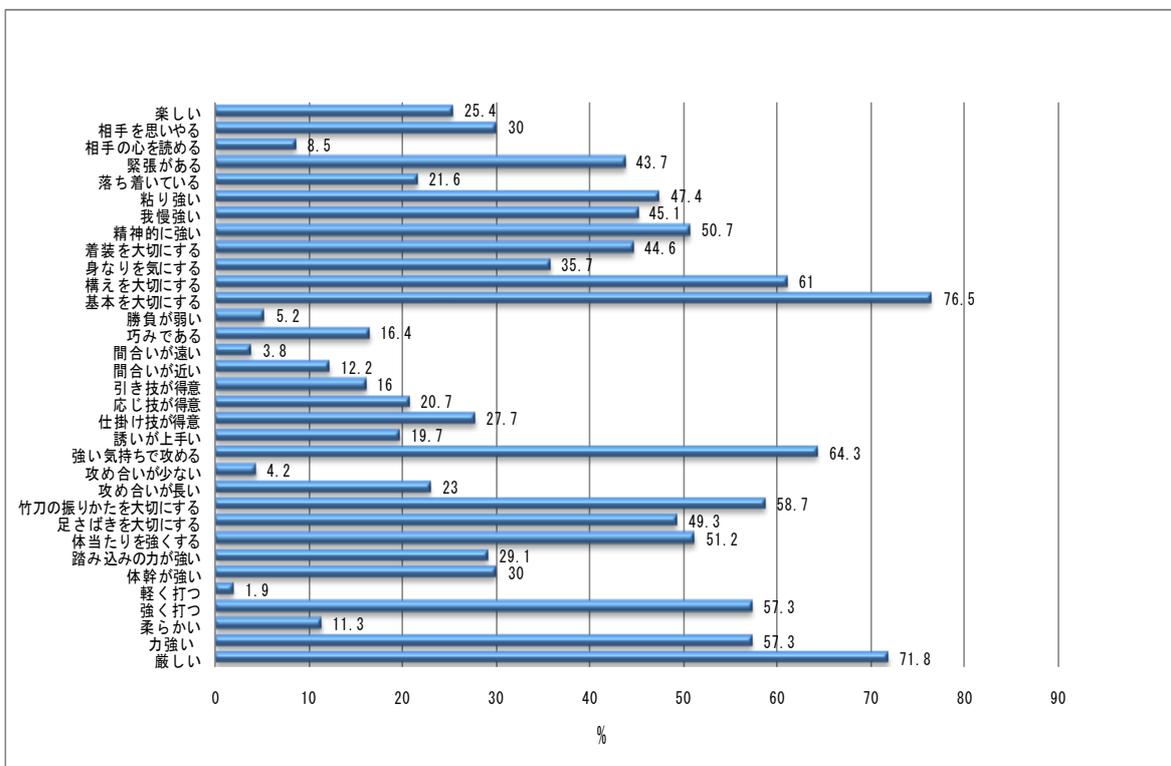


稽古の特性と道場の中での行動

図表 30 には、回答者の大学の女子剣道部員の剣道 (稽古) の一般的な特徴が示されている。最も回答が多かったのは「基本を大切にする」で、163 名 (76.5%) であった。次いで「厳しい」が 153 人 (71.8%) であった。

図表 30. 回答者の大学の女子剣道部員の剣道（稽古）の一般的な特徴（複数回答可）

項目	実数	%
厳しい	153	71.8
力強い	122	57.3
柔らかい	24	11.3
強く打つ	122	57.3
軽く打つ	4	1.9
体幹が強い	64	30
踏み込みの力が強い	62	29.1
体当たりを強くする	109	51.2
足さばきを大切にする	105	49.3
竹刀の振りかたを大切にする	125	58.7
攻め合いが長い	49	23
攻め合いが少ない	9	4.2
強い気持ちで攻める	137	64.3
誘いが上手い	42	19.7
仕掛け技が得意	59	27.7
応じ技が得意	44	20.7
引き技が得意	34	16
間合いが近い	26	12.2
間合いが遠い	8	3.8
巧みである	35	16.4
勝負が弱い	11	5.2
基本を大切にする	163	76.5
構えを大切にする	130	61
身なりを気にする	76	35.7
着装を大切にする	95	44.6
精神的に強い	108	50.7
我慢強い	96	45.1
粘り強い	101	47.4
落ち着いている	46	21.6
緊張がある	93	43.7
相手の心を読める	18	8.5
相手を思いやる	64	30
楽しい	53	24.9
(その他) 礼法	1	0.5

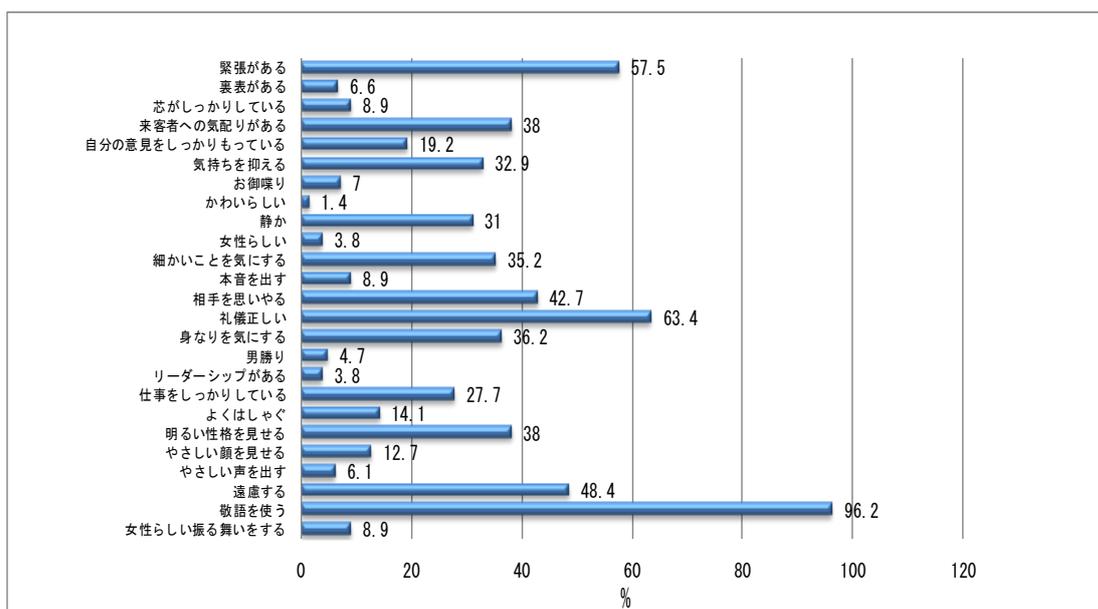


稽古以外の場面で、先生や先輩の前ではどのような行動をとっているか

図表 31 には、稽古以外の場面で、先生や先輩の前ではどのような行動をとるかということが示されている。「敬語を使う」が最も多く、205 人(96.2%)とほとんどの人が回答していた。そして「礼儀正しい」が 135 人(63.4%)と続いた。

図表 31. 稽古以外の場面で、先生や先輩の前ではどのような行動をとるか(複数回答可)

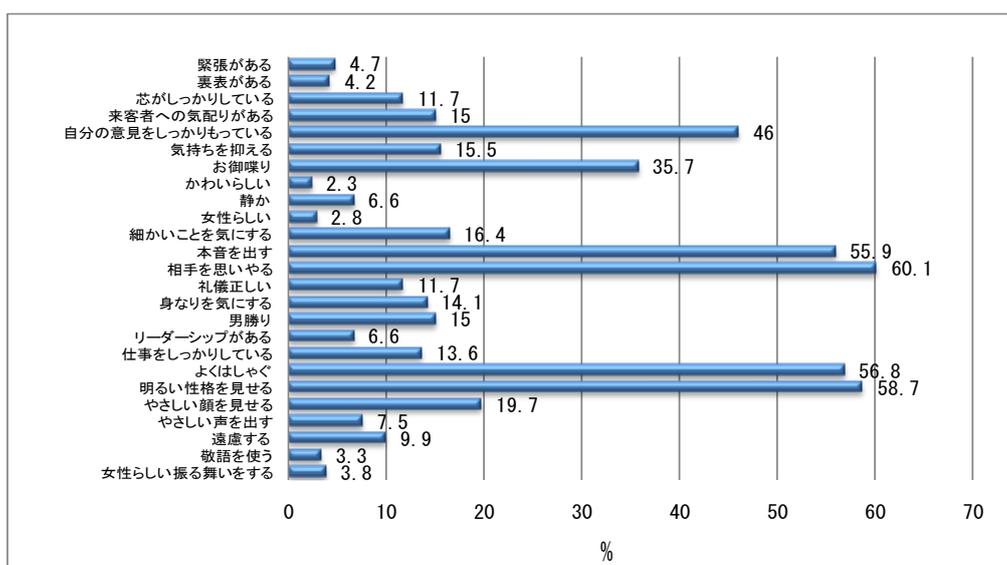
項目	実数	%
女性らしい振る舞いをする	19	8.9
敬語を使う	205	96.2
遠慮する	103	48.4
やさしい声を出す	13	6.1
やさしい顔を見せる	27	12.7
明るい性格を見せる	81	38
よくはしゃぐ	30	14.1
仕事をしっかりしている	59	27.7
リーダーシップがある	8	3.8
男勝り	10	4.7
身なりを気にする	77	36.2
礼儀正しい	135	63.4
相手を思いやる	91	42.7
本音を出す	19	8.9
細かいことを気にする	75	35.2
女性らしい	8	3.8
静か	66	31
かわいらしい	3	1.4
お喋り	15	7
気持ちを抑える	70	32.9
自分の意見をしっかりもっている	41	19.2
来客者への気配りがある	81	38
芯がしっかりしている	19	8.9
裏表がある	14	6.6
緊張がある	123	57.5



図表 32 には、稽古以外の場面で、同級生や後輩の前ではどのような行動をとるかということが示されている。「相手を思いやる」が 128 人(60.1%)と最も多く、「明るい性格を見せる」が 125 人(58.7%)と続いた。

図表 32. 稽古以外の場面で、同級生や後輩の前ではどのような行動をとるか
(複数回答可)

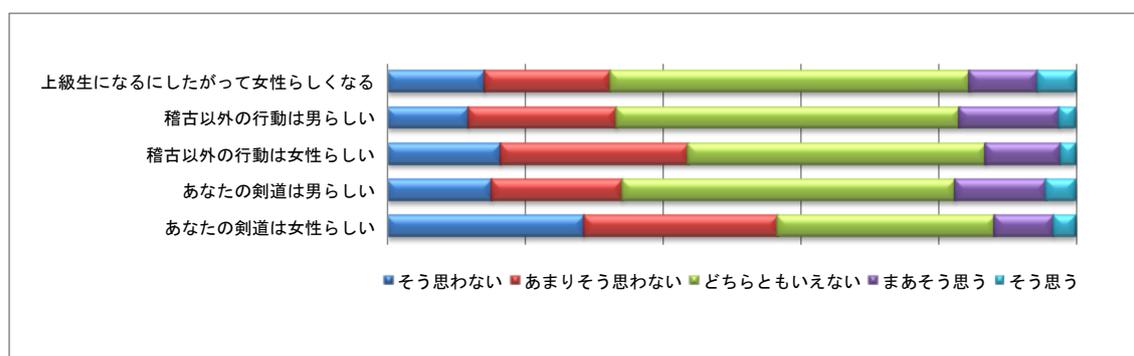
項目	実数	%
女性らしい振る舞いをする	8	3.8
敬語を使う	7	3.3
遠慮する	21	9.9
やさしい声を出す	16	7.5
やさしい顔を見せる	42	19.7
明るい性格を見せる	125	58.7
よくはしゃぐ	121	56.8
仕事をしっかりしている	29	13.6
リーダーシップがある	14	6.6
男勝り	32	15
身なりを気にする	30	14.1
礼儀正しい	25	11.7
相手を思いやる	128	60.1
本音を出す	119	55.9
細かいことを気にする	35	16.4
女性らしい	6	2.8
静か	14	6.6
かわいらしい	5	2.3
お喋り	76	35.7
気持ちを抑える	33	15.5
自分の意見をしっかりと持っている	98	46
来客者への気配りがある	32	15
芯がしっかりしている	25	11.7
裏表がある	9	4.2
緊張がある	10	4.7



図表 33 には、回答者の女性らしさに関する意識が示されている。「そう思う」「まあそう思う」の合計値が最も高かったのは「あなたの剣道は男らしい」で、39 人(18.3%)であった。そして「稽古以外の行動は男らしい」が 36 人(17%)で続いた。このことから、自分のことを女性らしいのではなく男らしいと意識している人の方が多いということがわかった。

図表 33. 回答者の女性らしさに関する意識

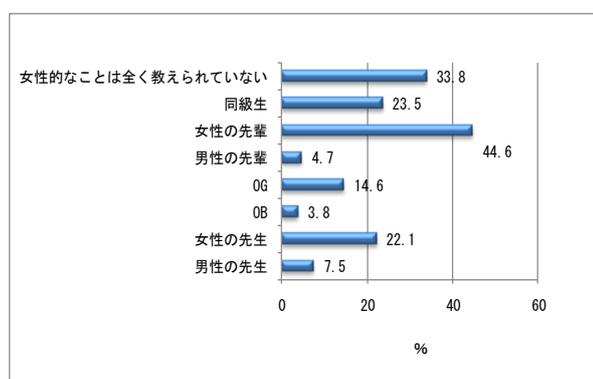
項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
あなたの剣道は女性らしい	61	28.6	60	28.2	67	31.5	18	8.5	7	3.3
あなたの剣道は男らしい	32	15	40	18.8	102	47.9	28	13.1	11	5.2
稽古以外の行動は女性らしい	35	16.4	58	27.2	92	43.2	23	10.8	5	2.3
稽古以外の行動は男らしい	25	11.7	46	21.6	106	49.8	31	14.6	5	2.4
上級生になるにしたがって女性らしくなる	30	14.1	39	18.3	111	52.1	21	9.9	12	5.6



図表 34 には、普段剣道部の中で女性らしさは誰に教えられるかということが示されている。最も多かったのは「女性の先輩」で、95 人(44.6%)だった。「女性的なことは全く教えられていない」という回答は 2 番目に多く、72 人(33.8%)に上った。

図表 34. 普段剣道部の中で女性らしさは誰に教えられるか (複数回答可)

項目	実数	%
男性の先生	16	7.5
女性の先生	46	22.1
OB	8	3.8
OG	31	14.6
男性の先輩	10	4.7
女性の先輩	95	44.6
同級生	50	23.5
女性的なことは全く教えられていない	72	33.8

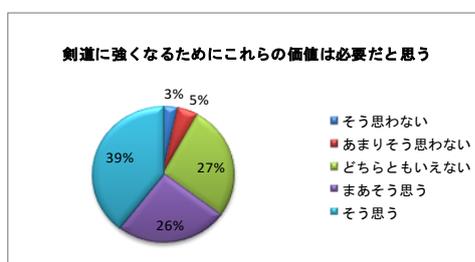
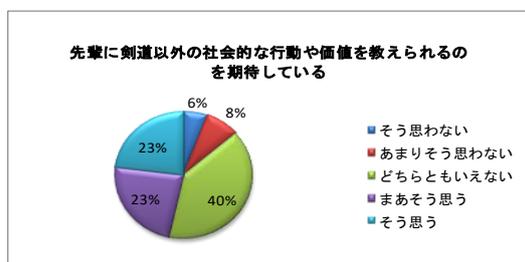


先輩・後輩（上下関係）について

図表 35 には、先輩に剣道以外に教えられる社会的行動・価値への期待度が示されている。「どちらともいえない」が 85 人(39.9%)と最も多かったが、全体的には肯定的な回答の割合が高かった。また「剣道に強くなるためにこれらの価値は必要だと思う」の項目では「そう思う」が 82 人(38.5%)と最も高かった。

図表 35 先輩に剣道以外に教えられる社会的行動・価値への期待度

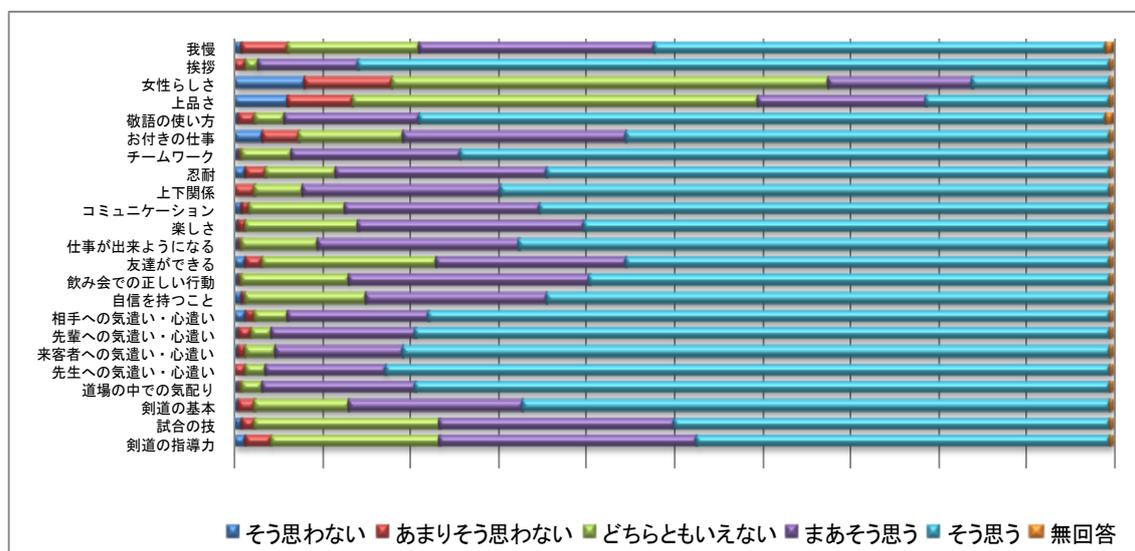
項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う		無回答	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
先輩に剣道以外の社会的な行動や価値を教えられるのを期待している	12	5.6	17	8	85	39.9	50	23.5	46	21.6	3	1.4
剣道に強くなるためにこれらの価値は必要だと思う	7	3.3	10	4.7	58	27.2	54	25.4	82	38.5	2	0.9



図表 36 には、先輩として後輩に教える重要なことが示されている。「そう思う」「まあそう思う」の合計で見ると「挨拶」が最も多く、合計で 206 人(96.7%)をであった。そして「先輩への気遣い・心遣い」が 203 人(95.5%)で続き、その他の「気遣い・心遣い」の項目もいずれも高い値を示した。

図表 36. 先輩として後輩に教える重要なこと

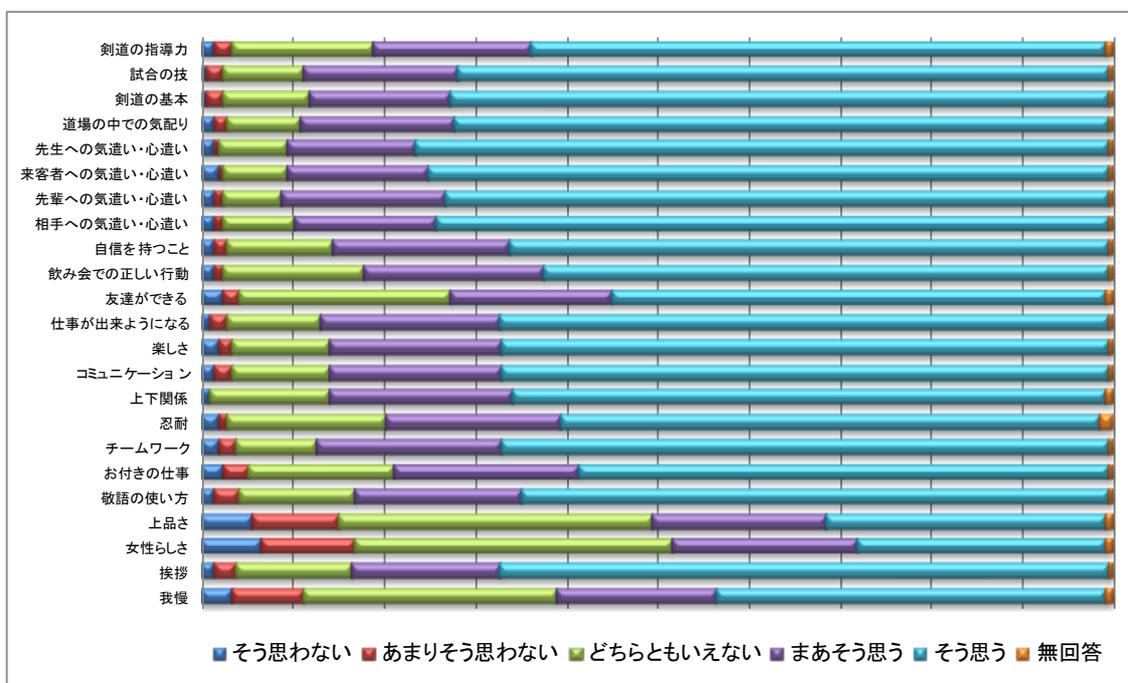
項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う		無回答	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
我慢	2	0.9	11	5.2	32	15	57	26.8	109	51.2	2	0.9
挨拶	0	0	3	1.4	3	1.4	24	11.3	182	85.4	1	0.5
女性らしさ	17	8	21	9.9	106	49.8	35	16.4	33	15.5	1	0.5
上品さ	13	6.1	16	7.5	98	46	41	19.2	44	20.7	1	0.5
敬語の使い方	1	0.5	4	1.9	7	3.3	33	15.5	166	77.9	2	0.9
お付きの仕事	7	3.3	9	4.2	25	11.7	54	25.4	117	54.9	1	0.5
チームワーク	1	0.5	1	0.5	12	5.6	41	19.2	157	73.7	1	0.5
忍耐	3	1.4	5	2.3	17	8	51	23.9	136	63.8	1	0.5
上下関係	0	0	5	2.3	12	5.6	48	22.5	147	69	1	0.5
コミュニケーション	2	0.9	2	0.9	23	10.8	47	22.1	138	64.8	1	0.5
楽しさ	1	0.5	2	0.9	27	12.7	55	25.8	127	59.6	1	0.5
仕事が出来ようになる	1	0.5	1	0.5	18	8.5	49	23	143	67.1	1	0.5
友達ができる	3	1.4	4	1.9	42	19.7	46	21.6	117	54.9	1	0.5
飲み会での正しい行動	1	0.5	1	0.5	26	12.2	58	27.2	126	59.2	1	0.5
自信を持つこと	2	0.9	1	0.5	29	13.6	44	20.7	136	63.8	1	0.5
相手への気遣い・心遣い	3	1.4	2	0.9	8	3.8	34	16	165	77.5	1	0.5
先輩への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	3	1.4	5	2.3	35	16.4	168	78.9	1	0.5
来客者への気遣い・心遣い	1	0.5	2	0.9	7	3.3	31	14.6	171	80.3	1	0.5
先生への気遣い・心遣い	0	0	3	1.4	5	2.3	29	13.6	175	82.2	1	0.5
道場の中の気配り	1	0.5	1	0.5	5	2.3	37	17.4	168	78.9	1	0.5
剣道の基本	1	0.5	4	1.9	23	10.8	42	19.7	142	66.7	1	0.5
試合の技	2	0.9	3	1.4	45	21.1	57	26.8	105	49.3	1	0.5
剣道の指導力	3	1.4	6	2.8	41	19.2	62	29.1	100	46.9	1	0.5
(その他) 感謝の心	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5	0	0



図表 37 には、後輩として教えてほしいことが示されている。「そう思う」「まあそう思う」の合計の値が最も高かったのは「先輩への気遣い・心遣い」で、2 項目の合計は 193 人(90.6%)であった。またここでも、その他の「気遣い・心遣い」の項目でいずれも高い数値を示した。

図表 37. 後輩として教えてほしいこと

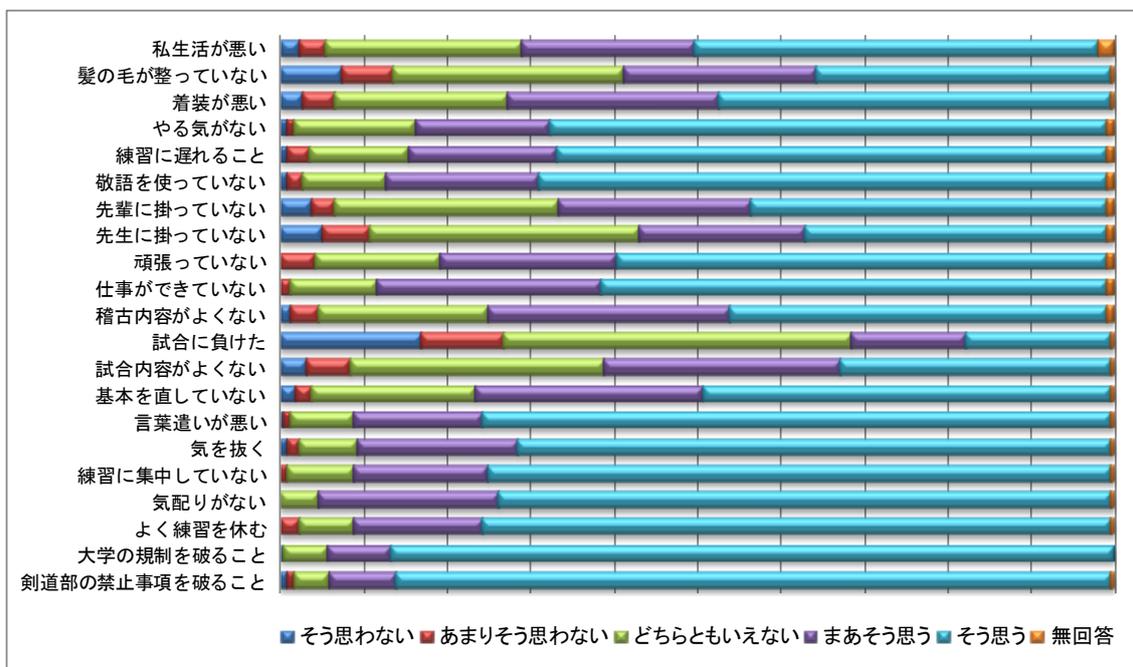
項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う		無回答	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
我慢	7	3.3	17	8	59	27.7	37	17.4	91	42.7	2	0.9
挨拶	3	1.4	5	2.3	27	12.7	35	16.4	142	66.7	1	0.5
女性らしさ	14	6.6	22	10.3	74	34.7	43	20.2	58	27.2	2	0.9
上品さ	12	5.6	20	9.4	73	34.3	41	19.2	65	30.5	2	0.9
敬語の使い方	3	1.4	6	2.8	27	12.7	39	18.3	137	64.3	1	0.5
お付きの仕事	5	2.3	6	2.8	34	16	43	20.2	124	58.2	1	0.5
チームワーク	4	1.9	4	1.9	19	8.9	43	20.2	142	66.7	1	0.5
忍耐	4	1.9	2	0.9	37	17.4	41	19.2	126	59.2	3	1.4
上下関係	2	0.9	0	0	28	13.1	43	20.2	138	64.8	2	0.9
コミュニケーション	3	1.4	4	1.9	23	10.8	40	18.8	142	66.7	1	0.5
楽しさ	4	1.9	3	1.4	23	10.8	40	18.8	142	66.7	1	0.5
仕事が出来るようになる	2	0.9	4	1.9	22	10.3	42	19.7	142	66.7	1	0.5
友達ができる	5	2.3	4	1.9	49	23	38	17.8	115	54	2	0.9
飲み会での正しい行動	3	1.4	2	0.9	33	15.5	42	19.7	132	62	1	0.5
自信を持つこと	3	1.4	3	1.4	25	11.7	41	19.2	140	65.7	1	0.5
相手への気遣い・心遣い	3	1.4	2	0.9	17	8	33	15.5	157	73.7	1	0.5
先輩への気遣い・心遣い	3	1.4	2	0.9	14	6.6	38	17.8	155	72.8	1	0.5
来客者への気遣い・心遣い	4	1.9	1	0.5	15	7	33	15.5	159	74.6	1	0.5
先生への気遣い・心遣い	3	1.4	1	0.5	16	7.5	30	14.1	162	76.1	1	0.5
道場の中の気配り	3	1.4	3	1.4	17	8	36	16.9	153	71.8	1	0.5
剣道の基本	1	0.5	4	1.9	20	9.4	33	15.5	154	72.3	1	0.5
試合の技	1	0.5	4	1.9	19	8.9	36	16.9	152	71.4	1	0.5
剣道の指導力	3	1.4	4	1.9	33	15.5	37	17.4	134	62.9	2	0.9



図表 38 には、先輩として後輩に注意すべきことが示されている。「そう思う」「まあそう思う」の合計値が最も高かったのは「気配りががない」の項目で、それらの合計は 202 人(94.6%)となった。次いで「剣道部の禁止事項を破ること」「大学の規制を破ること」の 2 項目が 199 人(93.4%)であった。

図表 38. 先輩として後輩に注意すべきこと

項目	そう思わない		あまりそう思わない		どちらともいえない		まあそう思う		そう思う		無回答	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
剣道部の禁止事項を破ること	2	0.9	2	0.9	9	4.2	17	8	182	85.4	1	0.5
大学の規制を破ること	1	0.5	0	0	11	5.2	16	7.5	183	85.9	0	0
よく練習を休む	0	0	5	2.3	14	6.6	33	15.5	160	75.1	1	0.5
気配りががない	0	0	0	0	10	4.7	46	21.6	156	73.2	1	0.5
練習に集中していない	0	0	2	0.9	17	8	34	16	159	74.6	1	0.5
気を抜く	2	0.9	3	1.4	15	7	41	19.2	151	70.9	1	0.5
言葉遣いが悪い	1	0.5	2	0.9	16	7.5	33	15.5	160	75.1	1	0.5
基本を直していない	4	1.9	4	1.9	42	19.7	58	27.2	104	48.8	1	0.5
試合内容がよくない	7	3.3	11	5.2	65	30.5	60	28.2	69	32.4	1	0.5
試合に負けた	36	16.9	21	9.9	89	41.8	29	13.6	37	17.4	1	0.5
稽古内容がよくない	3	1.4	7	3.3	43	20.2	62	29.1	96	45.1	2	0.9
仕事ができている	0	0	3	1.4	22	10.3	57	26.8	129	60.6	2	0.9
頑張っていない	0	0	9	4.2	32	15	45	21.1	125	58.7	2	0.9
先生に掛っていない	11	5.2	12	5.6	69	32.4	42	19.7	77	36.2	2	0.9
先輩に掛っていない	8	3.8	6	2.8	57	26.8	49	23	91	42.7	2	0.9
敬語を使っていない	2	0.9	4	1.9	21	9.9	39	18.3	145	68.1	2	0.9
練習に遅れること	2	0.9	6	2.8	25	11.7	38	17.8	140	65.7	2	0.9
やる気がない	2	0.9	2	0.9	31	14.6	34	16	142	66.7	2	0.9
着装が悪い	6	2.8	8	3.8	44	20.7	54	25.4	100	46.9	1	0.5
髪の毛が整っていない	16	7.5	13	6.1	59	27.7	49	23	75	35.2	1	0.5
私生活が悪い	5	2.3	7	3.3	50	23.5	44	20.7	103	48.4	4	1.9

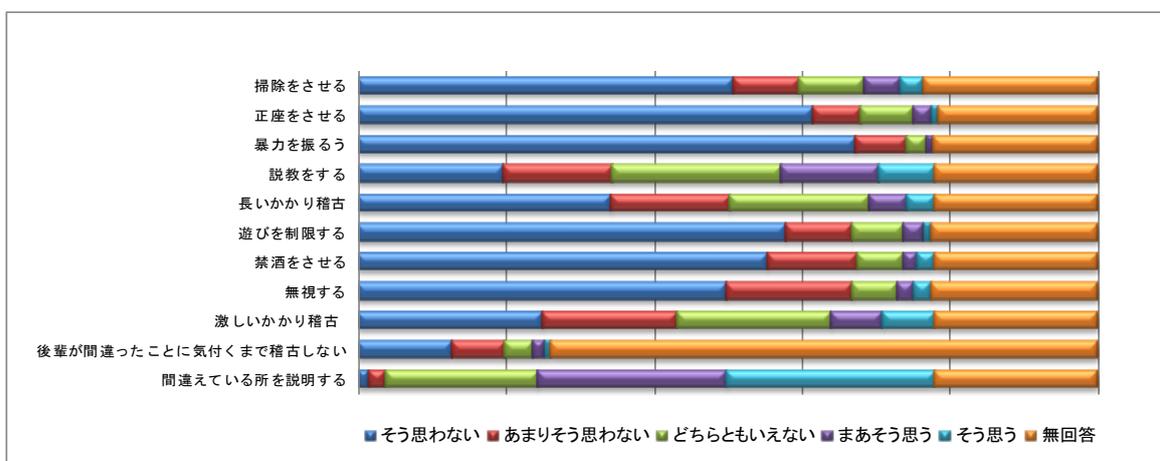


剣道部の活動全般で問題があった場合はどのように指導するか

図表 39 には、剣道部の活動全般で問題があった場合はどのように指導するかということが示されている。「いつもする」「よくする」の回答が最も多かったのが「間違えている所を説明する」で、それらの合計は 114 人で全体の 50%を超えた。次いで「説教をする」が 44 人(20.6%)で 2 番目に多い結果となった。

図表 39. 剣道部の活動全般で問題があった場合はどのように指導するか (1 年生以外)

項目	全然しない		あまりしない		時々する		よくする		いつもする		無回答	
	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%	実数	%
間違えている所を説明する	3	1.4	5	2.3	44	20.7	54	25.4	60	28.2	47	22.1
後輩が間違ったことに気付くまで稽古しない	80	37.6	46	21.6	25	11.7	10	4.7	5	2.3	47	22.1
激しいかり稽古	53	24.9	39	18.3	44	20.7	15	7	15	7	47	22.1
無視する	106	49.8	36	16.9	13	6.1	5	2.3	5	2.3	48	22.5
禁酒をさせる	118	55.4	26	12.2	13	6.1	4	1.9	5	2.3	47	22.1
遊びを制限する	123	57.7	19	8.9	15	7	6	2.8	2	0.9	48	22.5
長いかり稽古	73	34.3	34	16	40	18.8	11	5.2	8	3.8	47	22.1
説教をする	42	19.7	31	14.6	49	23	28	13.1	16	7.5	47	22.1
暴力を振るう	143	67.1	15	7	6	2.8	2	0.9	0	0	47	22.1
正座をさせる	131	61.5	14	6.6	15	7	5	2.5	2	0.9	46	21.6
掃除をさせる	108	50.7	19	8.9	19	8.9	10	4.7	7	3.3	50	23.5



まとめ

回答者の多くは小学校時代から剣道を始めており、中、高、そして現在に至るまで剣道を継続している。また意外にも、剣道やそれ以外の場面での自分の振る舞いを、「女性らしい」ではなく「男らしい」と感じている回答の方が多かった。このことから「女性らしさ」を意識している回答者が少ないことが明らかになった。そして指導面においては礼儀やマナーを重視する回答が多く、中でも特に周りへの「気遣い・心遣い」に関する内容に回答が集中する傾向が見られた。