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**International Mobility for Early Career Academics
Does it Help or Hinder Career Formation in Japanese Studies?**

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International Mobility for Early Career Academics
Does it Help or Hinder Career Formation in Japanese Studies?

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Abstract

Career formation in professional occupations is heavily influenced by national institutional contexts. In common with many professions, however, in academia international exposure is attractive to employers and valued by employees. This national-international dualism presents early career academics (ECAs) with potentially contradictory challenges in navigating their career development. Drawing on multidisciplinary approaches we researched international mobility in academic career formation. We designed a rigorous five-stage mixed methods quantitative and qualitative methodology to question whether a lengthy early career sojourn in Japan assists British-trained scholars in pursuing an academic career in Japanese studies in the UK. Further, we ask whether and why a lengthy sojourn might hinder academic career formation. Although we researched experiences in Japanese studies, our research is relevant to any discipline where significant periods are spent overseas. We found that early career international mobility caused scholars to experience significant challenges of distancing and socialisation in navigating their imagined career paths, including the potential to become marooned in Japan. Fortunately, our informants are adaptive in the best use of their circumstances and decisions. We conclude with a brief discussion of theoretical implications and provide advice for ECAs in managing international career transitions.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

Career formation in professional occupations is heavily influenced by national institutional contexts. Although successful boundary crossing and norm transgression occurs, and can drive institutional and personal change, career development¹ depends greatly on individuals complying with the laws, regulations, codes, rules, norms and customs of their institutions and countries of employment (Donnelly, 2009; Klarsfield & Mabey, 2004; Matanle, 2003). Nevertheless, in a globalising society, where professional work traverses multiple geographical domains, international exposure is attractive to employers because it brings knowledge and experience of foreign contexts, and valued by employees because of the assumed advantages that international experiences, attributes, and opportunities will garner.

In addition to the advantages of international mobility, however, professionals navigating conformity to national norms and the acquisition of international experience may encounter unexpected challenges (Cairns *et al.*: 2017). This is especially so between divergent contexts or where adherence to particularism is valued by employers. Despite economic and technological globalisation, supranational re-regulation, institutional innovation, and organisational re-scaling, all of which may contribute to organisational homogenisation, education and employment systems, and professional career pathways can demonstrate considerable institutional resilience and, therefore, national distinctiveness (Conrad & Meyer-Ohle, 2017; Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2011; Matanle & Matsui, 2011).

Academia is one occupation where international attributes are valued (Bauder, Hannan & Lujan, 2016). Some disciplines may require near-native foreign language ability and cultural agility, whose acquisition necessitates lengthy overseas sojourns. Mid- and late-career international fellowships are also valued for collaborative research and network building. Moreover, the pursuit of advanced knowledge means that ambitious scholars will seek employment at institutions which provide supportive research environments. Institutions therefore have financial and reputational incentives to develop a global recruitment strategy. Universities also see themselves as providing students and staff with opportunities to acquire transferable skills and credentials in the service of mobility in a transnational knowledge economy (Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2011: 10). Indeed, ‘institutional support for study (e.g. scholarships), employment (e.g. salaries) and research (e.g. facilities and funding) play an important part in attracting highly qualified academics’ (Bennion & Locke, 2010: S29). Hence, moving between differing institutional contexts is common, and scholars are encouraged – expected – to be internationally mobile (Bauder, Hannan & Lujan, 2016; Cairns *et al.*, 2017). Despite these

¹ Here ‘career development’ refers to progression within organisations and occupations, and ‘career formation’ includes the acquisition of knowledge, skills, competencies, accomplishments, and the attainment of work and life goals.

incentives towards international mobility in academia, ‘The early career paths and employment conditions of academics are primarily influenced by the history, resourcing and governance of individual national higher education systems’ (Bennion & Locke, 2010: S27). Consequently, this national-international dualism presents academics with potentially contradictory challenges in navigating their career development.

Drawing on multidisciplinary approaches from social geography, political economy, and psychology, we researched international mobility in academic career formation. We designed a rigorous five-stage mixed-methods quantitative and qualitative methodology to question whether a lengthy early career sojourn in Japan assists British-trained scholars in pursuing an academic career in Japanese studies in the UK. We ask whether the experience of differing national contexts – the UK and Japan – assists early career academics (ECAs)² in pursuit of their careers. We conduct the research because we contend that an evidence-based approach will better inform individual scholars in managing and developing their academic career pathways, and academic institutions in their staff and student recruitment, development, and mentoring. Although we researched the experiences and perspectives of academics in Japanese studies, our research is relevant to scholars in any discipline where significant periods are spent overseas. Indeed, our research is potentially more significant for disciplines beyond Area Studies because individuals and institutions may be less sensitive to the effects of prolonged international exposure on career formation.

Not all ECAs have access to active supervision or mentoring. Even when they do, though well-intentioned, career advice may be anecdotal or out-of-date. Moreover, despite academics being trained researchers, university decision-making may be performed within an under-researched informational environment. Importantly, wherever systematic information is scarce, leaders may rely on experience and intuition as internal guides, inviting cognitive and normative biases; which are magnified when decisions involve international dimensions, such as personnel hiring and progression within a globalising institution. Hence, we ask:

- Does a lengthy early career sojourn in Japan assist scholars in pursuing an academic career in Japanese studies in the UK?
- Conversely, why might a career sojourn in Japan be a hindrance to pursuing an academic career?
- And, what can ECAs do to overcome challenges to make an overseas sojourn helpful?

² The term ECR, as an acronym for Early Career Researcher, is most commonly used in the UK to describe academics at the start of their career. The term itself is contested and mutable, according to differing institutional definitions, whether the period of the PhD is included, as well as individuals’ experiences and circumstances (Bosanquet *et al*, 2017). We use the acronym ECA, in recognition that the job of an academic in the UK includes core tasks other than research, such as teaching, administrative and citizenship contributions.

Below we outline the research problem and explain the methodologies undertaken. We then present and analyse our results. We conclude by discussing the research's theoretical implications and provide practical advice for ECAs in managing international career transitions.

Globalisation versus Particularism in Higher Education

Academia is a globalising profession, with increasing cooperation in research and teaching, and transnational institutional alignment (Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2011).³ Moreover, globalisation offers universities increased revenue from cross-border educational and research flows and many are keen to promote internationalisation (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Indeed, it has been said that 'The best universities in the world live or die by their ability to attract the brightest talent from all across the world – students, academics, researchers, and managers' (Baty in: Gray, 2017);⁴ and universities compete for reputational advantage by signalling institutional quality via positioning in standardised global rankings, with international criteria included as leading indicators.⁵

Partly due to their performance in international rankings, leading Anglophone universities – the USA and UK especially – exert influence as prime destinations for academics and students (Bauder, Hannan & Lujan, 2016; Paasi, 2005). Hence, where institutional homogenisation takes place it might be understood as convergence and stratification around the highest ranked Anglo-American universities. Conversely, though there is evidence of convergence and stratification, pattern variation continues. Marginson (2016) argues for a pluralisation of convergences, which chimes with the broader Variety of Capitalisms literature in political economy (See: Coates *ed.* 2005; Dore, 2000; Hall & Soskice, 2001).

Hence, despite international convergence pressures, universities display notable local variations, which may restrict international mobility for academic career formation (Bennion & Locke, 2010; Cavalli & Moscati, 2010; Musselin, 2004; Paasi, 2005). Many of these are customary, cultural, or tacit, and hard for international participants to discern and perform for career advancement. Even as academics might assume they compete under internationally understood norms, universities will recruit those who will produce excellence in teaching, research, and academic management within their own simultaneously globalising and particularist institutional contexts (Marginson, 2016; Paasi,

³ Examples include the Bologna Process for the creation of a 'European higher education research area' (https://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/higher-education/bologna-process-and-european-higher-education-area_en); or the RecoLATIN project for 'increasing the quality of vertical and horizontal mobility within the Latin American and European higher education systems' (<http://www.recolatin.eu/>).

⁴ Former Times Higher Education World University Rankings editor, Phil Baty is THE's Chief Knowledge Officer, and considered one of the world's 15 'most influential in education'. See: <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/content/phil-baty>.

⁵ See the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (<https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings>) and the QS World University Rankings (<https://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2019>).

2005). Importantly, where internationalisation is newly prioritised, and international mobility increasing, university leaders schooled within a particularist institutional culture may be under-prepared for managing diversity (St. Germain, 2017). In order to maintain their international mobility, therefore, expatriate members may wish to work within an institutional approach that ‘serves’ rather than assumes individual employees’ needs (Eken *et al.*, 2014; St. Germain, 2017) or, as we argue, be aware of the challenges of working within a system that encourages adherence to particularist norms.

Career entry into UK academia is usually via the acquisition of a PhD, with a period of postdoctoral research and/or probationary employment before gaining a permanent position (McAlpine, 2012). Sometimes employment is secured before completing the PhD, though completion may be a requirement of probation. Recently, the period between acquiring a PhD and gaining permanent employment has become more precarious, often involving multiple fixed-term postdoctoral awards and/or periods of casualised employment and unemployment (Cavalli & Moscati, 2010). Approximately half of UK academic positions are term-limited, and permanent employment is statistically more difficult to obtain than in other European countries (EUI, 2018).

Career progression in the UK is usually achieved by the publication of advanced research, the raising of external grant income, consistently excellent performance in teaching undergraduates and postgraduates, and competence and innovation in university administration. Although some universities are regarded as research intensive, for example the 24 Russell Group institutions,⁶ or teaching intensive, such as the so-called Post-1992 institutions, around half to two thirds of positions in UK universities are research and teaching posts with the above described range of duties (Cavalli & Moscati, 2010; EUI, 2018), which would therefore require demonstration of both at the application stage. In addition, each institution develops its own systems of progression that fit within national structures and norms. As elsewhere, less obvious or formal factors, such as implicit biases, relational, and circumstantial issues, are also influential.

Lengthy early career overseas sojourns are common – even normative – in Japanese studies in the UK, and funding opportunities are provided by government agencies, universities, and charitable and private institutions on both sides. Furthermore, some scholars will seek starter lecturer positions at Japanese universities, teaching undergraduates in general education programmes. These jobs are financially attractive, provide evidence of employability, and an opportunity to research with the ‘field’ on one’s doorstep. Prior to undertaking this research, however, anecdotal evidence suggested a sojourn in Japan could present unexpected challenges, particularly where individuals intend to return to an academic career in the UK. When discussing using social media this issue developed a broader

⁶ See the Russell Group website at: <https://russellgroup.ac.uk/>.

dimension when discussants from Germany and the United States voiced similar concerns. This prompted an informal pilot investigation.

Specifically, pilot research into English language journals in Japanese Studies indicated that Japan-based Anglophone researchers might lag those based in the United States, UK and Australia in their rate of research publication about Japan; an outcome which could hinder Japan-based researchers' chances of returning after an overseas sojourn. Moreover, discussions suggested that Japan-based Anglophone ECAs have difficulty in converting research into publications for leading journals and book publishers, potentially making employment transitions a challenging journey. Among difficulties discussed were differences in research support infrastructures, teaching responsibilities, and research and publication cultures. This contradicts the expectation that being in Japan would facilitate academic career formation.

In addition to meeting personal goals, ECAs receive national and institutional investments in training and academic career preparation, and assistance from supervisors, colleagues, friends and family. If professional goals are to some extent going unrealised, then that may represent a national, institutional or personal loss, which we seek to analyse and contribute to understanding and possibly correcting.

Designing our Research Methodology

Studies of international mobility in higher education tend to be student focussed, on either recruitment and retention (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011) or international education. Research on undergraduate study abroad programmes shows improvements in academic performance (Cardwell, 2019), with possible positive secondary effects on career outcomes. However, research on the direct impact of mobility on students' career development is less certain. Waibel *et al*'s (2016) systematic review of the career consequences of transnational educational mobility found 65 papers focusing on three outcomes: career planning, employment transitions, and status or income. Despite the perception among students, academic staff, and the public that transnational educational mobility has a positive impact on career development, Waibel *et al* found little evidence to support such an assumption, instead emphasising individual and contextual factors.

In addition to student outcomes, challenges presented by a diverse and mobile workforce are prompting greater consideration for academics (Selmer & Luring, 2011). Among potential perspectives we found an emphasis in the scholarly literature on technocratic aspects of mobility in STEM disciplines, particularly within Europe (See: Ackers, 2001; 2005). For example, Musselin (2004) found some European science postdocs understood international mobility as a personal strategy for career advancement in their own country but noted the persistence of divergences between national systems of academic recruitment and career progression within Europe. Later,

Delicado (2011) found that Portuguese scientists who pursued a PhD overseas benefitted on return, particularly if they maintained ties with a home institution. Beyond Europe, Jonkers and Tijssen (2008) and Jonkers and Cruz-Castro (2013) looked at collaboration on return migration among Chinese and Argentinian scientists, suggesting a deterioration in the strength of collaborative ties post-return. And Selmer and Luring (2013) researched expatriate academic migrants from 60 countries adjusting to a more permanent move to and within Europe. Significantly, like Waibel *et al*, they found no positive association with moving overseas, and negative consequences if the reason for departure was to permanently leave the home environment.

Empirical research of international mobility in academic career formation in Area Studies has never been conducted. Yet, personal career and institutional personnel management decisions are in part based upon assumptions about career paths in each discipline, and international mobility is considered an important variable for academic career progression in Area Studies, especially for ECAs. Our empirical investigation of international mobility in Japanese studies is therefore useful in developing knowledge about career pathways, and contributes to the literature on career formation and development more broadly, due particularly to our humanities, social science, and Europe-Asia focus.

We designed a rigorous five-stage mixed methods quantitative and qualitative methodology which we consider possesses the rigour, sequencing, integration, and ease of implementation to form the basis of a methodological model for research in higher education, particularly where response numbers are likely to be small and the researcher is embedded in the informant community (Cresswell, 2014; Small, 2011). We emphasise here that academics conducting research on work in higher education are engaged in a reflexive epistemological loop beyond standard observation or participation within communities of the ‘other’. Consequently, in addition to adopting a mixed-methods approach, we locate the methodology and analysis within an autoethnographic conceptual framework.

Independently of this research, both authors had considered the utility of an overseas sojourn for their own careers and both came to question the assumption of long-term career advantages for British-trained academics working in Japanese studies in UK universities. Matanle did so from the perspective of an experienced academic having worked in Japan intermittently for more than ten years, and McIntosh as an undergraduate student considering a career as an academic in Japanese studies. On discovering a shared approach, we discussed that immersion in a Japanese doctoral programme or early career pathway might encourage British-trained academics to adapt to and adopt Japanese academic norms and practices whose outcomes could emerge as unanticipated barriers to re-entry into academia in the UK.

Methodological Summary

Stage 1: Autoethnographic analysis to reflect on research assumptions and, later, informants' perspectives and experiences.

Stage 2: Pilot research to assess research assumptions, including discussions with colleagues and a small quantitative survey of Japanese studies journals. This was sufficient to convince that a formal study was warranted, for which we received generous funding from the British Association for Japanese Studies (BAJS). The pilot data is not presented herein.

Stage 3: We then prepared an online questionnaire survey, which we distributed among 132 Japanese studies scholars at 32 British universities. We identified respondents through an internet search for scholars who had published research with 'Japan' or 'Japanese' in the title of an academic book or journal article in humanities and social sciences. We advertised the survey through social media and the BAJS network, and asked respondents to snowball. The survey was designed to discover what academics employed at British universities considered essential for academic employment as a starter lecturer in their own department, rather than UK academia more broadly. Completion of the survey was anonymous unless respondents identified themselves as being available for interview. In these cases we introduced a password process for us to make contact without seeing their survey results. We received 85 responses, 64 of whom completed the survey.

Stage 4: On the basis of the questionnaire we conducted a quantitative survey of the journals that survey respondents identified as being the most prestigious in their subjects. Five Japanese studies journals had a high number of respondents identifying them. Two are based in Japan, with one each in Australia, the UK and USA. We counted the number of articles published between 2005 and 2017 and sorted them according to the countries of authors' employing institutions. All authors were counted equally, whether articles were single or multi-authored.

Stage 5: We then interviewed 27 respondents in the UK (n=11) and Japan (n=16)⁷ for up to 120 minutes each about their career formation and their perceptions of a lengthy sojourn in Japan as an ECA. Interviewees were PhD researchers and postdocs, lecturers, senior lecturers, professors, and their equivalent.

Once the above was completed we performed a simple multivariate data analysis involving cross-tabulation of questionnaire data and interview transcription and analysis. We then presented our data analysis, conclusions, and implications in workshops and lectures inviting audience responses to test and refine our findings. This article is the final stage of the research process; though we anticipate the potential for taking the research forward to a larger representative study.

Results and Analysis

⁷ These numbers refer to the country in which the interviews took place.

Stage 1: Autoethnography

Autoethnography is both a process and method for researching social life because it brings the researcher's subjectivity into the interpretation of social phenomena. It therefore compels the researcher to acknowledge that subjectivity is mutable alongside external circumstances (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). It is consequently both constructionist and phenomenological because it utilises the researcher's rootedness in the research environment as a methodological tool. In addition, autoethnography can deepen theoretical insight, empirical complexity and textual subtlety because it is integral to the phenomenon under investigation (Ellingson & Ellis, 2008; Holman Jones, *et al* (eds), 2013).

Although autoethnography is criticised for its validity, even narcissism (Estampador-Hughson, 2017), our experience has been the opposite. Autoethnography has helped us delineate our perspectives and experiences from our informants' because it 'diminishes the othering of the participant's experience' and is 'voiced from the inside' (Estampador-Hughson, 2017: 76-77). Hence, it highlights the assumptions and motivations that initiate a programme of research, which develop as the research both confirms and contradicts its initial drivers. It is therefore a method for theory building and testing (Livesey & Rusen, 2018), for revealing and correcting researcher confirmation bias, and facilitating self-observation throughout the research design, implementation, and writing phases. All of which are essential when scholars research the phenomena within which they are active and self-interested participants, in this case working within a globalising system of higher education.

Matanle

I came to academia having spent some years working in Europe and Japan.⁸ In 1996 I embarked on an academic career, completing five years of postgraduate study in social science research on Japan at two UK universities. Two of those years were in Japan on fieldwork and dissertation write-up at universities in Tokyo and Kyoto. During the second of those I secured my first academic employment on a term-limited contract at a former national university in Japan. For me this was an opportunity to earn money, demonstrate employability, publish my dissertation, extend my field research and enjoy living in Japan. In all, this second period in Japan spanning the end of my PhD studies lasted three years before I found academic employment in the UK. Later I would have two more sojourns in Japan: a two-year funded postdoc in 2004-06, and one year as a Visiting Scholar at my former university in Kyoto in 2010-11. In all I have lived, worked, studied, researched, and travelled around Japan for approximately 12 years.

⁸ In Japan this included one year as an English conversation teacher (1987-88), two years as an Assistant Language Teacher on the JET Programme (<http://jetprogramme.org/en/>) (1989-91), and two years in Tokyo working as a JET Programme Coordinator at CLAIR (<http://www.clair.or.jp/e/>) (1991-93).

As an ECA moving between the UK and Japan in the 1990s and early 2000s the career guidance and mentoring I received felt fragmented and, to be honest, insufficient. I remember attending sessions for postgraduate researchers at UK conferences. At one of these the question of overseas sojourns was raised and its consequences for career development discussed. The advice from a panel of experienced academics was mixed and based on personal anecdote. I remember feeling that, though well-intentioned, the advice may not have been entirely helpful for that reason alone. At that time there was little pressure to publish research in scholarly journals until after the PhD was completed, and the standard route into academia was a starter lectureship and reworking the PhD dissertation into a monograph. Returning to the UK I received formal career guidance during a probationary period in Sheffield, annual staff reviews, and informal mentoring. Although I could have benefitted from more structured career development engagement as an ECA, to be fair to my supervisors and employers, I didn't request it.

While in Japan, the first time I became properly conscious of a significant geographical and cognitive separation from UK academia was when I was urged by my Japanese mentor to publish an article in the faculty journal, or *kiyo*.⁹ His concerns were kind and reasonable, arguing it would help me to integrate into the faculty and be a good first step in research publication. I jumped at the invitation and reworked the literature review from my PhD and submitted for review. The review was a read through for formatting, with no suggestions for improving content. When the article was published a British colleague offered congratulations, but cautioned the work had been wasted in that forum if I had ambitions to work in the UK. I understood then that I had been conforming to Japanese academic norms for reasons of social and professional integration into the institution of my current employment, rather than preparing myself for entry into UK academia. I began to fear that I might become marooned in Japan.

Partly to counter my sense of isolation during a particularly snowy winter on the Japan Sea coast, I started an online journal⁷ aimed at ECAs, which is ongoing. That process, and the online conversations with colleagues, gave me insights into research publication and academic career formation. Then, quite suddenly, I heard about a position in Sheffield and applied. I've been here ever since, and that initial feeling of isolation informs how I supervise PhD students. However, I realise that my own advice is also based on personal experience and I needed the authority of systematic research to understand the validity of my experience and to give something of myself back to academia.

⁹ See Kamada (2007) for a discussion of the limitations of Japanese *kiyo* journals in the humanities and social sciences.

McIntosh

My initial interest in academia was sparked by two factors. The first was a desire to contribute to humanity in a manner that wasn't the pursuit of profit, and the second was my initial image of academia as a respected, stable job with a solid wage and benefits allowing me to securely develop my career and personal life. This passion was at its maximum during the first two years of my undergraduate degree in Japanese studies at the University of Sheffield. This led to my involvement in this project as a means of finding out more about what it takes to become an academic in Japanese studies. I was therefore personally committed to participating in the project and helping it to succeed in order to discover some answers, which I could then use in my own career decisions.

Reflecting on my involvement in the research, however, my passion for a career in Japanese studies started to diminish over the final two years of my degree. A combination of the findings of this study, the erosion of pensions and other benefits for career academics, and the dwindling number of stable jobs at the postdoctoral or permanent level made me reconsider my options. I ended up working in the private sector; currently in the travel industry. While the findings from this study confirm that an early career sojourn in Japan can be highly beneficial for developing an academic career in the UK, the same study also discouraged me from pursuing academia. What began with 'I should be careful going forward', now feels like 'Academia is in crisis'. The catalysts appear to be the internationalisation of the academic workforce and commercialisation of higher education, the effects of which I feel may benefit institutions but put pressure on individuals.

Stage 3: Questionnaire Research

Key data points:

- 93% of respondents (n=76) have spent at least one 6+ month sojourn in Japan.
- 97% of respondents (n=76) said that a proven ability to publish in international peer reviewed journals is either essential or important for being hired as a lecturer in their department.
- Japanese academia is more gendered than Japanese studies in the UK (n=64), which is more gendered than UK academia.

All questionnaire respondents without a PhD, not working at a UK institution, or had never published research on Japan were filtered out at the start of our questionnaire survey. Seventeen respondents were currently serving at Professor (15) or Reader (2) status in their institutions, 18 were Senior Lecturers, 27 Lecturers, and 14 responded Other (n=74). With respect to departmental job roles (multiple answers possible), 45 had served on a departmental hiring committee and 11 were presently on one, 13 had been chair of a hiring committee and three were currently. Eighteen respondents had

been Department Head and eight were currently; eight had been Director of Teaching while five were currently; and six had been Director of Research and four were currently.

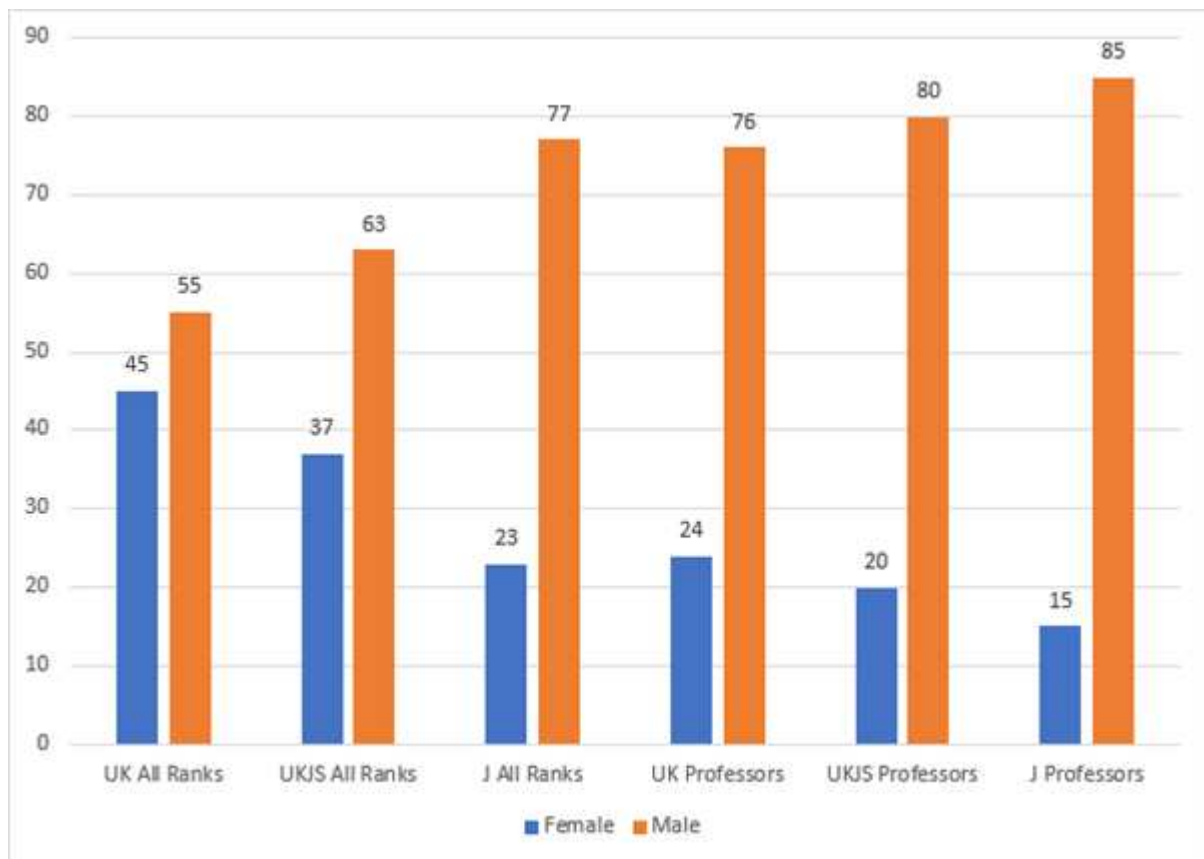
Although we did not ask respondents for their institutional affiliation at this stage, as we were mindful not to discourage questionnaire responses due to possible concerns with anonymity within a small academic field, we were careful to send invitations to complete the questionnaire to scholars working in a broad range of institutional settings, including Oxbridge, the Russell Group, non-Russell Group older universities, Post-1992 universities, and new universities. Indeed, everyone who we could identify as employed at a UK university and having published work with Japan or Japanese in the title of the book or article was invited, and all of them were encouraged to snowball the questionnaire among their colleagues and contacts within the UK.

The largest age range among respondents was 40-49, with 20 academics, 17 were 30-39, ten were 60-69 and nine were 50-59. Progression roughly matched age, with Lecturers in their 30s and 40s (92%), Senior Lecturers in their 40s and 50s (79%), and Readers and Professors in their 50s and 60s (67%). There were no respondents in the 20-29 age band. Among subject disciplines other than Japanese studies, 25 identified themselves as historians, six each in Anthropology and Literature, five each in Sociology and Politics, four in Art, and two each in Business and International studies. The median length of time respondents had spent as a professional academic was 15 years.⁸

Seventy-one respondents (93%) had completed at least one sojourn in Japan of at least six months, while five had not (n=76). Four of the latter were Lecturers and one identified as Other. Consequently, all respondents at Senior Lecturer rank and above had completed at least one sojourn. Fifty-three (70%) respondents had done so as a doctoral student, 40 (53%) as a Visiting Researcher or Lecturer, 25 (33%) as a Postdoctoral Researcher, 21 (28%) had been directly employed by a Japanese university, and 15 (20%) had visited Japan in another capacity. In interview we found that some of the latter had been on the JET Programme and its precursor the BET scheme.¹⁰ With 93 per cent of respondents having completed at least one sojourn, it appears that this is normative practice for academic career formation in Japanese studies in the UK.

Figure 1. Questionnaire respondents' gender compared to UK and Japanese academia (%)
(UKJS=Our survey).

¹⁰ The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme is a Japanese government sponsored initiative that brings university graduates to Japan to engage in grass-roots international exchange, language education, and sports. Currently participants come from 40 countries. The programme began in 1987 with four countries participating, including the UK. JET was a merger and expansion of two previous programmes, the Monbusho English Fellows Programme (MEF) and the British English Teachers Scheme (BET), which began in 1977 and 1978 respectively, and brought US and British graduates to Japan to teach English in Japanese schools.



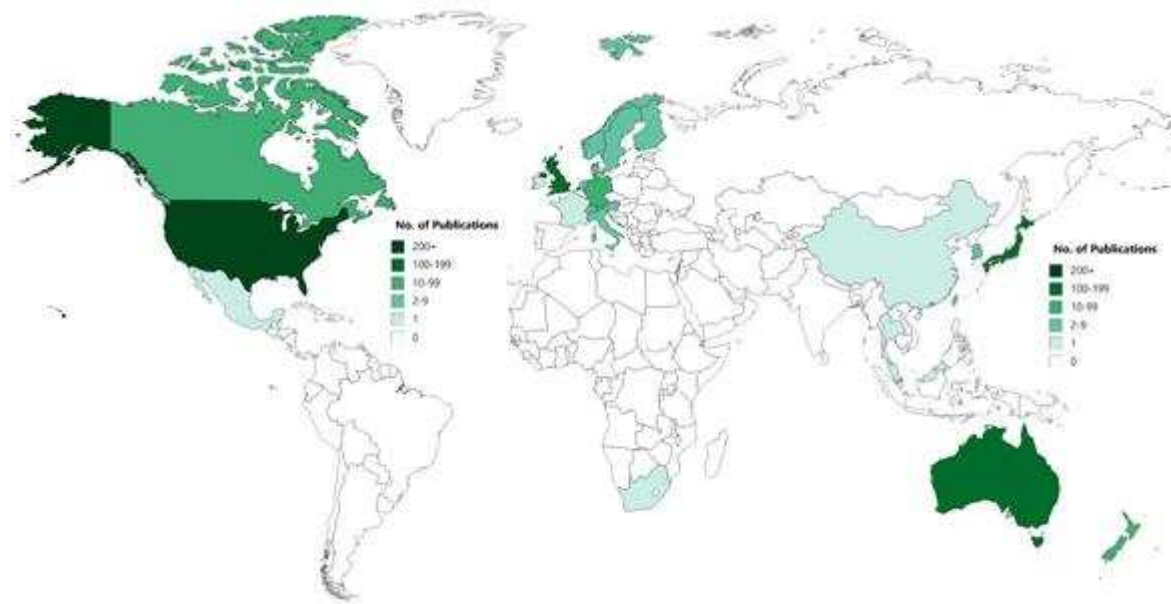
Sources: HESA (2014-18); MEXT (2016); Authors' Survey Data. Note: Our survey includes 'Prefer not to say', HESA and MEXT data only females or males. We included only those reporting female or male.

Among respondents answering the final personal details section, 36 (56%) were male, 21 (33%) female, and seven (11%) preferred not to say (Figure 1). Although not tested for representativeness, our data raises gender related concerns in Japanese studies. Despite universities' function as a mechanism for socio-economic progress and mobility, academia is a gendered occupation (Mihăilă, 2018; HESA, 2014-18; MEXT, 2016). However, our sample indicates that gender disparity in Japanese studies may be greater than UK academia overall, though less than in Japan.

Overall, 74 out of 76 (97%) respondents thought that a proven ability to publish in international peer-reviewed journals was either important or essential for being hired in their department. There was little variability according to whether respondents had served on a hiring committee. Furthermore, as for who academics consult when choosing a journal as a venue for publication (multiple answers possible), 54 cited a colleague, 25 stated the Thomson-Reuters journal citation index, 22 their Head of Department, 20 their departmental Director of Research, 17 the Australian Research Council 2010 journal ranking, and 6 the Scimago ranking.⁹

Stage 4: Journal publication rates

Figure 2: Number of research articles in questionnaire respondents' five most prestigious Japanese studies journals, by country of authors' institution of employment (2005-2017).



Data sources: Questionnaire survey; Journal websites.

We asked questionnaire respondents which journals they considered the most prestigious, not to establish rankings, but because we wanted respondents to decide from which journals we should gather publication data for theory development. Hence, we have not named them here – though we concede it is impossible to disguise them from knowledgeable readers. Respondents ($n=85$) named two journals with editorial offices based in Japan, one in Australia, one in the UK and one in the USA as the most prestigious. We quantified publication rates of research articles by the country of the institution of authors' employment. All authors carried the same weight, regardless whether an article was co-authored.

Among countries with at least five authored publications in the period, the USA had the greatest number, with 292, followed by Japan (150), Australia (121), the UK (108), Canada (21), New Zealand (14), Germany (13), Singapore (11), Hong Kong (9), and the Netherlands (8) (Figure 2; Table 1). Surprising for us was the relatively high rate of publication for scholars based in Japan and Australia, and lower figures for Canada and Germany; as was the lower rate among European countries, with four publications from Austria, Norway and Sweden, three from Switzerland, and two each from Denmark, Finland and Italy. Estonia, France and Ireland had one each in these journals over the 13 years covered. Also notable is low number of publications from developing countries, with China, Malaysia, South Africa, and Thailand scoring one publication each, making four out of 726 authorships (0.6%), and one publication from Latin America (Mexico). None among the UN's

designated Least Developed Countries are featured, and there are no publications from South and Central Asian countries or Russia.

Table 1. Journal publication rates by country in Japanese studies.

	USA-J	JSS-J	UK-J	A-J	JAH-J	Totals
USA	67	17	67	41	53	245
Japan	4	49	57	30	10	150
Australia	7	0	21	83	4	115
UK	7	12	56	18	8	101
Canada	1	1	6	4	9	21
Germany	1	5	4	0	4	14
New Zealand	1	0	6	5	1	13
Singapore	0	0	6	5	0	11
Hong Kong	2	2	0	5	0	9
Netherlands	1	0	3	4	0	8
Austria	1	2	1	0	0	4
Israel	0	2	1	1	0	4
South Korea	0	2	1	1	0	4
Norway	0	0	4	0	0	4
Sweden	0	0	2	2	0	4
Switzerland	0	2	1	0	0	3
Denmark	1	0	1	0	0	2
Italy	0	0	2	0	0	2
Finland	0	0	2	0	0	2
Taiwan	0	0	1	1	0	2
China	0	0	1	0	0	1
Estonia	0	0	0	1	0	1
France	0	1	0	0	0	1
Ireland	0	0	0	1	0	1
Malaysia	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mexico	0	0	0	1	0	1
South Africa	0	0	0	1	0	1
Thailand	0	0	0	1	0	1
Totals	93	95	243	206	89	726

Data Sources: Our survey data; Journal websites. Note: USA-J = Journal editorial office based in the USA; JSS-J = Social Science journal with editorial office in Japan; UK-J = UK-based journal; A-J = Australia-based journal; JAH-J = Arts and Humanities journal based in Japan.

Our research indicates that Japanese studies scholars tend towards publishing in the journals based in or near their own country of employment (Table 1), despite academia being a globalising profession. Seventy-two per cent of articles published in USA-J are authored in the USA, 52 per cent of JSS-J articles come from Japan, and 40 per cent of A-J articles are from Australia. JAH-J has a low 11 per cent authored in Japan, however this journal's geographical range is narrow at just seven countries and 60 per cent of articles authored in the USA. The most international of the five is UK-J at 20 countries represented and 23 per cent UK based authorship in the period 2004-17. Among less published countries, A-J and UK-J show regional attractions too, with the former publishing articles from Southeast Asia and South Africa, and the latter from European countries.

Stage 5: Qualitative Interview Research

Qualitative interviews was the fifth stage of our empirical research, conducted to add depth and nuance, further test our theories and assumptions, and clarify and develop emerging themes. Our purpose is to understand the impacts of a sojourn in Japan on British-trained academics. Hence, we did not select respondents for their nationality, acknowledging that the UK academic community is extremely diverse, with each person's identity and experience being a unique mix of influences. For example, Matanle was born and raised for a time in Africa and has spent more than one third of his life outside of the UK, but considers himself British, has British citizenship and completed his PhD in the UK. In all we interviewed 27 informants in the UK (n=11) and Japan (n=16). Twenty respondents had studied or were studying for a PhD at a UK university, with the remaining seven in the USA, Canada, Australia, and Germany. We interviewed these seven in part to contextualise the responses of those who had gained their PhD in the UK.

At this stage in the research we were careful to interview informants from a variety of institutional settings in the UK and Japan.¹¹ We did not find any significant differences according to UK university type with respect to the relationship between pre-employment sojourns in Japan and early career outcomes. As mentioned, the majority of lectureships in the UK are, at least in terms of their nominal entry criteria, combined research and teaching positions, and this is especially the case in humanities and the social sciences. Informants employed at UK teaching intensive institutions noted that they were required to demonstrate both teaching and research potential at interview and be subject to the normal requirements of submission to the Research Excellence Framework once in employment. This chimes with the questionnaire returns, which showed that 93 per cent of respondents had spent at least one 6+ month sojourn in Japan and 97 per cent of respondents (n=76) considered a demonstrable ability to publish peer reviewed journal articles as either important or essential for employment in their department.

Where we did find some UK institutional effects on informants was in opportunities that arose after being hired by a UK institution. We found that those employed in teaching intensive universities had less opportunity to travel to Japan on longer sojourns, but were not prevented from making shorter visits. They also felt that time available for research was hard to carve out of a busy teaching and administrative load, potentially hampering their post-ECA long-term career development. Notably, the questionnaire data showed that all respondents at senior lecturer level or above had completed at least one 6+ month sojourn (70% as doctoral researchers), while five at below senior lecturer had not. Moreover, we found that informants based at research intensive universities also had less opportunity

¹¹ Boliver (2015) found four distinct institutional tiers in her cluster analysis of UK universities: Tier 1 = Oxbridge (n=2); Tier 2 = 22 Russell Group institutions + 17 Old universities (n=39); Tier 3 = 13 Old universities + 54 New universities (n=67); Tier 4 = 19 New universities (n=19). We interviewed informants from Tiers 1, 2 and 3.

for lengthy sojourns once employed, due to institutional needs and personal or familial circumstances, and considered the real (rather than institutionally allocated) amount of time available for research to be inadequate. This finding chimes with the notion that making a sojourn to Japan is a normative feature of early career formation in Japanese studies in the UK.

Travelling to Japan: Attractions and Challenges in a Globalising System

None of our respondents thought a lengthy early career sojourn in Japan a bad idea for them. Among those that expressed an opinion, all considered it to be an important, even essential, part of their development as a scholar in Japanese studies. Informants cited both professional and personal reasons that were multiple and potentially conflicting, and which changed as respondents' lives developed.

Responses included: (To ...)

- continue and deepen research fieldwork,
- access major information sources,
- develop language abilities,
- experience (Japanese) higher education,
- develop networks,
- demonstrate employability – particularly teaching,
- get a job, earn money, find stability,
- find time for reading and writing – especially first monographs,
- find a life partner,
- enjoy one's youth (without dependents),
- develop a personal interest,
- develop one's personality.

Informants with longer experience emphasise that conditions in Japan for overseas academics are changing with the globalisation of higher education and domestically induced challenges.¹² Many universities are expanding their recruitment of overseas undergraduates and postgraduates, postdoctoral and visiting fellows, and international academics who can teach to a broadening range of interests. For those wanting to show longer-term commitment to integrating into Japanese society, there are also expanding opportunities for transition from doctoral and postdoctoral positions into employment, and progression thereafter. Suitably qualified UK-trained academics are well-placed to take advantage of these developments.

¹² See Rausch (2019) for a more detailed description and analysis.

Despite expanding employment opportunities in Japan, competition for posts appears to be increasing too. Informants noted that many jobs aimed at recruiting non-Japanese are targeted at Asian candidates, potentially indicating a turn towards Asia in Japanese higher education as demographic factors press and closer regional integration beckons. Informants also stated that teaching loads at Japanese universities are heavier than in the UK and becoming more so regardless of the type of institution. This is particularly so at private liberal arts institutions, with informants reporting teaching up to 12 modules arranged over two 15-week semesters, leaving little time for research fieldwork and write-up. One informant noted his impression that research intensive institutions use early career academics on term-limited contracts as ‘teaching fodder’ to release more senior Japanese professors from time spent at the chalk-face, and that this was partly driven by Ministry of Education directives regarding the amount of class time that students should expect to receive. This issue was taken up by another informant who felt that he had been used to teach large numbers of English classes to first year general education students, rather than his subject discipline and research topic. Japanese universities also appear to be increasing their expectations of foreign staff participating in administrative tasks and special projects.

Informants state that employment casualisation has become institutionalised in Japanese universities. This has multiple causes, however, not least is the supply of non-Japanese working assorted hourly-paid employments on a ‘work to live’ basis without intentions towards academic career formation. Furthermore, it is an open secret for permanent academic staff to use allocated research days for part-time teaching at another institution to boost income. Not only does this practice not incentivise universities to recruit into full-time permanent positions, the employee has less time to develop a research portfolio for academic employment in their home country, and it can block ECA employment pathways. The lack of an effective union to bring these concerns forward was mentioned by one informant, who felt that a fragmented non-Japanese academic community was itself a hurdle. The BAJS Japan Chapter¹³ was cited as an important community among British scholars and others in Japan for networking and mentoring in the absence of institutional or union support for career formation.

Divergent Systems – Divergent Responses

Among our informants in Japan we sensed a distancing effect occurring as they became absorbed into their academic environments. Informants employed in the UK cited the REF (Research Excellence Framework)¹⁴ as the defining structural requirement for employment and progression

¹³ The Japan branch of the British Association for Japanese Studies. See: <https://www.bajs.org.uk/>.

¹⁴ The REF is a quality audit of the UK research base performed every six or seven years to provide accountability and benchmarking to inform the selective allocation of research funding. Information on can be found here for REF2014: <https://www.ref.ac.uk/2014/> and REF2021: <https://www.ref.ac.uk/>.

within UK academia: ‘The fact that I had a REF return was what got me the job, I think’. Some felt being ‘forced into a mould’ by publishing a required number of outputs of a given quality within the REF cycle. Noteworthy among interviewees in Japan, however, was the comparative absence of detailed knowledge about the REF and its requirements, even among those wishing to return to the UK, and the relative lack of equivalent signalling or disciplining mechanisms for research outputs in Japan.

Academics with experience of both systems stated that ‘the things that matter in the British system don’t matter that much in Japan.’ Many Japanese universities are teaching intensive institutions with small research support infrastructures, which may be invisible to foreign lecturers fulfilling a teaching role. As stated, even informants employed in prestigious research focused Japanese universities felt somewhat excluded from the university’s research culture and asked to perform onerous teaching loads.

‘The Japanese university is geared towards teaching rather than research. There’s not much support for research. There are no sabbaticals, and no teaching buyout from funding. MEXT is full of intentions but they don’t seem to be well thought out or structured to make sure the researcher gets the project done to an international standard.’

‘They say they want a high ranking, but they’re not producing the structures necessary to produce those results. There’s little understanding of what it takes to produce outstanding research and what kinds of research support are needed for that.’

Frustrations about research abound, therefore. One informant cited being drawn into bureaucratic tasks, stating, ‘There is no pressure to be academic, but plenty of pressure to be institutional.’ Another reported compulsory nine-to-five attendance on campus and no opportunity for fieldwork and archival visits. One took annual leave for research visits and was therefore forbidden to claim expenses against funding. Some talked about becoming the default ‘resident foreigner’ and feeling obliged to perform tasks during time reserved for research and career building. Often these are ad hoc, require immediate attention, and disruptive of research rhythms. They include translation and editing of Japanese academics’ journal articles; translation and editing of – and photographic modelling for – institutional publicity materials; acting as interpreter, tour guide, and host for visiting dignitaries and other international relations activities; acting as informal mentor for the foreign student community; and emergency hospital and police station visits to foreign students in difficulty.

Among our interviewees we included some trained outside of the UK, mainly to discover if their experiences chimed with UK-trained academics. Sure enough, their own divergent systems produced

some divergent perspectives, and some similarities. Overall, these informants appear to have been better prepared for and have more experience of international academic mobility than their UK counterparts. For example, academics from these other countries took longer to complete their PhDs and accumulated significant achievements and experiences – including publications – prior to embarking on a professional life. Their original universities provided more structured opportunities for gaining teaching experience and Japanese language training opportunities, which informants leveraged to start their academic careers. Two countries' institutions have even set up physical infrastructure in Japan to host visiting doctoral and postdoctoral academics on research and language training fellowships. The Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien (DIJ), established in 1988 in central Tokyo, is for researchers in Japanese studies from German-speaking countries; and the Inter-University Centre for Japanese Language Studies (IUC), established in Yokohama in 1963, is run by Stanford University on behalf of a consortium of 13 leading US institutions for 'students who are embarking on careers in Japanese studies or a profession in which fluent Japanese is necessary'.¹⁵

Gender in Career Formation in Japanese Studies

It remains a truism that female contributions to family formation are generally greater, in both the UK and Japan. It is also well-established that the intersection of gender, timing, and mobility is a critical component of professional career formation, particularly when children are involved (Abele & Spurk, 2011; Shauman & Xie, 1996). We found our female informants experience significant challenges in feeling the pressures of time in different ways than men, both in finding the time to go to Japan, and with age inhibiting simultaneously engagement in career and family formation. None of our questionnaire respondents were aged under-30, meaning that women in Japanese studies are potentially more likely than men to be constrained by the temporal pressures of childbearing and rearing at an early stage in their careers. For example, one female informant had been awarded a year-long funded scholarship for fieldwork research but used just five months due to familial responsibilities. Conversely, some male respondents stated that their sojourns were facilitated by non-academic female partners' family support contributions.

Confirming our numerical data as well as research in gender and work more generally, our informants felt gender discrimination and segregation in Japanese academia more than in the UK, with ethnicity as an intersecting factor. Many stated that while in Japan they experienced differential treatment and opportunities from both Japanese and British male counterparts. Often Japanese male supervisors or mentors were either overly protective or, conversely, overbearing, patronising, and sexist. One PhD

¹⁵ See the DIJ website at: <https://www.dijtokyo.org/>, and the IUC website at: <https://web.stanford.edu/dept/IUC/cgi-bin/index.php>.

researcher on a funded scholarship to Japan stated that her supervisor ‘got really angry if you didn’t sit at your office desk, day-in day-out. But I’m used to sitting in the library day-in day-out. It got really awkward.’ Moreover, it is harder for women both to secure full-time employment in Japanese universities and to obtain progression, and our female respondents felt difficulty in this regard. Finally, female respondents felt differentially affected by the value placed on attendance and participation in social events that included drinking and smoking, so-called ‘*nomikai*’, for integration and socialisation. All these things meant that our female informants felt like they had to fight harder than their male counterparts to make a sojourn in Japan successful for career formation.

Becoming marooned – and surviving

All our informants felt a strong urge to write and publish, primarily journal articles and monographs, to gain employment and develop as an academic, and not least to communicate their ideas and discoveries. Most could transition from postgraduate study to writing and publishing research, though not without some difficulties. Indeed, the structural challenges of early career international mobility are considerable and proved too great for some.

Despite academic writing being a learned skill, most informants lack formal training in writing for publication, particularly scholarly articles. The capability to write and successfully publish research articles in scholarly journals at an early career stage appears to be a critical issue for informants. Consultation or collaboration with supervisors and mentors proved helpful for some. Many said they learned by doing, which was time consuming and sometimes painful, involved rejections, and they resented that they had to ‘reinvent the wheel’. Some respondents in Japan admitted feeling lost in their attempts to get research published in prestigious forums and floundered, unable to lean on Japanese colleagues or access training. Our informants know they need to do it eventually but ‘finding the time is a serious challenge, particularly when one is learning the ropes and everything takes twice as long because it’s in Japanese’. We found this to be an important factor in the potential, or temptation, to become marooned in Japan early in academics’ lives, even to give up on academia altogether.

‘It’s undeniable that the longer you stay here the harder it is to break out.’

‘I feel like I’m a frog in the water not realising that it’s slowly getting hotter and I need to do something to get out otherwise I’ll be cooked.’

‘I worry that I’m going to lose my competitiveness by being in Japan.’

‘You can linger around in Japan forever, it’s not hard.’

What impressed us was the way in which those who become marooned, or who had felt its danger, adapt to a new and unexpected path through life by staying in Japan. One informant who had found his life-partner, had children, built a house in a beautiful location, and developed a wide social circle and significant side interests said, 'I regret coming to Japan because it's just a career dead-end if you're a serious academic. But given the choice I'd do it again.' Some found themselves changing direction, as their lives and circumstances altered.

'My intention was to get into a tenured position here and leave on my own terms when the time was right. My philosophy was always to play the long game and keep myself in the running to compete successfully for the next step when it appears. I've worked sixty-hour weeks for as long as I can remember; there's no short cut to getting published in the right place. I've found my home here, got married, [my child]'s nicely settled in school and I've got really good colleagues. I knew I'd need publications to get back to the UK, but I've kept on being offered new positions that were attractive. I'm happy here and will stay as long as they keep on offering new challenges.'

'I've never worked in the UK so I wouldn't want to prejudge, but I get lots of bad vibes these days about British academia. In the end I'm happy I sort of ended up here and made a decent stab at things. There are worse places, and maybe Britain is becoming one of those.'

'I hear about how things are [in Britain]. I was at a conference and people were talking about feeling burnt out and mental health problems. Salaries are declining relative to Japan too, there's the pensions crisis, all the ugliness of Brexit, with political divisions and xenophobia. I did want to return to the UK one day, but right now I don't think I do.'

Two of our informants leveraged their academic background into careers outside of academia, one remaining in Japan.

'I was keen to get back [to the UK] but didn't get the level of publications that I wanted to. There was a lot of teaching and my first university in Japan is a graveyard [for foreign academics]. ... My goals changed and the idea of returning to the UK receded bit by bit. Economically the UK just seemed less attractive and my lack of journal articles was telling me something. Then a different opportunity came up, and here I am!'

Finally, one informant articulated how his own agency is contributing to his career outcomes.

‘I’ve never really asked anyone for advice so I just sort of learn what I do about academia through observation and conversation, but my circle here in Japan is very limited to the same kind of people as me, so I’m probably not learning much that is useful [for getting back to the UK]’.

Discussion and Concluding Implications

One day in August a man disappeared. He had simply set out for the seashore on a holiday, scarcely half a day away by train, and nothing more was ever heard of him. Investigation by the police and inquiries in the newspapers had proved fruitless.

Abe Kobo – *The Woman in the Dunes* (1991 [1962]: 3).

So begins the story of Niki Junpei, a teacher and amateur entomologist from Tokyo, who misses the last bus home after a day collecting insects and is led by villagers to a house in the dunes where a young widow lives who offers him shelter. He awakens to find himself trapped, the ladder he’d descended the previous evening having been removed and the steep sand dunes preventing him climbing out. Gradually Niki is drawn deeper into his predicament, first helping the woman clear sand to prevent the house being overwhelmed, then being seduced into becoming her lover. He yearns to escape and devises all manner of methods; at one point luring a crow as a possible messenger. After escaping once and being recaptured by the villagers, Niki accepts his fate and absorbs himself in his new life, researching how to collect water. When the woman becomes pregnant the villagers take her to the doctor, leaving behind the ladder she used to climb out. Niki is free but decides to stay and help the villagers. The story ends with a judgment of closure on a missing person’s report filed by Niki’s mother, stating ‘In the event of no further report, the said person will be pronounced missing.’

Woman in the Dunes provides an illuminating allegory for scholars travelling to Japan to collect experiences and achievements in early career formation, who intend to return home but are socialised into Japanese university life such that their return steadily becomes more distant. We found that the globalisation of higher education and its institutional flexibilisation under contemporary neoliberal reform provide opportunities for personal growth and individual differentiation. Yet paradoxically, the consequent increase in the scope and depth of competition intensifies pressures to conform to perceived institutional norms. International mobility pitches individuals into these multiple mutually reinforcing and contradictory processes, with mixed results.

When making judgements under uncertainty individuals may resort to heuristics – for example experience and observation, intuition, ideological constructs, and idiosyncratic theories – as their guide to decision making, inviting significant cognitive and emotional biases in producing unexpected

and sub-optimal behavioural outcomes (Kahneman, 2011; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Hence, social learning and social proofing can easily become the *modus operandi* to which individuals resort in acquiring the knowledge, capabilities, and achievements needed for succeeding within organisations and institutions (Bandura, 1971; Cialdini, 1984). In familiar, predictable, or simple circumstances these can be useful guides for successful behaviours. However, complexity usually requires a more considered approach, particularly in unfamiliar environments, which may be unavailable in the absence of systematic information. With respect to our research topic, Noguchi (1983) reminds us that life and work are a journey, full of the continuities and discontinuities that emanate from the intersections of personal background, structural conditions, timing and circumstance, deliberation, impulse, and serendipity – with each individual destined for his or her own ‘Shiranai Station’. It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find scholars experiencing significant challenges of distancing and socialisation in navigating the punctuations to their imagined life paths produced by international mobility early in their career formation. Fortunately, our informants are demonstrably creative and adaptive in adjusting to and making the best of their circumstances and the unintended consequences of their behaviours and decisions.

Many of our informants lamented that they received little formal or targeted career training during their PhD studies, and that the advice they did receive was anecdotal. Hence, we conclude by providing ten evidence-based implications from our research to inform ECAs in making best use of the opportunities that the globalisation of higher education presents.

1. Be honest with yourself about your strengths and weaknesses, attributes and achievements, and skills and capabilities. If unsure, ask trusted others for an honest appraisal.
2. Decide if you want to remain where you are. If not, work to the standards and expectations of the employing institutions where you want to end up, rather than the one you may currently be in. If necessary get professional advice and training in the skills needed to produce to those standards and expectations.
3. If you’re unsure of where you want to end up, then working to British or US institutional norms for employability might be a good default strategy. It is a reality of global higher education that if you are employable in the UK or US then you are most likely also employable in Japan and elsewhere. The reverse may not be so true.
4. Identify the academics you most admire who are presently working in those institutions you would like to work within. Benchmark yourself against their attributes and achievements. But be mindful of the potential for norms to change.
5. Go to conferences in the country where you want to end up. Get to know the leading academics at those events, and make sure they get to know you. Mine them for information and advice – but be aware that not all advice is correct!

6. Find out the journals that academics in your subject and preferred destination country publish in. Publish your work in those journals.
7. Read professional publications to build your knowledge of the institutional systems within which you wish to work. The *Times Higher Education* and *Chronicle of Higher Education* are the leading professional magazines in the UK and USA. Learn to use the language and terminology of that institutional environment.¹⁶
8. Be confident and proud of yourself and your achievements. Breaking the rules can be an advantage, so long as it can be shown to be constructive and constitutive.
9. Learn to embrace rejection and discomfort as opportunities to grow.
10. We wish you the very best of luck in your journey, and please let us know how you get on!

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¹⁶ *Times Higher Education*: <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/>; *Chronicle of Higher Education*: <https://www.chronicle.com/>.

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