พชรพรรณ กุลปวโรภาส
มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

การเปลี่ยนแปลงไปของภาพ “ความเป็นหญิง” ของแม่บ้านญี่ปุ่นสมัยใหม่ ในด้านความเป็นแม่ ความเป็นแม่บ้าน และความเป็นหญิงทำงาน: กรณีศึกษาหญิงญี่ปุ่นที่แต่งงานกับชายชาวไทยในเชียงใหม่

บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้มีขึ้นเพื่อศึกษาว่า (1) เมื่อหญิงญี่ปุ่นอาศัยอยู่ในบริบทข้ามชาติ จะเกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงของการรับรู้บทบาทของผู้หญิงในฐานะแม่ แม่บ้าน และผู้หญิงทำงานหรือไม่ (2) หญิงญี่ปุ่นในบริบทข้ามชาติให้ความสำคัญกับบทบาททั้งสามของผู้หญิงอย่างไร และ (3) ศึกษาว่าการเปลี่ยนแปลงการรับรู้บทบาทของผู้หญิงเกิดขึ้นภายใต้เงื่อนไขใด เงื่อนไขดังกล่าวนี้ หากอ้างอิงตามทฤษฎีปฏิบัติการทางเพศสภาพแล้ว คือจุดที่เกิดความขัดแย้งระหว่างบรรทัดฐานที่หล่อหลอมตัวตนของหญิงญี่ปุ่นขึ้นมา และความขัดแย้งดังกล่าวจะนำไปสู่การตีความบทบาทเรื่องเพศใหม่ ผลการศึกษาพบว่าการเปลี่ยนแปลงการรับรู้บทบาทของผู้หญิง เกิดขึ้นภายใต้เงื่อนไขหลายอย่างที่แตกต่างกัน และยังพบว่าเมื่อบรรทัดฐานการกระทำของสังคมไทยและสังคมญี่ปุ่นกระทบกันเท่านั้น ที่หญิงญี่ปุ่นจะเกิดความรู้สึกผิดในปฏิบัติการแสดงออกของตนเอง บ่งบอกว่าหญิงญี่ปุ่นมีตัวตนชั่วคราวที่เกิดขึ้นมาจากบรรทัดฐานการกระทำของญี่ปุ่น

คำ **สำคัญ**

ผู้หญิงญี่ปุ่น, ความเป็นหญิง, ปฏิบัติการแสดงนอกกรอบ

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Changes in Modern Japanese Women's Perceptions of Three Aspects of Femininity—Mother, Housewife, and Working Woman: A Case Study of Japanese Women who Married Thai Husbands and Settled in Chiang Mai

Abstract

The aims of this study were: (1) to study the perception of Japanese women in the transnational context regarding their roles as a housewife, a mother, and a working woman, and to see whether their perceptions had changed according to feminine performativity; (2) to observe how women have prioritized their roles as a housewife, a mother, and a working women; and (3) to ascertain the conditions that have an effect on the change of women's perceptions of females' roles regarding subversive performance. This, following the gender performativity concept, is the place where resistance has taken place at the boundaries of corporeal norms and which has led to the process of resignification and subversive performance. The results showed that the informants' perceptions had changed according to different conditions, and they also showed that when corporeal norms and Thai norms collide, guilt feelings emerged from the temporary gender identity built by corporeal inscription.

Key words

Japanese women, femininity, subversive performance

1. Background of the Study

The concept of gender as socially constructed suggests that ideal gender roles are created by a society's traditions, cultures, and norms. Meads (1934) explains that a person's identity could be developed by the reactions of surrounding people which reflected their actions; Goffman (1959) compares people's lives with a theatrical play, with surrounding people as the audience; Berger and Luckmann (1966) suggest that people perceive the concept of gender through social expectations, such as those of family. Chodorow (1978) explains that these constructed genders were reproduced in society, first within the family, where babies receive psychological satisfaction from their mothers. Fox & Worhol (1999) gave similar explanations for "a reproduction of housewife" which worked by girls' imitation of their mothers' actions. Foucault (1982) explains that one's identity is shaped by power from society, for example the state. Butler (1990) suggests that gender identities are produced through the repetition of corporeal norms, which destabilized these norms so they would be temporalized and might lead to a resignification process which confirmed a person's temporary identity.

2. Construction of Femininity in Japan

Gender roles have been practiced intensely since Confucian ideology arrived in Japan and regulated women to stay under patriarchal system (Ko, Haboush, & Piggott, 2003). Women's situation worsened in the shogunate era and reached its worst in the Meiji period, when a law called **ie system** was passed. Women's legal and property rights were restricted, while men gained authority both domestically and publicly (Fukutake, 1995). The effects of the Meiji civil code were present even in the interwar and post-war periods (Sato, 2003). Around the 1950s, during Japan's economic ascending phase, workers' wages increased, and the husband's salary alone could cover household expenses; thus, the wife usually stayed at home (Tachibanaki, 2010). Working women were seen as lower-class people who could not afford to be a full-time housewife (Lebra, 1984; cited in Dales, 2009). This social structure, under which women were expected to stay at home to cover domestic tasks, persisted until recently. Even women who held part-time jobs would never loosen their responsibilities on housework (Tipton, 2002).

3. Social Expectations towards Women

3.1 Japanese Women

The strong regulations mentioned earlier were canceled in accordance with social change, but some of the expectations still remained. Contemporary women were still humbler than men. They have many more social rules to follow, which could apparently be seen in their speaking (Raynolds, 1990; Smith, 1992; Ide, 1989; Mishina, 1994; Ide, 1997; Siegal and Okamoto, 2003; Heinrich, 2015);

which shows that women were being watched more than men (Mishina, 1994). Martin (2007) points out that there are social expectations on women's performances, too. Sugihara and Katsurada (2000) describe the traits considered desirable in Japanese women as conformity, righteousness, perseverance, obedience, and kindness. There are many more distinct sets which determined desirable personality traits for men and women (Sugihara & Katsurada, 2002). One of the expectations that pressures women the most is cooking. Allison (1991) points out that "both mother and child were being watched, judged, and constructed by *obento* (lunch boxes), for obento can socialize children and mothers into the gendered roles and subjectivities they are expected to." (p. 198). Hence, school is another place where children learn gender roles through socialization. Katsurada and Sugiura (2002) found that different kinds of schooling had different effects on the development of non-traditionally gendered personality aspects; female gender-segregated schools changed girls' attitudes towards their own gender roles, but not male gender roles. Education also affected decisions regarding marriage, for women with higher education tended to delay their marriage; but they would likely have rapid marriages later because they did not want to pass the *proper age to get married*. Only 6%–8% of Japanese women have never been married by age of 31 (Shirahase, 2000; Raymo, 2003), which indicated that Japanese women still value "being a wife." However, women with higher education might be denied, because for men, overeducation threatened women's roles as "good wife and wise mother" (Hamana, 1993; Smith, 1987, cited in Ono & Piper, 2004). Yamamoto (2015) found that most daughters were impeded from entering higher education because advanced education is not considered necessary after their marriage. Raymo (2003) suggests that women with prestigious occupations still quit their job upon giving birth (Wei-Hsin, 2005). Holloway, Suzuki, Yamamoto, and Mindnich (2006) found that many women still think of employment as a threat to childrearing. Because of these factors, home became the place that belonged to the mother and the child. (Kawanishi, 2009).

The Japanese government tried to encourage women to go out to work more; however, women's choices of working were still limited according to the "1.03-million-yen ceiling," which referred to tax exemptions if their income did not exceed 1,030,000 JPY. Under this ceiling, women could access social security and healthcare services through their husbands' coverage; their husbands could also claim tax refunds for the low-income spouse, and the husband's employer also provided allowance for a low-income spouse (Abe, 2009). A housewife would receive support from the husband's company until the family's annual income reached 1,0600,000 JPY (Ono, 2018). There was an effort to use the *womenomics* model to recharge Japan's economy; Japanese

prime minister Shinzo Abe claimed that this would encourage women to work. The concept of womenomics, coined by Kathy Matsui in 1999, emphasized that women's labor was useful in raising Japan's demographic profile, instead of raising the birthrate or permitting more immigrants, both of which were difficult to practice (Matsui, 2007). Matsui pointed out the factors that prevented women from participating in the labor market. While Abe raised the motto that womenomics was *to make all woman shine*, Macnaughtan (2015) argued that it was a condescending statement that suggests that women have not been "shining" in Japan (p. 2). Macnaughtan (2015) explained that women had been essential in the paid-work market since the early 1960s, but only for a few years before marriage, and only in non-regular jobs, which led to the gendered employment of today. Under womenomics, women might be asked again to work to fill a gap left by missing migrant laborers, for it was considered impossible for women to work like men because they "cannot slot into the current workplace environment modelled upon core male commitment and male breadwinner needs, particularly when their responsibilities as mothers remain intact" (p.12). Schieder (2014) explains that when this policy encouraged women's work to increase economic growth, it meant that Japan's economy has long depended on women's work as cheap and temporary labor (p. 57). This policy also ignored another aspect of female labor that has long contributed to the national economy in Japan (p.57): caring for children and elderly people and looking after the house. Women had been intensely responsible for this unpaid labor, and womenomics would only double-burden them with paid-work expectation. In other words, if the factors of kin labor were not being supported, womenomics would not solve gender inequality in the labor market but pressure women with more expectations.

However, it was true that women started to step out of their gender roles and showed their will to work more for their own self-actualization (Mirza, 2016), and they looked for partners who could help them by sharing responsibilities for chores. Lack of affordable daycare service was another problem. Monthly cost for nurseries was as high as 50,000 JPY, which was not subsidized by the government; this prevented many women from getting work. Plus, women still faced inequality in the workplace (Aronsson, 2014, p. 1). Thus, if they could not find a partner who intended to share household chores and childrearing, they tended to choose to resign from work and become a full-time housewife.

To find a solution, the term *ikumen* (referring to a husband who helps take care of the baby) has been presented to show a willingness to change perceptions of male gender roles. Many of male population disagreed with the ideal of the *Showa-type father*, and the persisting view that "men =

work, women = housework and childcare" is generally considered as a "curse" or "conviction" embedded in older generations (Goldstein-Gidoni, 2019, p.7). However, although they generally believe that the father should also take part in childcaring and chores, lots of them tended see it as not possible in practice level. This is partly because of the pressure from their workplace, since they still were expected to donate time and effort to their jobs. (Mizukoshi, Kohlbacher, & Schimkowsky, 2015; Goldstein-Gidoni, 2019). Hence, it is still difficult to change gender norms if the whole system is not reformed and corporeal norms remain the same.

3.2 Thai Women

Chiang Mai was basically a matriarchal society based on a matrilineal line system, which brought authority to women (Muecke, 1984). Usually, daughters were seen as better than sons in many aspects (Liamputtong, Yimyam, Parisunyakul, Baosoung, & Sansiriphum, 2002). Although women in Thailand were paid less overall, and it was difficult to reach a high position in an organization, they were not banned from any careers. Most of Thai women worked on their occupations, which indicated that they were not expected to resign from work after marriage (National Statistical Office Thailand & Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development, 2008). Women going out to work was an ordinary, even expected, practice. Nevertheless, mothers' roles were still prioritized. Liamputtong, Yimyam, Parisunyakul, Baosoung, and Sansiriphum (2002) found that women in Chiang Mai agreed that a mother should sacrifice herself for her children. Women also had many traditions and regulations to follow when pregnant (Liamputtong, Yimyam, Parisunyakul, Baosoung, & Sansiriphun, 2005). A mother should support her children, and a *good* mother should look after the whole extended family (Liamputtong, Yimyam, Parisunyakul, Baosoung, & Sansiriphun, 2004). However, in Thai society, it was believed that motherhood should bring joy and happiness; thus, they would loosen the burden of domestic chores to focus on mother's tasks.

It can be seen that Thai and Japanese society have had different expectations of women. In Thailand, women were expected to work and earn income to support family; expectations towards women's roles tended not to focus specifically on housekeeping or cooking but on child care in general. Hence, it was likely no barrier for women to go to work.

4. Research Objectives

The aims of this study were: (1) to study whether the perception of Japanese women in a transnational context towards women's roles had changed; (2) to observe how women prioritized their roles, and (3) to identify the conditions which induced the change in their perceptions.

The study area was in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

5. Research Methodology

5.1 Unit of Analysis: The Three Women

The informants of this study were modern Japanese women living in Thailand. The term *modern* refers to Appadurai's (1996) concept of global modern, which defines modernity as when people, technology, economic factors, media, and the idea of a society flows to different places. Tourism, immigrants, and refugees could be seen as the flow of people, and more and more Japanese have migrated overseas to find alternative lifestyles different from the traditional masculine and feminine gender roles (Sugihara & Katsurada, 2002). Many of them settled in Thailand, especially in Bangkok, Chon Buri and Chiang Mai. Unlike Japanese women in Bangkok and Chon Buri, who mostly migrated to Thailand because their husband was transferred to a company branch in Thailand, most Japanese women in Chiang Mai chose to settle in this town. Some of the informants said that it was because Chiang Mai is a town that combines urbanization and nature, which reminded them of rural towns in Japan. This environment, where they did not have to be under the eye of Japanese society (including a Japanese husband), was assumed to allow the informants to easily reinterpret their norms. Japanese women in their forties were chosen because they grew up in Japan at a time when traditional norms were practiced more intensely than in the current climate. The informants were chosen by snowball-sampling method and were divided into categories based on employment: three academic employees, two self-employed, and two full-time housewives. Information about informants is now provided.

5.2 Research Method

Informants of this study were chosen using a snowball sampling method. The methodologies used were (1) participatory and non-participatory observation, (2) general and in-depth interviews and (3) life history. During the conversations, questions related to their perceptions towards feminine roles were added. Questions about their life history were also asked in order to observe differences between their perceptions in the past and recently. Data collected was grouped according to the three feminine roles.

6. Findings

6.1 Roles of mother

The activity that all informants agreed was the most important for mother was cooking—not any cooking in general but cooking for children. However, this did not mean the informants liked to cook. "Cooking is not just cooking, but also requires a lot effort to gather cheap but good ingredients, which sometimes brings you to the neighbor town, and you must not use public transportation for it will cost more," said Natsu, unpleasantly. "It's exhausting to have to cook every day; even for my son, I only cook for him from time to time." Natsu confirmed that

Table 1 Informants' information

	Age	Family background	Impression on gender roles	Education	Present family	Career
Natsu	49	Mother: housewife Father: working Siblings: 1 elder brother, 1 younger sister	Felt secure when mother was present in the house, does not like cooking	Bachelor's degree	1 son; Husband was from a Chinese family	University lecturer
Ami	47	Mother: housewife Father: owner of a restaurant Siblings: 1 elder sister, 1 elder brother	Admired mother's dedication to cooking for the family	vocation training school	1 son, 1 daughter; Husband was a tribe person	University lecturer
Rikako	45	Mother: housewife Father: working Siblings: 3 elder brothers	Everyone in the house was under the father's authority	Bachelor's degree	1 son; Husband was a tribe person	Shop owner
Kyoko	47	Mother: housewife Father: working Siblings: 1 younger brother, 1 younger sister	Believes that it is natural that housework is for women	Bachelor's degree	1 son; Husband was Chiang Mai 's local resident	Shop owner
Nanaka	40	Mother: housewife Father: owned a business She was the only child	Was educated by her mother, who fully believed in the picture of "a good woman"	Bachelor's degree	1 daughter; Husband was Chiang Mai's local resident	Housewife
Minako	41	Mother: housewife Father: working Siblings: 2 younger sisters	Disagrees with unequal gender practices in family	Bachelor's degree	1 son, 2 daughters; Husband was Chiang Mai's local resident	Housewife

her work schedule generally prevented her from cooking: "Every morning when my friends in Japan, even though they had to go to work, made breakfast and obentos for their family, they always uploaded the photos onto the SNS. When I saw the photos, I always thought about how lucky I am... that I'm not in their shoes. I can never do that, and I would be seen as a flawed mother if I were in Japan. It's wonderful that Thai people don't consider it a necessary task for mothers. I know I may be bad as a mother because I'm not able to cook for my kid". Interestingly, Natsu's actual practice was that she regularly and dedicatedly cooked for her child. Ami, who appreciated her mother for filling the table with food especially cooked for family members and made separately from restaurant menus, interestingly did not cook often. She bought premade food from the market or brought her kids out to eat from food stalls. If the school arranged an outdoor activity and requested the students to bring their own lunch, Ami would just buy some grilled pork and sticky rice for the kids. "It functions the same," Ami said, "because in Japan, the wives cook to lower living expenses. Premade food here is cheap, and I save some costs for my family, so it's practically the same thing." Rikako, who always mentioned *mother's love through food*, never cooked for her baby. Actually, she rarely performed any of a mother's traditional tasks. As Rikako owned a shop, she hired a few staff and let them take care of her baby. Anyway, Rikako believed that she took perfect care of her baby. It seemed that she counted her orders to the staff as her action.

Regarding activities other than cooking, Natsu's baby seemed to have colic, and she was exhausted from not having any rest while raising it by herself. When she went back to work, Natsu considered leaving her baby at a day-care. Although she had to deal with unbelievable guilt, Natsu found being apart from her baby for a while helped relieve her tense emotions; and she was able to feel affection toward her baby again. Thus, Natsu confirmed that *It is a must that mother and baby do not stay together all the time*. In front of customers and friends, Rikako cuddled her baby, smiled at it and talked to it with warm expressions. On the contrary, she rarely paid attention to it when customers or friends were not around. Nanaka sometimes spent her daytime at the child's school. She confirmed that it was a mother's duty to check on the child's safety at school. Minako, a mother of three, switched between a full-time housewife and a working woman. She took leave from work after giving birth to each baby and went back to work when the baby had grown enough. Minako chose not to hire a babysitter or to send the children to a daycare, for she felt the need to follow traditional practices.

Interestingly, each of the women, including Rikako, asked the researcher whether their practices were acceptable. They were not very

serious when asking these questions; they somehow had confidence in their practices, but wanted to make sure that the other person did not misunderstand them.

6.2 Roles of a housewife

Natsu hated the idea that there was a complete set of proper actions required for being considered a good woman. She argued that one could still be a good woman even if they could not follow these actions. However, Natsu actually did everything a *good housewife* should do. Rikako, similar to her approach to childcare, did not do any housework. Rikako had her staff take care of all shop areas except a room her family lived in. She did not clean the room by herself, either. She usually left the room cluttered, or sometimes ordered her husband to clean it. Every day, Kyoko completed her morning chores early, so she could prepare ingredients before the shop opened. She worked at the shop until 5 p.m., then started her evening chores. She often felt exhausted; however, she did not want to hire a housemaid, for she felt that it was her responsibility, so she must do it by herself. Nanaka was displeased about her husband not helping at all. "He's unbelievable, he cannot even cook for himself! At least he should be able to feed himself!" she expressed angrily. Minako's husband often was absent because of work, so she did housework alone. She felt exhausted all the time. "I know my husband's tired, too, but I do want him to help. Housework is tough, but many hands could make light work," she said

All of the informants (excluding Rikako) thought of housework as unlike mother's tasks, which were natural things for women to do; housework, on the other hand, was "a duty" but a direct responsibility of a wife. They felt miserable bearing with it, yet they ended up doing it as well as they could.

6.3 Roles of working women

Natsu got sad and lonely when her mother was not at home and declared that she would not stop working even if her family could afford for her to be a full-time housewife. She stated that work fulfilled her life and helped to change her emotions. Like Natsu, Ami confirmed that she would like to keep working even if her husband were earning enough. Rikako was comfortable with having shop staff take care of her baby and her house, but never allowed anyone to perform her business responsibilities. Nanaka's mother believed that a girl would quit her job anyway when she got married, so it was not a big deal that Nanaka could not achieve her dream career. However, Nanaka always showed her will to work; even as a full-time housewife, she still was searching for a job that could be done from home. Minako, staying at home to take care of her baby, showed her desire to work in the same way that Nanaka did.

7. Analysis

Natsu and Ami, who interacted with Thai people the most, learned that practices that disagree with their corporeal norms were acceptable in Thailand. Their perceptions had changed, but they showed different levels of acceptance. Natsu experienced greater guilt for using daycare than Ami did for not cooking. A possible explanation for this incident is roles prioritization. There are levels of importance between roles; nurturing one's own baby might have a higher importance level than cooking for one's children. Rikako and Kyoko did not get close to their customers the way Natsu and Ami did with their colleagues; hence, customers did not have much influence on them. Rikako understood that her duties as a mother and a wife were done properly through her staff; nevertheless, Rikako always showed affection towards her baby when she was with people who might evaluate her. This showed that, although she had confidence in her actions, she knew that her actions were not *proper*, and that she still cared about being seen as a good mother. Kyoko might be influenced by Thai culture, where actions which earn income (both directly and indirectly) are considered "working," when she confirmed that she was a working woman. However, Kyoko still followed patterns similar to those of full-time housewives in Japan: a wife who devotes her life to taking care of the house and supporting her husband in his business. Nanaka and Minako showed their passion for working. However, they did not actually try to find a job. Nanaka and Minako wholeheartedly devoted all their time to taking care of the house and to their children.

7.1 Norms which are subversively used

The findings indicate that some norms were subversively used. These norms were indicated by the changes of practices and the women's guilty feelings and could be seen in two forms: 1) deriving the meaning of a practice, and 2) assigning a new practice to the role's category. The first form is shown by Rikako and Kyoko. Rikako derived the whole set of mothers' and housewives' roles. She had the tasks performed according to the corporeal norm, but did not perform them herself. She knew that she should, as shown by her actions when she was with her friends or customers, but in her opinion, having her subordinates do it completed her tasks well. Kyoko, who confirmed that she was a working woman, derived both the meanings of housewife and working woman. The role of housewife, which covered doing domestic chores and supporting one's husband in his business, was expanded to only being responsible for housework. The role of working woman, likewise, was separated from working a clerical job and earning a salary to doing any work that earns income. The second form was seen in Nanaka, who understood that a mother must be concerned with her child's education, added "staying at school to observe the child" to a mother's roles. She explained that it was necessary,

because observing the child's safety, as well as the child's activities with friends, were parts of taking care of the child's education. Natsu and Ami demonstrated the combination of the first and second forms. Ami described "buying food from the market" as a practice for a housewife and mother, and derived the meaning of cooking to "an activity for decreasing family expense." This new meaning was derived without consideration for factors related to cooking and budget management. Ami knew that a woman in Japan could never buy cheap food from supermarket for her family. In fact, Japanese women were expected to cook, so they were urged to find cheap ingredients to save the family budget. Natsu derived the meaning of mothers' tasks into "doing things that were good for children" and then added "being parted from one's own baby for a few hours a day" to the tasks. She confirmed that it was good for the baby because it brought back mother's admiration.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Discussion

Although the women's perception of female roles had slightly changed, role prioritization remained the same; they prioritized a mother's roles as the most important roles for women. When norms repetition was derived, different levels of acceptance were also seen; those who derived the roles of mother experienced far greater feelings of guilt than those who derived the roles of housewife, for example. Those with high acceptance of their actions seemed to have fewer guilty feelings. This indicated that perception change was easier to manage in roles with less importance. Subversive performances were found at different intensity and were more apparent in informants who were exposed more to Thai culture and more integrated into Thai society. The more they experienced Thai norms, the more they loosened their corporeal norms and adjusted themselves to the new definitions of gender roles. However, when informants were reminded of the *proper actions of women*, they immediately disagreed with the derived version of norms, confirmed that such practices were not acceptable, and even felt guilt for doing so. This indicated that the identities which created guilty feelings were built according to their corporeal norms; and since they did not feel guilty all the time, it can be assumed that these identities were temporary. This agrees with Foucault's idea that a person's identity is shaped by the state (corporeal norms), and with Butler's concept of gender performativity, which explains that temporary genders were built by the repetition of norms, and temporary gender identities can be induced by resistance, which emerged when the norms were challenged; Thai norms, in this case.

8.2 Conclusion

The findings show that transnational context affected women's perception of femi-

nine roles. Conditions that induced the change of perception included the amount of time they spent with Thai people and the level of intimacy in their relationship. If informants could confirm that practices their Thai friends performed, although different from the norms they were regulated by, were acceptable, they tended to loosen their corporeal norms and demonstrate the derived version of gender norms. However, their perceptions did not completely change, and corporeal norms were not eliminated from them; thus, informants were stuck in between the two norms. This condition produced shame and resulted in guilty feelings towards actions that did not follow corporeal inscriptions. Nonetheless, guilty feelings did not present all the time, which confirmed that their identities were temporary. As they have corporeal norms inscribed firmly enough to create this temporary gender identity, it is not likely these women would flee from Japanese gender identities entirely. They might have some norms loosened, but not much enough to completely change their perceptions of female roles.

It was found that not every conflict led to the feeling of guilt, which means that there might be conflict without ensuing resignification. In that case, the resistance might not be strong enough to affect their gender identity, or their gender resignification was slight enough that it could not be observed. Subversive performance might not be seen in every Japanese woman in a transnational context, since there must be variations of femininity among them. Narupon (2013) suggested that there are gender multiplicities in any society, since "gender" is the space for negotiating the conditions of the society's gender; hence, femininity might also have its multiplicities.

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