

Journal and Proceedings of the Gender Awareness in Language Education Special Interest Group



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Several papers in this first volume emerged from the Gender and Beyond conference, October 6th-7th 2007, Temple University Osaka, Japan and Kansai University, Senriyama Campus, Japan. All papers were double peer-reviewed.

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We would also like to sincerely thank Yuri Kite, Kansai University and the Center for Human Activity Theory (CHAT) for organizing a wonderful venue for the conference and also Temple University, which generously offered the use of its Osaka campus for the opening plenary.

A special thanks to all of the contributors to this volume who have waited so patiently for it to be published. Without their dedication to researching gender issues in language education and beyond this publication would not exist.

Preface

We welcome you to the inaugural volume of The Journal and Proceedings of the Gender Awareness in Language Education (GALE) Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching. This journal and proceedings publication aims to present research in the field, analysis of new empirical data, and the development of theories relevant to gender awareness in education and learning.

Gender and language studies over the past decade have spanned topics ranging from linguistic analyses of the differences between women's and men's speech (e.g., Tannen, 1993) to studies that take a more social constructionist view of gendered communication styles (e.g., Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Following current global research trends in feminist and LGBT circles, the TESOL, SLA and Applied Linguistics fields have also witnessed a surge in theoretical and pedagogical approaches that view the relationship of gender and language as a complex, co-constructed social activity highly dependent on dynamics of power relations, socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, race, sexual orientation, and so on (see Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004 *TESOL Quarterly Special Issue* on gender and language). In line with these recent developments, the contributions to this volume present an intriguing array of perspectives on gender and its myriad linguistic and sociocultural manifestations. The overall theme of the conference, *Gender and Leadership*, from which this volume emerged encompassed topics such as micro linguistic details of gendered imbalances to broader societal issues that impact our everyday lives. The reader is invited to consider the implications of these crucial issues and how to rectify inequitable conditions for both women and men alike.

Recognizing that gendered injustices continue to permeate every aspect of society, educators and researchers are now exploring new ways of both understanding and transforming sexist language and behavior. The theme of the conference, gender and leadership, is approached through analyses of employment issues. In the first article of this volume (p. 4), Janet Holmes, the plenary speaker and guest panelist for the Gender and Beyond conference, focuses on the topic of women in the workforce and how particular socio-pragmatic strategies are deployed to effectively enact a powerful leadership role in a male-dominated work environment. Blake E. Hayes (p. 17) analyzes gender segregation at work through taking a critical look at how women are systematically denied high-prestige jobs due to gender biases in employment practices that place a high value on technological skills traditionally and unfairly reserved for men. Describing two case studies of teacher education in Japanese universities, Hayes puts forth compelling reasons for why universities and companies need to take a more pro-active stance against imbalances in the field of computer science in order to provide women with opportunities on an equal par with men. Another submission that goes to the heart of gendered discriminatory employment practices is Shizuko Koedo's report (p.37) on the activities of the Working Women's Network (WWN) in Japan. The author highlights the important role of English when cooperating with international organizations to realign labor and wage differentials between men and women.

Another theme that runs through this volume is gendered language. Burdeleski and Mitsuhashi explore the socialization of young children into gender and affective stance through language (p. 90). In particular, the authors examine the ways Japanese teachers and children initiate and respond to assessments using the words *kawaii* and *kakkoi* and how this linguistic practice reinforces gendered behavior. The complex relationship of gender, culture and language in Japanese society is brought to the fore in articles by Sandra Healy and Barry Kavanaugh. Healy (p. 102) looks at foreign women married to Japanese men and how non-

English speaking individuals are at a linguistic and cultural disadvantage in their roles as mothers and wives in Japan. Kavanaugh (p. 110) used discourse elicitation tasks to gather linguistic data from women in different age groups in a rural Japanese community and found that stereotypically “feminine” language is undergoing a transformation among younger Japanese female speakers – a situation that the author attributes to evolving gender roles.

Two authors deal with the complexities of gender identity, one from a theoretical standpoint and the other from a more practical, pedagogical perspective. Robert Ó’Móchain (p. 138) discusses the complexity of gender identity, challenging the simplistic, binary logic of nature/nurture and of man/woman and exploring the theory of gendered subjectivities as constructed, complex realities. He draws from the important work of several psychoanalytic feminist authors to broaden our consciousness and interpretations of gender and how we identify it.

Jackie Beebe, a long-time proponent of alternative EFL pedagogies that promote awareness of LGBT identities, first describes her personal engagement with sexually empowering educational strategies and then provides the reader with a multitude of instructional materials aimed, as the author says, at “pushing the limits” (p. 65) of traditional EFL instruction.

The interconnectedness of consumerism, advertisements, and women’s bodily images is outlined by Folake Abass who maintains that the “beauty ideal” (p. 40) has not only been detrimental to the professional career aspirations of women (black women in particular) but also to everyone’s attempts to reach their full potential as human beings. Another area in which gendered media representations affect women in detrimental ways is described by Sally McLaren (p. 126). Although women have made significant strides in political spheres (Hillary Clinton is a recent example), dominant societal norms continue to construct men as powerful leaders while the personalities and appearance of women politicians are given more emphasis in television news reports, especially during election night television broadcasts.

And finally, Patricia Aliperti and Gerry Yokota write on human rights and education. Aliperti exposes the issue of human trafficking in Japan (p. 51). Women from neighbouring countries are trafficked for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation, entering Japan through various means, including the “entertainment” visa. She suggests that language teachers are an excellent resource for human rights advocacy and social change as educators presenting the issues in a non-threatening manner. Yokota (p. 145) feels a strong obligation to avoid perpetuating elitism, an unjust sense of privilege, or a sexist conception of the idea of leadership in the classroom. She proposes a few practical ways to implement these ethical principles within the very real constraints of Japanese university ELE curriculum policy.

This body of work attempts to keep the discussion of gender issues in language education and society in the limelight. The overwhelming passion which each of the authors portrays in their writing attests to the value of such a volume. It is the editors’ hope that readers will engage with the content not only on a theoretical level but will also take a *praxis* (practice informed by theory) oriented stance towards realigning gendered discrepancies in our professional and personal lives.

Salem Kim Hicks
Andrea Simon-Maeda

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Gender and Leadership: Some Socio-pragmatic Considerations

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Abstract

The double bind facing women in positions of power is widely recognised: if they “do power” women leaders are regarded as unfeminine; if they “do femininity” they are regarded as unfit to lead. This conflict is evidenced in interesting ways in the discourse of the women leaders we have recorded in the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project. One resolution of the conflict involves embracing social roles which acceptably combine “doing power” with enacting a feminine gender identity, roles such as “queen” or “mother”. In doing effective leadership at work, women leaders often draw on different roles for different tasks. The analysis of specific interactions where these complex identities are performed indicates that discursive features enacting authority are frequently followed by some kind of politeness-driven, face-oriented attenuation strategy, such as an apologetic comment, or a friendly, informal overture, often expressed in a humorous key. This paper illustrates some of the diverse ways in which such politeness strategies serve as resources to facilitate the reconciliation of the apparently inconsistent demands of leadership and feminine identity. The paper also raises some issues relating to post-structural approaches to language and gender research.

要旨

力を示せば女性らしくないとされ、女性らしくすればリーダーとして相応しくないとされる。権力ある地位にある女性が直面するこのような葛藤は広く認識されている。「ウェリントン職場言語プロジェクト」において録音された女性リーダーたちの談話にも、それは興味深く表れている。この葛藤を解決する方法として、「女王」や「母親」といった、力を示すことと女性的ジェンダー・アイデンティティを統合することができる社会的役割が受け入れられている。女性は職場でリーダーシップを発揮するため、場面に応じた役割を演じ分けているが、このような複合的アイデンティティが演じられている談話の分析においても、権威を示すような発話の後には、ポライトネスによってそれを緩和する方略として、謝罪的コメント、ユーモラスな調子で表現される、くだけた親しみのある提案などが続くことが多い。本稿では、リーダーシップとフェミニン・アイデンティティという、一見相反する要求を調和していく手段としてポライトネス方略が果たす様々な役割を明らかにしていくとともに、言語とジェンダーへのポスト構造主義アプローチに関する問題も取り上げる。

Introduction

The last decade of research in language and gender studies has undoubtedly enriched our understanding of “the complexity and the fluidity of the concept of gender” (Freed 2003: 699) as well as our appreciation of the heterogeneity within women’s and men’s linguistic

practices. Those who oppose binary approaches to language and gender have argued that by drawing attention to the relatively small areas of gender difference, as opposed to the much larger areas of overlap in women's and men's ways of speaking, we assign differences an unwarranted level of importance, and feed the media frenzy which, as Cameron (1995) and Freed (2003) note, has become more and more obsessed with identifying differences in the ways women and men speak as the areas of difference contract. As researchers aware of the complexities of interaction in context, we need to avoid over-simplistic "women do this, men do that" approaches.

Acknowledging the force of such criticisms, it is also important to recognize that there remain many contexts where gendered expectations about normative ways of speaking persist, and workplaces are one such area (Holmes & Stubbe 2003a, Holmes 2006b). These expectations have a direct bearing on how women are perceived in the workplace and the options, including leadership roles, which are available to them. Despite gradual change, there is abundant evidence that women are still under-represented as a group at senior levels in many occupations. Language and gender research can usefully identify the many ways in which subtle and not so subtle patterns in organizational discourse contribute to this repression. As Cameron (2006: 4) says, "We may do women a disservice if in our eagerness not to (over) generalize or stereotype we deny that [prejudice and internalized anxiety about the female voice in public contexts] is an issue".

Although an increasing number of workplace leaders and managers are female, until relatively recently, the prevailing stereotype of a leader, chief executive officer, and even senior manager has been decidedly male (Marshall 1984, 1993, 1995, Olsson & Walker 2004, Martín Rojo, & Gómez Esteban 2003). Leadership discourse has been dominated by masculinist norms and conventionally masculine styles of interaction for decades. With few exceptions, women have only begun to occupy roles with real power, status, and responsibility in professional white-collar organizations in the last two decades. And even when they make it to more influential positions, it has been argued that their contributions are often underestimated and undervalued, with women leaders often judged as less competent than male leaders (e.g. Berryman-Fink 1997: 259, Ely 1988).

A good deal of research in the area of leadership also indicates a remarkably masculine conception of what makes an effective leader, especially among male respondents. Indeed, the standard measures, including those involving communicative style, seem embedded in an authoritarian and masculine perspective on the way it is accomplished (e.g. Olsson & Stirton 1996). Leaders are typically characterized as authoritative, strong-minded, decisive, aggressive, competitive, confident, single-minded, goal-oriented, courageous, hard-nosed, and adversarial (e.g. Maher 1997, Sinclair 1998, Bass 1998, Harris 2002). And even research which takes a more dynamic approach, and which analyses leadership as a communicative process or an activity, rather than a set of identifiable characteristics (e.g. Northhouse 2001, Heifertz 1998), tends to present a rather masculine conceptualization of how leadership is ideally performed, including how it is discursively accomplished.

In this context, how do women break through the glass ceiling to discursively 'do leadership' in a convincing and effective way? '[C]aught between contradictory ideals of being feminine and being managerial' (Alvesson & Billing 1997: 150), how do they construct a powerful persona which is compatible with their gender identity? Our analyses of the ways in which a number of effective women leaders construct their professional identities at work suggest that many resolve this apparent paradox by selecting from a restricted number of socially recognised discursive roles for powerful women. These roles include socially acceptable positions of authority such as 'mother' and 'queen'. Our research indicates that effective women leaders make appropriate use of such roles in different contexts. In what follows, I support this claim by examining the ways in which women managers in different

workplaces construct their workplace identities, reconciling professionalism with gender in their everyday interactions at work. First, however, I provide a brief description of our methodology and data base.

Methodology and data base

The basic methodology adopted by the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project involves an ethnographic approach. Following a period of participant observation, we ask volunteers to collect recordings of samples of their normal everyday workplace interactions over a period of two to three weeks. This is followed by debriefing interviews to collect comments and reflections on this process. Some volunteers keep a recorder and microphone on their desks, others carry the equipment round with them in a small carry-case. Where possible we video-record meetings of groups, using small video cameras which are fixed in place, switched on, and left running for the whole meeting. As far as possible, our policy is to minimise our intrusion as researchers into the work environment.

We have found that over the recording period, people increasingly ignore the microphones and the video cameras. The equipment simply comes to be regarded as a standard part of the furniture, and there are often comments on the tapes indicating people have forgotten about the recording equipment. As a result, our database includes some excellent examples of workplace interaction which are as close to ‘natural’ as one could hope for.

The complete Language in the Workplace Project Corpus currently comprises more than 1500 interactions, involving 500 participants from 21 different workplaces which include commercial organisations, government departments, small businesses, and factories. The interactions recorded include small, relatively informal work-related discussions between two or three participants, ranging in time between twenty seconds and two hours, as well as more formal meetings varying in size from four to thirteen participants, and extending in time from twenty minutes to four or five hours. The corpus also includes telephone calls and social talk as it occurred, for example, at the beginning of the day, at tea/coffee-breaks, and at lunchtime. The data used for the analysis below draws from material recorded in meetings in both white collar and blue collar workplaces.

Reconciling leadership and feminine gender at work

Despite the fact that some women have succeeded in reaching senior management positions, there is undoubted evidence in the everyday talk in many workplaces, and particularly more ‘masculine’ workplace cultures and communities of practice that women continue to be marginalised in subtle and not-so-subtle ways at work (Holmes & Stubbe 2003a, Holmes and Schnurr 2006, Holmes 2006b). Our research indicates that effective women leaders respond to the challenges this offers in a range of ways, which include the following:

- (1) opt to work in women-friendly communities of practice, where feminine styles of interaction are non-deviant and unmarked;
- (2) conform to masculinist norms and identify with the corporate, male-dominated, business world;
- (3) make use of both authoritarian, powerful discourse as well as more relationally-oriented normatively feminine discourse as appropriate

In what follows, I focus on the third strategy. (See Holmes 2006b for further discussion of other approaches). A number of leaders in our data used this approach, demonstrating great sociolinguistic skill in selecting from a range of strategies according to features of the immediate context, as well as the type of workplace and workplace culture in which they were operating. One way in which women made this work was to adopt the socially powerful

roles of “mother” and/or “queen” – roles which licensed them to “do power” in the workplace without arousing antagonism or condemnation for being “unfeminine”.

Being ‘mother’

The role of mother is an ambivalent one for a person in authority since mothers are not unambiguously powerful figures in our society. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the maternal role is, in general, regarded positively and commands some degree of respect.

In our data, the aspects of the motherly role which were employed included both authority and caring. The nurturer-caregiver role is an obvious one for people to allocate to senior women and Koller notes that in the business magazines she analysed, women managers were often ‘conceptualised in terms of caregivers’ (2004: 6). In example 1, Leila, the section manager, constructs herself as a motherly figure, concerned about the welfare of her staff.

Example 1

Context: Regular team meeting in a government organization. The team is discussing the best use of resources to address some staffing problems. Leila is the meeting chair.

1. [laughter throughout this section]
2. Lei: Emma you are part of the solution
3. in that I think that ()
4. Em: I only want to be part of the problem
5. XF: really
6. Lei: [laughs] [in fun growly tone] don't you
7. dare be part of the problem
8. I'll keep on giving you vitamin c bananas
9. [laughs] chocolate fish [laughs]
10. I gave I gave um I you know everyone
11. had chocolate fish last week but Emma
12. had more chocolate fish than anybody
13. the only thing was she had holes in her teeth
14. /[laughs]
15. Em: /I couldn't eat them\
16. Lei: she couldn't eat them [laughs]

In this excerpt, Emma establishes the humorous key by contesting Leila's statement that she is *part of the solution* (line 2) to the staffing problem, joking that she only wants *to be part of the problem* (line 4). Leila then playfully threatens to feed Emma with various goodies (line 8), points out that Emma had *more chocolate fish than anybody* (line 12) when they were handed out the previous week, and then reveals information about the holes in Emma's teeth (line 13). The exchange concludes with a supportive comment from Emma *I couldn't eat them* (line 15) which is echoed by Leila, *she couldn't eat them* (line 16). Listening to the recording confirms that this is extremely collaborative harmonious all-together-now talk. This good-humoured exchange, characterized by laughter and a joking tone, clearly reinforces the supportive team culture of this close-knit and feminine community of practice, but it also constructs Leila in a nurturing, motherly role.⁴ She humorously plays the role of mother to offset the more decisive and authoritative stance that her managerial role requires at other points in the meeting. Leila here uses the maternal option to reconcile authority and gender identity.

In example 2, Leila constructs Zoe as a capable manager using similar maternal imagery i.e. Zoe as mother to new staff members, and although there is also explicit humorous reference to ‘great aunt Zoe’, the general field from which the imagery is drawn is clearly the

domain of older, respected family members.

Example 2

Context: Formal meeting of a team of professional women in a government organisation.

1. Lei: I mean one we're gonna need Zoe um anyway
2. to do handing over with the other librarians
3. when they come /on\ board
4. Ker: /yeah\
5. Lei: and I think that they're probably going to feel
6. a need for a little bit of mothering
7. and I think Zoe will be good at that and the
8. /other thing she's been\ really good with Kerry
9. Ker: /[laughs\
10. Lei: I've watched her [laughs] I've seen her doing it
11. Em: mother librarian
12. [laughter throughout this section]
13. Lei: she'll be sort of the great aunt librarian /[laughs\
14. Em: /it's a very old [organisation name] way of
15. approaching things\
16. XF: yes yes yeah 'tis rather yes

Leila here identifies Zoe as a suitable person to induct new library staff. She frames this responsibility in terms of a humorously nurturing role: the staff will need *a little bit of mothering* (line 6). She then goes on to pay Zoe a compliment about on the way she looks after younger less experienced staff by stating that she has *seen her doing it* (line 10), i.e. mothering Kerry. The point is echoed in Emma's contribution *mother librarian* (line 11), and expanded by Leila *she'll be sort of the great aunt librarian* (line 13). This brief exchange is clearly a teasing, somewhat tongue-in-cheek construction of Zoe as the best person to mentor/mother the new recruits, suggesting that these women are well aware of the irony of drawing on stereotypically domestic feminine characteristics to better perform their professional roles in the workplace. In this example, mothering is equated with supportive, nurturing behaviour rather than with stern authority, an alternative aspect of the role of mother, as Tannen (1994: 161) has noted.

In a third example, from a different community of practice, Jill, the Board Chair, adopts a maternal role to resolve a potential problem in a way that the participants will find easy to accept.⁵

Example 3

Context: Board meeting of six people. Tessa cannot find the mouse which she needs to take the minutes on the computer, as is normal in these meetings:

1. Tess: where's my mouse
2. Sam: [laughs]
3. Tess: /(er\
4. Don: /(no well)\ you're sitting too far away
5. from the /receiver\
6. Tess: /oh for\ goodness sakes how am I going
7. to be able to do this
8. Don: eh? oh well I'll do it if you want [laughs]
9. Tess: well f- just tell me from there
10. Don: no I can't do that

-
11. Jill: okay well while while Tessa and Donald
 12. [laughs]: have a moment: [laughs]...
 13. um so I'll go for a quick flick through the agenda

Tessa and Donald engage in a little skirmish, with Tessa complaining about the placing of the computer (lines 1,6-7) and Donald dishing out advice (lines 4-5) and offering to come and help (line 8), which Tessa irritably rejects (line 9). Jill is about to start the meeting. Instead of ignoring the skirmish, asserting her professional identity, and authoritatively taking the floor, Jill takes the opportunity to re-establish a pleasant tone and pour oil on the troubled marital waters by humorously adopting the role of 'mother' or at least 'understanding older adult' rather than 'boss'. Her humour takes a very feminine form too, in that she playfully and supportively constructs the distracting pair as lovers who need a moment's privacy.

Jill's teasing comment (lines 11-12) is an effective strategy for asserting her authority in a low key way in the face of this diversionary spat. Using humour as an integrative discursive strategy, she manages to have her cake and eat it too, using humour to skilfully balance the need to be authoritative with attention to workplace relationships.

These examples illustrate, then, some of the ways in which effective women leaders adopt on occasion a social role which acceptably integrates their authoritative positions with their femininity, namely, that of 'mother'. By adopting a 'maternal' style of doing power, they effectively finesse the stylistic conflict which faces women in positions of authority. Another such authoritative role available to women leaders is that of queen.

Playing the Queen

Like the role of 'mother', the role of 'queen' cannot be regarded as an unambiguously positive construction. Discussing workplace interaction both with participants and with other audiences in presentations of our work, we found that people often made reference to the role of 'queen' when describing female managers. But many used the term to capture somewhat ambivalent attitudes towards such women, and it was sometimes used quite disparagingly: when someone was described as playing a queenly role there was often a suggestion that they were 'putting on airs' or behaving in ways 'above their station'. Sinclair (1998: 226) notes, for example, that in her research the term 'Queen Bee' was used to describe women who seemed 'more macho than all the other men in the senior management team put together'. Acknowledging this ambivalence, it is nevertheless clear that women who attract such a term are behaving in authoritative ways, and that others recognize that they expect to be treated with respect and deference.

One particular senior manager in our data who played the royal role very effectively was explicitly nick-named 'Queen Clara' by her team, a nickname that she was well aware of and which she exploited to the full.⁶ Clara worked in a very hierarchical multinational company where roles and responsibilities were quite explicitly articulated, and people were clear about lines of accountability. While there was much friendly social talk around the edges, meetings were run relatively formally, with authoritarian decision-making very evident (and treated as unmarked) at points of controversy. The adoption of a queenly role was apparently Clara's solution to the double bind of the conflicting demands of gender identity and professional identity. The slightly ironic but very functional 'queenly' persona resolved the potential contradiction between the need to be commanding yet feminine.

Example 4 illustrates how Clara's team makes use of her queenly persona to demystify a potentially problematic point. In this meeting Clara is laying out the different roles that she and her male second-in-command, Sandy, have in relation to a specific project that the group is undertaking. She is the overall manager of the section and responsible for delivering the outcome of the project on time to the organization as a whole. Sandy is the day-to-day project

manager, and at times their roles will overlap. She has been talking pretty well uninterrupted for about three minutes when the reference to her queenly role occurs.

Example 4

Context: First of a series of regular weekly meetings of a project team in multinational white-collar commercial organisation.

1. Cla: + then a just a couple of words about role
2. and that is clearly um + Sandy and I have roles
3. that may seem to overlap and we just wanted
4. to make it clear where they did overlap
5. and where they didn't overlap [drawls]: um:
6. Sandy's the project manager
7. he's responsible for coordinating the project ...
8. and he's there to make sure that everything we
9. you do while on on the project fits into that
10. big picture ... my role is... I'm responsible
11. I need to deliver to the rest of [the organisation]...
12. so in a way I'm the person you're doing this for ()
13. [general laughter]...
14. San: because in effect you're working for for
15. /two different +\
16. Cla: /two masters\
17. San: two different masters
18. Cla: so when you're on the project where you're working
19. for the master and when you're working on your
20. normal job you're working for me
21. San: yes
22. Mar: the queen
23. XF: the queen
24. [general laughter]
25. San: /the queen is a customer for the project\
26. /[laughter]\/[laughter]\
27. Cla: ... I'm the one who's accountable ...
28. so I'm the person who has the final say on stuff
29. that goes on... I'm the one whose gonna make
30. that final decision... because it's my butt on
31. the line okay?
32. so that's make that clear as well the differentiation
33. between Sandy and me

This long excerpt has been edited in the interests of saving space but it does usefully illustrate the complex functions of Clara's queenly identity. This authoritative persona means she can state people's different responsibilities quite explicitly (lines 1-12, 18-20), and also make quite clear the extent of her power and status (lines 28-30).

One interpretation of the laughter, interjections and humorous, overlapping contributions represented in lines 13-26, is that it is a reaction to the explicitness with which Clara is discursively doing power in this meeting. Both the content and the form of her discourse emphasise her authority: e.g. her long uninterrupted speaking turns together with the explicit direct language: *we just wanted to make it clear where they did overlap and where they didn't overlap* (lines 3-5), *Sandy's the project manager, my role is...*(lines 6, 10) *I'm the one who's*

accountable (line 27), and so on. She uses short clear clauses with the minimum of modification. All this contributes to the construction of a very authoritative and normatively masculine leadership style. Her team's reference to her queenly identity (lines 22-25) can thus be interpreted as a way of managing the potential contradictions raised by the behaviour of a woman who adopts such an authoritative style.

Clara's willingness to be explicitly authoritative when required is also well illustrated by our much-cited example 5, which demonstrates how she resolves a conflict when team members want to bend the rules established at the beginning of the project. The team is discussing how best to provide instructions to other members of their organisation about a specialised computer process. The discussion revolves around a request to allow people to print off material from the computer screen (i.e. to 'screendump').

Example 5

Context: Regular weekly meeting of project team in multinational white-collar commercial organisation.

1. Har: look's like there's been actually a request
2. for screendumps
3. I know it was outside of the scope
4. but people will be pretty worried about it
5. Cla: no screendumps
6. Matt: we-
7. Cla: no screendumps
8. Peg: [sarcastically]: thank you Clara:
9. Cla: /no screendumps\
10. Matt: /we know\ we know you didn't want them
11. and we um er /we've\
12. Cla: /that does not\ meet the criteria
[several reasons provided why screendumps should be allowed]
13. Cla: thanks for looking at that though
14. San: so that's a clear well maybe no
15. Cla: it's a no
16. San: it's a no a royal no

Clara here gives a very clear directive that under no circumstances will people be allowed to print material from their screens. She states her position clearly and explicitly: i.e. *no screendumps*. And she does so three times (lines 5, 7, 9) without any modification, thus conveying her message in very strong terms indeed. Moreover, when Matt suggests this is simply a matter of what she wants, *we know you didn't want them* (line 10), she follows up with an explicit reference to the previously agreed and ratified criteria (line 12). In other words, this is a very clear instance of Clara doing leadership in an explicitly authoritative way.

As in the previous example, Clara's team have recourse to humour to manage the tensions created when a woman behaves in such a peremptory and authoritative manner. Peggy's sarcastic *thank you Clara* (line 8) provides an initial tension-breaker. Clara, however, then restates her position quite unequivocally *it's a no* (line 15). At this point Sandy makes an overt reference to Clara's queenly persona in another attempt to defuse the tension, *it's a no a royal no* (line 16). In this example, then, Clara draws maximally on the authoritative aspects of her queenly role, and, while they humorously appeal to that role to relieve tension, her team also clearly recognise its authority.

At the beginning of a meeting when she has just returned from holiday, Clara responds in a

more playful way to her team's on-going joke about her royal identity. As background, to this example, readers need to be aware that the British Queen Mother had recently damaged her hip. Sandy is about to open the meeting but first addresses Clara directly.

Example 6

Context: Beginning of a regular project team meeting in multinational white-collar organisation.

1. San: how's your mum
2. Cla: sorry?
3. San: she broke her hip didn't she?
4. Cla: my mother?
5. All: [laugh]
6. Cla: what are you talking about
7. XF: [laughs]: the queen mother:
8. Dai: [laughs]: the queen mother:
9. Cla: oh
10. All: [laugh]
11. Cla: [using a hyperlectal accent and superior tone]:
12. my husband and I:
13. All: [laugh]
14. Cla: are confident that she'll pull through
15. All: [laugh]

While Clara is initially bemused by Sandy's questions (lines 1-6), it is clear, once she decodes the reference, that she is happy to play along with the charade and ham up her role as Queen Clara with a parody of queenly style: *my husband and I are confident that she'll pull through* (lines 12,14). Clara's queenly persona is exploited for entertainment purposes in this light-hearted example of pre-meeting social talk. On other occasions, however, as illustrated above, it serves, with varying degrees of irony, to help resolve tensions generated at times by Clara's explicitly authoritative behaviour.

The role of 'Queen Clara' thus enables Clara to resolve the inherent conflict between her role as manager and her feminine gender identity. This persona allows her to behave in ways which are authoritative without causing discomfort to or attracting resentment from her team members. It allows her to maintain a certain social distance, and contributes to the impression of dignified graciousness and status. But it also allows her to act in feminine ways, attending to interpersonal aspects of workplace interaction by participating fully in the team's high involvement interactional style, contributing to the general social talk and collaborative humour, giving generous praise and approval, and encouraging thorough discussion and exploration of problematic issues.⁸ In this way, Clara successfully creates a satisfactory space for herself as a woman leader in a masculine workspace, adopting a way of doing leadership that does not negate her feminine gender identity. We could describe Clara, then, as a manager who creates her own myth, and who then effectively exploits it to maintain her feminine gender identity while also 'doing power' to achieve the transactional objectives of her organization.

These two different roles, then, mother and queen represent two rather different strategies for resolving the tension between constructing an authoritative professional identity as a leader, and maintaining one's feminine gender identity in the workplace. The resolutions adopted by different women on different occasions tend to reflect the demands of the specific social contexts they encounter in their very different communities of practice.

Conclusion

The analysis in this paper has illustrated how a social constructionist approach offers both an explanatory framework and a tool for documenting change in progress. Examining in detail the complex ways in which effective leaders who are women construct their roles through strategic discourse choices in a range of workplace contexts, provides a means to document the challenges that these women offer to the masculinist discourse norms which dominate most workplaces. In order to be treated with respect, women often need to prove they can foot it with their predominantly male colleagues in many aspects of the way they do their jobs. Some, however, are finding ways of effectively integrating aspects of more feminine discourse styles into their workplace talk. Using discourse strategies, such as humour and social talk, they strategically attenuate an assertive powerful performance in a variety of politic ways to produce a socially acceptable construction of leadership.

Moreover, by appropriating authoritative, powerful strategies when required, women contribute to de-gendering them and make it clear that they are tools of leadership discourse, and not exclusively of male discourse. In a range of ways, and to differing degrees, such women contest and trouble the gendered discourse norms which characterize so many workplaces, and which contribute to the glass ceiling they are trying to break through.

I have argued in a recent paper (Holmes 2006a) that we need to put women back at the centre of language and gender research. As linguists, we can highlight discursive behaviours which penalise women in many workplace contexts, on the one hand, while documenting active discursive resistance to sexist behaviours and attitudes on the other. Research which focuses on effective ways of contesting restrictive norms and stereotypes offers a way out of what has been experienced by some as a depressing cul de sac, as well as providing an optimistic indication that feminist linguists have much to contribute to social transformation.

As Susan Phillips says (2003: 260):

“While a great deal was gained by the new feminist conceptualizing of women as intersections of various aspects of social identity, a great deal was lost too. The rhetorical force of the focus on the universal key problem of a very broad men’s power over women, rather than the particularities of problems like domestic violence and rape, was obscured, and really has not regained center stage in feminist writing since”.

By adopting a “strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest” (Spivak 1985 as cited in Landry & Maclean 1996: 205), we can address this problematic issue in those contexts where male norms transparently dominate, as they do in many workplaces. What Boyne (1990: 170) labels “strategic essentialism” is a valuable tactic for regaining the strength which is inevitably dissipated when the focus is on difference and diversity, rather than on what is shared. To illustrate this concept, I have focussed in this paper on just one strategy, the skilful utilisation of aspects of social roles which allow women in leadership positions to operate with authority without compromising their femininity. There are a range of other effective strategies – they await further research.

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Notes

1. I would like to thank those who allowed their workplace interactions to be recorded, and other members of the Language in the Workplace Project team who assisted with collecting and transcribing the data. This paper draws on two earlier papers, namely Holmes (2005) and Holmes (2006a). Meredith Marra and Sharon Marsden assisted with the editing.
2. See Stubbe (1999) and Holmes and Stubbe (2003b, chapter 2) for a more detailed description.
3. This example is discussed more extensively in Holmes and Stubbe (2003a).
The following transcription conventions have been used throughout:
yes Underlining indicates emphatic stress
 [laughs] : : Editorial and paralinguistic features in square brackets,
 colons indicate start/finish
 + Pause of up to one second
 ... /.....\ ... Simultaneous speech
 ... /.....\ ...
 (hello) Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance
 - Incomplete or cut-off utterance
 ? Signals "question" where it is ambiguous on paper
 Section of transcript omitted
 XM/XF Unidentified Male/Female
 All names are pseudonyms
4. See Holmes and Marra (2002), Holmes and Schnurr (2005), Holmes and Stubbe (2003a), for further discussion of the ways in which analysis of the distribution and type of humour may be used to characterize different workplace cultures and communities of practice.
5. This example is discussed further in Holmes and Schnurr (2005) and Holmes (2006b).
6. This section draws on material from chapter 2 of Holmes (2006b), and Holmes and Marra (fc).
7. We have used this example many times in earlier publications because it is such a succinct illustration of such a wide range of points.
8. See Holmes (2006b) for an analysis of Clara's attention to interpersonal aspects of effective leadership behaviour.

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Women and Leadership: Teacher Education in Electronic Communities of Practice

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Abstract

Japan has few women in leadership roles in higher education in Japan, and teacher education is one area where educators and teacher trainers can encourage women's leadership potential. This paper describes two case studies of teacher education in Japanese universities. Using Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning, two electronic communities of practice were examined, focusing on gender dynamics in relation to competence and confidence. In the case of Japanese teachers-in-training undertaking pre-service teacher education, the virtual communities of practice results of multi-method analysis showed overall consistency in perceptions of the platform being beneficial to teacher education regardless of the participant's gender. However, in the case of the non-Japanese in-service professional development electronic community of practice, inconsistencies were revealed, and in-depth interviews with a value-conscious approach brought to light the underlying gender structures, which contributed to negative interactions such as exclusion, hostility and a competitive environment that negatively impacted communication for women.

要旨

指導的役割を果たす女性が極めて限られている日本の高等教育において、教員教育は女性が持つリーダーシップの潜在能力を育成していくための場となり得る。この論文では、日本の大学における教員教育の2つのケース・スタディを扱う。レイヴとウェンガーの「状況に埋め込まれた学習」(1991)の概念を用い、コンピュータを介して形成された2つの実践コミュニティを、能力や自信に関するジェンダー力学に注目して考察する。教員養成課程にある日本人の実践コミュニティにおいては、マルチメソッド分析の結果、電子コミュニケーションというプラットフォームは、参加者のジェンダーに関わらず有益であると捉えている点で全体的な一貫性が見られた。他方で、実際の高等教育の現場で専門能力開発にあたる非日本人の実践コミュニティにおいては不一致が見られ、価値指向アプローチによる詳細なインタビューの結果、女性間のコミュニケーションにマイナスの影響を与える疎外や敵意、競争的環境など、交流を阻害するジェンダー構造が潜んでいることが明らかになった。

Introduction

This paper describes two case studies, and how multiple methods provided a rich approach for examining issues of competence and confidence in relation to gender in teacher-education virtual communities of practice (vCoP). Pre-service (case study #1) and in-service (case study #2) practitioners, were seen as potential beneficiaries of using a vCoP for teacher-education and professional development. Using computers in their teacher-education is beneficial for teachers-in-training, as research 'in teacher technology use shows that pre-service teachers gain confidence in the use of computer technologies through formal teacher-education coursework...(and their) attitudes towards computers improve through such coursework' (Egbert, Paulus & Nakamichi, 2002). As part of their training, the pre-service teacher-education class was given the opportunity to use asynchronous computer-mediated

communication (CMC) to discuss issues related to their training program. This included a practicum where they would need to be well-prepared in issues that they were assigned to discuss in the virtual environment. Asynchronous CMC was also used for university in-service teachers to learn about new software that was to be integrated into a blended learning environment.

This paper will first describe leadership in education in Japan; the general state of affairs for women's employment and finally, women in education and technology. The theoretical underpinnings of teacher education in situated learning in virtual communities of practice (vCoP) will be followed by an overview of gender biases in research historically, arguing that a gender-aware research approach could add vital information to the context. The multi-method methodology used for both case studies will be described, and the results and analysis will follow.

It has been argued that collaboration is useful, or even necessary for learning, and this has been discussed specifically in relation to CMC (Brown, 1997; Crawley, 1999; Mason, 1998; Motteram & Teague, 2000). Cunningham, Duffy and Knuth (1993) discussed collaboration with people's ideas, though Laurillard (1993) does suggest collaboration's necessity has yet to be fully tested. In both case studies, collaboration was seen as important; for the pre-service vCoP, to learn concepts related to teacher-practice, while simultaneously learning how to communicate in a virtual environment. For the in-service university teachers, collaboration was critically important, as technical expertise is often acquired, not by formal studies, but by exchanging information informally as each new technology is introduced. This vCoP's goal was to learn about new software. It is critical to be a part of this community to gain expertise and to be able to confirm one's competence and gain confidence.

Leadership in Education in Japan

Confidence and competence are descriptors of good leadership, and this research focused on perceptions and self-perceptions and how these differed by gender. Leadership in Japanese higher-educational settings is dominated by men. Gender stereotypes of leadership play a large role in not being able to see the potential of women as leaders, and automatically attributing leadership qualities to males (see for example, Anker 2000; Gonas & Karlsson, 2006; Sanders, 2007; Walby, 1988). In Japan, sociocultural factors continue to promote gender segregation with males as leaders in the workplace, women in charge of the home. 'Women are embedded in family and community...this same embeddedness is a barrier to women's progress as leaders and decision makers' (Usui, Rose & Kageyama, 2003, p. 86). Renshaw argues that the genderedness of the Japanese language itself creates problems in describing and envisioning women as leaders. The two Japanese words for power, *chikara* and *jitsuryoku*, imply putting someone down, and the Japanese term for political power implies coercion so these words are problematic for envisioning women in leadership positions, as these are inconsistent with norms of women's behaviour (Renshaw, 1999, p. 243).

In Japan, getting jobs is often not based on qualifications, but on one's connections and '(o)ne's success in job mobility is often the result of direct and indirect personal relations, and formal and informal channels of network relations. Women are outside the network of these relations that lead to positions of leadership and decision making' (Usui, Rose & Kageyama, 2003, p. 114).

The stereotype of males having the necessary traits to be leaders is continuously being challenged as women prove to be effective leaders, and some males prove they cannot live up to the potential that was attributed to them when they were hired, yet the stereotypes remains. In the Japanese context, being male and being a leader are mistakenly seen as synonymous,

and female traits are mistakenly viewed as incompatible with leadership (Usui, Rose & Kageyama, 2003, p. 115).

Strategies for rectifying these biases include making the work environment more congenial for women and enhancing women's effectiveness in hostile environments (Shakelford, Wood, Worchel, 1996). It is important for those in authority to legitimize women who are in leadership positions to fight the disadvantages that exist in society, which is particularly necessary in Japan. Increasing the number of women in leadership positions helps women overcome these barriers. '(T)he tipping point of 35-40% women' is the point where the workplace becomes congenial for women leaders (Shakelford, Wood, Worchel, 1996, p. 120).

Mainstream businesses acknowledge their own findings of gender stereotyping, and following is a good summary of findings in institutional settings:

(G)ender stereotypes can create several predicaments for women leaders. Because they are often evaluated against a "masculine" standard of leadership, women are left with limited and unfavorable options, no matter how they behave and perform as leaders. In this study we focus specifically on three predicaments, all of which put women in a double bind and can potentially undermine their leadership.

Predicament 1: Extreme Perceptions – Too Soft, Too Tough, and Never Just Right.

When women act in ways that are consistent with gender stereotypes, they are viewed as less competent leaders. When women act in ways that are inconsistent with such stereotypes, they are considered unfeminine.

Predicament 2: The High Competence Threshold – Women Leaders Face Higher Standards and Lower Rewards than Men Leaders.... Women leaders are subjected to higher competency standards. On top of doing their job, women have to: Prove that they can lead, over and over again; Manage stereotypical expectations constantly.

Predicament 3: Competent but Disliked – Women Leaders Are Perceived as Competent or Liked, but Rarely Both....When women behave in ways that are traditionally valued for men leaders (e.g., assertively), they are viewed as more competent, but also not as effective interpersonally as women who adopt a more stereotypically feminine style.

In sum, gender stereotypes misrepresent the true talents of women leaders and can potentially undermine women's contributions to organizations as well as their own advancement options (IBM, 2007).

Leadership: Women as role models

The importance of women as leaders and as role models for students cannot be underestimated. SUNY Binghamton found a correlation between retention of women in computer related fields and the number of courses taught by women (Robst, Russo & Keil, 1996). Another example of the importance of women as leaders in technology is the compelling case of Carnegie Mellon University. They had only 7% enrolment of females in 1995, but after taking steps to eliminate gender biases, this rose 6-fold in just 5 years, to 42%. Efforts included increasing the number of courses taught by women, mentoring female students in computers, offering computer-interdisciplinary courses, peer support, and removal of male norms. When MIT lowered admission requirements, and admitted more women, academic standards overall were raised once women's numbers increased (Linn, 2005). Critical mass is strongly related to women's retention in computers (Kanter, 1977). When gender balance is equalized, the work culture changes positively for both genders (Blum & Frieze, 2005; Etkowitz et al 1992), and raises retention rates (Cohoon, 2001). In fact, the lack of role models has been cited as a problem by faculty and students (Jepson & Perl, 2002; Etkowitz, et al, 1992). The importance of training women in technology and keeping them

in leadership positions, correcting imbalances created by the current methods of hiring, training and promoting, as well as unconscious biases and conceptualizations of expertise, are discussed in this paper.

Gender Segregation, Education and Technology

Gender segregation at work is the main cause of the gender wage gap, with women segregated in low-prestige jobs receiving lower wages (Gonas & Karlsson 2006). Detailed examinations of Europe, North America, Asia, Oceania, Middle East and North Africa show surprising similarities in the extent of segregation, with over half the world's workers in occupations where one sex dominates by 80% or more (Anker, 2001). Research on gender-segregation (Anker 2000), which included Japan, showed that male dominated occupations are seven times more common than female-dominated, and therefore males face less competition. Female occupations are viewed as less "valuable" and are lower paid (Anker 2000; Gonas & Karlsson, 2006; Walby, 1988). Inherent gender capabilities can be dispelled as one of the reasons for some jobs being male and others female. Social, cultural and historical factors are of paramount importance in determining which occupations are sex-segregated and whether it is a female or male occupation and these gendered occupations vary from country to country (Anker 2000; Gonas & Karlsson, 2006; Walby, 1988). Research has shown that gendered occupational segregation by sex corresponds to false stereotypes for women: caring, household-related skills, manual dexterity, greater honesty, physical appearance, disinclination to supervise others, less physical strength, less math/science ability, less willing to travel, less willing to face physical danger and use physical force (Anker 2000; Walby, 1988).

The *Nenko* living wage theory is the term used to describe the gender-segregated employment situation in Japan, with male entitlement to secure, higher-paid, permanent employment creating a rigid economic system that gains flexibility through women having low-paid, temporary employment. The United Nations states that the wage gap in Japan is the greatest of all industrialized countries, with women earning 66.5% of male workers' earnings in 2002 (WEC, 2003: p.49). They attributed part of the wage gap, to unequal opportunities for promotion, and thirty percent of companies admitted they promote males faster than females with 54.1% of companies attributing this to different task allocations (Yuasa 2005). The stereotype of Japanese women at home is not true, though women are still concentrated in part-time work and low-paying jobs. In 1995, more than 'half of Japan's working women were married, with an additional 9.1 percent widowed or divorced, and more than half of women with children under the age of twelve were working...So much for the myth of unmarried women as the majority of working women in Japan' (Renshaw, 1999, p. 33).

Renshaw argues that 'Japanese men use their old boy networks' to get information, projects and jobs. Male networks often consist of school classmates across company and political borders that connect them with power sources' (1999, p. 235). Chizuko Ueno, a leading Japanese feminist sees this system as unshakeable, by stating, 'If you look at Japanese men individually, they seem very soft and tender and kind. But once they get organized, they become a kind of a big wall across which it is very hard to cross. So it is gender-biased rules and practices that protect male privileges' (Prideaux, 2006).

In the teaching profession, women are concentrated in kindergartens, elementary schools and junior high schools, which are lower-paid teaching positions. In secondary and tertiary schools the number of women decreases, while salaries increase. For students in computer related educational fields, Japan's story mirrors other developed countries where women's participation is decreasing, while the financial rewards are increasing. '(I)n the last ten years the number of women majoring in information age disciplines such as computer science, is

steadily dropping....women are still segregated into the least technical jobs and occupy few executive positions in high-tech companies' (Stewart, Shields, Monolescu & Taylor, 1999).

For university teachers in Japan, technological competence is becoming a necessity. Women's low participation in technological occupations is usually conceptualized as being the woman's problem, with rationalizations of women not being interested, not 'good at' computers, preferring softer computer skills or other professions where technology isn't involved (Sanders, 2007). The problem seems to be, in part, the role males play in creating an unwelcome environment with males misrepresenting their skill levels, unfairly viewing women as lacking confidence and competence, and dismissing or being hostile towards women in technology (Sanders, 2007; Spender, 1995; Herring 1994). The gender gap in computer use has been attributed to imbalances caused by the way males approach and use computers, 'the masculine approach', which has been 'encoded into the basic technical character and operations of computers' (Truckenbrod, 1993, as cited in Zoe & DiMartino, 2000, p. 295), and studies have found numerous factors that constrain women's participation (Ruiz Ben, 2007; Kusku, Ozbilgin & Ozakale, 2007; Shade, 1998).

Teacher Education, Collaboration and Communities of Practice (CoP)

This section describes how working collaboratively, such as in these two case studies using vCoP, potentially encourages learning for teacher-education as well as for teacher development. This section will describe the learning potential of collaboration in general, and in the vCoP specifically. In case study #1, gender did not differently enable or constrain the collaboration process. In case study #2 for the MixEQ (equal females and males), the collaboration process also was not affected negatively by gender. However, in the male-dominated mixed gender group (MixMD), gender was an enabling structure for males, and a constraint for females. Collaboration is an important factor for acquiring technological expertise on-the-job and collaboration in the vCoP for on-the-job training (OJT) will be discussed at the end of this section.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice (CoP) describes constructivist learning as a social activity or situated learning, not an individual psychological phenomenon. Knowledge is practical competence which is gained from participation in one's particular social communities, with participants moving toward full participation in their CoP. Lave and Wenger explain that skills are acquired by actually engaging in activities of the community and we aspire towards expertise, never becoming experts, a 'journey person' in the development of our occupational competence. Starting at the periphery, yet active in the community, we grow into our roles moving toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of our community. Norton and Toohey (2002) comment,

communities are composed of participants who differentially engage with the practices of their communities and that this engagement or participation in practice is 'learning...(and) conditions vary with regard to ease of access to expertise, to opportunities for practice, to consequences for error in practice.... Educational research might focus not so much on assessing individual 'uptake' of particular knowledge or skills but rather on the social structures in particular communities and on the variety of positionings available for learners to occupy in those communities' (p. 119).

Graven and Lerman (2003) argue that 'teaching in most pre- and in-service teacher education settings and in most schools occurs within a community of practice' (p. 190).

Pedagogical approaches based on constructivism as an educational philosophy is found in much of the literature related to computer instruction (Cunningham, Durry & Knuff, 1993). Motteram and Teague (2000) state that a 'community of enquiry' can develop through collaborative CMC. Opportunities to use computers as they used the vCoP was deemed to be

beneficial. Egbert et al. stress the importance of using computers in one's formal training, and state,

(that) research on technology teacher education...suggests that teachers who use CALL activities are often those teachers who had experience with CALL prior to taking the course (2002, p. 108).

Research on CoP for professional development has been done in a number of settings, and this case study in Japanese universities adds to available knowledge on CoP. Bocarie (2002) looks at Vygotskian constructivism in training and development in adult vocational and technical education. Chindgren, examining CoP in NASA states, communities of practice 'share characteristics such as providing a forum for critical reflection, active involvement in learning, community building, creating shared objectives while satisfying individual needs, and encouraging integration of ideas' (2005, p.605).

Case study #2 analyzed in-service teacher development of non-Japanese university teachers from the US, Canada, Australia, and the UK in Japan. Japanese employment traditionally employs on-the-job learning through senpai/kohai (senior/junior) apprenticeship, and an apprenticeship style of on-the-job training is not inconsistent with the situated learning of CoP. According to Bocarie (2002), Vygotsky's zone of proximal development 'concept is also applicable to on-the-job training (OJT) as well as cooperative education programs. Learning in OJT programs is guided by the view that knowledge emerges in contexts in which it is relevant and concepts continually evolve with each experience and new use of knowledge' (Bocarie, 2002). Since learning occurs from members of a CoP coming together, exclusion may limit the potential of development of human capital and of participants acquiring expertise and becoming integrated into the community of professionals. Egbert et al. state,

colleagues are the most common resource of new CALL activity ideas outside of formal coursework. Implications for teacher education are that teachers learn better in situated contexts, and technology courses should be designed accordingly (p. 108).

Discourse analysis brought to light limitations in the workplace in case study #2 for women, which will be described in the analysis below. (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson, 2005, p.29) and Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson (2005) discussed teacher education and stated that regarding the concept of CoP with its situated learning, there is a 'critical limitation of this theoretical framework (which) is its weak consideration of power relations and underlying ideologies within groups' (2005, p.30). The relevance of this critique will be discussed below in the analysis, where the benefits of collaboration were not experienced by women due to gendered-stereotypes around technology.

Methodology

This paper extracts some of the results from two case studies (Hayes, forthcoming), concentrating on the sections that analyzed gender and issues of confidence and competence in a collaborative vCoP. Natasi, Hitchcock, Sarkar, Burkholder, Varjas and Jayasena (2007) state that case studies are 'well-suited for understanding culture and context, the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods to facilitate development of culture-specific instruments...(which, until recently) has received minimal attention (p. 165). Erzberger and Prein (1997), Koeber (2002) and Natasi et al. (2007), for example, illustrate a multi-methods model using a series of qualitative methods that inform the design of quantitative methods in a multiphase project, and these two case studies used a modified version of this.

Case study #1

Case study #1 was a pre-service blended-learning environment for Japanese teachers who were studying to become teachers, and were preparing for their practicum. The teachers-in-training were participating in an applied linguistics course. They explored teacher education issues in small task groups focusing on discussions, brainstorming and searching for solutions on topics related to good practice, curriculum development, classroom management and exploring teacher identity through self-reflective questions. Participants were anonymous and used electronic communication handles. Groups were mixed gender: equal women and men (MixEQ); more females than males, female dominant (MixFD); and more males than females (MixMD). The teachers-in-training were instructed not to exchange any personal information, including gender, and they were also informed that no evaluation of their communications would be made. Evaluation would come from comprehension of the issues, which they would report on afterwards, and they were aware that participation could be beneficial in this respect. Research methods included discourse analysis, counting and coding as well as open-ended and closed questions in the questionnaires, observation, and face-to-face informal interviews. The researcher took an overall detached approach as a non-participant.

Case study #2

Case study #2 was an in-service asynchronous vCoP of non-Japanese university teachers (foreigners in Japan from the US, Canada, Australia, the UK) as part of curriculum development for introducing new software into a blended-learning environment for an existing program. The teachers all had similar teaching tenure, were interested in pedagogy, were similarly qualified with post-graduate degrees in educational technology or had some experience teaching CALL. The teachers were using an asynchronous CMC platform in conjunction with face-to-face (f2f) discussions to determine effective integration and pedagogical soundness of the software.

Personal information was freely exchanged, including gender, and progress was watched by a visible and semi-participant manager (SPM), who was a non-Japanese/foreigner. Groups were mixed gender, and had equal women and men (MixEQ), or twice as many males as females (MixMD) due to the department employing twice as many males and females. The (SPM) observed and participated in the vCoP and (f2f) for both the MixEQ and MixMD groups. Research methods included discourse analysis, counting and coding (turn-taking, response types, etc.) as well as informal interviews with all members and in-depth interviews with a number of participants. The researcher took an overall engaged approach as a participant observer.

Addressing Gender Biases in Research

Gender did not appear as an enabling/constraining structure in case study #1 for any group regardless of the gender composition of the groups (MixEQ, MixFD, and MixMD). In case study #2, gender did not appear to be either an enabling or constraining structure for the MixEQ group, though it was for the MixMD group. A gender-conscious approach was needed to analyze the MixMD as gender in the vCoP enabled the men but was a constraining factor for the women.

The inclusion of gender as a salient analytical category in research has become mainstream for much of social science research, but this was not so in early conceptualizations of research, particularly in conceptions of objectivity/rationality in research. Historically, research has been based on dualities such as objectivity/subjectivity, rationality/emotionality and male/female. Western research paradigms, by basing themselves on dualities, reinforced false conceptions of opposing poles. Gender opposites of female and male, are produced/reproduced in gender-segregated employment and conceptions of female/male

behaviours and characteristics of leadership, thus a sympathetic or value-conscious approach was used in the informal and in-depth interviews. As a participant observer, the researcher was able to gain the confidence of members of the vCoP MixMD, affording insight into the dynamics that were constraining women's collaboration. This next section will look at the history of theoretical underpinnings of research paradigms, and descriptions of different background assumptions, or standpoints.

Aristotle's conceptualizations of form and matter are value-laden with gender biases, and it can be argued this biases his very conceptualizations, and also problematizes dualities that were the basis of his philosophies (matter/form, rational/subjective, female/male) themselves.

Aristotle says that the courage of a man lies in commanding, a woman's lies in obeying; that "matter yearns for form, as the female for the male and the ugly for the beautiful; that women have fewer teeth than men; that a female is an incomplete male or "as it were, a deformity": which contributes only matter and not form to the generation of offspring. (Witt, 2007 in Anderson, 2007).

Since Aristotle formalized deductive reasoning, one must question not only his lack of observational powers and methodologies, in relation to his above comments, especially on teeth (Ann Garry, personal communication, Kyoto, 2007), but also the underpinning dualities in the history of Western thought in philosophy. Aristotelian principles, with the prime methodological injunction of classifying, versus measuring, was 'truly unfortunate and could be argued to be the principal intellectual obstacle' negatively impacting research (Potter, 2000, p.54). Furthermore, the female/male duality that permeates social roles denies the existence of androgyny, inter-sexed and transsexual individuals, and polarizes gendered roles. This polarizing of gender into female/male reinforced false dualities. As employment is a key social arena where gender is constructed, the disadvantages of this social construction of gender dualities are evidenced by the wide-spread gender segregation found in most employment, and especially in technology.

Standpoint theory has different underpinnings; MacKinnon (1999) uses a standpoint of women's commonality of oppression under male dominance and male objectification or collective self-consciousness. Other standpoints are built around gendered cognitive styles (Belenky, 1986; Gilligan, 1982), masculinist perspectives (MacKinnon, 1989), or androcentric beliefs (Harding, 1986). Research methods and results 'bound up with male values of control' (Oakley, 1981, as cited in Bryman 2004, p.22) can be rectified by adding research of various background assumptions, adding further resources to the totality of research inquiry (Longino, 1990).

Feminist standpoint theory claims epistemic privilege in gender relations. Feminist standpoint philosophy's criticisms include its circularity in determining which of these standpoints have epistemic privilege. There are arguments against standpoint theories, as grounding one's approach in oppression may be problematic. For example, 'Bar On (1993) argues.... that epistemic privilege forces a choice between having ethical knowledge and living in a non-sexist society' (Anderson, 2007, p. 15). Other groupings such as race and sexual orientation show that multiple standpoints create complexity, and it 'is no longer plausible to hold that any group inequality is central to all others' (Crenshaw, 1999 as cited in Anderson, 2007, p. 16). However, Anderson argues that, taking a standpoint still has its strengths, and argues even 'if a particular feminist theory cannot make good on the claim that it has privileged access to reality, it may offer true representations that are more useful to women than other truthful representations' (2007, p. 15). While these kinds of meta-narratives, which attempt universal explanations, are passé in postmodernism (Potter, 2000, p. 240), defenders of standpoint feminism contest this. Thompson argues that the 'chief problem with "post-modernist" feminism is its inability to name forms of domination, as meta-narratives or grand narratives, and its inability to challenge structures of domination'

(Thompson, 1996). Given the documented gender-segregation in technological employment, a value-conscious approach was included in the latter stages of analysis and these will be discussed at the end of the next section on results.

Results

For case study #1, gender did not appear as a constraint of the effectiveness and suitability of the vCoP and results confirmed that the vCoP was viewed positively in terms of teacher-learner development. From the case studies (Hayes, forthcoming), results of observations and discourse analysis showed that participants were on task, all participating in what was deemed to be an appropriate manner at appropriate levels for their training. Researcher observations confirmed active participation and engagement and questionnaire T-tests showed no gendered differences. Discourse analysis also revealed that discourse was balanced by gender, with no significant difference for females or males in terms of number of postings, word count, turn-taking, acknowledgement of contributions etc. There were also no gender differences in terms of confidence according to questionnaire responses and researcher observations. In terms of competence, males made more errors using the platform but the difference was not significant. Some participants felt ignored at times, but this is expected when using asynchronous CMC, with its time delays in responses, and there were no differences in regard to gender according to T-tests.

Participants were curious about other participant's gender and questionnaire results showed that they tried to guess gender throughout vCoP use. Guesses were almost always based on hegemonic ideologies from Japanese culture. If someone used stereotypically female behaviour such as being polite, friendly, saying thank-you, being helpful, using attenuated assertions, using tension reduction, sharing resources, using emoticons-participants thought it was a woman. If someone had strong opinions, gave explicit justifications, challenged, had strong ideas, did not say thank you, was not really friendly, had many different ideas and tried to organize the group's communication or gave calls for action, it was assumed they were men. These assumptions lead to mistaken gender identification. Women participants did make numerous comments about feeling freer to 'say their opinions' than they usually do in f2f communication, and attributed this to both using English and being anonymous. Discourse analysis showed conversation dynamics were balanced by gender, males did not dominate nor flame, which contradicts some of the research on CMC communication (Herring, 2000; Herring 1999a; Herring 1999b; Herring 1994; Herring 1993; Spender, 1995; Sanders, 2007).

For case study #2, MixEQ had very different results than the MixMD groups. For the MixEQ, with equal numbers of female and male participants, gender structures were not activated, as in the above case study. The vCoP was a positive experience, goals were reached, and participants were happy with the communication. Discourse analysis showed that there was high topic coherence, low topic conflict, and communication was gender-balanced in terms of acknowledgement, turn-taking and appropriateness of the direction of communication and responses. Overall it was professional and congenial, in keeping with expectations of the professional context. This congeniality continued into f2f communication, and good rapport was maintained.

In case study #2 MixMD, the male dominant group, which had twice as many males as females, gender structures were highly apparent. Males posted more often (94% of postings), and male word count was high (93% male, 7% female). Males dominated the discussions, set the direction, responded to most of the male colleagues comments (86% of male posting were commented on, versus less than 4% of female postings), males responded positively to male colleagues input (88%, versus 3% of female input), expressed thanks (94% of appreciation and acknowledgement came from males to males, 2% from males to females,

and females only received thanks from one male colleague) or agreement (96% of agreement and encouragement was directed by males to males). Female input was almost always ignored by males (96% of input was never acknowledged). The MixMD group response patterns were different than the MixEQ for this case study. At the beginning of the curriculum development, women were highly active, participating in the vCoP and actively in f2f communications, but over time, their participation drastically decreased. Female participants, over time, were not participating and did not seem to be a part of the group discussions and the reasons for this were unclear. This gender divide was explored through the informal and in-depth interviews, recorded through notes, summaries and paraphrasing which were used to interpret this data and this is presented in the next section on analysis.

Analysis

Case study #1

In case study #1, all participants were born and raised in Japan. Traditionally, Japanese linguistics has looked at regional differences in language. However, there is a growing trend to move away from viewing Japanese as homogeneous, as this has led to hegemonic ideologies that were in conflict with the actualities of subgroups and their language practices. Practices include gendered language in varying contexts, and these conflict with gendered ideologies and actual practice (Okamoto & [Shibamoto] Smith, 2004, p. 4). Change is occurring and younger women use language differently. Age makes a difference and 'these scholars observed that younger women tended to use traditional "masculine" speech more frequently than older women, although each age group exhibited wide variations' (ibid. p. 257).

Questionnaire responses showed that being strong, having strong opinions, and being good at computers, as well as leading the group were all seen as typical male behaviour. These Japanese teacher-learners viewed technology as a male domain, and leadership as male. Stereotypically female behaviours such as tension reducing and being polite were attributed to females. However, self-reported confidence levels showed no differences by gender, according to T-tests, which contradicted hypothesized lower levels for females (Herring, 2000; Herring 1999a; Herring 1999b; Herring 1994; Herring 1993; Sanders, 2007; Spender, 1995; Zoe and DiMartino, 2000). They were equally confident, felt relaxed using the computers and enjoyed the technical process equally. In terms of competence, males actually made slightly more errors than females, and this was contrary to expectations of the stereotypes of males being more competent (Hayes, 2003; Sanders, 2007; Spender, 1995; Zoe and DiMartino, 2000). Qualitative results were consistent with the coding and quantitative data, and observation of participants confirmed no differences in relation to gender.

Case study #2

In case study #2, the MixEQ group also showed little gender stratification. Contrary to the expectation that males would dominate in CMC (Herring, 2000; Herring 1999a; Herring 1999b; Herring 1994; Herring 1993; Sanders, 2007; Spender, 1995; Zoe and DiMartino, 2000), one female participant, who was informally designated as the leader, posted more often and longer posts, gave explicit directions and explicit justifications, which are usually seen as stereotypically male communication style, but she was described as an effective and well-liked leader. The communication was considered to be congenial and effective by all members, and the group functioned at a high level of productivity. This mixed gender group, with equal numbers of female/male participants functioned effectively in the vCoP, with no indicators of gender differences for competence or confidence.

For the MixMD group, gender was a highly activated structure. Informal and in-depth interviews were used to explicate the underlying gender structures and institutional structures

that were affecting participants. Notes were taken and the analysis below uses paraphrases unless stated otherwise. Discourse analysis was used to examine power structures in the speech communities. Norton and Toohey (2002) stated that Bourdieu,

focuses on the often unequal relationships between interlocutors and the importance of power in structuring speech....“speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it” (1977, p. 652 (p. 117).

Connections between dominance and competence

Traits deemed desirable for computer expertise (Sanders, 2007) are decisiveness, competitiveness, assertiveness/aggressiveness, intelligence, being technically minded, and authoritative. Women who have these traits are often seen as being pushy, aggressive, opinionated, and arrogant, and not seen as expert even when they have the academic background, interest and skills. Gender biases do not include the possibility of competent, confident women, nor incompetent men; therefore, males are positioned as competent even when they are not, or at worst, should they not be successful, that they are just lacking the effort.

Bourdieu argues that an expanded definition of competence should include the “right to speech” or “the power to impose reception”....Bourdieu reminds the SLA theorist that language cannot be idealized and that we cannot take for granted that good faith will prevail between participants in oral or literate activities (Norton & Toohey, 2003, p.118).

This is interesting in light of the fact that computer science originally was seen as a women’s profession, with the first programmers being 80 women at the University of Pennsylvania. From 1892 to 2004, women’s share of degrees in computer science dropped by nearly 1/3rd, down to 10% or less in most countries, and even less in Japan.

Early studies found that males were ‘more aggressive in computer environments and tend to dominate and maintain control over computers’ (Kiesler et al, 1985, as cited in Zoe & DiMartino, 2004, p. 4). Research found gender differences in CMC, with males dominating discussions, posting more and longer postings, and ignoring females (Herring 1993; Herring 1994; Herring 1999a; Herring 1999b; Herring, 2000; Sierpe, 2000). Males overwhelmingly dominate discussions (Spender; 1995; Herring, 1993) and Stewart, Shields, Monolescu and Taylor (1999) found that while women’s questions would go unanswered, none of the men’s would. Herring, Johnson and DiBenedetto (1992) found that men received more comments to their questions while women got fewer replies. Wolfe (1999) found that men consistently dominated CMC and that women felt ignored.

Men tend to overestimate their computing abilities, while women underestimate (Yates, 2001, Wolfe, 1999). McEuen (2001) found that both genders had equal rates of computer use, however males were ‘twice as likely as the women to have a high opinion of their skills’ (p. 11). Hayes (2001) states that ‘overconfidence by males could be the result of males desire to successfully perform their gender... masculinity is linked to technical prowess. Girls usually attribute their failures to a lack of their own ability, while boys attribute it to a failure of the subject (not interesting, not relevant) or to the teacher (test not good, teacher not clear)’ (p. 29). In developing countries, for example, technical prowess may be in using sewing machines, and as we are positioned in more technologically developed societies, we can easily recognize simpler technologies such as sewing machines as not being a determinant of one’s superior capability. Similarly, socio-cultural factors of male competence are connected to power and productivity in relation to current technologies and gendered employment determines our socially constructed conceptions of competence.

In case study #2, the MixMD vCoP had twice as many males than females, and the vCoP’s ‘techy’ focus seemed to determine the overall tone of communication, which was competitive,

posturing and dismissive of ‘outsides’ who were not a part of the ‘techy’ community, where males dominated the CoP. This is consistent with research (Herring 1993; Herring 1994; Herring 1999a; Herring 1999b; Herring, 2000; Sanders, 2007; Spender, 1999; Wolfe, 1995) that found that males dominated computer mediated communication (CMC) though Savicki and colleagues found mixed results in small task groups, and that female only groups sent more messages than mixed-gender groups (Savicki, Kelly & Lingenfelter, 1996; Savicki, Lingenfelter & Kelly, 1996; Savicki, Kelly & Oesterreich, 1999; Savicki, Kelly & Ammon, 2002;). Research also has found that women who contribute as little as 30% are perceived as being dominating (Spender, 1995; Stewart, Shields, Monolescu & Taylor, 1999, p.5). All the female participants felt that the atmosphere was not collegial, but rather, was divisive while the male participants felt that the women were neither really interested in computers nor committed to helping to create a computer assisted program. Short extracts from the interviews are used to highlight some of these issues.

It was evident that being active and appearing knowledgeable in vCoP reinforced conceptions of competence and interest in technology. The following examples are from male participants:

- *Not everyone participates. I do because I am interested*
- *there are some teachers who don't know much about computers or (are) not interested, so they don't use it (vCoP) so much.*

The vCoP was used differently by the genders. Males in the group tended to network f2f and then use the vCoP as a way to reinforce and ‘announce’ their expertise:

- *I can sit around at lunch and learn so much from SPM, and he can see that I am interested, working hard and know a lot about computers, ...and I can hear on vCoP what everyone else knows and let them know what I know.*

Women used the vCoP to network, develop ideas, and exchange information. Women saw the vCoP as a place for diversity to be considered, and different ideas to be bounced around before decisions were solidified.

- *I thought we were supposed to develop the program and not just show what we know about computers.*
- *It is almost impossible to get a robust discussion about pedagogical ideas on the vCoP.*

Conceptions of expertise, confidence and the importance of networking/job-contacts were also apparent to women, but they saw themselves as differently positioned.

- *Individually they are almost all fairly nice guys, but around technology this dynamic happens, like women just shouldn't be there because it's a guy thing.*
- *They think we'll just never be able to understand the technical stuff anyways.*
- *We (women) have to operate with partial knowledge all the time, so of course we then don't look like we are really interested or computer-savvy.*
- *I have a programming degree, a postgraduate degree and have been teaching computer-related classes for years. But I don't get all excited like they do about the latest gadgets or sofuto (software), so I'm not really a computer person in their eyes.*

This sentiment was voiced by all the women in the group. While women were quite active at the beginning of the vCoP, female participation decreased over time. Male dominance of electronic communication platforms and women's contributions being ignored has been documented since early electronic communication in the 1980's (Herring et al, 1992; Herring 1993; Herring 1994; Sanders, 2007) has a negative impact on women's participation as does being ignored (Wolfe, 1999; Sanders, 2007), and male participant stated that ignoring was unintentional and unnoticed.

- *We didn't meant to act exclusive, hostile or ignore the women's contributions*
- *I didn't even notice that I never responded to the women, or ignored their input*

- *I didn't realize that I always thanked or acknowledge (male colleague) and didn't know all their ideas were treated with silence*
- *She should just have continued with her work, not worried about being ignored or how she felt.*

Ironically, this same male, when his posting had not been responded to immediately, posted:

- *I don't understand the meaning of your silence (paraphrased).*

Being ignored, then, had meaning when he was ignored, but the women were not supposed to 'take it personally'. The affects of being dismissed, ignored and criticized took its toll on women's participation.

The women felt that the bulk of learning about the software and curriculum was done in f2f communication, which occurred with male colleagues and SPM in social situations, where women felt excluded. Discourse analysis of the vCoP confirmed that the female participants were not privy to the expertise development that occurred there. The women felt that with the 'old boys network' used to exchange information, the males had an advantage, and they could be seen as acquiring expertise and confirming their interest, confidence and expertise in the technology.

- *a few of us tried to find ways...in the staff rooms, all the guys just flock together to talk about their latest tech toys, and show off their 'expertise'.*
- *We (women) have to operate with partial knowledge all the time, so of course we then don't look like we are really interested or computer-savvy.*

Gendered behaviours around technology created an ineffectual work environment and excluded women from acquiring necessary skills and excluded them from being viewed as competent. Given that the women were equally qualified academically and experientially, and had proven their interest in computers through their long tenure and time-investment in their own post-graduate education in a technology-based degree, perceptions of their lack of competence seemed to be constructed based on assumptions of male entitlement to technical expertise. It was not surprising that over time, women's participation decreased in the technical discussions, and Whitley (1997), surveying 81 research papers on gender and technology, found that there is no basis for differences in computer abilities, except socialization, and it is cultural assumptions about gender that affect females' initial interest and attrition rates (Sanders, 2007).

Construction of Confidence

When women act confidently around technology, males who are immersed in the 'male computer culture' of competitiveness, may consciously or unconsciously react to this and look for opportunities to challenge women's expertise by making negative comments, point out errors and weakness (Sanders, 2007).

In f2f communication, women voiced their ideas, which were ignored or ridiculed, then appropriated on the vCoP by males. This was enacted in various ways. One woman who showed a male colleague how to use some features of the software, noticed that minutes later, he said that '*he had just figured it out*', and wanted to show a colleague how they could use it. This construction of confidence; that *he* had 'figured it out', when in actuality a women colleague had shown him how to use it, illustrates his own process of constructing his self-perceptions of his expertise. In another example, when a female participant helped a male colleague with a problem she found in his settings of the software application, he posted to everyone his correction on the vCoP with the comment

- *I hope that helps you (women's name) with **your** problem and let me know if you can figure out how to use it now.*

Ironically, he refers to the problem she had found in his work, as if it were 'her' problem. The constant 'bumping into male egos' (Sanders, 2007) is a source of stress for women. 'It is

the subtle, often unintentional and individually trivial gender biases that are cumulatively powerful and have such a negative impact' (Gatta, 2001). Pointing out women's mistakes was seen as a common response women would get on the vCoP.

- *I don't bother going on the (vCoP) anymore. We women are pretty much ignored. The only time they respond to us is to point out e a mistake we've made.*

There was a perception that the vCoP was another platform where the men could self-promote. Discourse analysis showed that the communication from males was a place where they could show agreement in public and align themselves with the SPM.

- *All they (guys) are doing is showing off and posturing so that the boss (SPM) will be impressed.*

Far from being the 'level playing field', the CMC was 'business as usual', mirroring the gendered dynamics found in f2f communication (Spender, 1995; Wolfe, 1999)

In summary, using a vCoP for curriculum development in this context may have been inappropriate. As Medges and Nikolov explain, when curriculum development is top-down with the goal to 'articulate well-defined general educational aims and behavioural objectives, design detailed content specifications, and set valid and reliable assessment criteria, whereas practitioners are relegated to the task of implementation...it forces teachers to adopt a hidden curriculum, that is, an alternative teaching program in the face of official dictates' (2002, p. 197).

Conclusion

Socio-cultural factors may have been constraining or enabling. There were different socio-cultural combinations in these case studies; being Japanese (dominant culture) in Japan or being foreigners (non-dominant culture) in Japan; gender compositions of groups with equal gender distributions or female dominated and male dominated groups; coordinators who were either observers in a non-evaluative role versus semi-participants in an evaluative position. These may all have had an impact on the effectiveness of the group.

There is evidence that gender-balanced groups perform more efficiently than male-dominated groups (Blum & Frieze, 2005; Etzkowitz et al 1992; Kanter, 1977; Linn, 2005) and are better work environments for women. The analysis of the male dominated vCoP highlights that working around technology puts women in a Catch 22, and problematizes women's participation in a male dominated field. One's expertise and perceived performance around technology lead to perceptions of competence and confidence which are distorted by gender stereotypes. In this context one's gender automatically conferred potentiality in terms of leadership. Being ignored, absent, or pushed out of the CoP meant that leadership qualities, such as expertise and confidence could not be developed nor acknowledged. Furthermore, when women were visible and presented themselves as confident and competent, they were seen as pushy, and their expertise was constantly challenged, at times consciously, but often unconsciously. The inequality of communication can be understood in terms of the unequal socio-cultural factors present in work-situations in Japan that are based on males as legitimate leaders, especially around technology. Norton and Toohey (2002) write that speech, according to Bourdieu, is not separate from its context and

focuses on the often unequal relationships between interlocutors and the importance of power in structuring speech...(In arguing that) speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it...Bourdieu suggests that the value ascribed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks and that the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from larger networks of social relationships (p.117).

Socio-cultural factors lead to the MixMD vCoP being ineffectual in the institutional setting. As Dube, Bourhis and Jacob stated, the 'larger environment, including management

style, and the organizational, cultural and political context into which a CoP is formed seems to be the most determining structural characteristic that facilitates or hinders its success' (2003, p. 15). Sanders talks about the problem of feeling 'pure of heart (2007). If one's intention is not malicious, that you meant well, then how can you be faulted? The accumulative effect of these behaviors of negativity and dismissiveness towards women can be devastating.

On a macro level, employment based on networks and connections advantages males. On a meso level, employment systems based on male entitlement to well-paid jobs creates barriers for women. A Nenko employment system which favours young males confers unfair advantage early on in the employment life-cycle, and the accumulation of human capital, a career necessity, is constantly directed at the competent and confident. On a micro level, gender stereotypes perpetuate gendered-employment that disadvantages women. Increasing the number of women does not just improve the work environment for women, it improves the overall environment as well as increasing overall efficiency for institutions, including universities. There is a necessity to increase the number of women at all levels of the institutional hierarchy, instead of the majority of women being at the bottom of the hierarchy.

There is a need for future research on foreigners working in academia Japan, and the lack of foreign women in academia in Japan. Why foreign women leave Japan as well as why they have trouble getting good jobs needs to be examined. Also necessary is research on work environments in academia in technological departments, where positive dynamics and efficiency *do* exist, exploring why this might be so. Gender research is seen by some as a risky field, too Western or too confrontational, but this needs to change. Recently, the Japanese government stated the need to find more women leaders in education, and noted that women make up only 10.1% of leadership, even in parent-teacher associations (Japan Times, 2008). Conceptions of leadership are gendered, and the need for women leaders in Japan includes increasing the number of foreign women in leadership roles. There is so little information on foreigner workers in Japan, and this paper may shed some light, not just on potential women leadership, but also on foreigners working in Japan. More information needs to be gathered on how employment practices are allowing gender-segregation to persist.

Finally, deciding to use a vCoP for teacher education needs to be undertaken with caution. This summary of the case studies shows that a vCoP can be extremely effective and enjoyable in teacher education programs. Pre-service teacher-education participants stated they felt a sense of freedom they don't experience in f2f communication. Concepts such as teacher identity, good teaching and appropriate behaviours and classroom management practices may bring up strong and diverse opinions that can be more freely expressed in anonymous asynchronous communication. More research is needed to shed light on vCoP for in-service teacher-training to understand the factors which contribute to effective and egalitarian professional development situation.

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Fighting for the Equality of Working Women: English as an Indispensable Tool

Shizuko Koedo
Working Women's Network

Abstract

The Working Women's Network (WWN) was established in Osaka in 1995, triggered by the support activities for the women who stood up to sue Sumitomo Corporation to redress discriminative treatment of female workers. The network advocates for the improvement of working women's position, the prohibition of indirect discrimination and the realization of pay equity. Our main strategies are 1) to appeal to international organizations in order to promote solutions through external pressure, 2) to spark up public opinion with cooperation from the mass media, and 3) to distribute information through the internet. In our struggles to develop our activities internationally, English as a common language has been an indispensable tool. I am convinced daily that learning English itself directly leads to the empowerment of women. In this paper, I report on the WWN activities after a brief overview of the course of lawsuits aimed at redressing discrimination against working women in Japan.

要旨

ワーキング・ウイメンズ・ネットワーク(WWN)は、1995年に住友メーカー裁判の原告となった女性たちのサポート活動を契機に設立された。1985年の男女雇用機会均等法は、企業が「総合職」と「事務職」という雇用区分を設定することによって骨抜きにされ、また法令自体も「雇用区分ごと」という文言によりそれを許容してきた。こうした現状に対して立ち上がった女性たちをサポートするため、WWNは国際機関への訴え、それがもたらす外圧によって日本政府や裁判の動向に影響を与えていくこと、報道機関を活用して世論を喚起していくこと、インターネットで積極的に情報を公開していくことを4つの柱として活動に従事してきた。特に国際機関への訴えは、女性たちにとって正当な調停条件をもたらすための大きな力となっている。国際活動の中で欠かせない英語、そして若者の意識を高め社会改革をもたらす教育という面からも、語学教育に携わる先生たちにも協力を求めたい。

Background

Although the year 1985 saw the implementation of the Law for Equal Employment Opportunity for Men and Women (Equal Employment Act), corporations installed the dual ladder career system, career track for men and clerical course for women, to conceal obvious sexual discrimination. Relying on the phrase “within an employment division” included in the guidelines of the Equal Employment Act, they maintained that there was no sexual discrimination within the clerical course that consisted entirely of women. In consequence, an overwhelming majority of women were hindered from equal chances for career education and promotions. It was not until 1994 that women working at Sumitomo Electric Industries, Sumitomo Chemical Co., Sumitomo Metal Industries, Nomura Securities Co., Okaya & Co., and Kanematsu Co. started to sue these companies to rectify the wage gap. The monthly wage of the women working at Sumitomo was about 250,000 less than the men with an equivalent academic record who entered the company about the same time. Although they had appealed to the public agency equivalent of today's Women's Bureau of the Ministry of

Health and Labour Welfare for mediation, the agency's decision was not to arbitrate, with only one exception. They took their cases to the court in 1995, and the plaintiffs of Sumitomo Electric Industries also sued the nation to challenge their administration of the Equal Employment Act.

International Activities

In 2000, the Osaka District Court ruled that the wage gap between men and women was "against the Constitution but not against the public order and morals," and the plaintiffs of Sumitomo Electric Industries lost the case. At the High Court, however, considering our lobbying activities at the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the judges succeeded in convincing the company. The word "international" appeared as many as four times in the settlement document. In 2003, a settlement was reached in favor of the plaintiffs and they were promoted to Section Chief. Subsequently, the Sumitomo Chemical and Sumitomo Metal cases closed also with favorable settlement conditions for the women. Although the situations have changed since that time, the workplace still operates with a dual ladder career system, and the rates of men and women in managerial levels are greatly unbalanced: 3,279 men and 53 women (1.6%) at Sumitomo Electric and 1,253 men and 3 women (0.2%) in Sumitomo Metal.

The Working Women's Network has developed dynamic international activities in these 12 years supporting the women who sued these companies. We participated in the World Conference on Women held in Beijing, New York and Seoul in 1995, 2000, and 2005, traveled in the E.U. and the U.S. to visit such UN organizations as the International Labour Organization and CEDAW, and held workshops at research institutions like Princeton University and the University of Hawaii.

As one of the most successful activities, I would like to report on the CEDAW council on the Japanese governmental report held at the UN in New York in July 2003. The WWN, along with the plaintiffs, attended the February working committee that preceded the council to point out the problem areas in Japan and to make three proposals for the realization of sexual equality: 1) prohibition of indirect discrimination, 2) deletion of the phrase "within an employment division" from the guidelines of the Equal Employment Act, and 3) legislation of pay equity. Moreover, lobbying activities of the WWN were carried out at a meeting with the CEDAW committee members a day prior to the July plenary meeting. The following day's hearings saw the CEDAW committee members take up every single point we appealed for and the Japanese government was severely reprimanded. The advisory document issued from the CEDAW to the government in August included the first two of our three propositions.

The next goal for the WWN was to bridge the CEDAW advisory opinions to the revision of the Equal Employment Act. From 2005 to 2007, we held many seminars and symposiums inviting Diet members, lawyers and researchers. We also attended meetings for the revision of the act composed of the government, employers and employees. At the same time, we carried forward with our negotiations with the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. Along with these activities, we held meetings within the Diet to deliver workers' actual opinions to its members. These activities brought together various women's NGOs focused on domestic violence, sexual harassment and non-regular employment. The Action Center for Working Women (ACW2), the first working women's organization in Japan, established in January 2007, was also present. The nationwide activities of women were thus gathered together to realize the stipulation of the prohibition of indirect discrimination in the Equal Employment Act. Unfortunately, however, the problematic phrase, "within an employment division," remained.

Today women constitute 43% of 55 million employees and 70% of non-regular employees.

With wage discrimination between men and women still existent and the growing problem of non-regular workers, the realization of pay equity is becoming more and more important. In order to further our cooperation with international organizations and thus to pressure the Japanese government harder, we planned our “Trip to ILO” calling on four plaintiffs of the Kanematsu lawsuit, researchers and lawyers. It was a study tour of pay equity.

Twenty-six of us visited various UN organizations for human rights and labour to appeal for the Kanematsu case. The plaintiffs showed the results of job analysis that stated how the jobs done by them and the male workers were of equal value, and the former plaintiffs of the Sumitomo group and Okaya & Co. reported the cases of indirect discrimination. Having frozen their clerical courses, their companies started to hire 3-year contract workers to fill the void. The group went on to England, visiting labor unions and researching the actual conditions of pay equity.

The Kanematsu case at the High Court was closed on January 31, 2008, and the dual ladder career system was ruled for the first time to violate Article 4 of the Labor Standards Law. The clerical work at this trading company was confirmed to be equivalent to that of the career track. The result reflects the evidential power of job assessments for which researchers and employees spent so much time and energy, and also highlighted was the importance of the external pressure brought by the plaintiffs’ appeals and presentations of trial records to the ILO.

The court ruled that four plaintiffs be paid a gross amount of ¥ 72,500,000 as the compensation for their wages, retirement benefits, and pain and suffering damages. Considering that the Sumitomo Corporation’s lawsuits four years ago only considered the pain and suffering damages, it is a huge step forward. The claims of two plaintiffs, however, were rejected on the basis that the secretarial work was not difficult, did not need specialist knowledge and that the length of service did not reach 15 years. Both the defendant and the plaintiffs are appealing to the Supreme Court.

In activities that seek the correction of wages and employment discrimination between men and women, the cooperation with international organizations and the pressure it brings to the Japanese government are the driving force. I would like to ask teachers of English to bring this sexual discrimination issue into their classrooms to heighten the awareness of young people, both women and men, who are soon to be the bearers of Japanese society.

Shizuko Koedo is Chairperson of the Working Women’s Network in Japan. She worked at a trading company for 42 years and has since dedicated her lifework to the elimination of discrimination between men and women. In 1995, she was instrumental, along with the Working Women’s Network, in supporting the plaintiffs in the famous Sumitomo court case.

Women in the Workplace: An Advertiser's Perspective

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Abstract

Advertisements everywhere tell us what it means to be a desirable woman and the underlying message is she must be beautiful. Advertisers are notorious for promoting a “beauty ideal” and this makes women unhappy with themselves which encourages them to consume more to feel better. This article will illustrate how the media pressures women to look a certain way. In particular, it will focus on how black women struggle to create positive self images of themselves based on the beauty ideal, which is a standard embodied in a blond, blue eyed, white woman. As black women are the antithesis of this, they are unable to build a positive self image, which leaves them feeling inadequate. If women, especially black women, are to realise their full potential in the workplace and their personal lives, they have to recognise they are being manipulated by the media and gain confidence in their own self-expression.

要旨

あらゆる広告が、望ましい女性であるということが何を意味するのかを私たちに伝え、その根底には、女性は美しくなければならないというメッセージがある。周知のように、広告業者は「理想の美」というものを促進するが、それは同時に女性に自分の容姿に対する不満を抱かせ、気持ちを慰めるための消費へと向かわせている。本稿は、いかにメディアが女性に対してある一定の容姿を獲得するよう圧力をかけているかを論じるが、その中でも特に、金髪碧眼の白人女性を基準とした理想の美をつきつけられた黒人女性が直面する、肯定的自己イメージを作り上げるための苦闘に焦点を当てる。白人中心の美の基準の対極に置かれるため、黒人女性は肯定的自己イメージを持たず、無力感に苛まれている。女性、ことに黒人女性が、職場や生活において潜在的可能性を最大限に発揮していくためには、自分たちがメディアにより操られているということを認識し、自分たちの自己表現のありかたに自信を得ていかなければならない。

The Role of Beauty in the Workplace

While opportunities for women in business have improved considerably, it remains clear that the doors to the top are not always open to them. Thousands of qualified women are routinely being denied the opportunity to advance to upper levels of management in corporate America (Castro, 1997). The “glass ceiling” is a term that describes the artificial plateau that allows women to advance only to a certain level in the decision-making process and no further. However, the “glass ceiling” is not the only obstacle that women have to navigate in the workplace. Women’s opportunities are also limited by or advanced by the way they look. Since 1971 the law in America has recognized that a standard of perfection against which a woman’s body is to be judged may exist in the workplace, and if she falls short of it, she may be fired (Wolf 2002). However, no such standard exists for men. Although men are expected to conform to a standard that is well groomed and often uniformly clothed (read professional image), women are to dress in a way that is not only professional, but also conforms to an institutionalised standard of beauty.

In this paper, I will explore the various ways advertisers put pressure on women to look a certain way. In addition, I will look at how these pressures affect black women and the lengths they often have to go to in order to conform to society's idea of what beauty is. Finally, ways in which we can debunk and move beyond these so called beauty ideals will be discussed.

Oftentimes, the only way for women to distinguish themselves in the workplace is based not so much on what they say but what they wear and most importantly how they look. This is what Naomi Wolf (2002) refers to as the Professional Beauty Qualification (PBQ). The PBQ is based on the premise that "all the professions into which women are making strides are being rapidly reclassified –*so far as the women in them are concerned*–as display professions" (p.27). According to Wolf, prior to women entering the workforce, there was a clearly defined class of women explicitly employed for their "beauty". These jobs were called "display professions" and included fashion mannequins, dancers, and higher paid sex workers such as escorts. The "display professions now include flight attendants, actresses and secretaries (ibid). PBQ is being widely institutionalised as a condition for women's hiring and promotion. This "condition" can lead to harassment and even to a woman losing her job once she no longer looks the part. This is a stark reality as beauty has become a "legitimate" and necessary qualification for a woman's rise in power. It would appear that the closer women come to power, the more physical self –consciousness and sacrifice are asked of them. "Beauty" becomes the condition for a woman to take the next step. Simply put, all the work experience and academic qualifications women have achieved and continue to achieve means precious little unless she looks the part.

Beauty is a political idea because throughout history beauty has generally been associated with what is good. Beauty is both a set of standards to which we must conform even if it means undergoing painful surgery and a set of restricted behaviours, which define what is useful, acceptable and worthwhile in a woman. As a standard of comparison, the beauty ideal can cause resentment and dissatisfaction when not achieved. People who do not fit the "beauty ideal" may even be ostracised from within their own communities. But what is ideal beauty anyway? We see it everywhere, from paintings, to magazines to TV. Ideals evolve over time, or they get stuck in a permanent loop.

As far back as 1968, Cobbs and Grier defined the beauty ideal as a standard embodied in a blond, blue eyed, white-skinned girl with regular features. Although the reference here is dated, this definition is as true now as it was back then. Having said that, ideals evolve over time, or they get stuck in a permanent loop. Nonetheless, it would appear that the concept of beauty rests on the premise that beauty is something to be lived up to which is an impossible task given how unrealistic such ideals often are. As for today, the model, Christie Brinkley who is often seen in ads for *COVERGIRL Cosmetics* is someone who personifies society's idea of beauty, inasmuch as she is a blond, blue-eyed, white-skinned woman with regular features. We are so used to seeing the aforementioned beauty stereotype in the media that we have come to assume that such features have always been considered ideal. The mass media's role in our lives is to tell us that unless we look like the "Christie Brinkley's" of the world, we are worthless. Beauty has and will continue to inspire us and unfortunately, this unrealistic quest for beauty via thinness has led to eating disorders such as bulimia and anorexia. In the 1880's however, wide hips and bottoms were once so prized that women hid their unfashionably slim hips beneath bustles, an undergarment that tied at the waist and padded their backsides. Furthermore, at one time, smaller breasts reigned as the ideal. Unlike today where women wear push-up bras or get breast implants to enhance their breasts, in the 1920's, women sought out breast flatteners (Etkoff 2007). These examples show that the ideals of beauty are constantly changing and beauty is and always has been a moving target.

Promoting the beauty ideal

The advertisers who make women's mass culture possible depend on making women feel bad enough about their faces and bodies to spend more money on worthless and pain-inducing products than they would if they felt innately beautiful (Wolf 2002, p.84). Countless ads reinforce insecurity by asking women to view their face and bodies as an ensemble of discrete parts, each in need of a major overhaul. As Douglas (1995) puts it,

We have learned to despise the curves, bulges, stretch marks, and wrinkles that mean we've probably worked hard in and out of our homes, produced some fabulous children, enjoyed a good meal or two, tossed back a few drinks, laughed, cried, gotten sunburned more than once, endured countless indignities, and, in general, led pretty full and varied lives (p.12).

The mass media often trivialises women's lives and achievements narrowing the litmus test of female worth based on her appearance alone and in so doing, ads have alienated women from their bodies.

Ads instruct us to assume a self-conscious perspective; to view our physical selves through the "censorious eyes" of others (Jacobson & Mazur 1995). As a direct consequence, advertising erodes women's self-esteem then offers to sell it back for a price. Each of us has a "self-image", a perception of how we believe we look to others. People who are happy with their self-image possess a great deal of self-esteem and are happy in their skin. For those who are not, plastic surgery – whether cosmetic or reconstructive – encourages and promotes a strong positive self-image. It seems that some women equate plastic surgery and artificial beauty with improved self-esteem especially when you consider that in 2007, 11.7 million surgical and non surgical cosmetic procedures were performed in the United States as reported by the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ASAPS). Women had over 10.5 million cosmetic procedures, accounting for 92 percent of the total. The top five surgical procedures in 2007 were, breast augmentation, liposuction, eye surgery, abdominoplasty and breast reduction. The top five non surgical procedures were Botox injection, hyaluronic acid, laser hair removal, microdermabrasion and laser skin resurfacing. Unfortunately, to become more beautiful there is often a price to pay and beauty comes at a hefty price, as the table below illustrates:

Table 1. The cost of beauty

Treatment	Price
Breast Augmentation	\$5,000-\$8,000
Botox	\$400
Eyelid surgery	\$4,000-\$5,000
Facelift	\$7,000-\$9,000
Laser skin resurfacing	\$2,500-\$5,000
Liposuction	\$2,500-\$10,000
Silicone	\$500-\$1,000

Source: plasticsurgeons.com

In addition to the monetary costs, the high price that women pay includes their lives and health, which are lost to self-imposed starvation and complications from silicone breast implants and other procedures. Cosmetic surgery is presented as routine, but it does present a significant risk to health. Some risks include post-surgical infection, adverse reactions to anaesthesia, injury to facial nerves (in the case of face lifts), burns, and nerve compression (in the case of liposuction). It seems that some women have astronomical expectations in terms

of what surgery can actually achieve. However, the reality is that plastic surgery does not always make your fantasies come true, and the psychological effects of some of the procedures can have far-reaching consequences. Patients who are dissatisfied with their surgery may request repeat procedures in an attempt to grasp the elusive “beauty ideal”. They may also experience depression, adjustment problems as well as self-destructive behaviour and anger towards the surgeon and their staff. Add to that the impossible-to-measure cost of lost self regard and limited personal horizons, and it could be said that women are fighting a losing battle. A case in point is the TV show, *The Swan*. This is a reality TV show that offers average-looking women “extreme makeovers” including several forms of plastic surgery. These women compete against each other as they have their faces rearranged; their teeth fixed and so on in order to be declared “The Swan” at the end. At the end of each episode however, a contestant is sent home having changed but not enough. These women are convinced that their self-worth is wrapped up in their physical appearance, and this is then altered to meet some unspecified standard of beauty.

The psychological costs of advertising induced self-consciousness are difficult to quantify. For most women, they include an endless self-scrutiny that is tiresome at best and paralysing at worst. As Susan Brownmiller (1984) writes in her classic treatise on the feminine ideal,

Because she is forced to concentrate on the minutiae of her bodily parts, a woman is never free of self-consciousness. She is never quite satisfied, and never secure, for desperate, unending absorption in the drive for perfect appearance-call it feminine vanity-is the ultimate restriction on freedom of mind” (p.51).

Given all of this, as women we need to pause and rethink what society has done to create a world of false realities through our images.

The Black Women: The Antithesis of the Beauty Ideal

As black women try to get a foothold in society, they face two major setbacks. Not only do they grow old one but they are the antithesis of the beauty ideal. In their book *Black Rage*, Grier and Cobbs (1968) expend great energy creating the context for and a full description of black woman’s self-hatred. Various illustrations of her hair-straightening and skin-lightening efforts, which, despite the pain, achieve only a small degree of true success, exemplify the black woman’s never-ending struggle to approximate the white ideal of beauty. Grier and Cobbs contend that black women are the antithesis of American beauty. With models like Christie Brinkley being used as yardsticks, black women are socialised into thinking that that they have to appear white in order to be considered beautiful. This is a lot for the black woman to live up to and as this is an impossible situation that they are in, it is understandable that some black women exhibit such “self-hatred”. Femininity then, is out of reach for black women and since her reference point is the enviously revered white woman, the despised and debased darker sister is regulated to the social role of ugly duckling. Consequently it is inevitable that the black woman “will develop a damaged self-concept and an impairment of her feminine narcissism which will have profound consequences for her character development” (p.41).

If it was so honourable and glorious to be black, why was it the yellow-skinned people among us who have so much prestige? Even a child in the first grade could see that this was so from what happened in the classroom and on school programs. The light-skinned

children were always the angels, fairies and queen of school plays. The lighter the girl, the more money and prestige she was apt, and expected, to marry. Was it really honorable to be black? (Hurston, 1984).

The passage above is an observation made by a child in Zora Neale Hurston's book, "My People, My People". The child is operating in a context where people learn early on that colour IS significant, and she is clearly being taught the message that white beauty is the standard to aspire to. This message originated in the broader society, but was accepted by Hurston's own black community and taught to the children at an early age. Centuries of this sort of discrimination and the perpetuation of distortions and stereotypes have led many black women to internalise these negative messages, to reject their physical selves, to not recognise their own beauty and to be as critical of each other as is the mainstream society.

Black women's search for societal acceptance often encompasses the struggle between natural and socially constructed ideas of beauty. Given the racially conscious society that we live in, presenting a physical image and being accepted is a complex negotiation between two different worlds. In addition, black women also face alienation from each other within the black community itself based on skin colour. As a result, even today there is an ongoing battle between light-skinned and dark-skinned women.

In a 1982 essay, Alice Walker called this prejudicial treatment "colourism." This colour consciousness is rooted in the social, political, and economic conditions that existed during the centuries of slavery in the U.S. (Okazawa-Rey, Robinson & Ward 1987, p.92). Slave women with light skin, long or wavy hair, and European or white features were allowed to work in the house. Meanwhile, women with brown or dark skin and features specific to blacks (i.e. wider facial features and kinky hair) were made to work in the fields. This racial categorisation has brought on what is termed as the *Lily Complex*, or a belief that one has to shift, mask or obscure one's physical appearance to conform to the standards of the dominant society in order to be thought of as beautiful. Unfortunately, "the woman shifts by giving up parts of herself, losing touch with her authentic core, and suppressing who she is" (Jones & Shorter-Gooden 2003).

From a black woman's perspective, there is only one black woman featured in much of the current advertising imagery on television or in print. She is the light-skinned black woman, the most popular woman in the visual media. This black standard of beauty is also apparent in any rap or Rhythm and Blues music video where the noticeable trend is that of light-skinned and long-haired woman. In TV shows and movies dark-skinned women can sometimes be heard saying "she thinks she's white" or "she's acting white" about a light-skinned woman. In general, people have exhibited a preference for lighter skin and Eurocentric features in their friends, acquaintances, and at times, even themselves. Invariably, people tend to associate more positive personality traits to those with light skin, and negative characteristics with those with dark skin (Anderson & Cromwell 1977, Blair *et al*, 2002). Ads for hair straighteners marketed by white companies suggests to blacks that only through changing physical features will persons of African descent be afforded class mobility within the African-American community and social acceptance by the dominant culture. Black women models such as Naomi Campbell and Tyra Banks find that they have greater crossover success if their images are altered by long, straight wigs, weavers, or bonded hair so that they resemble the "wannabes" – folks who affirm the equation of whiteness with beauty by seeking to take on the characteristic look of whiteness (hooks 1994, p. 180)

As we have observed, the length of a woman's hair, its texture and especially her skin colour too often determine whether she is seen as attractive. For many black women, hair,

more than anything else, is a symbol of how much the women “shift” to be accepted. Hair makes a powerful statement, and how it is worn is often taken as an indicator of the woman’s specific identity, stance, or station in life. For black women, decisions about whether to cut their hair, straighten it, braid it, or knot it are choices heavy with import because they know that the beholder will decide her worth upon a code of his or her own. “Good hair” has long been a mark of status in the Black Community. Good hair is the texture of hair which is straight or wavy and not so tightly curled; it is also usually long hair. Often a person with “good hair” also has a light-brown skin colour. “Bad hair” is the texture of hair which is very tightly curled (also called coarse, kinky or nappy); it is also usually short hair (Weathers 1991, p.60). Unfortunately, status has been ascribed to these features and associated with a colour-caste system imposed on black people since the time of slavery. Since lighter-skinned black people are most often genetically connected to intergenerational pairings of both white and black people, they tend to look more like whites. Females who were the offspring of generations of interracial mixing were more likely to have long, straight hair. The exploitative and oppressive nature of colour caste system in white supremacist society has always had a gendered component (hooks 1994, p. 178).

Black women are under pressure to prove them selves and take a stand in a world that forces them to emulate white beauty and White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) social outcomes. Since black women have little political or economic power, survival needs often force them to make a trade off – for example, to straighten their hair for that promotion which they believe will increase their family’s income. Yet at the same time, it is important that their identities are not compromised. But again, the advertisers don’t make it easy. Bombardment by images of light-skinned black females with long straight hair, coupled with historical condemnation of natural hairstyles plays a significant role in terms of how black women see themselves. The decisions black women make about their hairstyles can still cause consternation especially when they choose to wear African-inspired hairstyles. For example, to wear hair extensions can be read as a sign of fraudulence and disrespect to one’s authentic Black identity; and to wear dreadlocks, despite the ubiquitous presence and honorable religious beliefs of Rastafarianism, can still ignite family feuds. However, to have natural hair, despite the inferior connotations assigned to it in the past, has long been connected with self-pride for Black people. In the 1980’s Black hair was about expressing one’s individuality. If the Afro was meant to represent group pride and unity, the endless array of styles and variations that followed in its wake showed individuality and uniqueness (Byrd & Tharps 2001, p.103).

In the workplace, however, there are serious repercussions if a black woman refuses to conform to the standards laid down by the “establishment”. This “establishment” is the one that decides how we should look, what we should wear and for the most part how we should behave. In most cases, black hair still remains an issue of political and social contention in America and some black women risk “professional suicide” over the hairstyles they choose to wear in the workplace (Byrd & Tharps 2001). In the 1980’s there were a string of cases involving black women who were fired from their jobs because they chose to assert their individuality by wearing African-inspired hairstyles such as braids and cornrows. Employers continuously reprimanded or dismissed black women who wore what they (the employers) considered to be “extreme and unusual hairstyles” (p. 105). In 1987, an employee at the Marriot Hotel in Washington, D.C. was told to take out her braids by her supervisor as they did not comply with the company’s dress code. When the woman refused, stating that her braids were “an expression of my heritage, culture, and racial pride”, she was summarily dismissed (ibid.). She promptly filed a suit with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and after the case gained national attention her employers issued a directive saying that “well-groomed, neat, clean braided hair worn by females

without any beads or jewellery is to be considered acceptable and not contrary to our image” (Henderson, 1988).

Following this case and many others across America at that time, the issue of braids and cornrows in the workplace became a political one. There was an outcry from many women in the Black community who felt that it was outrageous that a person’s job should depend on a hairstyle when the hairstyle has nothing to do with the ability to perform a job (p.106). Many employers were intimidated by the statements that they thought braids made as they may bring attention to the fact that a candidate comes from a different culture, with a different value system (Hanigan, 1988). Black women now had to contend with one more issue as they attempted to enter and move up the ladder in the workplace. Aside from the possible repercussions of racism and sexism, many now had to hope that their choice of hairstyle would not offend or scare their bosses (Byrd & Tharps 2001, p.107). Consequently, the ever-elusive beauty ideal becomes a case of racial discrimination and cultural repression for black women.

Black women can feel more whole not just by carving out spaces where they can speak and act in the ways that feel most natural, but also by embracing every facet of their unique beauty. Someday in the future, once black women recognise they are being manipulated and reject the unattainable standard of beauty that they feel obligated to adhere to, they may look at pictures of Maya Angelou, Oprah Winfrey and others like them and say, “Aren’t they beautiful women?”

So where does all this leave women in terms of the ever so elusive beauty ideal? There is hope as magazines such as *Oprah* are beginning to highlight the risks involved in cosmetic surgery, and they are also taking advertisers to task for setting an unattainable standard of beauty. Any change in the culture of advertising that allows for a broader definition of beauty and encourages women to be more accepting and comfortable with their natural appearance is a step in the right direction. The good news is that there are some advertisers that choose to celebrate women of all ages, wrinkles and all, and who are sending out positive messages about body image. *Dove’s* ‘Campaign for Real Beauty’¹ for example sets a more realistic standard for attractiveness. *Dove* knows that women can be beautiful at any age and their ads allow women to embrace themselves whatever their age and however they look. Their ads feature curvy, full-bodied, real woman and not the traditional models that are often used in ads and in so doing, *Dove* wishes to debunk the stereotypical beauty stereotype that exists. This is evident in the ads that follow. The ad below (fig.1) shows three women dressed in their underwear that look quite happy. They appear to be having fun and look comfortable being in their underwear and bearing their skin for all to see.



Figure 1. Women comfortable in their skin

Dove asks the question, “Can a woman be beautiful at any age? And through their ads, *Dove* hopes to inspire women to think about beauty and aging in a whole new way and to celebrate what could be their most exciting years.



Figure 2. Mirenete, 54.

The ad above (fig. 2) features a naked black woman who is evidently comfortable in her skin. The rolls of fat that society deems unsightly, the model celebrates and owns completely. As Mirenete puts it, "I think my skin looks lovely and my body, well, it's changed a lot...It's apart of getting older."



Figure 3. Daniela, 61.

In this ad (fig.3), the model is again naked and she acknowledges AND accepts the changes in her skin and her body. Consequently, she refuses to wage a war against aging and instead chooses to embrace the changes that maturity brings. Daniela claims that “anti-aging means that you’re constantly fighting the natural phenomenon of aging.”

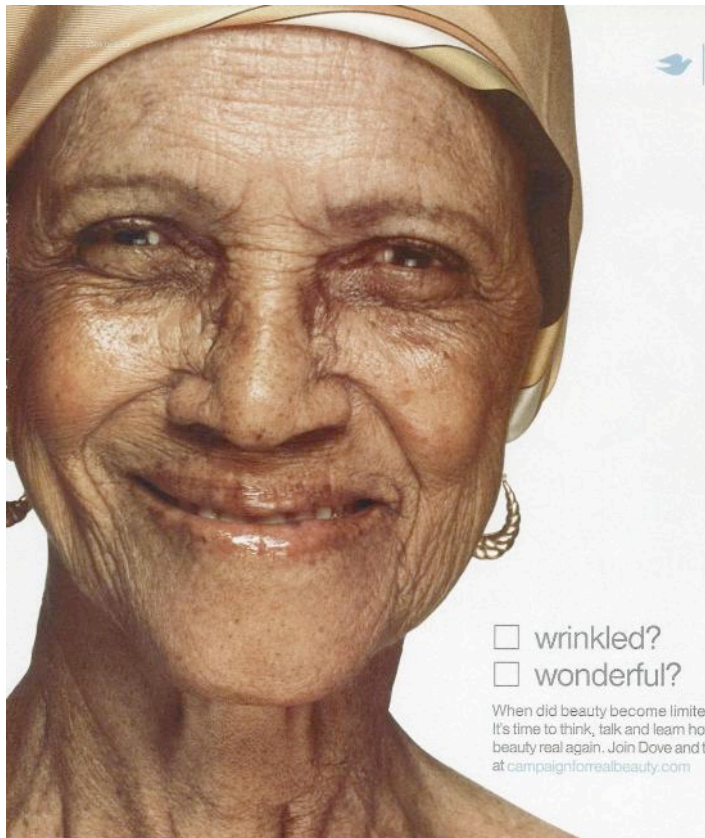


Figure 4. A real beauty.

From this paper it is quite clear that as women, regardless of race or background, there is still a long way to go in terms of our self-acceptance. As long as society continues to place unrealistic pressure on women to be beautiful, we will remain trapped in a world we do not fit into. As women, we need to realise that beauty comes in different shapes, sizes and ages and as such we need also to pause and rethink about what society has done to create a world of false images of us. Rather than concern ourselves unduly with the media images that persist in undermining and dehumanising us, we must reject those notions of beauty that society places on us and embrace those that empower us and in so doing, celebrate who we really are. After all, every woman deserves to feel beautiful just the way she is.

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Human Trafficking: Japan

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Abstract

Human trafficking is a worldwide crime based on coercion, deceit, and the exploitation of others. In Japan specifically, women are trafficked for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation entering Japan through various means, including the “entertainment” visa. Japanese men are as much the perpetrators as the traffickers are as they seek sexual “services,” not just in Japan but also as sex tourists in other countries. Sensitization of men is urgently needed to raise awareness of the situation of women who “entertain” them. An innovative way to present this human rights violation is through the English courses. Through the presentation of case studies, facts, discussions, and assignments to read news and websites rich with information, the views and behaviors of those Japanese men familiar with these practices can slowly begin to change. Language teachers are an excellent resource for human rights advocacy as educators presenting the issues in a non-threatening manner.

要旨

人身売買は、強制や欺瞞に基づき他者を搾取する世界的犯罪である。特に日本では、興行ビザを含む様々な方法で日本に入国した女性が、商業的な性的搾取のために売買されている。日本国内で性的「サービス」を求めるだけでなく、海外にもセックス・ツーリストとして出かけていく日本人男性には、人身売買業者と同様の罪があると言える。彼らを「楽しませる」女性たちの置かれた状況に対する意識を高めるためには、男性の感化が急務であり、英語の授業の中でこの人権侵害の問題を提示していくことは、その大きな一助となるだろう。ケース・スタディや事実を提示し、ディスカッションを進め、情報豊かなニュースやウェブサイトを読むといった課題を通じて、上記のような慣習に慣れ親しんだ日本人男性の考え方や行動に徐々に変化をもたらすことも可能であろう。険悪な、緊迫した雰囲気を作り出すことなく、こういった問題を提示していくことのできる教育者として、語学教員は人権擁護活動の一端を担うことができる。

Introduction

Although most nations in the world have eliminated slavery, human trafficking, as a modern form of human slavery, has emerged. Human trafficking has only reached public consciousness since the beginning of the twenty-first century, even though it is not a new issue and has been a concern globally since the mid-nineteenth century (Kempadoo, 2005). Human trafficking is an increasing global threat to the freedom and lives of millions of women, children, and men. It affects an estimated 800,000 people internationally each year, with an estimated 80 percent of trafficked victims being women and girls and up to 50 percent being minors (US Department, 2007). Of transnational victims, the majority are females trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation. However, these estimates do not include the millions of men, women, and children trafficked within their own national borders mostly for forced or bonded labor. The International Labor Organization estimates there are 12.3 million people involved in bonded labor, forced labor, forced child labor, and sexual servitude, with other estimates ranging from 4 to 27 million. According to the US Federal Bureau of Investigation, trafficking in persons generates an estimated US\$9.5 billion

annually, and it is closely connected with drug trafficking, document forgery, money laundering, and human smuggling (US Department, 2006). Other estimates by the United Nations and experts place the total market value of illicit human trafficking at US\$32 billion, US\$10 billion derived from the sale of individuals and the rest representing profits estimated from the victims’ activities or produced goods (UNODC, 2007c). The extent of trafficking is difficult to assess because of its illegal activity. It is the fastest growing business of organized crime and the biggest violation of human rights (Tomasi, 2000).

The purpose of this paper is to raise awareness about human trafficking worldwide, distinguishing between trafficking and smuggling and reviewing the role of traffickers. The links between trafficking and globalization, prostitution and sex trafficking, and trafficking and gender are also presented, as well as the effects of trafficking on women and more specific information regarding trafficking in Japan. In addition, ideas for teaching about human trafficking in the foreign language classroom are introduced.

Human Trafficking Worldwide

Every country in the world is affected by trafficking for forced labor or sexual exploitation, with persons from 127 countries exploited in 137 nations (UNODC, 2007c). The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, or the UN Palermo Protocol, adopted in 2000, is a significant milestone in efforts internationally to stop the trade in people. It provides the first internationally agreed definition of trafficking in persons, provides a framework for protecting and assisting victims, requires countries to criminalize trafficking in persons, and requires cooperation within and between countries (UNODC, 2007a). The protocol defines trafficking in persons as the following:

...the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payment or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (United Nations, 2000, p. 2)

In addition trafficking in children refers to the following:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in [the trafficking in persons definition]. “Child” shall mean any person under eighteen years of age. (United Nations, 2000, p. 2)

The following chart summarizes what trafficking in persons entails:

PROCESS	+	MEANS	+	PURPOSE
Recruitment		Threat		Prostitution
OR		OR		OR
Transportation		Coercion		Pornography
OR		OR		OR
Transferring		Abduction		Violence/Sexual Exploitation
OR		OR		OR
Harboring		Fraud		Forced Labor
OR		OR		OR
Receiving		Deceit		Slavery/Similar Practices
		OR		OR

Deception OR Abuse of Power Organ Removal (Adopted from Shujaat, Wagner-Rizvi, & Gulrez, 2006)
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In effect since December 2003, the UN Protocol makes human trafficking a crime and has been signed by nearly 120 states and ratified by 110 countries. Still, participating governments' criminal justice systems have not curbed the practice effectively (UNODC, 2007c). The protocol's emphasis on women and children follows a stereotype of women as victims while men as less prone to be victimized. While the majority of victims are reportedly females, it is important to challenge perceptions that when women move out in the world alone, they are forced into the sex industry (Jagori, 2005). Men are also victims of trafficking but are more invisible as their situations are less recognized and more difficult to address (Ditmore, 2005). Trafficked men are invisible and their situations less recognized and more difficult to address (Ditmore, 2005). Human trafficking thrives because of conditions of high profits with low risks, existing in a market-based economy on principles of supply and demand (Polaris Project, 2006b). And despite the estimates, the clandestine nature of human trafficking makes meaningful victim estimates very difficult (OAS, n.d.).

Trafficking vs. Smuggling

Trafficking in persons is often confused with smuggling of migrants across international borders. However, there are distinct differences between the two that involve consent, exploitation, and transnationality issues. The smuggling of migrants involves those who consented to being smuggled, even when putting themselves in dangerous or degrading conditions (Danziger, 2006). However, trafficking victims never consented or, if initially consented, the consent is meaningless by the deceptive, coercive, or abusive actions of traffickers. Smuggling ends when the migrant arrives at his/her destination, whereas trafficking includes ongoing victim exploitation of some form to generate illicit profits for traffickers. Smuggling is always transnational, but trafficking can occur regardless of whether the victim is taken abroad or simply moved within the same country from one place to another. In addition, smuggling is a crime against the State that involves an illegal business transaction, whereas trafficking is a crime against the individual that includes deception, force, abuse, exploitation, etc. In general, trafficking is a form of irregular migration entailing violations of migrant rights.

Current problems with policy make appropriate responses to trafficking in persons difficult. For example, there is no systematic collection of data on trafficking at the national or global levels (Danziger, 2006). Legislation addressing trafficking is often lacking or is inadequate or not implemented. This makes the prosecution of traffickers difficult and even impossible to attain. In addition, the corruption of government officials in many countries facilitates trafficking, creating a serious threat to State functioning in the affected countries. And when prosecution of traffickers is possible, convictions are usually based on victim and/or witness testimony, which is hard to get as victims are deported as illegal migrants or, if identified as trafficked, may be too frightened to testify.

Dispelling Myths-The Truth

To clarify what human trafficking is and what it is not, it is important to dispel some myths about this crime. As stated above, trafficking in persons is not smuggling or forced movement. Trafficking does not require transportation or crossing state or national borders

(Polaris Project, 2006a). It does not require physical force, restraint, or bondage. Psychological means of control, such as abuse of legal processes and/or threats, are sufficient. Victims do not only come from poverty or from small rural villages, although poverty is correlated with trafficking as a push factor of vulnerability. However, poverty alone is not a single factor or universal indicator causing a person to be victimized. Victims come from a range of income levels, including from families of increased socioeconomic status. They can be rich or poor, adults or children, women or men, foreign nationals or citizens (Polaris Project, 2006b). Trafficking is not only for sexual exploitation, but as mentioned in the definition, also for forced labor (Polaris Project, 2006a). Consent is irrelevant, especially for minors, even when the victim initially consented to commercial sex or labor setting before force, fraud, or coercion was used against him/her. Payment is also irrelevant. In addition, not all foreign national victims are undocumented, as victims can be trafficked through legal or illegal means. At the same time, trafficking occurs not only in underground markets but also in legal and legitimate business settings.

Traffickers

Traffickers include a range of criminal operators from the individual pimps and small families to the loose-knit decentralized criminal networks and international organized criminal syndicates (Polaris Project, 2006b). Even family members, police officers, and kidnappers sell victims (Refugees International, 2002). In Japan, there are increasing numbers of family-run operations by foreign residents of Japan who return to their countries to recruit young girls with stories of the economic opportunities in Japan working in restaurants (Ryall, 2007). Trafficking occurs because there is a demand for the commercial exploitation and sexual abuse of women and children (Goodson, 2003). Traffickers recognize the demand and provide the supply. They earn large profits by filling the demand for trafficked women and children worldwide (Refugees International, 2002).

Links Between Trafficking and Globalization

Human trafficking is a product of the same technological, political, and economic forces that fuel globalization (Kapstein, 2006). Relaxed banking laws and sophisticated communication tools allow the easy exchange of assets internationally (Not for Sale, 2006). Organized crime syndicates use these tools to create efficient overseas networks. Local operators connect to an international sex industry searching to fill brothels, strip joints, and massage parlors. Capital flows where it can exploit cheap labor most easily, abandoning a location once assets it exploits are depleted or assets can be gained in other markets more easily. Recruitment areas shift rapidly from one zone of economic depression to another. Traffickers targeted girls from Southeast Asia (Thailand, Vietnam, Philippines) in the 1970s. In the 1980s, traffickers shifted to Africa (Ghana, Uganda, Nigeria). In the mid-1980s and early 1990s, Latin Americans were targeted (Brazil, Mexico, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Guatemala). When the Soviet Union collapsed, Eastern European women were victimized. After the millennium, prime recruitment areas include Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Georgia). Traffickers' expertise to exploit for profit responds quickly to changes in the market.

Links Between Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

Prostitution and related activities such as pimping and keeping brothels fuel the growth of modern-day slavery (US Department, 2004). Where prostitution is tolerated or legalized, there is a greater demand for trafficking victims that increase the numbers trafficked into the commercial sex industry. Regardless of whether women and girls enter prostitution as trafficked or not, a 2003 study in the *Journal of Trauma Practice* found that 89 percent of

them want to escape prostitution. Attempts by governments to regulate prostitution through licenses or medical check-ups do not address the routine violence and abuse that these women experience. Making prostitution legal only expands the market for commercial sex and criminal enterprises, as organized crime networks do not register with governments, do not protect women, and do not pay taxes. Legalization simply allows them to blend in, making it difficult for prosecutors to identify traffickers. The Internet also contributes to an increase in trafficked women and children for sexual purposes with sites featuring streaming videos of violent sexual acts, beatings, and child pornography (Refugees International, 2002). There are many myths about women entering prostitution, including that they become rich through prostitution, that they do it to support expensive habits, that it is like any other job, that it could be a harmless part-time job for college students, or that they do it because they like it (Seo, 2004). This might be true in some cases; however, the norm is that there are brutal accounts of initiation, rapes, physical assaults, sexual harassment, routine beatings, threats and humiliation to break down resistance. They are forced to endure daily violations and invasions of their bodies, often amounting to sexual torture.

Human Trafficking and Gender

In many countries, women and girls find themselves in subordinate positions in society and at the bottom of the economic ladder (IOM, 2004). Therefore, they are more prone to accept what appear to be attractive promises of economic opportunities and are more vulnerable to be victimized by traffickers. The feminization of migration also has increasing numbers of migrant women traveling on their own, placing more women at risk of exploitation. Unsuccessful economic transition, corruption, poor governance, and gender-based discrimination created by patriarchal structures add to the trafficking problem. Millions end up in slavery-like conditions in foreign countries without knowing their rights and ways to obtain assistance. As long as the trafficking market exists, the human rights abuses will continue. The root causes of trafficking call for long-term work that includes assistance and cooperation for stronger economies, civil society, democratic societies, and education systems.

Poverty, among other interconnected societal factors-regional conflict, responsibility to care for family members, oppression by family and community, lack of education opportunities, and lack of a decent labor market open for women-push women “voluntarily” to brokers (Motoyama, 2005). In addition, the global “free” market, with its ideology of people being free to pursue economic opportunities regardless of gender and race, pushes women to voluntarily become victims of exploitative trafficking. This same “free” market is causing a widening disparity between rich and poor and intensifies sexism and racism. The limited options in labor markets and the deterioration of working conditions for women leads to desperation and some into the sex industry. Compared to men’s work, women’s work is undervalued, but women’s sexuality is seen as a more valuable commodity than their abilities for the labor force. When men can buy both, a woman’s sexuality and her labor, this leads to a deflation of women’s labor force, and consequently, more women into the sex market. However, while poverty and inequality are main factors making certain populations more vulnerable, they are not the primary causes (Polaris Project, n.d.). Trafficking is a criminal industry driven by the ability to make high profits because of demand and the low risk of prosecution. Blaming poverty and inequality deflects blame from the key actors: the traffickers and customers that drive the demand.

Effects of Prostitution and Trafficking

The reasons why trafficked persons cannot or do not leave their exploitative situations are many. These may include effects of their trafficking experience that hinder them from

escaping or seeking help after escape, and many of these effects to trafficking seriously harms them physically and psychologically (Polaris Project, 2006c). Effects of not only trafficking but also prostitution may include fear, self-blame, low moral or self-esteem, distrust, hopelessness and resignation, helplessness, disassociation, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, and even normalization of their exploitation. There is also physical assault, rape, and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS (US Department, 2004). Women suffer from flashback, insomnia, and stress, and develop suicidal tendencies and dependence on drugs and alcohol as a coping mechanism that cause long-term psychiatric disabilities (Seo, 2004; Refugees International, 2002). Those who label prostitution as sex work must realize that no other job has these known risk factors. Children and women face stigmatization and shame as they are considered despoiled and face problems integrating when back in their communities, causing family breakdowns (Not for Sale, 2006). Some women undergo a change in values and become recruiters themselves trafficking their friends and relatives (ILO, 2004). Some women become pregnant, creating a problem of abandoned children, or they abort, sometimes resulting in sterility.

To confront trafficking, it is essential not only to educate people who may be in the supply side, but also to target destination countries (Hough, 2005), sensitize and train local police and pressure politicians.

Japan

Japan has one of the world's largest sex industries with around 150,000 foreign women working as hostesses, prostitutes, and exotic dancers (McCurry, 2004). In November 2000, the Asian Wall Street Journal estimated gross annual earnings of US\$33 to US\$84 billion (four to ten trillion yen) while in February 2003 the Financial Times placed the number at ten trillion yen, representing 1 to 3 percent of Japan's GNP (ILO, 2004). These numbers represent the enormity of Japan's sex industry. Besides strip clubs and hostess bars, other establishments include peep shows, snack bars, soaplands, massage parlors, telephone dating clubs, among others. Researchers and human rights groups estimate that thousands of women, mostly from poor parts of Asia, are trafficked to Japan to work in the sex industry every year (Japan Times, 2006). With countries identified as sites of origin, transit, destination, and/or internal trafficking, Japan is one of the largest destination countries for the transnational trafficking in women and children for sex and forced labor (Ryall, 2007). However, the victims are not always foreign women as trading of Japanese women and children is also a problem, exacerbated, according to the National Police Agency, by the reported 1,700 victims of child prostitution and pornography in 2003 (under 18 years of age). Japan is the leading source of child pornography that is facilitated by the Internet, and men engage in sex tourism to other Asian countries (Strom, 1999). With the sex industry greatly controlled by criminal organizations, support groups are at risk and cannot rescue victims easily or without risk (Matsumoto, 2005).

The immensity of the sex industry can only be possible through the demand of sexual services. A study found that 43.2% of salarymen reported having bought commercial sexual services (Anderson & O'Connell Davidson, 2002). Within these salarymen, those working in agriculture, fishing and forest industries were the most likely to have used prostitutes at 85.7%. those working in transportation related industries and sales accounted for more than 70% while business owners represented 70%. The least likely to report using prostitutes were students at 19%, those in social welfare at 25.8%, teachers at 28.6%, and those in the medical industry at 36%. The entertainment industry may be responsible for the high demand as it is an important component of Japanese business culture (ILO, 2004). Entertaining and building trust between co-workers, customers, and clients has a long tradition in Japan, some supported by corporate accounts. Businessmen use paid sex as a courtesy when arranging

commercial deals and if a firm does not offer sex to clients, it risks losing them to competitors who will (Not for Sale, 2006). In Japan, co-workers are seen frequenting the sex industry after work as a way of showing loyalty to their company. In addition to the local demand for sexual services, male clients from Korea, China, Taiwan, and Japan drive the demand for young virgin girls as sex with a virgin is believed to bring good luck for a new business venture and less exposure to sexually transmitted diseases (Not for Sale, 2006). To eliminate human trafficking, the demand side must be evaluated. But how can it be decreased or suppressed?

Entrance to Japan

To fill this demand, trafficking victims enter Japan legally-but later may overstay-or with forged documents. Besides the temporary visitor's visa, legal entrance includes visas for "Spouse or Child of Japanese National" or "Entertainer" visas (OAS, n.d.). In 2003, of 133,000 people who entered Japan on entertainer visas, Filipinos accounted for 60 percent (Human Trafficking, 2004). In 2004, Filipinos with an entertainer visa numbered 82,741, mostly women (Human Rights Osaka, 2007). In 2005, the number decreased to 47,765 and in 2006 to 8,607. The initial high numbers stem from the Philippines as the only country whose government certified entertainers for visas. However, the residence status of entertainer-visa holders was reviewed in March 2005 deleting from the Ministerial Ordinance the criteria requiring being "qualified by a foreign national or local government agency or an equivalent public or private organization" (p. 1). The change greatly impacted the Philippines since the qualification referred to the Artist Record Book (ARB), issued by organizations under the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency after determining applicants' dancing and singing abilities. A further amendment in 2006 tightened disqualification standards for operators and managers of inviting establishments and placed stricter obligations of contract payment of at least 200,000 JPY (MOFA, 2007). Still, victims, whether entering legally or illegally, are given high debts for being brought to Japan that must be repaid through work in the sex industry.

Although foreign entertainers are not allowed by law to work as hostesses, the government turns a blind eye (Silver, 2006). With the drop in entertainer visas for Filipinos, Indonesians are increasingly being recruited and there is risk that the problem may be pushed further underground.

Japan's Laws and Policy

In December 2002, Japan signed but not ratified the Palermo Protocol (UNODC, 2007b). However, it ratified the Protocol on the Convention on the Rights of the Child on child prostitution and pornography and the sale of children (ILO, 2004).

Although the Japanese government has known of the many women migrant workers who become victims of trafficking, the government has continuously deported them as "illegal workers" or "illegal visitors" under prostitution prevention and immigration statutes (Kiyosue, 2005). In June 2004, the United States published its fourth Trafficking in Persons Report and placed Japan in the Tier 2 Watch List, meaning the government does not fully comply with the minimum standards to eliminate trafficking but is making efforts to do so. After this publication and negative attention as the only industrialized developed nation in this list (Ryall, 2007), the Japanese government decided to write the Action Plan of Measures to Combat Trafficking in Persons and announced it on December 7, 2004 (Kiyosue, 2005). However, the government has no intention to legislate a law to protect and assist victims with the necessary and effective measures (Human Rights Osaka, 2005). Still, the Action Plan sets the protection of victims to include the recognition of victims; provision of shelters; counseling, consultation, and medical treatment; handling of victims seeking shelter at police

boxes; handling of status of residence; assurance of victim's safety; and repatriation assistance. Immigration revisions now allow victims to remain in Japan but the temporary, renewable visa issued may not permit them to work (Ryall, 2007). While the government says it will implement these measures, it has no legal binding or sufficient budget allocations (Human Rights Osaka, 2005). In addition, victims cannot use labor laws despite complaints of low or non-payment of wages, long working hours including night work, poor accommodation, unsafe/hazardous working environment, no access to social security or medical facilities, different work than described in contract or no contract at all (ILO, 2004). Labor laws would not apply because women are illegal or because they have been doing work outside their visa category such as hostessing under the entertainer visa.

In addition to the April 2004 establishment of the Inter-Ministerial Liaison Committee (Task Force) to combat trafficking and the December 2004 adoption of the Action Plan of Measures to Combat Trafficking in Persons, in July 2005, revised laws under the Penal Code and Immigration Act came into effect (Human Rights Osaka, 2005). Under the revised Penal Code, those who purchase and place a person under their control face three months to five years in prison. If the victim is a child, the maximum punishment is seven years. In trafficking cases for profits or sexual purposes, punishment is from one to 10 years. Under the revised Immigration Act, victims of trafficking are permitted to stay in Japan at the discretion of the Justice Minister in the meantime before returning to their countries. They are asked to cooperate in investigations during their stay. Foreign nationals involved in trafficking are to be deported while those who provided forged travel documents with intentions of sending them to Japan face up to three years in prison or a fine up to 3 million yen.

The Japanese government is not treating victims as immediately deportable criminals (Human Trafficking, n.d.). A grace period allows the development of cases against traffickers while victims are housed in shelters or detention facilities for illegal immigrants prior to deportation.

There are more laws that the Japanese government uses to curb the problem of human trafficking but are not effective in protecting victims. The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (1951) treats victims as criminals for overstaying their visas while the Anti-Prostitution Law forbids solicitation (Human Rights Osaka, 2005). Though illegal, prostitution is tolerated in "restricted sex-related businesses" under the Law on Control and Improvement of Amusement Business 1948 (revised 1998) providing services to fulfill "the sexual curiosity of clients of the opposite sex" (ILO, 2004, p. 38). Bars and nightclubs with hostessing fall under "entertainment businesses" but not "restricted sex-related businesses" (p. 38). Even with the Law on Prevention of Unjust Acts by Boryokudan (1991, revised in 1993 and 1997) (p. 45), boryokudans control many of these businesses. The Law on the Prohibition of Prostitution 1956 (revised in 2002) punishes intermediaries/brokers to prostitution (p. 46). The Labor Standards Law prohibits forced labor, exploitation, and debts while the Employment Security Law 1947 prohibits employment services that use physical violence, threat, or detention (p. 48). Under the Basic Law on Gender Equality 1999, the Experts Committee on Violence against Women discusses the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation (p. 49).

The Child Prostitution and Child Pornography law punishes those found guilty of paying for sex with children 17 and younger and bans the distribution, possession, production, import and export of child pornography (Strom, 1999). The government should revise the child pornography law to criminalize purchase, access, and possession of child pornography, as the present legality of purchase and possession of child pornography in Japan contributes to the demand for these images globally (US Department, 2007).

With a history of deporting refugees, Japan's protection of human rights is minimal

(Motoyama, 2005). This extends to the protection of trafficked foreign women into Japan. The immigration policies, coupled by social biases, create obstacles to a human rights-based approach for human trafficking. Victimized women are considered “illegal workers” or “illegal overstayers,” labeling them as criminals who offend public order and morality (Polaris Project, n.d.). Not all foreigners in the sex industry are trafficking victims, but many are.

Human trafficking is a serious violation of human rights. Understanding the realities of this crime through awareness is the initial step to eliminate it.

Recruiting to Japan

Traffickers to Japan range from complete strangers to recruitment by family members, acquaintances or friends, formerly trafficked or smuggled persons, local women, employers, job agencies, someone pretending to be in love with the victim, travel agencies, or email friends inviting them to Japan (ILO, 2004). Some are suspected to have been sold by their own parents. Still, it is the boryokudan members (yakuza) who are the most highly involved in the trafficking in persons, with increasing complicity and collaboration between boryokudans and foreign crime groups (p. 38).

Traffickers use various means to recruit women to Japan. For example, to lure Colombian women, traffickers have used newspaper advertisements such as: “Young models are sought, who wish to live abroad”; “Want to work abroad?”; “Difficult times? Take advantage of this opportunity! Solvent, determined, faithful foreigners wish to marry Colombian women” (ILO, 2004, p. 9). There are also offers of scholarships with opportunities to study in the US traveling via Japan, contracts with companies, marriage through photographs displayed in catalogues for Japanese men seeking Colombian wives, and dance or music groups. Deceptive recruitment practices include the promises of a different kind of work, fair living accommodation and higher wages, fair working conditions, lighter work, different work locations in Japan, and they are not informed or are misinformed about the debt they will incur prior to arrival, ranging from three to eight million yen (p. 69).

Many women know they will work as prostitutes but are unaware of the severe conditions that will force them to work (ILO, 2004). Some run away, but many are trapped with limited Japanese language, lack of understanding of Japanese labor/welfare/legal systems, and lack of friends’ or family’s support. To coerce women from leaving their situation, traffickers use threats or actual violence against their family; threaten or commit physical or sexual violence against the victim; withhold their passport, air ticket, or salary; control communications and movement; and/or threaten to report them to the police or immigration.

Numbers of Identified Trafficking Cases and Victims								
Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total
Number of cases	64	44	51	79	81	72	40	431
Number of arrested persons	40	28	41	58	83	78	41	369
Number of victims	65	55	83	77	117	58	43	498
Philippines	12	2		13	40	30	22	119
Thailand	39	40	21	48	21	3	4	176
Indonesia	4		3		44	14	11	76

Romania					4			4
Taiwan	7	3	12	5	4	10		41
Korea				3	1	1	5	10
Australia					1			1
Estonia					1			1
Colombia	3	6	43	5	1			58
Russia				2				2
Laos				1				1
China		4	2					6
Cambodia			2					2
Japan							1	1
(Source: National Police Agency in MOFA, 2007)								

The 58 identified victims for 2006 or 43 for 2007 represent less than half the number identified in 2005. Researchers and NGOs agree that the numbers are probably greater than government statistics. This decrease may be attributed in part to a move underground of exploitative sex businesses (US Department, 2007).

As long as the demand for sexual services remains, so will prostitution and trafficking (McCurry, 2004). With its high income level, people will take risks to reach Japan. In addition, better educating society, especially men, would potentially reduce the demand for sexual services and trafficked women (ILO, 2004). It is not only necessary to reach the victims, but also the perpetrators (brokers, bar owners, etc.) as well as the clients creating the demand.

Implications for Language Education

Sensitization of not only men but also women in society is very important to raise awareness about the situation of women in prostitution and women trafficked into prostitution. With easy access to the variety of sex establishments in Japan, it is essential to deconstruct the belief clients may have regarding women as commodities and the beliefs some women may hold that prostitution is only temporary with instant access to money and material gains. Again, most of the women in Japan's sex industry are not trafficked, but many are, especially those foreign women seeking economic opportunities. An innovative way to present this human rights violation is through the English courses many of these real and potential clients and sex industry workers may attend. Through the presentation of case studies, facts, discussions, and assignments to read news and websites rich with information, the views and behaviors of those Japanese men familiar with these practices can slowly begin to change. Human trafficking may be presented as part of global, gender, and human rights issues in the language classroom to provide a conversation starter, sharing of opinions, issue to debate, topic to role-play, etc. Examples include students sharing their views from a male and female perspective on sex districts such as Kabukichoo and Yoshiwara. Students could role play what both, men and women, would experience and feel if they were forced into prostitution. Questions to share opinions and debate could include the following: What would they do if they (both men and women) cannot escape and are forced to serve up to 15 clients per day? What are the implications for the spread of HIV/AIDS? What would be effective preventative measures to avoid women from being deceived and trafficked into Japan's sex industry? Would legalization of prostitution anywhere help protect women? What are the major links between prostitution and sex trafficking? They could debate the situation of women and migrants who may come to Japan legally but then overstay because they want to earn money in Japan. Would there be cases when their irregular/illegal status could be legitimized? What if they were trafficked? Teachers could also develop students' vocabulary regarding human

trafficking and laws and assign writing a paper regarding prostitution or trafficking in specific countries using the US Department of State's Trafficking in persons report: June 2007 (see references for link). For projects, students could survey their friends regarding their attitudes toward the sex industry and awareness of human trafficking, make a presentation with pictures of the various sex establishments, or even interview NGO staff.

Below are some websites, including NGOs, to begin exploring the issues involved in human trafficking worldwide and in Japan. It is hoped that they may be used to increase awareness in all students so that current and potential clients are discouraged from adding to the demand for prostitution and the trafficking in women:

www.gvnet.com/humantrafficking/index.html (country reports & lesson plan samples)

www.humantrafficking.org (web resources)

www.mtvexit.org (documentaries, videos)

www.womenlobby.org/site/video_en.asp (video "Not for Sale" de-mythifying prostitution)

www.polarisproject.org (Polaris Project)

www.catwinternational.org/ (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women)

www.antislavery.org (Anti-Slavery International)

www.gaatw.net (Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women)

www.endhumantrafficking.org (Project to End Human Trafficking)

www.preventhumantrafficking.org/ (Prevent Human Trafficking; videos)

www.unodc.org (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime)

www.ungift.org & www.giftasia.in (Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking)

www.no-trafficking.org/uniap_frontend/Default.aspx (United Nations Mekong Sub-Regional Project to Combat Trafficking in Children and Women)

Language teachers are an excellent resource to the advocacy of human rights as educators presenting sensitive issues in a non-threatening manner. It is the hope of this paper's author that educators may be motivated to present controversial issues to their students to begin deconstructing what may be considered acceptable violations of human rights.

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Language Lessons on the Language and Culture of Dating and Sex

Jacqueline D. Beebe

Abstract

English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students typically learn to ask for directions on the street, but not about the difference between “Let’s call it a night” and “Would you like to spend the night?” where a misunderstanding could lead to accusations of attempted date rape. In conversation textbooks “Yes” or “No” suffices, and students aren’t taught responses such as a flirtatious “Why are you asking?” a kindly brush-off of “Maybe later” or an angry “I told you I’m not interested!” Textbooks teach “traditional” family kinship terms, but exclude items such as “friends with benefits” (sex friends). Words like AIDS, divorced, or gay are safely tucked away in lessons meant for discussions of “social issues” or “foreign cultures,” and students aren’t expected to use such terms to describe or conduct their own lives either in their home country or abroad. This article starts with a discussion of reasons teachers might or might not want to conduct language lessons on the language and culture of dating and sex and ways to make both the students and the teacher feel reasonably comfortable and safe during those lessons. This is followed by classroom-ready lesson handouts, each preceded with notes on use that readers are welcome to use and modify.

要旨

外国語としての英語 (EFL)を学ぶ学生であれば、必ず道の尋ね方などの教育は受ける。しかし、“Let’s call it a night” (今夜はこれでお開きにしよう)と“Would you like to spend the night?” (一夜を共にしませんか)の違いとなるとどうだろうか。こういった状況における誤解はデート・レイプ未遂の訴えにつながるなど、重大な事態を招きかねない。一般的な会話教材では「はい」あるいは「いいえ」で十分事が足りるとされ、人の気を引くような“Why are you asking?”や軽い拒絶を表す“Maybe later”といった表現、怒りを示す“I told you I’m not interested!”などは紹介されず、学生は多様な対応の仕方を学ぶことがない。また、「従来の」同族家族の関係を表す言葉は登場しても、交際相手を限定する“exclusive”やセックス・フレンドを意味する“friends with benefits”といった表現は出てこない。AIDSや離婚、ゲイといった言葉は「社会問題」や「外国文化」といった支障のない安全な場所に隠されてしまい、学生たちは母国でも海外でも、自分たちの実際の生活でそうした言葉を使うことができなくなっている。本稿では、デートとセックスに関する言語や文化を、語学教育にどのように取り入れていくかを議論し、教員と学生が共に気まずい思いをすることなく、安全に授業を進めていくための方法を提案する。授業で利用可能な配布用の教材を注釈と共に掲載するので、自由に修正して利用していただきたい。

Background

In what cases would teachers want to or dare to conduct lessons to help prepare students for negotiating dating and sexual encounters in an additional language, and how may the choice to do so be justified to others? I was first inspired to write handouts and conduct lessons related to dating when I used some of the teaching materials on HIV and AIDS developed by Louise Haynes for the Japan AIDS Prevention Awareness Network in my EFL classes at a

university in Tokyo. I wanted to present more than facts about disease, transmission, and testing; I wanted to present linguistic forms for not only avoiding the unwanted, but for getting what one wants. If you can't manage to get someone back to your place or elsewhere for an intimate experience how are you going to have a chance to ask them to engage in safe sex? I therefore created a handout called *Negotiating Relationships and Sex* that I used in both my conversation and writing classes.

As a full-time professor who is often on Student Life and International Exchange committees I've escorted university students on trips abroad, welcomed visiting university students from the USA into my classrooms, and arranged parties and over-night excursions for my students and visiting foreign students. Since I saw these students flirting with and gossiping about each other in English I wanted to improve my students' communicative competence in these areas. I wrote up role play setups, a handout on pick up lines, and a lesson on a humorous Country and Western song featuring pickup lines. When I asked American students who dropped in on my English Conversation class to help us update a years-old handout on terms describing relationships, we discovered major cross-cultural differences in definitions of terms like girlfriend and boyfriend, and how they relate to stages of dating in on-going relationships. Students living in both Japan and the USA agreed that this was valuable information that might help thwart miscommunications stemming from unexpressed assumptions, so I created one handout specifically on the rules of dating and another to encourage students from different countries to ask deeper or more delicate questions about each other's cultures.

I feel able to teach these lessons for several reasons. I am in a tenured position where I can teach as I please as long as students don't complain, and in my experience my students feel free to complain directly to me and not to the administration. When I asked two female students after class whether they enjoyed my lesson on AIDS they said that it made them uncomfortable, and so I decided not to distribute condoms and how-to-use-them illustrations the next year. I still don't know if that was the right decision, because the two students didn't seem particularly upset. When I asked another class what they wanted to do during the next lesson a male student told me he was getting bored with too many lessons on dating. When I asked students for advice on how explicit or strong to make the sample language in my handouts I received a range of opinions on whether to include "fuck off" or not. Students who had lived in the USA advised not spelling it out in writing, and so we decided on "*\$#@&!?!% off!" for the handout included below. I was told by a few female students that they would not want to have to repeat some of the language of seduction on the handouts, but that they were nevertheless very happy to have the examples to study on their own.

I'm a female in my early fifties so I'm not likely to be seen by 18- to 21-year-olds as manipulating them for my own sexual or power harassment or seduction games. Of course some teachers of any age, gender, or sexuality do such things, but my students seem to assume on the first day they meet me that I am a heterosexually married "old" female with children, and thus by their unconscious definition, an asexual creature. Younger and male teachers I've discussed the topic of this paper with generally report feeling that they must approach such lessons more carefully. My female students report more reluctance to discuss sex in a mixed-sex grouping than males do, and so a male teacher listening in on two female students may be perceived as more of an intruder than a female teacher listening in on two males. Teachers can avoid some tension simply by being aware of where they're standing and where their gaze is directed. Furthermore, my handouts are long, and more controversial lines can easily be cut out. Something as simple as deleting the obvious bold-type words "and Sex" from the front of the "Negotiating Relationships and Sex" handout could make a teacher's job safer should the handout be glanced at by another teacher or a student's parent.

The first handout I've included called "Introductions, Small Talk, Making Plans, for Talking to Visiting Foreigners or Meeting Non-Japanese Abroad" is quite innocuous, as it's based on ones I designed for groups of my university's students meeting non-Japanese people on official school events, but it could also come in handy when cruising a bar.

I would not teach some of the other lessons on dating early in a school year or in a class that had never jelled into a comfortable unit. For many of the topics that come up in the classroom I include written examples and comments that make it clear I assume there are queer folk everywhere as well as people who not interested in dating or marriage. I provide linguistic forms that can be used to avoid answering questions concerning sexual orientation. I'm already out as a lesbian at work, so I don't worry about losing my job by inadvertently revealing my sexuality by joining in conversations about dating. I enjoy talking about sex, romance, power, and gender, and am good at keeping the conversation light but respectful. I never force students to repeat anything too explicit. I worried more about embarrassing students with my dating lessons before I remembered that actually language students are often embarrassed in the classroom when they have to speak in front of others or are corrected by a teacher. Questions on my handouts ask students what they think most students do, not what they themselves do. Role plays and writing assignments are based on fictional characters, and students can choose the degree of "heat" in their own scenes. For one lesson, two male students together used the "Negotiating Relationships and Sex" handout to write a witty, somewhat risqué male-male dialog. When I asked them if I could read it to the whole writing class they replied with an embarrassed "no," but they still seemed proud that I had enjoyed their work. Others were happy to have me read their work aloud. I usually let students choose their own partners, although I sometimes deliberately create small discussion groups including two genders because the students learn by hearing different ideas on dating from each other.

Rationales for Lessons on Dating

I've discovered many pedagogically sound reasons for teaching lessons like the ones described in this report. First of all, our students may have already run across similar materials with titles such as *Making Out in English* (Crownover, 2005), some more much sexually explicit, and often sexist, heterosexist, or outdated. Mainstream magazines, especially those targeting young Japanese women or language learners, contain articles on bars in Tokyo frequented by foreigners and list "thumbs up" and "thumbs down" conversational openers. "Virgin English" magazine claims it will help readers "learn love and sex through [Hollywood] movies" (Piller & Takahashi, 2006).

The same openings that work or fail as pickup lines in a bar also work in striking up a conversation with a classmate or a neighboring plane passenger. Skilled use of polite face-saving hesitation to ask someone on a date may transfer to asking a teacher or a boss for a favor. Forms such as compliments have been sociolinguistically studied for gender and national culture and this data can be presented to additional language learners (see Holmes & Brown, 1987, and Viney & Viney, 2004). In the world of language textbooks, people always get along, understand each other perfectly, and have no need for polite hints, lies, or deliberate rudeness. Our students may have no interest in dating non-Japanese people yet still need to know how to brush off an unwanted suitor or an overly aggressive salesperson, tout, or beggar (see Leslie Beebe, 1994, 1995, on teaching rudeness as part of communicative competence).

Students trying to create pragmatically effective and natural-sounding dating dialogs for role plays or writing assignments experience first-hand that pausing, hesitating, and being vague can be signs of a fluent, socially skilled speaker and not always the signs of a

bumbling, incompetent (non-native) speaker. This is an empowering experience. They see for themselves that the sequence:

“So, uh, I was wondering if you’re gonna be busy this weekend”

“Yeah, well, ah, kinda...”

“I mean, I was thinking maybe we could...”

gives both speakers a chance to visually and aurally tune into each other, promote their agenda without seeming too aggressive, keep their strategic options open, and save face better than:

“Are you busy this weekend?”

“Yes / No.”

Aline and Hosoda, 2007 used videotape to demonstrate the importance of bodily behaviors and pauses in managing turn-taking, and Carter, 2007, showed that highly frequent spoken word chunks like “yeah”, “I mean”, “right”, “so”, “you know”, “sort of”, “just”, “like”, and “well” are essential to fluent spoken English, especially when vagueness is called for.

The language of dating is excellent for classes with mixed levels of English abilities. One student benefits from learning to produce “Tell me your phone number” rather than “Teach me your phone number,” while a higher-level student will be challenged to produce “Do you think I could give you my phone number?” Students who can think on their feet and display worldly experience, charm, confidence, a sense of humor, acting, or other interpersonal skills will have a chance to shine even if they don’t have fluent additional language abilities.

Finally, I believe that for any language lesson, in both the content and teaching styles we choose, we can and should teach for freedom, joy, and empowerment. Teachers sometimes sexually harass students, but taboos that contribute to shamed silence and ignorance are another way of manipulating people. Shared knowledge is power, and getting some sense of what other students, especially those of another gender, are thinking or doing may free someone to go ahead and do what they want to do or resist doing what they don’t want to do. I was disappointed to see students doing strategic scenario role plays who couldn’t think of any verbal seduction technique besides urging more drinks on their target. I am dismayed at the thought of my female students getting abortions or STDs. I also pity male students who feel pressured to pay for expensive dates, and I’ve seen the surprise and relief on male students’ faces when they heard from their female classmates that girls don’t necessarily expect boys to pay for everything. I hope that in some way my classes support a radical sex-positive attitude that celebrates sexual pleasure for its own sake, and not as a support of or side-effect of a patriarchal heteronormative family structure and its definitions of “love.” As Patel (2006) writes in regards to activists,

The language of sexual pleasure has been restrictive, fear-based, and limiting. It constantly tries to set boundaries for “normal” pleasure. Advocates for “sexual well-being and pleasure” often hear about how that means individuals have the ability to be “free of sexually transmitted infections” and “free of coercion, discrimination, and violence.” We do not hear of the ability to “have as much pleasure as possible,” or “define sexual pleasure for oneself.” ...We are not as concerned with the pursuit of pleasure when it is derived from areas like our careers, food, and travel. (p. 67)

I invite teachers to find pleasure in pushing the limits a bit as they try the following materials or are inspired to create their own materials and lessons. Let us consider teaching not only “How much is the apple pie?” but also “Your place or mine?”

I've used the following "Introductions, Small talk, Making Plans" handout in sessions preparing our students for school-sponsored overseas trips and prior to parties for visiting American students.

Introductions, Small Talk, Making Plans
for Talking to Visiting Foreigners or Meeting Non-Japanese Abroad

Hi, I'm _____. And I'm _____. Nice to meet you.
And this is _____. S/he _____. We _____ together. We both _____.

I like your hair / tattoo. That's a nice shirt. I love your shoes. Where did you get your glasses?

Can I see your ipod / cell phone? That's really cool. What does this do? How do you ____?
Does it ____?

Sorry, what was that? Sorry, I didn't catch your name. How do you spell that?

Sorry, but what was your name again? You're Chris, aren't you?

Sorry, but I've forgotten your name. That's OK, I forgot your name.

Where are you from? Are you from Florida, too? How do you know each other?

How do you know Maria?

What do you do for fun? Do you play any sports?

Where do you party? Do you go out clubbing?

What kind of movies / music / sports / food do you like?

I'm really interested in French movies / American baseball.

Do you like to travel? Where have you been in the States? How was it?

What do you think are the best places to visit in Italy?

Can I take your picture? Can s/he take a picture of us together?

Some of us are getting together / going out tomorrow night. Do you want to join us?

You can invite your friends, too.

It will cost about 1,500 yen. We'll meet you at the north exit of Shimokitazawa Station on the Odakyu Line.

You have to be 20 years old. You need to have ID.

What are you going to do for summer vacation / this weekend?

Would you like to have dinner together / get together again? (sometime, this weekend, etc.)

Can I give you my phone number / email address / home address?

How can I get in touch with you? Can I have your phone number?

Can I leave a message if you're out? Do you check your email every day?

Where should we meet? What time should we meet? How far is it from the station? Can I bring a friend?

I can't today. I've got to go now. But I'd really like to some other time.

Sorry, but I've got to go now. It was nice meeting you / talking to you. I hope to see you again.

Hi, how ya doing?---OK. What's up? What's happening?
(Hey) It's nice /good to see you again. What's new?

If they are students:

What year are you (in school)? I'm a first-year student / fresher, sophomore, junior, senior.
What are you studying? What classes are you taking? What's your favorite class this year?
What do you want to do when you graduate? How old are you?
Are you going to stay in Florida/ Japan? Are you going to go to grad school? Are you job-hunting now?

Do you work? What do you do? Do you spend a lot of time studying?
What kind of place do you live in? A dorm, an apartment, with your family?
Please visit our class again.

Talking to Visiting Foreigners in Japan

What brings you to Japan? Why are you interested in Japan?
How long have you been in Japan / Tokyo? How long will you be here? Is this your first trip to Japan?
Where are you staying? / Where do you live? How is it?
How much Japanese can you speak? Can you read any Japanese? Are you studying Japanese now?
Do you do a lot of sightseeing?
Are you studying anything Japanese-y, you know, like something traditional?

What are your first impressions of this school? What do you think of Japan?
What has surprised you most about Japan or Tokyo?
How are you adjusting?
How are you adjusting to the rush hour trains / the rainy season/ the language?
Have you been to other countries (in Asia) besides Japan? Do you speak any other languages?

Is there anywhere you want to visit or something you want to buy?
Is there any Japanese food you want to try?
Let me know if you need any help with anything, or advice on where to go.

You should meet my friend Akemi. I should introduce you to Yuko.
She lives in /near Disneyland / you / Yokohama.
She knows a lot about anime. She's interested in local bands. She does martial arts; kendo, I think.

Meeting Non-Japanese Outside of Japan

Where are you from? Are you from around here / Bangkok?
Do you live with your family? Do you have your own apartment?

I'm staying at the University Inn. It's on street name near building name, station name, or

other landmark.

Do you know where I can buy some suntan lotion / check email? Is it walking distance?

I want to/ need to buy / try / look for / learn about / go to / play / go ___ing ...

What's your favorite place / restaurant / clothes store near here / in Koh Samui?

About how much will it cost? How can I get there? Do you have a car?

What should I wear? Do I need ID? I'm 19 years old. Can I go?

Do you know anyone who plays pickup basketball?

As I read the following "Negotiating Relationships and Sex" handout out to students for pronunciation and intonation practice and to clarify meaning, I rewrite it as students suggest new lines or veto ones I've written. In pairs they think of a situation and then select and read off lines to create a conversation, which can be a writing assignment. Even if I don't cover the Negotiating Safe Sex page during class time some students use it for writing assignments. Pointing from mouth to crotch helps in explaining dental dams. Be prepared for incredulous expressions from students who only associate "glove" with a baseball glove.

Negotiating Relationships and Sex

1. Let's go / Making a move / Green light

Asking for a date (or getting together with a friend):

Do you have time now? Would you like to go somewhere after class / work?

You want to have lunch together? Do you have time for a coffee / some lunch / a bite / a drink?

A. I wonder if you'd like to ___ sometime.

B. Yeah, that would be nice.

A. Are you free Friday night? We could see a movie, maybe have dinner first.

I'd like to get to know you better. I'd like to see more of you. Do you think we could hang out sometime?

Can I give you my phone number and email address? Do you mind giving me yours?

I'd like to get together sometime. Do you think we could go out sometime?

I really like you. I've liked you for a long time. Are you seeing anyone?

Pickup lines that can be used with a stranger to start a conversation:

Can I buy you a drink? What would you like?

Would you like to dance? Can I join you? Are you here alone? Is this seat taken?

Trying for a second meeting or next date

I had a (really) great time. We really should do this again sometime. I'll call you (soon).

Can I call you later this week?

I like you so much! I haven't had such a good time in a long time. I've never met anyone like you.

Getting them alone: Making a pass, hitting on them, hooking up

A. I'm having such a great time...I hate to say good night.

B. We don't have to. Would you like to come home with me?

I really want to kiss you right now. Just thinking about it turns me on. I can't wait to be

alone with you.

I really want you. You're so.... I like the way you.... Mmm, that feels good!

Your place or mine? We could go to a love hotel / internet café booth / my car....

I usually don't _____, but.... I never _____ (on the first date), but there's always a first time!

I / you / we missed the last train! You can come back to my place.

It's getting late. Do you want to spend the night? One bed or two? Come with me...

2. Slow down / Change direction / Yellow light

I want to see you again, but.... I don't want to rush into this. I like you, but....

Maybe next time. Look, I don't really know you that well. I just met you.

Hey, this is just our first date. It's too early for us to be talking about this.

Let's slow down. Wait a minute. Hey, take it easy!

[They should answer: You're right. I'm sorry. I didn't mean to push you.]

Maybe we take it slower in Japan. I'm sorry if you misunderstood.

[Good night kiss] That was really nice! I'd better go now, but call me, OK?

I don't want to stop, but I think we should. Let's call it a night.

I'm not feeling comfortable. I'm feeling a little nervous /shy / scared / guilty / rushed / (drunk).

[Be careful about saying you're too drunk if you don't know or trust the other person.]

I'm not sure about this. I don't think this is a good idea. This isn't the right time.

Someone could see us / hear us. My roommate / parents might come home.

Wait—we'd better talk about this first.... There's something I have to tell you.

I need to know if _____ Where do you think this relationship is going? What do I mean to you?

I only have sex

if we're both in love after I've known a guy for awhile

I never A + B:

A: go all the way sleep with anyone go to bed with a guy / girl

B: on a first date unless I know I'm going to see them again until I'm sure of my feelings

I think I should tell you that... You need to understand that... You need to know that ...

I'm not ready to get serious / be exclusive. I'm seeing someone else. I'm dating other people.

I'm bisexual. I'm waiting until I'm married. I'm HIV positive.

How old are you? Is this your first time? Are you sure you're ready?

Just so you know, I'm having my period.

I'm not sure. I've never tried that. Is it safe? Does it hurt? Let's take it slow and see if I like it.

It's nothing personal. It's me, not you. I'm going through a hard time. This never happened before.

I'm not into that. I'm not ready for that. Let's / let me _____ instead.

Wait—let me get a condom. Do you have a condom / gloves / a dental dam / lube?

We need to talk about safe sex. Have you been tested?

3. Stop! / Red light

Turning down a friend or acquaintance who asks you for a date or makes a pass:

I'm sorry if you got the wrong idea. I'd rather just stay friends.

I like you too much to risk ruining our friendship. I like you a lot, but just not in that way.

I don't think it's a good idea to date someone I work with.

I'm really flattered, but... That's really nice of you to ask, but...

I'm seeing someone. I'm just focusing on school / work these days. I really don't have time.

I just broke up with someone and I'm not ready to start dating again yet.

I'm not looking for a relationship.

Look; I've been trying to be polite. Can't you take a hint? Don't you get it?

Getting away from someone politely; excuses, polite lies:

Well, it was nice meeting /talking to you. I've got to go now. Maybe I'll catch you later.

I'm going to go look for my friend / make a call. See you around.

I just remembered. I've got to check my messages. Excuse me, I'm going to the restroom.

Why don't you give me your number and I'll call you sometime.

When someone tries to talk, dance with you, etc. and you're not interested:

Sorry, maybe later. Maybe next time. No, thanks. I'm not interested. Forget it.

I'm with my friends /my date. I'm waiting for someone. I'm not in the mood to talk.

No, we don't want company. We're busy talking.

If someone is bothering you:

Just leave me / us alone. I told you to leave me / us alone! Drop dead! Take your hands off me!

Back off! Get (the hell) out of here! *\$#@&!?!% off!

Excuse me, but that guy is bothering me. Could you tell him to stop, please?

Help! This man won't leave me alone. This man is following me. He grabbed me.

Police! Rape!

Not tonight, excuses, changing your mind:

I don't feel well. I'm really tired. I've got a headache. I'm sorry, but I've changed my mind.

I'm just not in the mood. I think you'd / I'd better go home. You know, I think this was a bad idea.

Look, I'm not enjoying this. Let's call it a night.

I'm going to go home. Can you drive me home? Can you call me a cab?

That's OK; I'll walk. That's OK; I'll pay.

I think you've had too much to drink. You'd better go now.

I don't have to explain why. I just don't want to. You want me to what?!? I'm not into that. No way!

Defending yourself:

Hey! You're hurting me! I said no! I mean it—stop right now!

I'll charge you with date rape! If you don't leave right now I'll scream / I'm calling the police.

Negotiating safe sex:

Do you have a condom / gloves / a dental dam / lube?

We need to talk about safe sex. Have you been tested?

A. I don't have a condom with me.

B. Me, either. But there's a convenience store three minutes from here.

Then let's just fool around in safe ways that we don't need a condom. Why don't you... Let me ...

I really like you, so I hope to see more of you, so I don't think we need to do everything tonight.

I know you and trust you, but I don't know the partners you had before me. Maybe they were infected and didn't know it.

Unless we both just got tested for every STD we can't say for sure, can we?

If we stay together longer we should probably both get tested. But for now, we definitely need to use a condom.

What if my partner doesn't want to use a condom? From <http://www.avert.org/sex.htm>
They have lots of advice about sex in English for young people

PARTNER'S EXCUSE

YOUR ANSWER

Don't you trust me?

Trust isn't the point, people can have infections without realizing it

I can't feel a thing when I wear a condom

Maybe that way you'll last even longer and that will make up for it

I don't stay hard when I put on a condom

I'll help you put it on, that will help you keep it

I don't have a condom with me

I do

I'm on the pill, you don't need a condom

I'd like to use it anyway. It will help to protect us from infections we may not realize we have.

But I love you

Then you'll help us to protect ourselves.

Just this once

Once is all it takes

Find information about HIV and AIDS in English and Japanese for students and teachers at www.japanetwork.org and in Japanese at Campus AIDS Interface: www.cai.presento/.

The following "Pick up Lines" handout looks at pragmatics through both functions and forms and makes a good homework assignment. I made it to help students do the Dating Strategic Scenarios, which they do like but find difficult. At least some of the example answers in red italics should be deleted before printing out this worksheet for students.

Pick up Lines

A: Functions

Write some of each of these. You can use Part B, Language Forms, for ideas.

Mark them as Indirect / Direct Impersonal / Personal Romantic / Sexual

1. Compliments

- Those are great glasses.—impersonal You're such a sexy dancer.--sexual
2. Information questions
Do you come here often?—personal.. Do you know the name of this song?—impersonal.
3. Ask if you can do something
Can I give you my phone number?—personal
4. Ask if they will do something
Would you like to dance?—personal Would you like to go somewhere quieter?—fairly direct

B: Language forms

Write at least one sentence to finish each of these.

Mark them as Indirect / Direct Impersonal / Personal Romantic / Sexual

I like/ love your voice.--romantic ass.—sexual.

That's a great bag—impersonal. Where did you get it?—more personal.

Those are awesome sneakers. Are they Nikes?—impersonal

You have beautiful eyes.—romantic

Do you know where the restroom is? —impersonal

Are you alone?—personal seeing anyone?—personal

Where are you from?—personal have you been all my life?—cheesy romantic

Is this seat taken? —personal or impersonal

Are you married?—personal, maybe direct

Can I get you a drink?—pretty direct

Could I see you again?—personal, direct

Do you mind if I sit here?—direct or impersonal, depending on setting

I'd like to see you again. —direct

____, what about you? I'd like to go get a bite—personal

Would you like to dance? —direct get out of here?—more direct

Maybe we could go back to my place.—direct.

I wonder if I could see you again.—direct I could give you my number—direct I could have your number—even more direct and personal

C: GOALS

Write in lots of your own examples and mark them as

Indirect / Direct Impersonal / Personal Romantic / Sexual

1. Picking up a stranger

A. Start a conversation

1. At a pickup place—bar, dance club, singles party, etc.

Hi, I'm _____. Do you mind if I sit down? —direct

2. Not at a pickup place—classroom, coffee shop, airplane, store, etc.

This is a great song! Do you know who it's by?—not too personal or impersonal

B. Find out if they are “available”: Are they there alone? Just leaving? Same sexual orientation as you? Can I get you a drink?—direct Are you here alone? —direct

C. Find out more personal information about them, tell them more about yourself

What do you do?—fairly personal Where do you work?—more personal I moved here

recently and don't know too many people.—personal, direct

D. Let them know you like them

I'm so glad I met you tonight.—personal, direct You are really turning me on.—sexual

I've never met anyone like you. —romantic

E. Get them to do something —sit with you, dance, exchange contact info, meet again, go somewhere more private together now, etc. I could really use some fresh air.—indirect Let's get out of here.—direct.

2. Try to move a friendship beyond “just friends” to dating or “friends with benefits”

A. Find out if they are “available”: In an exclusive relationship? Same sexual orientation as you?

So are you seeing anyone?— indirect or direct, depending on timing Are you still seeing name?—somewhat indirect

B. Let them know you like them

This was really fun. I hope we can hang out again sometime.—indirect. I really like you—direct.

C. Suggest a one-to-one meeting without it obviously being a date

Discuss movies in general, then ask if they've seen ___ yet. Can you help me with my homework? Can I drive you home?

D. Go for it! Just ask for a date or come on to them (hit on them, seduce them)

I'd like to kiss you. —sexual Can I spend the night?—direct I've missed the last train. Can I stay here tonight?—indirect? Do you have any condoms? —sexual Do you think we could go out sometime?—direct

Using the “Dating Strategic Scenarios”

The following “Dating Strategic Scenarios” are designed to be used as explained in Di Pietro's (1987) *Strategic Interaction: Learning Languages Through Scenarios*, although my scenarios have specific goals for each player (get B's phone number, find out if A is dating anyone, etc.). Di Pietro's scenarios are more open-ended. Student A doesn't know what is written on the card of their interlocutor, Student B, so, as in real life, performers are forced to lay themselves on the line without knowing how the other person views them. My first scenarios have only two characters and little conflict, so students can get used to procedures and experience achieving the character's goal. I then let groups choose whether they want a relatively easy or hard scenario, or parcel out role plays myself based on the language abilities of different students.

Before a role play is performed students prepare with one or more coaches who help them devise various strategies for achieving their goal and who can suggest the English that can be used. The coach is like a good friend who is advising and encouraging them in their social life: “If she says she's busy, then ask her...” In preparation, students can use the “Pick Up Lines” and “Negotiating Relationships and Sex” handouts they've received, dictionaries, or textbooks, and ask the teacher questions. It's important for the teacher to visit each group to be sure they understand the role play card and the procedures. Before each performance, the teacher explains to performers and audience the shared information that is on both role play

cards, such as the setting and characters, and how long they've known each other. Without holding any notes, the two (or three) performers perform for the class. During the role play, performers can call a Time Out and go back to their coach for linguistic or strategic advice and then continue the scene from the same place. Coaches can even call Time Out if they think the performer is giving up too easily on achieving the goal. During the role play performance, the teacher jots down key lines that worked well or were problematic.

Ikedda and Ishihara (2007) found that learners' discussions before and after performing role plays contained many learning moments related to second language pragmatics. During the Debriefing that follows each role play performance, the whole class listens to what was written on each player's role play card. They then discuss to what extent goals were achieved and what other strategies could have been tried. Actual lines that were said are quoted and discussed, or can be watched on video. The teacher can make some language corrections, but should spend more time asking questions such as, "Did you believe her when she said she had to meet a friend?" "Did it seem too pushy when he asked you a second time?" or "What would be a more polite / direct way to say that?" After students have given suggestions and expressed their preferences, the teacher may suggest additional typical formulae and point out ones on the handouts that could have been used. Sometimes the role play can then be tried again by the same or different performers.

Role plays that were too confusing or didn't come to a conclusion that pleased any of the characters in the role play can be fruitfully used for writing assignments. Students in small groups can then read the scripts they've written to each other and choose one to read to the whole class. They can also choose the best or funniest strategies and lines from each group member's script and use them to create a new role play to perform for the class. This won't be a spontaneous role play, but time need not be spent on writing out perfect final versions or memorizing every line; students will simply perform the scene more or less as their group decided to without reading from notes.

Dating Strategic Scenarios

[Cut out each role card and give it to a performer and their coach]

Scenario 1: A & B Most basic scenario. Goals only slightly different.

A. You are out with a group of students at a circle [school club] party at an izakaya [casual Japanese-style bar], which will end soon. You met B tonight for the first time. You like B and want to spend time with B one-to-one after the party ends. You hope to date B. You drank too much tonight so you want to have some coffee before you go home.

Your goal: Go out with B tonight (to a coffee shop, etc.). Keep talking to B until you decide a detailed plan.

B. You are out with a group of students at a circle party at an izakaya, which will end soon. You met A tonight for the first time. You like A and want to spend time with A one-to-one after the party ends. You hope to date A. You're a little nervous talking to A so you want to go to a bar with A tonight so you can relax more while drinking more.

Your goal: Go out with A tonight (to a bar, etc.). Keep talking to A until you decide a detailed plan.

Scenario 2: C & D Slightly more complicated scenario. Immediate goals are different but ultimate goals are the same.

C. You are out with a group of students at a circle party at an izakaya, which will end soon. You met D tonight for the first time. You like D and want to spend time with D one-to-one tonight after the party ends. You hope to date D but will also be happy if you just become friends.

Your goal: Go out with D tonight (to a bar, coffee shop etc.). If you don't go out to another place tonight you also need to get D's phone number and email address.

D. You are out with a group of students at a circle party at an izakaya, which will end soon. You met C tonight for the first time. You like C and want to spend time with C one-to-one on a date. You hope to date C. You can't go out with C tonight because your last train leaves very soon and you have to finish a report for school in the morning.

Your goal: Keep talking to C until you decide a detailed plan for a future date. You also need to get D's phone number and email address.

Scenario 3: 3 actors. E, F, and G More complicated scenario with very different goals and personality conflict. For a simpler version, or if the number of students makes it hard to create a group with 3 actors, do it with no G character.

E. You are out with a group of students at a circle party at an izakaya, which will end soon. You met F tonight for the first time. You like F and want to spend time with F one-to-one, either tonight after the party ends or another day. You hope to date F because F is exactly your type! You are worried because F talked a lot to G tonight and you feel like G is your rival.

Your goal: Go out with F tonight (to a coffee shop, bar, etc.). Keep talking to F until you decide a plan. Also, find out if F and G are a couple.

F. You are out with a group of students at a circle party at an izakaya, which will end soon. You met E tonight for the first time. You like E and want to spend time with E one-to-one. You can't go somewhere else with E tonight because you promised your circle mate and best friend G you would go out with him/ her alone after the party. You hope to date E because E is exactly your type!

Your goal: Have a future date with E. Keep talking to E until you decide a plan for a future date. You also need to get E's phone number and email address.

G. You are out with a group of students at a circle party at an izakaya, which will end soon. You need to talk privately with F, who is your best friend, about your love troubles with your boyfriend / girlfriend. Your last train leaves early so you need to leave the izakaya with F soon. Also, you want to get away from E, who you don't like.

Your goal: Leave the party as soon as possible with F and avoid E.

Scenario 4: H & I. In a classroom as the class is finishing. Calls for more nuanced, less direct communication.

H: You and I are classmates and friends. Class just finished and you have a chance to talk to I. You like I and want to ask I out, but you are shy because you think you are not cool enough to have a date with I. So you don't want to ask for a date—you want it to sound like you just want to go out as friends.

Your goal: Get I to agree to go out with you without risking being rejected for a date.

I: You and H are classmates and friends. Class just finished and you have a chance to talk to H. You have a girlfriend / boyfriend but you are getting tired of them and maybe want to break up. You like H and if you could start dating H you would definitely break up with your girlfriend / boyfriend. You think you shouldn't ask H for a date because it would be cheating on your girlfriend / boyfriend.

Your goal: Find out if H likes you just as a friend or as more than a friend.

Scenario 5: J, K, & L. At a dance club. Make sure all performers know who is J, who is K, and who is L before the scene begins. If it takes place at a straight dance club J & K should be of one sex and L of the other sex. If it's at a gay or lesbian dance club all three actors should be the same sex.

J: You are sitting a table at a dance club with your friend K, watching other people and talking about who is good-looking and who isn't. You think L is really good-looking and would love to meet and dance with L. K doesn't think L is good-looking and doesn't want to meet or dance with anyone because K has a broken heart.

Your goal: Be nice to your friend K but also meet someone new, have some fun dancing, and if you're lucky, hook up with someone, going home with them for a one-night-stand.

K: You are sitting a table at a dance club with your friend J, watching other people and talking about who is good-looking and who isn't. J thinks L is really good-looking and would love to meet and dance with L. You don't think L is good-looking and don't want to meet or dance with anyone because you have a broken heart.

Your goal: Be nice to your friend J, who kindly always listens to your heart-break stories, get drunk without spending too much money, talk in private to J.

L: You came to a dance club alone and hope to meet some people, dance, and if you're lucky, hook up with someone, meaning go home with them for a one-night-stand. You've noticed J and K sitting at a table. You don't think they are a couple and you haven't seen them talking or dancing with anyone else. You think K is really good-looking but J is not your type at all.

Your goal: Ask K to dance with you or ask K if you can join J & K, or buy K a drink, etc.—do whatever you can to have a chance to hook up with K.

Scenario 6: M & N: At a dance club. M would typically be female & N male.

M: You are at a dance club by yourself. You came to have a good time dancing and maybe meet someone new to start dating and / or have a one-night-stand with. Tonight you met N for the first time. You have been talking and dancing with N for around a half hour. At first you thought N was good-looking, a good dancer, and OK to talk to. N also bought you two drinks. But now you think N is kind of boring and you can find someone better tonight. You don't want to see N again after tonight.

Your goal: Get away from N so you can meet some other people at this dance club tonight without being rude to N, since N is not a bad person—just not your type.

N: You are at a dance club by yourself. You came to have a good time dancing and maybe meet someone new to start dating and / or have a one-night-stand with. Tonight you met M for the first time. You have been talking and dancing with M for around a half hour. You

think M is really sexy, a good dancer, and fun to talk to. You bought M two drinks and M has been very friendly, so you are pretty sure M likes you. It is getting late, so you think you should make your move now.

Your goal: Biggest goal: Get M to go home with you tonight for sex. If that is not possible, make sure you get M's phone number so you can ask M for a date later.

Scenario 7: O & P. O & P met at a bar and now have gone home to O's place.

O: You met P at a bar tonight and you both came back to your apartment after talking in the bar, kissing in the parking lot, and driving home together in your car. You are sure you want to have sex with P tonight and maybe you will want to keep dating P. You came back to your place 5 minutes ago. You had another kiss at the door when you came in, talked a little, got P a drink and now P is in the bathroom.

Your goal: You are quite excited, so you want to get P to your bedroom soon.

P: You met O at a bar tonight and you both came back to O's apartment after talking in the bar, kissing in the parking lot, and driving home together in O's car. You thought you wanted to have sex with O tonight and maybe keep dating O. You came back to O's place 5 minutes ago. You had another kiss at the door when you came in, talked a little, O got you a drink and now you are in the bathroom. You still think O is good-looking and a good kisser, but you are shocked by O's apartment. It is very small, old, uncomfortable, and dirty. You looked at O's magazines, books and posters and got a bad feeling about O. You went to the bathroom to think what to do, and the bathroom smells so bad and is so dirty! Now you are sure you want to go home now.

Your goal: You feel a little sorry for O, because O is probably not such a bad person, just not your type at all, so you don't want to be rude. You need to go home now, either by taxi or asking O to drive you home.

Scenario 8: Q & R Unrequited interest among two classmates

Q. You've been out with a classmate, R, at a few group events and you think R is nice but a little boring, and just not your type. R talks to you at every event and seems to like you a lot, and you are worried that R will ask you for a date because R knows you're not dating anyone else now. You want to know what R is thinking and maybe let R know you can only be friends, if you can do it in a nice way without embarrassing or hurt R. R asked to talk to you after class, so this is your chance to find out how R feels.

Your goal: Find out if R likes you as more than a friend, but without asking R directly, and also if possible, to hint in a nice way that you can only be friends.

R. You've been out with a classmate, Q, at a few group events and you get along fine but now you would like to go out with Q one-to-one. You're not sure if Q is interested in being more than just friends and you're afraid of being rejected if you directly ask Q on a date, so you don't want it to sound exactly like a date, but you don't want to include other people. You asked Q if you could talk after class and class has just ended.

Your goal: Get Q to go out with you one-to-one. You don't care what you do just so Q says yes. Do your best to get a date without calling it a date.

Scenario 9: S & T at an office party at a dance club. Now or never, temptation.

S. You've been working with T for a year. You and T are the same level in the company. You're very attracted to T, and T might be attracted to you, too. You think that T is single, although you're not sure and you want to find out without sounding too obvious. Tonight you're both out at a dance club with a few other office mates and everyone is getting pretty drunk so you think it's a good chance to make a move—T might say yes if you don't give up too soon. You heard that you'll soon be transferred to another branch of the same company in the same city, so tonight might be your last chance.

Your goal: Get T to leave the group party now and go somewhere else with you—a coffee shop, somewhere private where you can find out if T is single and try to start dating T, or maybe even get T to go home with you tonight.

T. You've been working with S for a year. You and S are the same level in the company. You're very attracted to S, and S might be attracted to you, too. You think that S is single, like you are, although you're not sure, and you want to find out without sounding too obvious. You think it's a bad idea to date someone from work, but you're both out at a dance club with a few other office mates and everyone is getting pretty drunk. So you're not sure what may happen—you have mixed feelings. It should be OK to flirt with R, but you should probably not leave here together, and you really shouldn't go back home together.

Your goal: Find out if S is single and interested in you. Enjoy flirting and see how far you can go tonight without getting into too much trouble or starting too much office gossip.

Scenario 10: U & V, in a coffee shop. Friends hanging out or a date?

U. You've had a very comfortable, enjoyable afternoon of lunch and then shopping with a friend from your circle, V. By accident you found out that you both planned to shop for clothes on Saturday so you suggested that you go together. Now you're in a coffee shop before you both get on different trains to go home. Was this a date or are you just meeting as friends? Is V interested in you? You still have no idea! Until today you just wanted to be friends. But you've talked very intimately today, including about the love life history of both of you. You found out that both of you are single now. Today you fell in love with V!

Your goal: Find out if V is interested in you without ruining the friendship. Agree on a plan to meet V again. Think of some suggestions for meeting again and some ways to hint that you like T without being too direct.

V: You've had a very comfortable, enjoyable afternoon of lunch and then shopping with a friend from your circle, U. Now you're in a coffee shop before you both get on different trains to go home. Was this a date or are you just meeting as friends? Is U interested in you? You still have no idea! By accident U found out that you both planned to shop for clothes on Saturday, so U suggested that you go together, but it didn't sound like a date. You've had a secret crush on U for a long time but you didn't think U was interested in you. But still, you've talked very intimately today, including about the love life history of both of you. You found out that both of you are single now.

Your goal: Find out if U is interested in you without ruining the friendship. Agree on a plan to meet U again. Think of some suggestions for meeting again and some ways to hint that you like U without being too direct.

A Different Sort of Role Play: Information Shared by All

A fairly mechanical drill on saying “This is Akemi” rather than “She is Akemi”, and asking, “How do you know each other?” can be followed by students grouped in threes all producing a hilarious role play employing those English sentences, continuing the scene from this setup narrated by the teacher to the whole class:

“Friday night Takeshi lied to his girlfriend Mari, pretending to be sick so he could break his movie date with her to go out with the guys to a dance club. He met Akemi there, exchanged phone numbers, and never mentioned to Akemi that he has a girlfriend. It’s now Sunday afternoon, and Mari and Takeshi are walking down the street together and run into Akemi.” Groups that finish sooner can do the role play two or three times, switching roles. Students can also act out dialogs of Takeshi fake coughing his way through a phone call to Mari and chatting up Akemi at the club.

I made the following “English for Deeper or More Delicate Discussions” handout to encourage my students to talk with visiting American students about something more meaningful than favorite foods. A few students from each country once used this handout to broach the topic of how the European-Americans and the Japanese saw each other as physically attractive. This handout also includes language on asking or rebuffing questions that may be deemed too personal.

English for Deeper or More Delicate Discussions

Is it really true? Make an A + B question:

A. I heard that many Americans / Japanese / Australians.....

I read that the Japanese / American government....

My textbook / guidebook / teacher says that in Britain / Thailand it’s rude to.....

In American movies and TV shows...

B. Is that true?

Do you think that’s true?

Is that true for you?

If the answer is yes, then:

Why do you think ...

Is that true for you? / What about you?

If the answer is no, then:

Do you think that used to be true?

Where do you think that idea comes from?

Examples:

Los Angeles / Kabukicho is really dangerous

are attracted to.... white / black / East Asian women / men / people

get divorced / quit work when they have a child / use drugs

voted for President Bush again because...

Can you explain why? Make an A + B question:

A. I noticed that ...

It seems like...

The other day I saw someone...

B. Why do you think that is?

Why do they do that?

Why don't they....?

Examples:

at the dance club we went to nobody / everybody

Japanese female students wear... / American male students don't...
on this campus ____, but at my college in America...

Delicate Questions

This may be too personal, but can I ask you

If you don't mind my asking, ...

You may be tired of this question, but...

This may be a stupid question, but...

Answers:

That's OK.

I can see why you wonder about that, because the media....

No comment! / You can ask, but I won't tell you.

It's a long story. Maybe some other time.

First you have to understand that....

It's hard to explain. It depends on...

I can't believe you asked that! It's stupid and insulting!

You're right. It's too personal.

I get sick of people asking me that.

It's none of your business. / Mind your own business.

Find many delicate questions and some answers at: www.yforum.com at its Dare to Ask forum.

For group discussions in classtime I never got to the "Things that sometimes happen on a successful date" section of the following "Stages and Styles of Dating" handout, but it worked as a survey to compare responses of students on different campuses in different countries. To discuss aspects of "dating vs. friends hanging out" and "first date culture" I had students sit in small mixed-gender groups. Each group had to quickly write at least one answer to each question on the board, an answer that hadn't already been written by another group. The whole class then heard explanations of those answers and we all discussed whether we agreed. My students learned a lot from each other and laughed a lot. This handout is followed by information on the responses of students at Japanese and US universities. Both groups were fascinated to hear the responses of the other group.

Stages and Styles of Dating:

[Print out with space for students to write answers]

What are the most common dating patterns and "rules" among your friends?

Is it two friends hanging out or is it a date? Make two lists:

It may be a date if...

It may be just friends

hanging out if...

What are good and bad places and activities for a first date? Write some answers:

On a first date it's a good / bad idea to:

drink a little / drink a lot / don't drink (What about drugs?)

What are good and bad presents for early and later in a dating relationship? Write some answers:

How do you know if a date went well; the other person liked you and will want another date?

It went well, there may be another date if...

It went badly if...

If you had a good first date and want to see them again what do you do?

You text-message them very soon afterwards thanking them, saying you had a good time and saying you hope to meet again.

You don't send a text message or email.

You telephone them the same day/ one/ two/ three days later thanking them, saying you had a good time and saying you hope to meet again.

Gender differences:

In what percentage of cases does the guy ask out the girl on a first date?

In what percentage of cases does the guy initiate the first kiss?

In what percentage of cases does the guy make the first invitation to go home together?

What percentage of first dates are paid for by just the guy?

What percentage of fourth dates are paid for by just the guy?

An Open or Exclusive Relationship?

What rules about seeing other people are common among your friends, for the early and later stages of dating?

Do you talk about these rules with your partner or do you just assume they have the same rules?

When do you talk about the rules?

A. From your very first date you should only date one person at a time.

B. You can keep dating different people on different days until you

say you really like them

say you love them

have a first kiss

have long, hot heavy kissing

have sex

have "the talk" about getting serious

and then you're supposed to be exclusive and only date one person.

C. Until you both agree to be exclusive you can have casual sex with as many people as you want, but you shouldn't say "I love you" to more than one person.

D. You don't need to talk about the rules because if you date someone more than 5 times you'll both know it's serious and that you're supposed to be exclusive.

E. It's possible, and maybe good, to truly love more than one person and have sex with more than one person, so open relationships where three or more partners understand and agree to the rules and communicate are fine.

F. Let's be realistic! People like to try new partners and lying is not good. So it's best if both people in a serious, long-term committed relationship agree that it's OK to have other sexual partners if everyone understands that those other relationships are just for casual sex.

Things that sometimes happen on a successful date where both people like each other and want to keep dating. Which are most common among your friends?

Write 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. showing which date this usually happens on (you can also write what you prefer yourself it's that not too private.

Heterosexual: The male picks up the female at her home and you go somewhere together.

You meet at a station, restaurant, etc.

Quick touch of a hand, back, shoulder, or thigh.

Holding hands or an arm around the shoulder while walking down the street or sitting on a bench.

Holding hands in a movie.

More than just holding hands in a movie.

Dancing together and don't touch much.

Sexy "dirty dancing" style dancing.

At the end of the night:

No one tries for a kiss and there's no touching.

You just hug and/or have a kiss on the cheek.

You have a quick closed-mouth peck style kiss on the mouth.

You have a somewhat longer kiss, definitely not just a peck.

You have a quite hot, long, kiss, but still just a kiss.

You go beyond a kiss but you're still not directly in contact with the most private parts.

Heterosexual: The male walks or drives the female to her place but doesn't go inside.

One person goes into the other's place but doesn't spend the night.

Someone may spend the night but doesn't do anything sexy. Maybe someone missed the train, is too drunk to go home, or you're just having a really good time and it gets late.

Someone spend the night and it gets kind of sexy but you don't "have sex".

You "have sex" and the visitor does / doesn't spend the night.

You talk / don't talk about safer sex—birth control, avoiding STDs.

You have safe / unsafe sex.

Notes on responses from university students from Japan and the USA during group discussions and in written responses to an earlier version of the above Stages and Styles of Dating handout

The following are apparent cultural and gender differences based on responses in the early 2000s from around 40 Nihon University (NU) student informants (mostly Japanese, a few from Korea and China) and around 40 mostly US-born students attending two Eastern US universities (one in a small town, one a bigger city). These expectations will of course change over time and place, and these answers aren't particularly valid or reliable, but they nonetheless highlight such different ideas that the students found them fascinating and

valuable, and quickly realized the wisdom of not assuming you know what someone's actions "mean."

First date strategies: Flowers and stuffed animals were the most popular presents for early dates among the US students. In Japan, giving flowers on a date is a bad idea. It looks affected—like you're trying to act like someone in a Hollywood movie. US students often suggested outdoor activities such as watching or playing sports, walking in a park, hiking, or having a picnic for first dates. The NU students were totally surprised at this. They wouldn't want to sweat was one objection, but just being outdoors in nature seemed weird to them. A meal at a nice restaurant was the most popular choice of NU students.

NU women and men agree that the guy shouldn't put his arm around the girl on a first date, and all women said holding hands on the first date is OK but only half the men said so. Almost all NU students said the first kiss doesn't occur until the third or possibly the fourth date. More than half the US students think a successful first date often or normally includes at least a quick kiss, and other Americans said that it often comes by the second or third date. The NU students said that one doesn't hold hands or kiss at the movies. On "dates" Japanese university students start touching and kissing more slowly than Americans do, but the percentage of students who have had heterosexual intercourse is probably not that different.

How soon do you telephone after a first date? US students say the next day might be too soon, the second day is fine, and no later than five days is best. NU students all agree that it's standard to send a text-message thanking them for the date and saying they enjoyed it as soon as the two have parted and it should be done by the next morning at the latest. Americans would consider this weird and rude—email is too impersonal. The Japanese consider text messaging more considerate and practical because it doesn't need to be answered right away.

Exclusivity: In the US there is a clear distinction between dating, which doesn't require exclusivity, and having a boyfriend or girlfriend, which does. Dating several people at once is quite common. Most US students assume that until you have "the talk" or have signaled in other very obvious ways that you've agreed to be exclusive you are free to date and/or have sex with others. (Telling someone else you love them may be worse than having sex with someone else.) However a few of the US students chose one of the following events as the point after which you shouldn't date anyone else: first date, fifth date, first kiss, say you like them, say you love them.

NU students very often say that either from the first date or from around the third date it is assumed without talking about it that you won't date or have sex with anyone else. About half say that that's the case from as soon as you have a first kiss or say that you really like the person. It's not considered right or normal to continue dating two people after you've had at most three dates to decide which you like best. Japanese are much quicker than Americans to call someone a boyfriend or girlfriend after even one date.

Perceived or expected gender roles on dates: Among NU students, seven out of eight males said that it's normal for the guy to pay for dates, while eight out of eight females said it's quite normal to split the bill. Chinese NU students said that even with two friends the guy pays. The Koreans said that age is more important than gender, and that the older of the two (friends?) pays. US students said that on early dates the guy usually pays, and that's how you know it's a date, not two friends hanging out. Changing to splitting the bill means you intend to keep dating so you want to equalize the burden. Those US students who wrote out percentage figures on my questionnaire said on average that in 70% of the cases, on a first heterosexual date, the guy will ask out the girl. US students said that the guy will initiate the first kiss and also make the first suggestion to go home together in 70% of the cases. The guy will pay for the first (and possibly even up to the fourth date) in almost 90% of the cases.

Car culture versus train culture effects signals of what is a date versus what is two friends hanging out. In the USA, on a proper date the guy normally picks up the girl and certainly sees her home. In Tokyo that would cut into the length of the date too much since last-train times must be considered and the two often live an hour apart by train. So in Japan it's normal to both start and end a date at or near a train station. (I think this lack of privacy may be partly why dates in Tokyo don't end with a kiss.) But if the two live at the same station, the guy should walk the girl home.

 "Me Neither" is a humorous Country and Western song developed as a lesson on pick up lines. The song is very fast so I don't use it to practice pronunciation of all the lyrics, but the pick up lines can of course be practiced.

Me Neither

Sung by Brad Paisley on the Who Needs Pictures album

Written in 1999 by Brad Paisley, Chris DuBois, and Frank Rogers

1. Find at least four words or lines that you don't understand so well and put a ? next to them.
2. Find a reduction and write it as two separate words in standard English here:
3. Find the four main pick up lines that are question forms in this song and put an * next to them.
4. Put a # next to the things the singer said that show he is interested in the woman. If it was a cool thing to say to her write an O, and if it was a stupid thing to say write an X.
5. What do you think the woman answered to his questions? Write either a polite or a rude answer next to each of his questions.

Darling, I've been standing here just watching you all night
 And I think I've even caught you watching me a couple times.
 If I don't ask I'll never know.
 This may sound dumb, but here we go:
 Do you believe in love at first sight?

Me neither.
 I'm glad that we agree.
 Believe me,
 That's a big relief.
 Well, this place is awful crowded,
 And this music is so loud,
 Would you like to go and grab a bite to eat?
 Me neither.

It's nice to finally meet a girl who doesn't move too fast.
 I was only checking, that's the reason that I asked.
 Relationships need time to grow.
 You and I should take this slow.
 And darling, tell me, would you like to dance?

Me neither.

I was just being polite.
 Thank goodness!
 My feet are much too tired.
 I'm sure you're tired, too.
 I can see an empty booth.
 Would you like to maybe sit and talk a while?
 Me neither.

We'd never get along.
 I'm thinking there's no chemistry at all.
 This has been a waste of time.
 And I'm running outta lines.
 Don't you think it's time for me to end this song?
 Me neither.

During the instrumental ending:
 Oh, here we go!....Oh, yeah!

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Socializing Gender and Stance: Japanese Assessments with *kawaii* and *kakkoi*

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Abstract

This paper explores the socialization of young children into gender and affective stance through language. In particular it examines the ways Japanese teachers and children initiate and respond to assessments using *kawaii* 'cute' and *kakkoi* 'cool'. The analysis shows how teachers make explicit assessments of gender categories (e.g. 'Since .h girls are *kawaii*') and features of context such as children's appearances (e.g. 'With flowers, *kawaii*:...:'), as well as attribute assessments to children who have not spoken (e.g. He says the train Kazuki made is *kakkoi*'). These assessments are constructed not only through adjectives *kawaii* and *kakkoi*, but an array of semiotic resources including verbal language, facial expressions, body deployment, and prosody. This account draws upon a corpus (40 hours) of audio-visual recordings in a multicultural daycare center near Tokyo. The analysis suggests that assessments with *kawaii* and *kakkoi* are an important strategy in socializing children into gender and affective stance.

要旨

本研究は、東京近郊の保育室で収集したビデオデータの分析をもとにして、言語を通じた子供の社会化、特にそのジェンダーの社会化ならびに感情スタンスの社会化について考察することを目的としている。考察の焦点は、先生たちが子供たちについて「かわいい」と「かっこいい」という形容詞を用いて評価をする仕方にある。具体的に、先生たちは、子供たちの性別カテゴリーや外見などの諸特徴に関して、「かわいい」や「かっこいい」をそれぞれ一方の性別に関連させる形でわかりやすく評価をしていただけでなく(e.g.「女の子はかわいい」)、たとえ子供は何も言葉を発していなくとも、あたかもその子供が評価をしているかのように先生が代弁する仕方なども観察された。より重要な点として、こうした評価は、単に形容詞「かわいい」、「かっこいい」が用いられているというだけではなく、表情や身体的表現、プロソディなど言語的、非言語的な諸資源を活用してなされていたのである。このように本研究の結果は、言語を通じたジェンダーの社会化、またジェンダーと強く結びついた感情スタンスの社会化が、相互行為場面の様々な資源が活用される仕方になされていることを示唆している。

Introduction

As children and other novices grow up and live in one or more communities, they form an identity in relation to self and others. A fundamental aspect of identity is gender. In any community gender is constituted within everyday interaction (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003) and indexed through a range of features of interaction particularly language (Ochs, 1992). While we know a good deal about the ways adults and older children use language to index

gender across various societies, we have less understanding of the ways caregivers use language to index gender when addressing young children, and children's developing competence in using language to index gender with peers and adults. This paper addresses this issue by examining interaction in Japanese among young children, who are first or second language speakers of Japanese, and their female teachers in a daycare center near Tokyo. In particular, it examines 'assessments' (Pomerantz, 1984) using the adjectives *kawaii* 'cute' and *kakkoi* 'cool'. The analysis shows that assessments with *kawaii* and *kakkoi* draw upon a range of resources including prosody, repetition, and facial expression, and are a key strategy for socializing children into gender and affective stance. The outline of the paper is as follows. The next section presents the theoretical framework, and then discusses prior research on gender, affective stance, and socialization in Japan. The third section discusses *kawaii* and *kakkoi* within a socio-historical context, and then draws upon audio-visual recordings to analyze ways teachers and children initiate and respond to assessments with *kawaii* and *kakkoi*. The final section concludes the paper.

Background

Theoretical Framework

In communities across the globe, children and other novices acquire the ability to act, think, and feel similar to other members through a process of 'language socialization'—the integration of language acquisition and cultural acquisition across the lifespan (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). While early language socialization research mainly examined household settings, more recent research has explored other educational contexts such as classrooms (see Garrett & Bacquedano-López, 2002). In any setting, interaction provides the means through which language and culture are acquired as an integrated package. This is because language at every level indexes socio-culturally meaningful realities (Ochs, 2002), among these gender (Ochs, 1992) and affective stance (Clancy, 1999; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989). In particular, affective stance broadly refers to the display of emotion, feeling, mood, and disposition through verbal language and other communicative resources, which is cross-culturally variable (e.g. Besnier, 1990; Biber & Finnegan, 1989). Language, affective stance, and gender are interrelated in relation to direct and indirect indexicality. That is, language (e.g. words, prosody, particles) directly indexes affective stance, which in turn indirectly indexes gender (Ochs 1992).

Gender, Affective Stance, and Socialization in Japanese

Japanese is a good case in which to examine the relationship among language, affective stance, and gender, as it has a wide range of linguistic features conventionally associated with men's language (*otoko kotoba*) and women's language (*onna kotoba*). In particular, men's language is conventionally "coarse" (i.e. rough, assertive, direct) (e.g. Sreetharan 2004), whereas women's language is conventionally "delicate" (i.e. polite, emotional, indirect) (e.g. Ide, 1991; Shibamoto, 1985). These affective stances are traditionally indexed through words, tone of voice, and particles. The actual language use of males and females, however, varies in relation to a range of socio-cultural variable including generation, relationship, and rank (e.g. Okamoto & Smith, 2004). Males and females may index a "coarse" or "delicate" stance, or a mix of stances, depending on context.

In socialization contexts, Japanese caregivers typically convey to children norms of acting, thinking, and feeling like a male or female member of society. Previous research has shown that young Japanese children acquire linguistic features that index gender, such as pragmatic particles, person reference terms, directives, words, and phrases (Nakamura 2001). Family members are among the earliest agents of this socialization. For instance, mothers may speak

differently to young boys and girls in a variety of ways (Nakata, 1997; Sakata, 1991).

The preschool is also a central locus of socialization into gender. For instance, it has been observed that teachers rarely intervene in boys' physical fights and encourage girls to play the role of peacemaker (Tobin, Wu & Davidson, 1989). It has also been pointed out that teachers engage boys in activities that develop courage (Hendry 1986). Peers are also crucial agents of gender socialization. In particular, girls and boys often separate into same-sex groups in which they engage in different activities (Peak, 1991) and socialize each other into gender through language (Nakamura 2001). Building upon this work, the present study examines the resources and strategies that teachers and peers deploy in socializing children into gender and affective stance through language. In particular, it focuses on assessments with *kawaii* and *kakkoi*, as these are frequent and meaningful in the interactions observed, and furthermore provide insight into a range of language features that index gender and affective stance.

Assessment as Social Practice, Affective Stance, and Socialization Strategy

In many communities assessments are a frequent social practice in everyday interaction. Speakers use assessments to evaluate something (an "assessable") in the immediate scene or within the content of talk (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992). Assessments are multi-functional, performing a range of social actions including praise, compliment, self-deprecation, complaint, or bragging (Pomerantz, 1984). In this sense, assessments are related to politeness, particularly 'positive politeness,' which includes displaying solidarity and alignment towards another (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Assessments include not only an adjective, such as "beautiful" or "horrible," but also other resources including verbal such as 'response cries' (e.g. oh, wow) (Goffman, 1981) vowel elongation, pitch, non-verbal such as body deployment, and sequential such as repetition and overlap (Goodwin & Goodwin 2000). Assessments are socio-culturally organized, as observed in cross-linguistic comparison, for example, English and Japanese (Strauss & Kawanishi, 1996).

Research has also suggested that assessments are an important strategy in socialization, conveying preferences and expectations in the home and school. Classroom research has examined assessments as 'evaluation' or 'feedback' within teacher-fronted IRF sequences (teacher Initiation-student Response-teacher Follow-up) (e.g. Kanagy, 1999; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1974). In this sequential context, teacher positive assessments, such as "That's good," function as praise and encouragement. Japanese daycare teachers use positive assessments (e.g. *joozu* 'You're skillful') following a child's prompted or spontaneous social action such as saying thank you, or display of skill such as completing a puzzle. Assessments with *kawaii* and *kakkoi* are related to these assessments in that they are responsive to something in the immediate scene, or within the content of talk. They are different, however, in that they are often verbally responded to by others with co-assessments, and may be initiated by children in relation to themselves or others. Before turning to examine these assessments, the following section briefly discusses *kawaii* and *kakkoi* within a socio-historical context.

Kawaii and Kakkoi

Kawaii has a cluster of meanings, including 'cute,' 'adorable,' 'lovable,' 'precious,' and 'pretty.' The aesthetic value for things small and delicate emerged over a thousand years ago (late 990 to early 1000) as evidenced in writings in the *Makura no sooshi* (The Pillow Book) (see Shibagaki, 2007). Recently, *kawaii* has received attention in academic research and mass media in the West. In particular, contemporary Japan has been described as a 'cute culture' in that *kawaii* imbues many aspects of social life, including pop culture, personal appearance,

advertisements, and corporate logos (e.g. Angier, 2006; Garger, 2007). Things frequently associated with *kawaii* include animated characters, such as Little Kitty, Pokemon, and Anpanman, and miniaturized or delicate things, and the color pink. Infants and toddlers are also associated with *kawaii*. While *kawaii* appeals to both women and men to various extents, *kawaii* is amplified among many girls, young women, and recently middle-aged women. Psychological studies have suggested early sex differences. In particular, in an interview in which sixty children (30 boys and 30 girls) were asked to answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to a list of adjectives to describe themselves, nearly three times as many young girls as young boys (ages 3-6) answered ‘yes’ to *kawaii* (Tomomatsu, 1994). This gap was even wider (9:1) among the oldest children (ages 5-6) interviewed.

Kakkoi also has a cluster of meanings, including ‘cool,’ ‘good looking,’ ‘neat,’ ‘attractive,’ and ‘stunning.’ *Kakkoi* is traditionally associated with boys and men, though it has also come to be associated with women, such as those who dress stylishly, play sports, or ride motorcycles (Shibagaki, 2007). Again, psychological studies have suggested early sex differences. In particular, in relation to the interviews described in the previous paragraph, it was also reported that twice as many young boys as young girls (ages 3-6) answered ‘yes’ in describing themselves as *kakkoi* (Tomomatsu, 1994).

Kawaii and *kakkoi* are not static categories, but open to interpretation and transformation. Things or actions considered *kawaii* by one group might be considered *kakkoi* by another group, and vice versa. Other things may be considered as both *kawaii* and *kakkoi*, such as an American Barbie doll (Shibagaki, 2007). Furthermore, what is considered *kawaii* and *kakkoi* today may change over time. In modern Japanese society there is a strong tendency for girls to be associated with *kawaii* and boys with *kakkoi*, though there is flexibility. How are these norms socialized in everyday interaction in the daycare?

Assessments with Kawaii

In interactions inside the center and on the playground, teachers frequently make assessments to boys and girls using *kawaii*. The “assessable” includes girls, animated characters, flower designs, small things such as animals, bugs, toy tea cups, pink things, infants/toddlers, and particular actions by girls such as silly poses. An illustration is (1). In this excerpt, in preparing to go outside for a walk with their teachers, the children are seated on the floor listening to a teacher talk about the need to wear a mask when there is a foul smell. The teacher then shifts topic saying that instead of a putting on a mask (on her mouth) (*sensei wa ne koko wa ne masuku janakute ne:::*) she puts on lipstick (on her lips) (*°kuchibeni na no°*). As she begins to quietly say, ‘°I put on lipstick°,’ she gazes towards two of the girls (Hina and Mao) and asks each if her mom also wears lipstick, a question that is voluntarily responded to by another girl (Emina) who says her mom also wears lipstick. The excerpt begins from here, in which the teacher (T1) responds to Emina. (In the English glosses, *kawaii* and *kakkoi* are not translated).

(1)Teacher 1 (T1), Teacher 2 (T2), Emina (girl, Bangladesh, 3;1), (Kazuki, boy, Japan, 5;1)

- | | | |
|---|--------|---|
| 1 | T1: | <i>mama no kirei na no aru yo</i> [<i>ne:::</i> ((to Emina))
‘Moms have pretty ones (=lipsticks), right::.’ |
| 2 | T2: | [<i>n::[::]</i>].
‘Mm:::.’ |
| 3 | Emina: | ((nods while gazing towards T1)) |
| 4 | T1: | [<i>pin</i>] <i>ku toka aka toka ne:::</i> . |

- ‘Pink, red, and so on, right::::.’
- 5 Emina: ((nods while gazing towards T1))
- 6 T1: *so::*
‘Right::.’
- 7 T1: ((turns towards Kazuki))
- 8 T1: → *onnanoko wa .h kawaii kara.*
‘Since girls .h are *kawaii* (they have/wear pretty lipstick).’
- 9 Kazuki: ((gazing towards teacher, 0.2))

In this excerpt, following her generalization to Emina (‘Moms have pretty ones [=lipsticks], right:: Pink, red, and so on right::::,’ line 1), to which Emina responds by nodding in agreement (line 3), the teacher turns towards the oldest boy in the group (Kazuki, 5;1) and makes an assessment of girls using *kawaii* (‘Since girls .h are *kawaii*,’ line 8). In this sequential context this assessment embedded within a reason clause implies, ‘Since girls are *kawaii*, they have/wear pretty lipstick,’ implicitly conveying a preferred image of girls, and a way that older boys are likely expected to think and feel towards girls. Though this assessment occurs in a ‘participation framework’ (Goffman, 1981) in which there is a single addressee (the older boy Kazuki), other children who are seated around the teacher are potential overhearers. In this way, teacher assessments with *kawaii* have the potential to socialize not only the addressee into gender (and sexuality) but also co-present children.

Teachers often make assessments of appearances of children, particularly girls, using *kawaii* (and other adjectives such as *suteki* ‘wonderful’/‘nice’). These include clothes, shoes and accessories, which are often decorated with designs and bright colors, particularly pink. These assessments function as a compliment to the child wearing them. Similarly, previous research in a nursery school in the U.S. suggests that adults compliment the appearance of young girls, such as saying, “What a pretty little lady you are” (Joffe, 1971: 470). In the present data, teachers used a range of resources in making such assessments. An illustration is (2). Here, the children are putting on their shoes before going out for a walk with their teachers.

(2) Teacher 1 (T1), Teacher 2 (T2), Hina (girl, Japan 3;1), Mao (girl, Japan, 2;6)

- 1 Hina: ((sitting down after putting on her shoes))
- 2 ((begins to point towards Hina’s shoes))
- 3 T1: *Hina, sore atarashii [okutsu da ne::* ((touching Mao))
‘Hina, those are new shoes, right.’
- 4 Mao: [((while standing, gazes towards Hina’s shoes))
- 5 T2: → *kawa[ii::::]* ((gazing towards Hina))
‘They’re *kawaii*::::.’
- 6 T1: → [*ohana no*] *kawaii*::::. ((high pitch, gazes at and touches Mao))
‘With flowers, *kawaii*::::.’

In (2), when a teacher remarks on a girl’s new shoes (‘Hina, those are new shoes, right:,’ line 3), the other teacher follows with an assessment (‘They’re *kawaii*::::,’ line 5), which is produced with vowel elongation. In response, the first teacher makes a co-assessment in partial overlap (‘With flowers, *kawaii*::::,’ line 6), which is produced with vowel elongation, high pitch, and an added noun phrase (*ohana no* ‘with flowers’). In this noun phrase, the word *hana* ‘flower’ is preceded by the honorific prefix *o* (*o-hana*), which is conventionally

associated with women's language (Ide, 1991). In these data, teacher assessments using *kawaii* in relation to girls' appearances often included features of so-called women's language, such as particular 'response cries' (Goffman, 1981) such as *ara!* 'Oh my!,' and pragmatic particles such as *wa* and *ne*, e.g. *ara! kawaii wa ne:::~::~:* 'Oh my! How *kawaii:::~::~:*' ((in reference to a girl's Little Kitty hair barrette)). These features directly index affective stance.

Teachers frequently produce assessments using *kawaii* with facial expressions and body deployment, e.g. *kawaii tokei ne:::* 'What a *kawaii* watch:::~::~:' ((while looking at a girl's Little Kitty watch, teacher smiles and puts cheeks on hands while rocking back and forth)). These facial expressions and body deployments are at times reminiscent of a *burikko* performance or doing 'cute femininity' that is popular among some young Japanese women (Miller, 2004). As the teachers in this center are mainly veterans in their 40s and 50s, this *burikko* performance is not something they are likely to do in adult-adult interaction, but rather is child-designed, and an important resource for indexing gender and affective stance within this context.

These assessments are often located within multiparty participation frameworks in which the "assessable" is one child and the addressee is another child. In particular, in the above excerpt, the teacher points towards Hina's shoes (line 2) while touching another girl (Mao) in order to gain her attention and locate her as the addressee (lines 2 and 5). In this way, teacher assessments within *kawaii* may function not only as a compliment, but also to get other children, particularly of the same sex, attuned to something in which they are expected to be interested.

Teacher assessments using *kawaii* play an important role in socializing children into assessment as a communicative practice. In particular, young native and non-native Japanese speaking girls initiate assessments using *kawaii* in relation to their own or others' clothes, shoes, and accessories. An illustration is (3). In this excerpt, the children are preparing to go outside for a walk when one of the girls (Lan) reaches towards another girl's (Hina's) shoes on the shelf.

(3) Teacher (T), Lan (girl, Vietnam, 3;1), Hina (girl, Japan, 3;1)

- 1 Lan: → () *kawaii*. ((gazing towards Hina's pink shoes on shoe shelf))
'() *kawaii*.'
- 2 T: ((addressing another child))
- 3 T: *kawaii yo ne, Hinachan no okutsu ne* [*ja*.
'They're *kawaii* right, Hina's shoes.'
- 4 Lan: → [*kore kawaii*.=
'These are *kawaii*.'
[((reaches for her shoes))
- 5 T: =*ara Ranchan mo* [*pinku no kawaii:::~::~:*.
'Oh my. Lan (=your) pink ones (=shoes) are also *kawaii:::~::~:*.'
- 6 Lan: [((taking her shoes off the rack to put on))

In this excerpt, when Lan makes an assessment of another girl's shoes using *kawaii* (line 1), the nearby teacher responds with a similar assessment ('They're *kawaii* right, Hina's shoes,' line 3). Lan then reaches towards her own shoes on the same shelf and makes a further assessment ('These are *kawaii*,' line 4) to which the teacher follows with a co-assessment ('Oh my. Lan [=your] pink ones are also *kawaii:::~::~:*,' line 5).

Young girls on occasion also make assessments using *kawaii* to other children particularly

girls, e.g. Emina (female, Bangladesh, 3;8) *atashi kawaii?* ‘Am I *kawaii*?’ ((has just put on her bathing suit)) → Lan (female, Vietnam, 3;2): *kawaii* ((then touches and looks down at her own bathing suit)) *kawaii* ‘You’re *kawaii*, I’m *kawaii*.’ In these types of assessments, girls may seek confirmation using *kawaii* (e.g. ‘Am I *kawaii*?’) and refer to themselves or others using *kawaii* (e.g. ‘I’m cute’). Moreover, these assessments may include embodied displays, such as twirling around, such as to show off the front and back of one’s bathing suit or other clothing item. The examples here suggest that children’s assessments often lead to co-assessments by others, which is an important feature of assessment as a communicative practice in Japanese (and other languages) (see Strauss & Kawanishi, 1996). As assessments using *kawaii* are mainly used in relation to and by girls this suggests that these assessments are a key communicative resource for thinking, feeling, and acting in relation to gender. Both boys and girls are encouraged to view girls and their appearances as *kawaii*.

Assessments with Kakkoi

Teachers also frequently make assessments using *kakkoi*, though less often than assessments using *kawaii*. The “assessable” includes boys, vehicles (real or toy), and boy’s and girl’s actions such as athletic moves. An illustration is (4). This excerpt is a continuation of Excerpt 1. It may be recalled that in (1) the teacher had made an assessment ‘Since girls .h are *kawaii*’ (line 8) while gazing towards the oldest boy (Kazuki). As (4) begins, the teacher continues to address Kazuki.

(4) Teacher 1 (T1), Teacher 2 (T2), Kazuki (boy, Japan, 5;1)

- 10 T1: *o[tokonoko wa?* ((gestures and gazes towards Kazuki))
‘What about boys?’
- 11 T2: [^o*ne*:...:^o ((gazing towards Kazuki))
‘^oRight:...:^o’
- 12 (0.8)
- 13 Kazuki: ((shakes head slightly)) ^o*kakkoi*.^o
‘^oThey’re *kakkoi*.^o’
- 14 T1: → *kak[koi n] da yo ne*:...:((pulls in both arms making two fists))
‘They’re *kakkoi*, right:...:.’
- 15 T2: → [*kakkoi*.]
‘They’re *kakkoi*.’
- 16 T1: *so nan da yo ne*:. ((nods head))
‘That’s right..’

In this excerpt, in contrast to her previous assessment (‘Since girls .h are *kawaii*’), the teacher addresses Kazuki with a leading question (‘What about boys?’ line 10) to which he responds with the expected answer (‘^oThey’re *kakkoi*^o,’ line 13). Following this response, both teachers make an assessment re-using *kakkoi*. The first assessment (‘They’re *kakkoi*, right:...:.’ line 14) ends with the pragmatic particles *yo* and *ne* with vowel elongation. The pragmatic particle *ne* displays a stance of alignment (Morita, 2005), and the vowel elongation indexes heightened affective stance. While producing this assessment, the teacher pulls in both arms and makes two fists, as an embodied index of strength, which is normatively associated with boys. In this sequence, by contrasting the notions ‘girls are *kawaii*’ and ‘boys are *kakkoi*,’ the teacher conveys conventional notions about girls and boys in Japanese

society.

Teachers also make assessments using *kakkoi* in other contexts. In particular, similar to assessments of girls' appearances using *kawaii*, teachers make assessments of boys' appearances using *kakkoi*, e.g. *kakkoi oniisan* 'You're a *kakkoi* big boy' ((to Kazuki, 5;0, while showing him a picture of himself at his fifth birthday celebration)) and *kakkoi zoosan da ne:::* 'What a *kakkoi* elephant:::' ((to Zuberi, 2;7, who is wearing pajamas with an elephant design)). Teachers also on occasion make assessments using *kakkoi* in relation to both boys' and girls' appearances, such as when the children had put on toy sunglasses.

In addition to such direct assessments, teachers also attribute assessments to others. In particular, they may attribute assessments to young children who have spoken minimally or not at all. In general, attributed speech (*daiben*) is a recurring practice in caregiver speech to pre-verbal children (Okamoto, 2001). Daycare teachers often use attributed speech in triadic interaction to speak for one child to another. An illustration is (5). In this excerpt, when a young boy (Wataru) picks up a toy train that an older boy (Kazuki) had made out of blocks, the older boy immediately comes over and grabs the train out of the younger boy's hands. In response, the younger boy reacts with a minimal verbalization, and then the teacher intervenes by attributing speech to the younger boy, which she addresses to the older boy.

(5) Teacher (T), Kazuki (boy, Japan, 5;0), Wataru (boy, Japan 2;2)

- | | | |
|---|---------|---|
| 1 | Wataru: | <i>a::</i> ((while sitting in Teacher's lap gazing towards Kazuki, 1.4))
'Ah:.' |
| 2 | T: → | <i>Kazukikun ga tsukutta no wa kakkoi: tte.</i> ((to Kazuki))
'He (=Wataru) says the one (=train) Kazuki made is <i>kakkoi</i> :.' |
| 3 | | (0.8) |
| 4 | T: → | <i>ne: konna chicchai Watarukun demo wakaruru tte.</i> ((to Kazuki))
'Even little Wataru says he knows it (=that Kazuki's train is <i>kakkoi</i>).' |
| 5 | Kazuki: | ((ignores, walks away, 0.5)) |
| 6 | Wataru: | <i>he:::</i> ((put hands in air))
'Eh:::' |

In this excerpt, the teacher attributes speech to Wataru as an assessment of Kazuki's toy train ('He [=Wataru] says the one [=train] Kazuki made is *kakkoi*:,' line 2). In her next turn, the teacher again attributes speech to Wataru, though this time the assessment is implied ('Even little Wataru says he knows it [=that Kazuki's train is *kakkoi*],' line 4). These utterances have multiple functions within a triadic participation framework. In particular, they implicitly convey to the young child how to think and feel towards a particular thing in which the child has shown interest (toy trains are *kakkoi*). They also implicitly teach the child that assessments may be an important means of appeal in attempting to get something one wants (rather than demanding it).

Teachers also make assessments of children's, particularly boys', actions such as athletic moves using *kakkoi* (or other adjectives such as *sugoi* 'great'/'impressive'), e.g. *o kakkoi* 'Oh *kakkoi*' ((to Manik, boy, 2;6 who does a body bridge)). This finding is consistent with previous research. In particular, Peak (1991) has suggested that Japanese preschool teachers make assessments of boys' actions such as rough pretend play including enactment of actions figures using *kakkoi*.

In these data, boys also make assessments using *kakkoi* of their own actions to others such as teachers, e.g. Kazuki (5;2): *sensei mite mite, kakkoi* 'Teacher look look, I'm *kakkoi*'

((dives into pool)) → Teacher: *o:: dekiru ne:::* ‘Oh:: you can do it:::’. This assessment of the self functions as bragging or showing off. This can be compared with girls’ use of *kawaii* in relation to their own appearances, as discussed in the previous section.

Teachers also on occasion make assessments of girls’ actions using *kakkoi*, e.g. Emina (3;8): *mite* ‘Look’ ((jumps off tire in playground)) → Teacher: *a::: kakkoi kakkoi* ‘Ah::: kakkoi kakkoi.’ Girls also make assessments of others using *kakkoi*, e.g. Teacher: *kakkoi ne baiku ne burun burn buru:n tte* ‘It’s *kakkoi*, the bike, it goes vroom vroom vroom ((referring to a female teacher who is about to ride away on her motorcycle)) → Hina (female, 3;4): *kakkoi*: ‘It’s *kakkoi*:.’ In these ways, teachers and children make assessments using *kakkoi* to display affective stance towards things of interest.

Conclusion

This paper has examined socialization into gender and stance through an analysis of interaction among young children and their caregivers in a daycare center in Japan. The analysis suggests that assessments using *kawaii* and *kakkoi* are an important strategy in this socialization. These assessments employ an array of resources, or ‘ecology of sign systems’ (C. Goodwin 2003: 21), that include verbal language, facial expression, body deployment, and prosody. Moreover, these assessments occur within multiparty participation frameworks that encompass one or more children and teachers as speakers, addressees, or overhearers.

This analysis sheds lights on the process of first and second language and cultural acquisition. Through participation in everyday interaction, young children develop the ability to initiate and respond to assessments using *kawaii* and *kakkoi* with teachers and peers. For many children, assessments with *kawaii* and *kakkoi* are (and will further become) an important practice for displaying stance and negotiating gender identity across a range of contexts. How children use assessments with *kawaii* and *kakkoi* to challenge and contest dominant gender ideologies remains to be seen, and is a topic in need of investigation by further examining interaction among children and their peers.

Finally, this study suggests that through saturated interaction in a native or target language, children and other novices acquire not only a language (e.g. words, grammatical structures), but also the knowledge and understandings that enable them to act, think, and feel like other members of the community. Central to this acquisition is gender. In educating undergraduate and graduate students in the acquisition gender, it may be helpful to heighten their understanding of the process of language and cultural acquisition as an integrated process, in particular by showing and discussing audio-visual data of interaction in classrooms and other naturally occurring settings and considering the ways that gender is socialized in everyday lives.

Transcription conventions

All names are pseudonyms.

[]	Brackets indicate overlapping talk.
wo:rd	Colon marks vowel lengthening (each colon equals approx. 0.1 second).
°word°	Circles show reduced or low volume
((bows))	Nonverbal actions or other transcriber comments are provided within double parentheses.
.h	Period followed by the letter h marks an in-breath sound.
(1.0)	Number in parenthesis shows verbal silence, measure in second

	and tenths of a second.
(.)	Period in parenthesis indicates a verbal silence of less than 0.2 second.
./,/?	Period, comma, and question mark indicates falling/continuing/rising intonation contours respectively.
<u>word</u>	Underlining marks emphatic stress.
(word)	A word in parenthesis indicates transcriber uncertain about hearing of word within.

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Gendered Talk or Cultured Talk

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Abstract

Foreign women have been increasingly marrying Japanese men and taking up residence in Japan. Recent statistics from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2001) show that in 1970, international marriages accounted for only 0.5% of the total marriages, while in 2000, they had increased to 4.5%. In Osaka, the rate of international marriages has reached one in twelve (8.3%), and in Tokyo it is now one in ten (10%). Obviously, the character of Japan's families is changing. This study looks at women who are from other countries (from now referred to as 'foreign women') married to Japanese men and residing in Japan, and examines how they negotiate issues of gender, culture, and communication in their marriages. The findings of the study revealed that languages other than English were perceived, in Japanese society, as having a lower status than English and as a result foreign non-native English speakers found they struggled to pass on their native languages and cultures to their children. However, bilingualism in English and Japanese was perceived to offer a number of advantages to families, as did the bi-cultural nature of the families. A number of respondents felt certain constraints in Japanese society related to the role of mother and its associated cultural expectations, as well as limitations on personal expression.

要旨

外国人女性の日本人男性との結婚が増加しており、日本国内に居住するカップルが増えている。厚生労働省による最近のデータによれば、1970年には全結婚の0.5%に過ぎなかった国際結婚は、2000年には4.5%にまで増加している(2001年)。大阪では12組に1組(8.3%)が国際結婚、東京では10組に1組(10%)に及ぶ。日本の家族というものの性質が明らかに変化しつつある。この研究では、日本人男性と結婚して日本に居住する他国出身の女性が、ジェンダーや文化、結婚生活でのコミュニケーションをどのようにネゴシエートしているかを調査した。日本社会では英語以外の外国語は英語よりもステータスが低いと見られており、その結果、英語を母語としない外国人女性は、子どもたちに自分の言語や文化を伝えていくのが困難だったとしている。その一方で、英語と日本語のバイリンガル環境は、家族の文化的二重性と同様に、多くの利点をもたらすものだと考えられている。また、多くの回答者が、母という役割やそれにまつわる文化的期待、自己表現というものに関して、日本社会では一定の制約を感じているとした。

Background

There has been a large number of studies regarding features attributed to Japanese language and culture such as the need for harmony (Dahl, 1999), vagueness, lack of direct communication, hesitancy to make decisions, and conservativeness (Clarke and Lipp, 1998), the use of silence (Abe, 1995), and the use of gender specific language (Schonfeld, 1999; Abe, 1995). Other studies have also been undertaken on the topic of gender-based differences in communication, from which two main approaches can be identified; the *dominance approach* and the *difference approach*. Proponents of the dominance approach discuss language differences in terms of female oppression and male dominance. The dominance

approach is associated with Zimmerman and West (1983), Lakoff (1975), Fishman (1983) and Dale Spender (1980). The difference approach concerns differences in the communicative styles of men and women. This approach can be seen especially in the work of Tannen (1986), and Coates (1993).

Using questionnaires Healy (2005) examined how language and culture affected the marriages and lives of non-Japanese women married to Japanese men in Japan. The women in the study anticipated and acknowledged that ethnic and social differences related to Japanese culture as well as gender differences impacted both negatively and positively on their lives and relationships. The present study builds upon the 2005 study by using in-depth interviews to further examine the issues of language, gender and culture within intercultural marriages.

The Data

The data for this study was collected through interviews. The 20 interviewees were all foreign women married to Japanese men living in the Kansai area of Japan. Seventeen of the couples had children and three couples were childless. All were interviewed by one interviewer in English over a period of six months. The interviews were structured around a questionnaire previously used in Healy (2005) and usually lasted around two hours. The interviews were all recorded and transcribed in part. The questions were divided into three groups based on language skills and usage, language and culture, and language and identity.

Language skills and usage

All of the women who took part in the study could speak both English and Japanese to varying degrees, and several (five) were native speakers of other languages, including French, Tagalog, Swiss, Polish and Czech. The participants were asked to self-assess their Japanese language ability, and it was found that the native English speaking women generally assessed themselves to be elementary to intermediate level, whereas the non-native English speaking women were more likely to assess themselves as intermediate level or above. Several of the non-native English speaking women suggested that as no one spoke their native language that they needed Japanese more than native English speaking women, as many Japanese people speak English. As was found in the previous study by Healy (2005), the dominance of the English language was significant. All the women who were native English speakers used mainly English in their family lives, particularly with their children, but also with their husbands. Various reasons were given for this including; lack of ability in Japanese, the importance of English as a world language, links to families in their home countries, the accessibility of English language materials, and the high regard in which the English language is held in Japan. Comments from people outside the family were usually positive in regard to English ability and how lucky the children were to be able to speak English.

These results contrasted with the answers from the non-native speakers of English. In families where the wife was a non-native English speaker most of the communication within the family took place in Japanese. The majority of the husbands did not speak their wives' languages, and their children generally had only a passive knowledge of their mothers' native tongues. All five of the non-native English speaking mothers had been told by teachers and members of the local community, including family members, that it would be better for their children not to speak their native languages at home, but to learn Japanese and English. These women perceived keeping their languages and culture alive to be "a battle". All of the women stated that they felt their languages and cultures to be undervalued by the surrounding community. One woman was told that she should forget her background and try to be more Japanese. Several respondents also mentioned the difficulty of getting materials to teach

their children their native language. One respondent said that her children had only her to talk to in her native language, no one their own age, and she felt this was problematic. She added that she felt jealous of the mothers from English-speaking countries who she felt got an “automatic pass.” She said that Japanese people respected English language speakers more than people from other countries.

In the interviews many of the women expressed frustration with the Japanese language. The comments mainly focused on the difficulty of reading and writing, which made many of the respondents effectively illiterate. 85% (17) of the women had graduated from university in their home countries, 30% held post-graduate degrees and 60% held full time jobs, indicating high levels of education; however few of the women could read or write Japanese well enough to do many tasks that are part of everyday life, such as reading information from their children’s schools or work-related information. Many of the women, especially the native English speaking women, expressed their frustration at having to rely on their husbands, or others, for reading and writing. One respondent said, *“I am like a child, I have to say, ‘What’s this say?’, or ‘Can you fill in this form for me?’ All my independence is gone. All the years I spent studying and working to be my own person, have disappeared.”* Another, *“My life would be so much easier if I could read and write, but it just never seems to come.”* Finally, *“I love it when I go home, everything seems so easy.”* Several also commented that their husbands were impatient and often unwilling to read things for them, and that they felt inadequately informed about a lot of things which caused them stress. Two respondents also expressed hurt and resentment because of their husbands’ responses, although they acknowledged that it was difficult for their husbands too.

Another concern frequently commented upon was a feeling that the true personalities of the women were not apparent in the interactions they had with people in Japanese outside of their immediate family. There was a feeling that they could not *“be themselves”*. This issue seemed to have two causes. Firstly, the women stated that they were unable to express themselves fully in Japanese due to a lack of linguistic knowledge or competence, *“I just can’t say what I feel. I don’t know the words.”* Secondly, there was a perceived difference in cultural knowledge or competence. One woman commented that, *“I always feel as if I must hide what I am really feeling, that people would be shocked if they really knew what I thought. I feel as if I have a secret life and that nobody really knows who I really am.”* Another said, *“When I am with other foreign women we talk about a variety of things; personal problems, emotions, politics, history, books, but when I am with Japanese female friends we only talk about very superficial things, even if we have known each other for a long time. Maybe it is a language difference, but I think it is cultural too. Japanese people are always hiding.”* Another respondent said, *“My husband always seems to be telling me that when we are in public I say too little or I say too much. I am too direct or not direct enough. I often feel nervous before I speak and have to think about what I am going to say, and will it be okay. I don’t feel at ease.”*

Lack of linguistic or cultural knowledge seemed less of an issue within the family unit, particularly among the women who used English at home. For most of the women and their husbands the choice to use English was a conscious choice, especially when children came into the picture. Several of the women commented that they had chosen to speak English to help their children become bilingual. Bilingualism in Japanese and English is seen to be an advantage and to have economic and social benefits as well as psychological and emotional benefits. Many of the women also chose to use English in their relationships with their husbands as they felt that speaking English made them “more equal”. One woman commented that, *“Japan is a sexist country. Women are treated as second class and Japanese has different words that men and women use. It didn’t feel comfortable to be reminded all the time that I am a woman, and therefore should behave in a certain way.”*

Other comments included:

"I can say things in English that I can't say in Japanese, that don't even exist in Japanese, for example 'sweetheart' or 'love'."

"I feel my husband is different when he speaks English, than when he speaks Japanese. In Japanese he hasn't got much to say, but in English he is much chattier."

"When I speak Japanese I feel like I am in a box, I feel constricted, I don't feel free like I do in English."

Language and Culture

When asked to give examples of stories showing that it is enjoyable to have two different languages and cultures, nearly all the interviewees talked about being able to celebrate two sets of holidays and festivals. *"We love celebrating Christmas, Halloween, Tanabata (The Star Festival), Setsubun (celebrating the start of spring), New Year and all the other holidays. Because we have two cultures we get double the fun."* And *"It is fun to explore each others' cultures, and to look at my own culture again with different eyes. My family from the UK has also enjoyed learning about Japanese culture and visiting Japan. It has been eye opening for all of us. My husband's family has also been to the U.K. to visit and so their horizons have been expanded too."* Other benefits included being able to switch from one language to another, if they wanted to tell each other things privately, and being able to pick and choose the things they liked from both cultures. For example, *"When my kids were born I did some things the Japanese way, co-sleeping, and other things the Western way, taking the baby out when she was just a couple of days old."* The freedom of having access to two cultures was also shown in the comment *"If I don't want to do something, I can play the 'gaijin (foreigner) card'. It can be really convenient."*

The difficulties of having two different languages and cultures highlighted the differences in shared knowledge and experience. *"I feel that it is great to have two languages and cultures, but it can be really hard too. Neither my husband nor I know the others person's culture 100%, we don't have the same frames of reference. We don't know the same things from childhood, TV, books or games. We don't have those 'ah, remember when....' moments, and that makes me sad and can also be tiring. It is tiring to have to explain everything."*

The expectations concerning the roles and responsibilities within the marriage can also be quite different. For example generally in Japan wives control the money. Japanese men turn their salaries over to their wives who then decide how it is spent. However many women from Western countries grew up in families where the father controlled the finances. These differing expectations can cause stress, as one interviewee said, *"I had no idea how to organize a family budget, and neither did my husband. I kept trying to make him do it, and he expected me to do it. We fought so many times, but now we do most things separately and it seems to have worked out."*

The participants often separated their husbands from their culture. More than half of the wives said that they thought their husbands were not typical Japanese men. *"If my husband was a typical Japanese man he wouldn't have married me."* was a frequent comment. They also clearly stated that they felt uncomfortable trying to separate their husbands' personal traits from cultural traits, stating it was *"difficult"*, *"impossible"* and *"I don't want to generalize."* Most of the comments minimalised the cultural impact on their relationships, and highlighted the differences between men and women as opposed to being Japanese and non-Japanese as the more important factors. For example, *"Even though we have a lot of differences culturally, I feel that the main difference is that he is a man, and I am a woman. You know all the stuff women complain about at home, is kind of the same here; not wanting*

to talk about emotions, wanting to talk about politics or economics, watching the news or sports, being untidy.” And, “I don’t think Japanese men are different to guys at home really. Except some things are more exaggerated, like they work longer hours. But when I talk to my girlfriends at home they are saying the same stuff as my friends here say.”

Aspects of Japanese culture that the foreign wives commented upon favourably included:

Long-term perspective: “There are lots of things I like about Japanese men. They seem to think in the long term about their families. Western men seem to think more in the short term, ‘I am not happy now, so I’m off.’ Japanese men are more patient, ‘Okay, I’m not happy now, but if I give it time maybe I will be.’”

Old-fashioned: “Japanese men see themselves in old-fashioned terms as providers. There are slow and steady, like our fathers were.”

Gentleness: “Japanese men are very gentle and don’t do the alpha-male thing.”

Negative comments focused less on the husbands’ interaction with their wives, but more on their husbands’ interactions with the community around them. The women felt that their husbands bowed too much to pressure from groups outside the family; work, extended family and friends. There were frequent complaints about long working hours including late nights and Saturdays, and lack of holidays of more than a day or two long. “There is a huge emphasis put on work here, it is different to my home country (Australia), which places importance on both work and play. People think you need quality free time to work well.” “Ties to groups are very strong, it is difficult to refuse, I know, but sometimes I wish he would.”

The women also felt that their husbands often did not mix well with people they did not know well. “It is very difficult to get my husband to talk to my friends, or people he doesn’t know.” “He like to socialise with the guys he knew from school or university, he is not interested in meeting new people.”

Several of the respondents said that their husbands had to “put up with a lot” because they hadn’t married Japanese women. This feeling was echoed in the community around them. Many of the wives had been told that their husbands had suffered in some way by being married to them. Comments included “My doctor told me that I would probably kill my husband by giving him foreign food.” “Your husband must be very tired because you make him do the housework. If his wife was Japanese she would take better care of him.” One participant was told, “Foreign men who marry Japanese women are lucky, but Japanese men who marry foreign women aren’t.” As one woman concluded, “It is like a double negative here, being a woman and being a foreigner. It is double discrimination.”

Identity

The creation of identity within marriages is a complex process. Societies provide guidelines for couples to follow, but individual marriages are interpreted, maintained, adapted, created and recreated by each partner (Miller and Browning, 2000).

All of the respondents felt that their identities had been affected by their marriages and by their experiences of living in Japan. One major factor that appeared to have a large impact was whether the couples had children or not. Many women commented that after they had children their relationships with their husbands, and those around, them changed significantly. The role of mother was felt to be very powerful in Japanese society. Comments included, “Now, I am known as (name)’s mother, or called “okaasan” (mother in Japanese)

*by my family and friends. I don't really like it.", "My husband even calls me 'okaasan'.", "My husband calls me 'Mummy-chan' in front of the children, but I am not his mummy." One woman explained in detail, "I **am** a mother, but I am also many other things; a wife, a sister, a daughter, a friend, a work colleague, and many other things. I don't want to be defined by only one aspect of my life. But in Japan, if you are a mother that is the dominating role."*

In Japanese society individuals are commonly identified in public and in the home by their familial relationships rather than their names. Women are referred to as; *okaasan* (mother), *okusan* (wife) *obaasan* (grandmother), *obasan* (aunt), *onesan* (older sister) and *imoto* (younger sister). Men are identified by the male equivalents. This means people are labelled in terms of family groups and of gender, rather than as individuals. These labels can be uncomfortable for women who grew up in societies where names are more individual and deeply tied to their personal identities.

Another way that the foreign wives are overtly labelled is by being "*gaijin*". *Gaijin* means foreigner and is a label given to all foreign people in Japan. All of the women discussed being labelled a *gaijin*.

"I am gaijin, I will always be gaijin. It will never change. I will never be part of Japanese society."

"Before I came here I heard a lot of stuff about immigrants and how they were treated in my country (America), but I grew up in a basically white neighbourhood and didn't really think about it. When I came to Japan I didn't think about it much either, but recently, after being here for 12 years, I empathise with the feeling of being an immigrant. Especially since 9/11 and the changes in the world."

"I have travelled a lot and see myself as a world citizen, but increasingly I am uncomfortable about what it means to be foreign in a foreign land. It doesn't feel so good anymore."

Many women felt that their identity in the Japanese community would always be first *gaijin*, followed by their gender role, followed by their role in the family, and finally their work role. However, many of the women suggested that their personal identities had been strengthened by their experiences.

"Because of all the labels that have been given to me in Japan by other people, I have had to really think about them and myself and my role in life. It has made me have a much stronger sense of self."

"I feel like I have grown a lot through my experiences here. I have more confidence."

"I have had to become very self reliant, as I have no family here to help me, and my husband usually works late. At first I was lonely, but now I like it and use my time to do things I enjoy."

Conclusion

It can be seen that through marrying Japanese men and living in Japan, the women in the study have had many positive and negative experiences. Differing levels of linguistic skills, together with language use shape the wives' lives, restricting them in some ways and freeing them in others. The inherent difficulties of written Japanese lead to increased dependence on their husbands, the difficulties of getting foreign language materials hamper the passing on of

their languages and cultures to their children, lack of shared knowledge and experiences as well as differing expectations can put a strain on relationships, and the labels given can affect the identity of these women. However, it can also be seen that many positive factors were also found. The women emphasised the freedom they experienced through having access to two cultures. The ability to pick and choose which parts to conform to and which parts to ignore was valued, as well as the increased opportunities to learn about a new country and culture, and through that to relearn things about their original countries, cultures and selves.

The women in the study felt that the most important factor in their relationships with their husbands however, was not the differences that arose from being from different countries, but rather the differences that arose from being male and female. In other words, gender was felt to be more significant than culture. In contrast, they felt that outside of the home, culture was the more important factor. In Japan the terms *uchi* and *soto* are relevant in this regard. Ting-Toomey (1986) states that *soto* means 'outside' and refers to the world outside the family where conformity, formality and conventionality are important, and *uchi* means 'inside' and refers to the home, which is described as "private, informal and unconventional. Within the home and within the context of their relationships with their husbands these women feel they are not perceived primarily as foreigners, but rather as individuals and women. Outside the family this does not appear to be true and the women perceive themselves as viewed as foreigners first, and then as women. Japan is described as a collectivist country and according to Brislin (1993), "The differences between individualists and collectivists emerge in relations beyond the nuclear family." The women in the study mainly came from countries which have cultures based on individualism, and this may have been another factor in the different perception the women felt about their lives within and outside their families.

The wide knowledge and acceptance of the English language and English-speaking cultures in Japan have some positive results for the native-English speaking women who took part in the study. However, a lack of knowledge and acceptance of other languages and cultures has a lesser unknown impact on the women who speak other languages, and this is an area that requires more research. Further, it may be useful to survey the husband's and children's views on the communication patterns within their families to form a more complete picture of the family's experiences.

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The 'de-feminization' of Japanese Women's Language: A Study of 'generational talk'

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Abstract

The Japanese language has been characterized as being highly gendered with distinct male and female speech registers (Shibamoto,1985). However there seems to be an emerging pattern that suggests that women, in particular young women are abandoning 'traditional' Japanese women's language in favour of more masculine forms. (Okamoto & Sato,1992). This synchronic study looks at two sets of women comprised of two generations from the rural north of Japan in an investigation to look for evidence if Japanese women's language use is in fact changing or not. The findings showed differences in perceived opinion and actual language use among the two sets of informants with the younger group using fewer feminine forms and more masculine ones than the older group. This apparent de-feminization process it will be argued is a reflection of changing gender roles and ideology particularly among the younger generation and is also an indication that perhaps 'Japanese women's language' is an ideological construct that is not applicable to the rural north of Japan.

要旨

日本語は男女の口語使用が高度にジェンダー化されていることが特徴だとされてきた (Shibamoto 1985)。しかし近年、女性、とりわけ若い女性が、男性的な言い回しを取り入れ、「伝統的」日本女性の言葉を捨てつつあることを示すパターンが現れてきているようである (Okamoto&Sato1992)。この共時言語学的な研究では、北日本の地方に住む年配層、若年層の2グループに分けた女性の話し言葉を調査し、日本人女性の言語使用が実際に変化してきているのかどうかを検証した。調査の結果、年配層と若年層のグループ間では、知覚的意見と実際の言語使用において違いが見られ、若年層グループでは女性的言い回しの使用頻度が少なく、年配層グループに比べて男性的言い回しが多用されることが明らかになった。女性らしさ喪失のプロセスが明らかに見られるが、これは性別役割やイデオロギーが特に若い世代で変化しつつあることを反映している。また、このプロセスは「日本人女性の言語」というものが、恐らく北日本の地方部には当てはまらないイデオロギー的構築であることを示している。

Introduction

Sweeping generalisations abound in what constitutes Japanese women's language. Abundant in the literature (Shibamoto, 1985, 1987; Okamoto, 1995; Matsumoto, 1996; Reynolds, 1990) feminine uses of the language can be found in self-reference (personal pronouns), honorifics, pitch ranges, address terminology and sentence final particles. The Japanese woman is defined as being elegant, polite, soft-spoken, non-aggressive and submissive and her language use and linguistic choices are consequently reflections of this. Jorden (1990) states however that this is a stereotypical image of a weaker sex, of a woman who knows her place and is careful in demonstrating it, but as she suggests, if these widely disseminated descriptions are valid for the past, do they still in fact apply to the present?

It can be said that Japanese society has been going through tremendous change in

behavioral culture, an expansion in the number of roles for women and independent economic status (Iwao, 1993; Lebra, 1986; Fanselow & Kameda, 1994; Jorden, 1990) which could lead to the assumption that the language should change as well. Nevertheless, there appears to be an apparent contradiction. Women may now perceive themselves as equal with men but the cultural belief that women should talk *onnarashii* or womanly is still a very dominant force in Japanese culture (Reynolds 1990). But what happens when women go against this ingrained ideology? There is increasing evidence that women, particularly young women, are using less feminine forms and that this sociolinguistic rebellion is now widespread with some labeling it as *midareta nihongo* or corrupt Japanese (Okamoto & Sato, 1992). This research attempted to examine if this is true in the case of rural Japan.

The literature illustrates sentence endings as the predominant markers of gendered language in Japan. McGloin (1990), Streehan (2004), and Reynolds (1985) indicate that Japanese men use sentence final particles (SFPs) that index authority, aggression and masculinity as exemplified in the particles *ze* and *zo* and *sa* and which are never used by women. Smith (1992) calls this men's linguistic privilege. McGloin (1990) and Hasegawa (2005) however, argue that in monologues such particles are permitted to be used by women. The table below illustrates these points with the SFPs feminine equivalents based on McGloins (1990) interpretation of feminine SFPs:

Table 1. Masculine particles with their female equivalents

Type	Masculine particles <i>zo</i> , <i>ze</i> and <i>sa</i> .	Masculine and Feminine particle <i>yo</i>	Feminine particles <i>wa</i> , <i>no</i>
Use	To impart information which belongs to the speaker's sphere to an addressee	Seeks to impart new information. Common to male speech after the plain verb. Women insert the particle 'wa' to soften the assertive force	Feminine. Creates solidarity, 'emotional common ground', with the addressee. 'No' engenders a feeling of shared knowledge, camaraderie, a positive polite strategy
Examples	Iku ze I will go	Iku yo (male) Iku wa yo (female) I will go	Watashi ga yaru wa I will do it Sashimi ga daisuki na no I love raw fish
Assertive force	strong	Mild insistence	weak

Feminine SFPs can fall into the mildly feminine or strongly feminine category (Appendix A). *Wa* is commonly attributed to women's speech and is considered a strongly feminine form. It is used by women when addressing both intimates and acquaintances and *Wa* with a rising intonation gives it a distinct classy feminine edge.

Ide and Yoshida (1999) suggest that the speaker who frequently uses *wa*, *wa yo* or *wa ne* index their identity as female and it has been suggested those who use *zo* or *na* as SFP's index their identity as male. This would suggest a conscious choice can be made however, such a choice has social implications. Sasaki (2003) suggests that a man using feminine forms is giving the impression he wants to be feminine and a woman who uses masculine forms gives the impression she wants to be masculine (Reynolds, 1990).

McGloin (1990) reveals that feminine SFPs such as *wa* and *no* are used as tools that function as softeners of women's speech because of the effect of uncertainty created by them. *No*, however, may be more neutral in questions but when used in declarative sentences is considered feminine.

Okamoto, however, as cited in Ide and Yoshida (1999) found that women (her study focused on middle class Tokyo residents) tend not to use the particle *wa*, instead opting for masculine particles in informal situations. Her informants commented on a lack of assertiveness in feminine SFPs and that such particles create a distance between the speakers, so they are not likely to use them in conversations with close friends. They opted to choose particles such as *yo* normally preferred by men, which emphasize intimacy toward the addressee because of its directness. She explains that the use of masculine SFPs such as *zo* reinforces solidarity among close friends. Ozaki (1999) found that the use of feminine forms (SFPs) was very frequent in women aged fifty and over, but that women in their twenties hardly used them at all. Sasaki (2003) suggests that feminine forms peaked with *dankai no sedai* (the post war baby boomer generation) and has since gradually decreased, with the possibility that the forms may disappear in the future - perhaps a more linguistically neutral future. She does state, however, that more women are using masculine linguistic forms, not the strongly masculine forms as outlined in Appendix A, but that 80% of young women in their twenties are using forms that were previously thought of as purely masculine. This leads Sasaki (2003) to suggest that if the use of feminine forms continues to decrease at the present rate, it is a possibility that they will become obsolete except in the world of literature, cinema and song.

Okamoto and Sato (1992) in their study of 14 middle class Japanese women who were divided into three age groups and had their informal conversations recorded with no topics specified found that younger women from the 27-34 age group used 'feminine' forms 24% of the time compared with women in the 45-57 age bracket who used them 50% of the time. The youngest group (18-23) used them 14% of the time. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) state that "While it is unclear whether this represents change in usage through time or in the lifetime of the speakers, it certainly shows that at least nowadays feminine forms are not favored by younger speakers" (183). They acknowledge that social and linguistic changes have taken place and argue that it may be a sign that girls are making a claim for authority as their male peers do. They suggest "The linguistic changes are not something that have simply washed over the younger generation: they are the result of girls finding ways of constructing kinds of selves that were not available to earlier generations (p.329)". Taking these previous studies into account, the current study set out to examine whether or not Japanese women's language use is in fact in a state of transition.

Informants

A total of 30 informants were interviewed. Fifteen of them ranged from 21 to 29 in age and constituted the young generation of women with an average age of 25. The older group consisted of women from 50 to 63 with an average age of 53. The age differences therefore created the age gap necessary for a generational difference to be obtained. The informants were born and raised in the rural areas of Akita and Aomori and were categorized as in the following examples:

OJF1 (Older Japanese female 1)

YJF1 (Younger Japanese female 1)

Of the fifteen older informants 13 were homemakers, two of whom were working part time jobs with the remaining two in full time employment. The majority are married except two and all of the informants came from a rural agricultural 'working class' background with the majority of their working background in farming or agricultural related companies. None of the older group had experienced life abroad but had had brief holidays overseas. Four of the informants however are friends with local foreigners and are very interested in foreign culture.

Of the young group 10 were single (8 of whom were in full time employment) with 4 married homemakers and 1 married working professional. Occupational backgrounds were

quite varied with none of the informants working in the agricultural industry. In comparison to their older peers the younger group are more 'international.' Eight of the 15 informants have been abroad to various extents, speak English and socialize within the foreign community on a regular basis. The informants were interviewed in groups. The table below illustrates the formation of these groups

Table 2. Composition of Groups, interview setting and group relationship

Group 1 Restaurant	Group 2 Researchers home	Group 3 Researcher's home	Group 4 Informants YJF8 home	Group 5 Informants OJF7 home
YJF1* OJF1 YJF2 OJF2 OJF3* OJF4	YJF3 YJF4	YJF5 YJF6	YJF7 YJF8	OJF5 YJF9* OJF6 OJF7* OJF8 OJF9
All badminton club members	Close friends	Close friends	Close friends	Close friend and daughter
Group 6 Informants home	Group 7 Informants OJF11 home	Group 8 Informants OJF11 home	Group 9 Restaurant	
OJF10* YJF10*	OJF11* OJF12 YJF11* OJF13#	OJF14 YJF12 YJF13# OJF15	YJF14 YJF15	
Mother and daughter	Close friends in the community	Neighboring friends	Close friends	

- Indicates mother and daughter within the same group
- # Indicates mother and daughter in separate groups

The research was conducted within the homes of the informants except two that were administered in a quiet restaurant. Of the groups interviewed Groups 1 and 6 were the only ones who were not previously acquainted with me. This 'knowledge' of the informants allowed the ability to determine whether or not the language used in the interview was genuinely authentic as I had heard the informants 'natural' conversations prior to the research. These observations lead me to believe that the conversations mirrored as best as possible that of natural discourse in a natural environment. As the discourse elicitation items record the number of gendered SFPs uttered (see next section) and that these, as suggested by Okamoto & Sato (1992), generally occur in familiar conversation with close peers, the general composition of these groups adhered to these specifications. Ideally, I wanted to separate informants into young and old groupings rather than mixed categories but time and circumstances prevented this. Concerns here relate to the make up of the groups as perhaps younger women with their peers are more likely to use masculine language. No evidence of this was found, however, with the mixed generational groupings producing as much masculine discourse as the young groups as will be shown later.

It must be stressed that this study was not intended to be representative of the population as a whole but an insight into two generations of women who reside in rural Japan taking into

account how gender can interact with other social variables, such as class and occupation. It differs from other studies on this subject (Mizokami, 2003; Okamoto, 1995; Okamoto & Sato, 1992) in that it looks only at women from rural agricultural working class backgrounds which is in contrast to studies that focus on middle class women from the Tokyo area.

Methods

Utilizing discourse elicitation tasks, informants spoken discourse was assessed for the number of masculine and feminine forms used. This was followed with informant perceptions of language and gender through a group forum that asked informants to describe generational language use. A gender sentence attribution list concluded the interviews. This section asked informants to respond to a series of sentences asking them to assign gender to the sentences from a list of given categories.

Discourse elicitation tasks

The discourse elicitation tasks presented the informants with a series of statements for discussion and allowed for the counting of feminine and masculine sentence final particles as uttered by the informants through these informal conversations. Examples of these statements below were designed to merely stimulate as much conversation as possible regardless of the answers to these questions. The first set of discourse elicitation tasks were presented first followed by a second set in order to get as much recorded discourse as possible in the time allowed which usually amounted to an hour for the whole interview process.

Discourse Elicitation tasks 1

Which one do you prefer?

Please state the reasons for your choice:

- ◆ Coffee or tea
- ◆ Bed or futon
- ◆ Cat or dog
- ◆ To be blind or to be deaf

Discourse Elicitation tasks 2

Please discuss 2 of the questions below:

Conversation topics

- ◆ What would you do if you only had 24 hours to live?
- ◆ What is your pet peeve? What annoys you?
- ◆ What would you do if you won a billion yen?
- ◆ Marry for love or money?

After the recordings were transcribed a total of 100 sentences were taken from the same point (not random) of the interview (the discourse elicitation tasks). This 'same point' was found usually 5 minutes into the interviews when it was felt that the informants were at ease with the interview environment and had forgotten the presence of a voice recorder. These sentences were then counted for the number of strongly / slightly masculine particles and strongly / slightly feminine particles as well as neutral ones and totaled in percentage form (See Appendix A for the SFPs and their forms).

The group forum

This forum gave the opportunity for the informants to put forth their opinions in an open discussion on generational language use. They were then asked to describe generational

language through written adjectives and assign them to the younger and older age group. Adjectives written by the informants were grouped into appropriate categories devised by the author after an analysis of the answers given. They were then measured in percentages.

Gender sentence attribution list

The gender sentence attribution list examined informant perception of gendered language. Informants received a list of 57 sentences in Japanese which were taken from a Japanese corpus of spoken language. Sentences were selected at random with neutral sentences being excluded. With reference to the literature on SFPs I allocated gender descriptors to these sentences. Twenty six were categorized as strongly feminine, 11 strongly masculine, 14 slightly masculine and 6 slightly feminine. Informants were then asked to place each sentence into a category of:

1. Spoken by a young women (a woman in her twenties)
2. Spoken by an older woman (defined as 50 plus)
3. Spoken by neither of the given categories.

Results and Discussion

The table below illustrates the collective findings of the two groups from the discourse elicitation tasks and shows variation in the speech practices of the two generations. The younger group is less feminine and more masculine than the older group in the use of sentence final particles.

Table 2. Use of gendered sentence final forms for the two group

	Young group (20-29)	Older group (50-63)
Strongly masculine forms	45 items. (3%)	36 items. (2%)
Slightly masculine forms	265 items. (18%)	159 items (11%)
Neutral	1111 items. (74%)	1120 items (75%)
Slightly feminine forms	65 items (4%)	135 items. (9%)
Strongly feminine forms	14 items. (1%)	50 items. (3%)
Totals	1500	1500

Concerns expressed earlier regarding having mixed groups consisting of older and younger women and how this could affect results with the possibility that younger women only use masculine forms with their own age group, were unfounded.

Groups that had young and old informants together (Groups 1,5,6,7 and 8) showed similarities in masculine sentences uttered when compared to groups that comprised of all young informants. Mixed groups averaged at 3.5% for strongly masculine utterances and 16% for slightly masculine. All young informant groups were recorded as using strongly masculine at 3% and slightly masculine at 19%. Neutral sentences totaled 73% (mixed groupings) and 75% (all young groupings) These mixed groups did not necessary affect the nature of the discourse considering the intimacy of the groupings. Had they been strangers or outside persons then the language would have changed to a more deferential use especially in regard to younger women addressing their elders.

Examining the overall results, the younger group uttered a total of 79 (5%) feminine utterances compared to the older groups' combined score of 185 (12%). There is a general trend towards feminine language with aging but the figures are not overwhelming. The data also suggests that the younger and older generation are both favoring a neutral stance with their language use (74% and 75% respectively of utterances). A number of reasons can be given here as to why the older generation are electing not to use feminine language and favoring a neutral, unisex one. It could be argued that it is not that their language has evolved

in the rural north as perhaps their younger counterparts' language use has, but due to the fact that it is not a requirement in the lives of these women. Sunaoshi (2004) suggests "...women who live in regional Japan and who are in working class occupations may not use features of Japanese women's language, not because they are unable to master them but because features of 'Japanese women's language' are simply not in their daily language repertoire" (p.188). This could perhaps be highlighted in the life of a farmer's wife (as seen here) juxtaposed with the middle class wife from the urban city married to a businessman where linguistic choices among such women would be quite varied (Okamoto & Sato, 1992). This can be reflected in 64% of older informants suggesting they use feminine language when speaking to superiors at work (see table 3 below on reasons why women elect to use feminine language) but of the 15 informants only two work on a full time basis which suggests there is not a need to use feminine language outside of the workplace in the rural north.

Table 3. When do you use womanly (feminine) language?

	Older group	Younger group
Addressing superiors	64%	61%
In public places	14%	6%
Getting a man to do something for you	7%	17%
When speaking with children	7%	11%
Other	8%	5%

The above categories of 'In public places' and 'Getting a man do do something for you' could perhaps indicate what Reynolds (1985) suggests is the conforming to societal expectations with regard to the desired linguistic behavior of women in a patriarchal society.

Another factor that can be included here is that Japanese women's language was originally a construct of the elite of Tokyo. Sunaoshi (2004) argues "Indeed, the use of Japanese women's language is itself a regional phenomenon; Japanese women's language is the ideal shared by women of a certain socioeconomic background who reside in Tokyo or aspire to Tokyo values, including language use" (p. 200).

Perhaps then the notion of a feminine language is an ideological construct not reflected in reality, at least not for the rural homemaker. The older female linguistic persona here, as outlined in the informants section, is radically different from middle / upper class professional women of Tokyo where Okamoto & Sato (1992) found that in females aged 45-57 strongly feminine SFPs were used 28% of the time and slightly feminine 50% of the time. This lies in stark contrast to these working class homemakers from an agricultural background (3% strongly feminine and 9% slightly feminine). There was, however, much variation amongst the older informants, proving that even among the same geographical and social region, Japanese women's language is not homogenous. The most linguistically feminine informant was OJF6 (a 63-year-old housewife married to a company employee) who was found to use the strongly feminine *wa* and *kashira* as in the following sentences:

OJF6 "*Nani o kakeba ii kashira*" **I wonder what I should write.**

"Hanbun gurai wa ne" **About half.**

Another informant who stood out from her peers linguistically was a university educated divorcee (OJF12) who worked as an elementary school teacher and wrote children's fairytales in her spare time. In her earlier years she worked at a City Hall and she suggested that the language used then influences the way she speaks now. Another was a housewife married to a self-employed tradesman (OJF11) who had to deal with customers in person and

over the phone, with tone and manner being of importance. Their neutral utterances totaled 55% and 68% respectively, with all feminine sentences totaling 36% and 20%. Typical of their sentences were the following:

OJF12 “*Ashi nagai wa*” **Long legs.**

“*Heiki na no yo*” **That’s ok!**

OJF11 “*Jibun no hoshi mono kangaenai wa*” **You won’t think about what you want.**

“*beddo ni netai wa ne*” **I want to sleep in a bed.**

The table below highlights individual SFPs as used by the individuals across the two groups.

Table 4. Use of gendered sentence final forms by type for the two generations.

	Young group (20-29)	Older group (50-63)
Strongly masculine forms		
zo	0 items	1 items (0.06)
sa	18 items (1%)	5 items (0.3)
na	27 items (2%)	29 items (2%)
Slightly masculine forms		
da and its variants	146 items. (10%)	66 items (4%)
daro	40 items. (3%)	17 items (1%)
kana	65 items. (4%)	31 items. (2%)
other	14 items (1%)	45 items (3%)
Slightly feminine forms		
desho	27 items (2%)	54 items (4%)
Noun / adjective plus ne	28 items (2%)	71 items (5%)
others	10 items (0.6)	10 items (0.6%)
Strongly feminine forms		
wa and its variants	2 items (0.3)	31 items (2%)
na no	6 items (0.4%)	12 items (0.8)
kashira	0 items	7 items (0.4%)
no ne	6 items (0.4%)	N/A

When the utterances are broken down as above, differences between how the generations speak and use SFPs become more apparent, and clearly there are overall differences. The younger group uses twice as many masculine forms, with the older group using overwhelmingly more feminine forms. The often cited typically feminine particles *kashira* and *wa* were only uttered by older informants. But perhaps more significantly, overall findings and results here show that there is similar usage in strongly masculine language use among the generations, with the older generation using the assertive particle *na* as opposed to the softer and feminine *ne*.

Within the sample of informants interviewed here young women’s language appears to be evolving and becoming less feminine (in the rural north) as reflected in this study and other studies previously cited. The data also suggests that the younger generation is also favoring a neutral stance with their language use (74% with the data here), which could point to a genderless use of the language in the future.

There were over 100 more slightly masculine forms used by the younger group than the older group with only an additional 10 in the strongly masculine category. Nevertheless, results were not overwhelmingly different in their percentage form 18% in comparison to 11% for the older group. Juxtaposed to Okamoto (1995) and Okamoto & Sato (1992), however, the findings are comparable. Okamoto (1995) found that 18-20-year-olds’ slightly

masculine use totaled 17.5%. Okamoto & Sato (1992) found 18-23- year-old women used slightly masculine forms 29% of the time, and 27-34-year-olds 14% of the time. Their feminine language use totaled 14% and 24% respectively. These results were, however, obtained from middle class Tokyo residents but do nevertheless show that perhaps women grow into a more feminine language use rather than neutral language as their masculine use decreases. A longitudinal or asynchronous study would be required here to test this. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to examine this hypothesis with the current data with the younger group divided into early and late twenties and the number of masculine and feminine forms counted as shown in the table below. The table shows that similar results in that masculine language use seems to decline as the women get older, with a reduction of 5.5% in the strongly masculine and 3% in the slightly masculine categories, and the neutral category rising by 9% but with no significant change in feminine SFPs use. This could suggest a trend towards a more neutral usage of the language.

Table 5. Young informants divided according to age

This table divides the young group into the 20-25 age category (a total number of 7 informants) the 26-29 category (a total number of 8 informants)

	Younger group (20-25)	Older group (26-29)
Slightly masculine forms	136 items. (19%)	129 items (16%)
Strongly masculine forms	41 items. (6%)	4 items. (0.5%)
Neutral	486 items. (69%)	624 items (78%)
Slightly feminine forms	35 items (5%)	30 items. (4%)
Strongly feminine forms	2 items. (1%)	13 items. (1.5%)
Totals	700	800

Through the group forum informants were asked to describe the younger generations language use through adjectives. Of the number of adjectives given the majority of responses were not complimentary, words such as *ranbo* (violent, aggressive), *kitanai* (dirty), *zatsu* (sloppy) and *arai* (rough) were words used by both young and older informants with only one of the younger 15 informants suggesting that young women's language use is lively and vibrant compared with 2 older women claiming the same thing.

Table 6. Generational perception of language use by Japanese women in their twenties

Words used by informants to describe language use of women in their twenties	Young generation Viewpoint 28 adjectives given from 15 informants	Old generation Viewpoint 24 adjectives given from 15 informants	Both combined All 30 informants
NATURE OF LANGUAGE USE Violent, aggressive, dirty, sloppy and masculine	17/28 adjectives (61%)	15/24 adjectives (63%)	32/52 adjectives (62%)
YOUTHFUL Lively, fun, cheerful	3/28 (11%)	3/24 (13%)	6/52 (12%)
FORM Abbreviated, fast, not elegant, rude, childish and broken	7/28 (25%)	3/24 (13%)	10/52 (19%)
SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE Do not change their language accordingly (place, time, addressee)	1/28 (3%)	3/24 (9%)	4/52 (7%)

These perceived findings of the informants here can relate to the literature in that young women's language use is changing and perhaps going through a quiet sociolinguistic revolution. The interview concluded with the gender sentence attribution list. The intention here was to examine informant perception of gendered language from a list of 57 given sentences concluded the interviews with some very interesting results.

Percentages were calculated by adding up the total of allocated sentences in each category by both groups of informants and dividing the figures by the actual number of sentences in each category as defined by the literature.

Strongly Feminine Sentence Particles

Figure 1

Strongly feminine sentences as assigned by women from the younger group

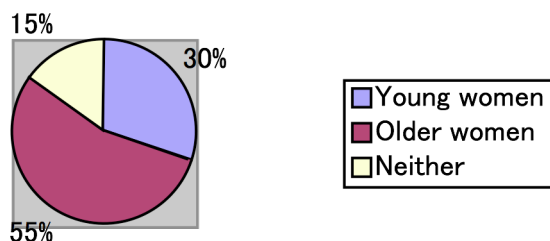
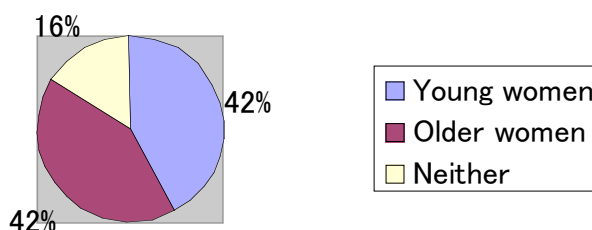


Figure 2

Strongly feminine sentences as assigned by women from the older group



Among the young groups a total of 1% of strongly feminine sentences were uttered (14 items) somewhat lower than the 30% assigned here for perceived gender attributes. The older group however were only represented with an overall 3% (an additional 36 items more than the younger group). Interestingly the older group here perceive the young to use as many strongly feminine sentences as them but this appears to contradict evidence elsewhere in the study that points to the fact that younger women's language is evolving and becoming slightly more masculine.

Strongly Masculine Sentence Particles

Figure 3

Strongly masculine sentences as assigned
by women from the younger group

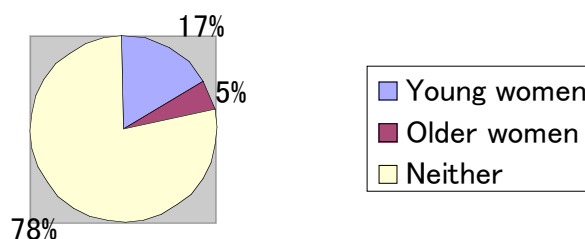
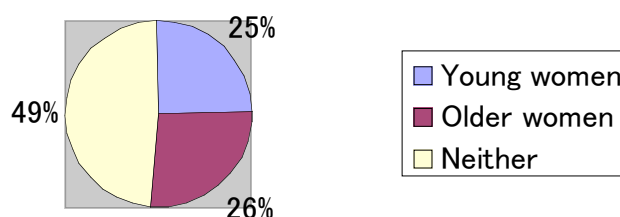


Figure 4

Strongly masculine sentences as assigned
by women from the older group



These findings proved to be very interesting in that they show the very opposite of the empirical evidence cited by Okamoto & Sato (1992) that suggests that it is the younger generation who use more strongly masculine sentence final particles. Although this section of the interview examines perceptions it suggests that older women perceive their generation rather than their own language use as perhaps being strongly masculine.

Only 49% of sentences were placed in neither category which as most informants suggested are utterances typically spoken by males. But these findings suggest that women over 50 perceive their generation and the younger generation to be equally assertive in their spoken discourse. This result stands in contrast to studies conducted in Tokyo with middle class women (Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Okamoto, 1995). This could perhaps point to the fact that rural women perceive themselves as stronger or more assertive than their 'Urban City' counterparts. There were 36 items of strongly masculine SFPs used among the older group in comparison to the young groups 45 items which would reflect the older groups perceptions that their language use can be strongly masculine.

Conclusion

This study has shown that among the two groups of generations here there exists variation in language use, with the younger group using more masculine SFPs and the older group using more feminine forms which could be the result of changing gender roles and ideology. This has had a considerable influence on the younger generation. However, these findings can be

misleading as both sets of women used feminine forms on the whole very rarely, with both favouring unisex forms. This perhaps indicates that Japanese women's language forms are ideological constructs and not representative of the everyday speech practices of the women observed here. Older women according to the literature are assumed to be the carriers of women's language, but as this study has shown they were not found to fulfill these prescribed linguistic categories.

It has been noted that the gender distinction in language is an urban rather than a rural phenomenon with women in rural areas more likely to adopt a neutral use of the language (Sunaoshi, 2004; Kitagawa, 1977). The older women interviewed here formed part of a small yet close agricultural community where perhaps the necessity to use women's language is not a requisite when compared to the urban middle class equivalent. This would seem to indicate as discussed that the stereotypical Japanese women's language is constructed from the speech style of the traditional middle and upper class women of Tokyo. The evidence here shows that among the young, speaking styles and sentence final particles that were once thought of as the domain of men are now in use by these women. They have incorporated them into their daily conversations almost unconsciously allowing, as suggested by Matsumoto (2004b), "some of the expressions considered feminine to fall into disuse (p. 248)". Nevertheless, had the women been in the company of men their linguistic choices may have changed to more delicate ones, and this will form the basis for my future investigation.

Among the young there seems to be an evolution taking place linguistically with the sample here, and there is evidence of synchronic variation among generations that can possibly raise questions for future examination. Is this change temporary? A developmental stage for these women? Will the younger women bloom linguistically into a more feminine use of the language as they age? Judging by the results of the older women's discourse in this investigation in this particular region this may not be the case. Perhaps then we will see a more neutral use of the language among future generations which could be the result of lasting changes in gender roles within society as women grow more assertive, removing the restrictions of a feminine language.

Appendix A

Masculine and Feminine Sentence Final Particles

The observations below are based on the literature of (Okamoto, 1995; Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Maynard, 1997; Ide & Yoshida, 1999; McGloin, 1990; Smith, 1992; Shibamoto, 1985; Reynolds, 1990; Matsumoto, 2004 (a); Makino, 1989).

Strongly masculine	Slightly masculine	Neutral	Slightly feminine	Strongly feminine
		'no' used in interrogatives	'no' after a noun or na adjective	'no' after a noun or na adjective* in a statement
	'da' after nouns and na adjectives*	Nouns alone		'wa' proceeded by da or the past version datta
	Auxiliary 'da' followed by yo, ne or yone			'wa' proceeded by da / data and followed by ne, yo or yone.
	Auxiliary 'n da'			'wa' proceeded by da / data and followed by ne, yo or yone.
	Auxiliary 'n da' followed by yo, ne or yo ne			

	Auxiliary 'daro(o)' for expressing probability/ seeking confirmation/ agreement		Auxiliary 'desho(o)' for expressing probability / confirmation / seeking agreement	
	'kana' Attached at the end of sentences meaning 'I wonder...'			'kashira' I wonder
ze for strong assertion	yo after a plain form of a verb or I adjective *			'yo' (with a high sustained intonation) after a noun or na adjective*

Strongly masculine	Slightly masculine	neutral	Slightly feminine	Strongly feminine
zo for strong assertion (considered stronger than ze)		Plain form of verb or I adjective* for assertion		wa (with rising intonation) for mild emphasis and its variants (wane ,wa yo ne)
'na' for eliciting agreement		Particle yo followed by ne for seeking agreement or confirmation	ne after a noun or adjective	no followed by ne or yo ne for seeking confirmation or agreement
'ka yo' for expressing defiance / criticism				
The negative command 'na'				
	-oo ka? Used for an invitation or offer			
Strong imperative Yamero! Stop it!		Imperative Yamete Stop it		
	sa. When used following verbs and adjectives	sa. Used by both men and women. Feminine version may have the longer saa sound which acts like a colloquial filler		

	Jan Male equivalent and contraction of 'janai'? Considered neutral by some. Used to seek agreement with mild assertion		Ja nai? Like the particle 'ne' used to seek agreement with mild assertion considered neutral by some	
--	--	--	--	--

*na adjective, an adjective that takes na to modify a noun. An *I adjective ends in I.

- These sentences are found only in informal speech where gender differences are distinct
- Uchida (1983) found that men used 'Jan' which is considered neutral by Okamoto (1995)
- Kana is considered neutral by Okamoto (1995) but masculine by the majority of sources (Ide & Yoshida, 1999; Makino, 1989; Uchida, 1983)
- For the purpose of this study the particles as illustrated in the table were assessed

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Democratainment, Gender and Power in Japanese and Australian Election Night Television Programs

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Abstract

This paper focuses on media representations of gender and power in the context of politics and shows results from a content analysis of the election night television broadcasts of the 2003 Japanese General Election and the 2004 Australian Federal Election. In particular, it gives examples of the different ways female and male candidates appear in the programs, as well as examples of the ‘democratainment’ trend in news reporting of politics. This paper will consider the extent to which these two aspects of the programs reinforce gendered media representations, further marginalizing the presence of women in politics and constructing their relationship to power as problematic. This aim of this research is not to be comparative. Instead, this paper intends to examine a specific problem within several contexts, and illuminate characteristics and tendencies of gendered media representations in politics that have global relevance.

要旨

本論文では、政治の文脈におけるジェンダーと権力のメディア・リプレゼンテーションに焦点をあて、日本の2003年総選挙とオーストラリアの2004年連邦議会選挙が行われた日の夜のテレビ選挙番組を対象とし、その内容分析の結果を提示する。とりわけ、女性候補者と男性候補者の番組への登場の仕方の違い、および政治に関するニュースが「デモクラテインメント」と化しつつあることを示していく。テレビ番組のこういった2つの側面がいかにジェンダー化されたメディア・リプレゼンテーションを強化し、政治における女性の周縁化をさらに進め、女性と権力という関係を問題含みのものとして構成していくかを考察する。ここでの目的は比較ではない。本論文では、いくつかの文脈において特定の問題を検討し、地球規模で関連性をもつ、政治におけるジェンダー化されたメディア・リプレゼンテーションの特徴と傾向を明らかにする。

Introduction

Television images are increasingly central to the construction and maintenance of political power in liberal democratic societies (Castells, 1999; Van Zoonen, 2005). Research also shows that visual texts reiterate normative concepts of gender (D’Acci, 2004). Therefore, the role of media is pivotal to any discussion of gender in politics. In current media representations of politics there is now a strong tendency to focus on the personalities of political women and men, rather than policy (Muir, 2005). This is connected to the visible trend in media of ‘democratainment’, or the fusion of democracy and entertainment. Globally, this phenomenon has come to characterize the relationship between media and politics in liberal democracies, with its emphasis on soft news (Baum, 2007) and the ‘celebritisation’ of politicians (Van Zoonen, 2005). Hartley (1999) defines democratainment as “the means by which popular participation in public issues is conducted in the mediasphere” (p. 209). It is not the intention of this paper to pejoratively employ the term democratainment because the current academic debate surrounding it cannot be fully

explored here. Rather, the concept of democratisation is utilised in this paper as the context in which to examine issues of gender and power in media, and to consider some of the accompanying characteristics of the phenomenon such as gender stereotyping and the trivialisation of democratic processes.

This paper draws on research from my doctoral dissertation. It discusses media representations of gender and power in this context and shows results from a content analysis of the election night television broadcasts of the 2003 Japanese General Election and the 2004 Australian Federal Election. Although there are many other important parts of these programs (discussed in McLaren 2004, 2005), this paper will focus only on the representation of gender. In particular, it will give examples of how female and male candidates appear in the broadcasts, as well as examples of democratisation. This paper will consider the extent to which these two aspects of the programs, which emerged as salient features of the content analysis, reinforce gendered media representations, further marginalizing the presence of women in politics and constructing their relationship to power as problematic.

By focusing on Japan and Australia, the aim is not to accentuate cultural and historical differences, or to 'other' Japan by comparing the state of the relationship between media, gender and politics with the more 'western' norms of Australia. Instead, this paper intends to examine a specific problem within several contexts, and illuminate characteristics and tendencies of gendered media representations in politics that have global relevance (see Morris-Suzuki, 2004, for more on this approach).

Political Women in Japan and Australia

Internationally, the number of women being elected to all levels of government is slowly increasing; however, female parliamentarians at the national level are still a minority. The International Parliamentary Union lists the current world average for female parliamentarians in both houses of parliament as 17.2%, with the world average for lower house female parliamentarians at 17.4% (International Parliamentary Union, 2007). After the 2003 Japanese general election, the number of women in the lower house of parliament amounted to 7.1%. After the 2005 election this grew to 9.4%, a record increase. The number of female members of the lower house in Australia has also increased – after the 2004 federal election women amounted to 24.7% of parliamentarians. Since the most recent election of 2007, this has increased to 26%.

Despite these increases, media treatment of female politicians in both Japan and Australia has continued to be stereotyped and sensational. It has trivialised women's presence in politics. Research conducted in other democracies over a fairly lengthy period of time has consistently concluded that women in politics are not treated by the media in the same way as their male counterparts. The research literature on this topic includes a large body of work on political women and media in Europe (e.g., Ross & Sreberny, 2000; Van Zoonen 2000, 2005) and North America (e.g., Norris, 1997; Vavrus, 2002; Everitt, 2003), as well as India (Bathla, 1998), Israel (Lemish & Tidhar, 1999), and New Zealand (Fountaine & McGregor, 2002), for example. There are a growing number of recent studies in Australia (e.g., Baird, 2004; Muir, 2005), but still very few studies have been done on this topic in Japan. The gender perspective rarely appears in research on politics and media in Japan. My own research (McLaren, 2004, 2005) is a small contribution to an almost non-existent field.

Democratisation and Gender

As mentioned above in the introduction to this paper, the celebrityisation of politicians is one of the characteristics of the democratisation phenomenon. The celebrityisation process is firmly entrenched in television culture. Firstly, I will briefly place democratisation in the context of this research, before discussing celebrityisation. It is evident in the news coverage

of politics and elections currently existing in both Japan and Australia. In Japan, there was a visible change in the relationship between media and politics during the time Koizumi Junichiro was prime minister (2001-2006). The terms 'Koizumi gekijo [Koizumi's theater]', and 'wide show politics' emerged to describe the way Koizumi's personality and his politics were being reported on news programs. In Australia, this phenomenon is frequently identified in the research literature on media as 'infotainment', defined as a blend of information and entertainment (Lumby, 2002, p. 324). In particular this could be seen on commercial current affairs shows during the 1990s, and is the "logical outgrowth of the trend to make news and current affairs increasingly entertaining" (Lumby, 2002, p. 326).

To a certain extent, this entertainment-oriented phenomenon is connected to the commercial aims of broadcasting, that of attracting audiences who are also potential consumers of the products, which are advertised on television. However, in the case of media representations of politics, where the focus has shifted from policy to personality, the celebrityisation of politicians has become part of the political process, and one where gender representations are very important. Castells (1999) says that because candidates and politicians have become symbols "their personalities are scrutinized in the media, and the result of such scrutiny is often decisive for their political fate" (1999, p. 62). This scrutinisation of personality inevitably involves gender; for male politicians the symbolic aspect of this scrutinisation, whatever digressions there may be, "glorifies" male dominance in politics (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2000), but in the case of female politicians, this is always narrowed down to marital status and family. As Van Zoonen (2005) has noted, "the celebrity attention for female politicians functions as a continuous reminder of their odd choices as women and their odd position in politics" (p. 95). This kind of personal scrutinisation for female politicians always "constructs the role of the family ...as distinctly problematic" (p. 90). As a result, media representations of political women and men also reinforce normative assumptions about who has legitimate political power (Carroll & Fox, 2006, p. 4), and provide commentary to media audiences on transgressions from idealized gender roles (Vavrus, 2002, p. 2). D'Acci (2004) says that as television, in particular, is a media institution where gender norms are rigorously maintained and enforced (p. 373), deviations from these norms are often punished (p. 378).

Using a gender perspective in analysing media and politics is essential because they are both powerful ideological institutions that constantly produce norms and rules (D'Acci, 2004). Additionally, these norms and rules are constantly being negotiated both within and between institutions. Wharton (2005) says that because gender is a principle of social organisation, it is part of "a 'system' of practices that are far-reaching, interlocked, and that exist independently of individuals" (p. 7). The analysis section of this paper will examine the media practices of representation in election night broadcasts which support this systematic production of gender norms and rules.

Election Night Television Broadcasts

Election night television broadcasts are not usually chosen as texts for analysis, probably for the following two reasons – firstly, they occupy an unusual space in terms of mediated politics, because they are broadcast at the end of an election, after voting has finished. Secondly, they have traditionally followed fairly predictable formats - the announcement of results followed by analysis and commentary. However, this paper asserts that election programs are significant because they are broadcast on the most important day in the democratic process, when citizens exercise their voting rights. Election night programs therefore construct "democracy in action" on this day, and broadcasters decide who appears in these programs. In recent years, especially since the advent of democrainment and phenomenon such as 'Koizumi's theater' and 'infotainment', these broadcasts have begun to

include many segments not normally considered part of election result broadcasting, such as entertainment-style segments. Therefore, they are certainly in urgent need of analytical attention. In liberal democracies such as Japan and Australia, who appears in these broadcasts and how they appear provides information about the relationship between media and politics.

In what appears to be the only major study of election programs, a comparison of the 1968 and 2000 US election night broadcasts, Patterson (2003) states that “these broadcasts are an undeniably important part of our public life”, also noting that the information these broadcasts provide, as well as who and what they emphasise should be of greater concern to scholars (p. 4). Patterson does not include a gender perspective in his study, or suggest it for future research, despite focusing on who appeared in the programs. He concluded from the analysis of the 2000 broadcasts that congressional candidates appeared less frequently than in the 1968 broadcasts, and there was a larger focus on the presidential candidates. Patterson attributes this to the tendency for news reporting to focus on individuals rather than institutions (p. 7). He also found that in the 2000 broadcasts, anchors were “rarely out of the picture for long” (p. 10), and journalists are “no longer mere reporters: they are ‘part of the message’” (p. 11). A gender breakdown of who appeared in the programs would certainly have been informative but perhaps the fact it was not included is just as significant. As Wharton (2005) says, what appears as natural or is accepted as “the way things are” is most in need of closer scrutiny (p. 2). It is therefore conceivable that Patterson may have felt there was no need to pay attention to the dominance of male candidates and programs anchors in their ‘natural’ environment. However, in the case of media representations “the more real it looks, the more constructed it is” (Suzuki, 2003, p. 17). That is why inequalities and unfair representations which appear in media as something ‘natural’ must be analysed.

Programs Analysed

The first four hours of the election night television broadcasts of the 2003 Japanese General Election and the 2004 Australian Federal Election were analysed from a gender perspective, using a media literacy research approach (see McLaren, 2005, for methodology and criteria). The programs’ structure and segments were identified and coded into categories which illuminated the gendered features of the programs. Table 1 below lists the programs of the public and commercial broadcasters which were aired as full-length programs. Unlike Japan, where all the national broadcasters produced election night programs, only two Australian broadcasters produced full-length programs.

Table 1. Programs of the 2003 Japanese General Election & 2004 Australian Federal Election

	BROADCASTER	PROGRAM TITLE	ANALYSIS PERIOD
JAPAN	NHK*	Dai 43-kai Shugi-in Gi-in Sosenkyo Kaihyo Sokuho	20:00-24:00
	TBS	Shugi-in Kaihyo Tokubetsu Bangumi “Hyoketsu! Live 2003”	19:59-24:00
	TV Asahi	Senkyo Station 2003	19:54-23:30
	Fuji TV	FNN Odoru Dai Senkyo-sen 2003	21:24-23:15
	NTV	NNN Shuinsen “Gekisen” Bankisha! Special	19:58-24:15
AUSTRALIA	ABC*	Australia Votes 2004	18:00-22:00
	Channel Nine	Australia Decides: Election 2004	18:30-22:30

*Public broadcaster, NHK= Japan Broadcasting Corporation, TBS=Tokyo Broadcasting System, NTV= Nippon Television Network, ABC= Australian Broadcasting Commission

Below, I will firstly give a general orientation of what the coding revealed about the structure of the programs, and then focus on the gender analysis of results with examples of how candidates appeared in the programs, and segments in the programs which can be identified as part of ‘democratainment’.

Structure of the Programs

Given the function and established format of election result broadcasting, it is not that surprising that the programs of both the Japanese and Australian public and commercial broadcasters were quite similar. The public broadcasters showed a typical pattern of result forecast and confirmation, commentary, analysis and live interviews with candidates. The commercial broadcasters had a similar pattern to the public broadcasters (excluding the airing of commercials between segments) but the Japanese programs also included pre-recorded segments, called VTR documents, which profiled candidates and election-related topics. The equivalent in the Australian programs was the inclusion of comedy skits. These entertainment-style segments on the commercial channels are evidence of a democratainment approach to election broadcasting. They do not function as part of serious and informative commentary or analysis of the election but instead use the election setting to provide humour through stereotypes and gendered representations, about the election itself, and the candidates.

Candidates in the Programs

In the Japanese programs, candidates appeared in two ways – live interviews and VTR documents (discussed in the next section). In the Australian programs, the main way candidates appeared in the programs was in live interviews. In all the programs, the live interviews were mostly conducted at the campaign offices of candidates, or in some cases, the function room of hotels. The candidates appeared either alone, or surrounded by their families and supporters. Tables 2 and 3 below show the number of live interviews with candidates on the programs, by gender and political party. It is important to include this data because media analysis, particularly that involving gender, must be clearly based in fact before interpreting meaning. As mentioned above, a gender approach to analyses of media and politics is often excluded or ignored. The media are now central to the process of constructing and representing gender, unfair media treatment and narrow representations need to be considered as a human rights issue (Sreberny, 2005, p. 255). Data which illuminates this situation must be visible.

Table 2. Number of Live Interviews with Candidates in the Japanese Programs

BROADCASTER	LDP		DPJ		SDP		JCP		NC		NK		IND		TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
NHK	1	13		12		1				1	1	1	1		31
TBS		1	1	3	1					2			1		9
TV Asahi		6		4							2			1	13
Fuji TV		2		8	1					1			2		14
NTV		5		7	1					2				1	16
SUB TOTAL	1	27	1	34	3	1	0	0	0	8	1	1	5	1	83
TOTAL	28		35		4		0		8		2		6		83

LDP=Liberal Democratic Party DPJ=Democratic Party of Japan SDP=Social Democratic Party JCP=Japan Communist Party NC=New Conservatives NK=New Komeito IND=Independent

Table 3. Number of Live Interviews with Candidates in the Australian Programs

BROADCASTER	LIB		ALP		NAT		DEM		GREEN		CLP		FF		IND		TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
ABC	3	5	1	1		3		1	1	1		1	1			1	28
Channel Nine	3	1	1	2		2		1								2	21
SUB TOTAL	6	1	2	1	0	5	0	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	49
TOTAL	21		14		5		2		2		1		1		3		49

LIB=Liberal ALP=Labor NAT=National DEM=Democrats CLP=Country Liberal Party FF=Family First IND=Independent

In both cases, the public broadcasters conducted more live interviews than the commercial channels. However, on all programs significantly more male than female candidates were interviewed. As Table 2 shows, on NHK interviews with female candidates amount to 10% and Table 3 shows that on the ABC, it is 21%. The percentages of female candidates interviewed on the commercial channels are also low – a combined 15% for the Japanese commercial broadcasters, and 19% on the Australian commercial channel.

Table 2 and 3 both show that candidates from the two major parties were interviewed considerably more times than those of the minor parties. Though it is not the purpose of this paper to analyse and discuss political party bias, there are also other ways in which dominance is perpetuated in the programs. These live interviews were conducted as the results were being broadcast, so in many cases, it was not confirmed if the candidates interviewed had been successful or not. Obviously, the broadcasters chose who was to be interviewed beforehand, because the interviews did not randomly appear in the programs, they were conducted live to air, with a reporter or directly with the program anchor. In Table 4 below, the number of live interviews with female candidates is compared to the actual number of female candidates who ran in the elections.

Table 4. Percentages of Female Candidates and Live Interviews

ELECTION	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE CANDIDATES	PERCENTAGE OF LIVE INTERVIEWS WITH FEMALE CANDIDATES*
2003 JAPANESE ELECTION	12.9% (149 out of 1159)	13.25% (11 out of 83)
2004 AUSTRALIAN ELECTION	28.5% (406 out of 1421)	20.4% (10 out of 49)

* Public and commercial broadcaster combined from Tables 2 and 3.

In the context of televised elections, these close percentages in Table 4, particularly in the Japanese case, are one example of how politics and media reinforce each other. However, this mutual reinforcement is not simply a matter of numbers and percentages, but also an indication of how media maintain the symbolic environment (Vavrus, 2002), where it is the norm for politics to be male-dominated. Furthermore, as media continually choose to focus on high-profile and already well-known female candidates (discussed below), politics, in this case – election broadcasts, is constructed as a place where only certain types of women can participate.

VTR Documents in the Japanese Programs

The content analysis of the Japanese commercial programs showed that pre-recorded segments, or 'VTR documents' as they are called in the programs, were a major part of the election night broadcasts. VTR documents are short profiles of candidates or related election topics, showing recent and past footage, usually with screen captions and speech sub-titles, voiceover and background music. They ranged in length from 20 seconds to just over 5 minutes. For the purposes of showing how media represent gender and power in elections programs, the coding data presented here only concentrates on candidates.

The commercial stations broadcast 49 VTR documents in total, with Tokyo Broadcasting System network (TBS) and Nippon Television (NTV) producing the highest number of VTR documents overall. In the 2003 programs, the VTR documents mainly focused on individual candidates, most of them had attracted a significant amount of media attention already, and were therefore already well known to the voting public. Table 5 below shows the number of VTR documents which solely focused on candidates, by gender.

Table 5. VTR Documents which focus on Candidates, sorted by Gender

BROADCASTER	GENDER	
	F	M
TBS	3	8
TV Asahi	1	4
Fuji TV	2	4
NTV	2	7
SUBTOTAL	8	23
TOTAL	31	

In the 23 VTR documents of male candidates, a variety were featured in the VTR documents across all stations, from young, first time candidates to older, established politicians. However in the case of the female candidates, the main focus was almost entirely on Tanaka Makiko, who was featured in six of the eight VTR documents. Tanaka, a former Koizumi cabinet foreign minister who was sacked in 2002, kicked out of the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) and became an independent candidate in the 2003 election, attracted a large amount of media attention during the campaign. This was also the topic of some of the VTR documents which focused on Tanaka. The other VTR documents featured the SDP (Social Democratic Party) leader, Doi Takako, and DPJ (Democratic Party of Japan) candidate, Takai Miho, on her second attempt to win a Diet seat. Therefore, essentially only three female candidates appeared in the VTR documents. Moreover, considering that the live interviews tended to focus on candidates from the two major parties (see Table 2, the disproportionate attention given to Tanaka, an Independent candidate, is another indication of her special status created by media.

Comparison of VTR documents

The appearance of female candidates in the programs are limited in two ways; there were fewer VTR documents which focused on them as a 'category', whilst only certain female candidates were selected as subjects of the VTR documents. In order to see how this compares to representations of male candidates, the following is a brief comparative analysis of two sets of VTR documents. These four were chosen because they are good examples of how VTR documents construct the images of female and male politicians during an election.

Comparison A (Table 6) compares the aforementioned Tanaka Makiko with another high profile politician, Ishihara Nobuteru. At the time of the 2003 election, Ishihara was Minister

for Land, Infrastructure and Transport. Like Tanaka, (the daughter of former Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei), Ishihara is also from a political family. His father, Ishihara Shintaro, has been the governor of Tokyo since 1999. Comparison B (Table 7) compares two young candidates from the DPJ (Democratic Party of Japan), Takai Miho and Izumi Kenta.

Table 6. VTR document: Comparison A

BROAD-CASTER	TITLE OF VTR-D	SUBJECT NAME	GENDER	AGE	TIME AMOUNT
Fuji TV	Doko e iku? Seikai Taifu no Me [Where are you going? In the eye of the political storm]	Tanaka Makiko	F	59	00:03:21
TBS	Arashi o yobu Otoko? [The man who brings on a storm?]	Ishihara Nobuteru	M	46	00:01:55

The two VTR documents in comparison A are both concerned with power – the power of the candidates’ family names, which is mentioned several times, the candidates’ power within their party, and their power to attract voters. However, because Tanaka has recently been kicked out of the LDP, she is shown being critical of her former party and Prime Minister Koizumi. In the VTR document, images of Tanaka being followed by a large media contingent wherever she campaigns are used repeatedly, with fast-paced background music. Her attempts to campaign more inconspicuously are constructed in the VTR documents as dishonest and devious. For example, when Tanaka fails to appear for scheduled campaign speeches in local areas, comments from disgruntled citizens are shown. There are also numerous shots of her campaign trucks with close-ups of empty seats. This is emphasized with sound effects such as warning sirens and up-tempo background similar to that used in suspense or mystery dramas. In contrast, the first part of the VTR document focusing on Ishihara shows scenes of him being enthusiastically received by citizens on a busy shopping street. The background music is the theme from *Superman*, the movie. The central part of the VTR document shows Ishihara’s ‘battle’, as Minister for Land, Infrastructure and Transport, with the Japan Highways Public Corporation over its erroneous financial accounting. He successfully forces the Japan Highways president to resign, and the VTR document emphasizes his ‘victory’, which in turn reaffirms that his success in the election is assured.

Table 7. VTR document: Comparison B

BROAD-CASTER	TITLE OF VTR-D	SUBJECT NAME	GENDER	AGE	TIME AMOUNT
TBS	Jiban Kanban Tsutte iru Hito [A person making their support base and name recognition]	Takai Miho	F	32	00:01:53
TBS	Kyukyoku no Wakamono Senkyo [Young person’s election]	Izumi Kenta	M	29	00:02:05

The campaign styles of the two candidates, as well as their capacity to run successfully for election, are emphasized in these two VTR documents. Izumi is a first time candidate but Takai, as mentioned above, is making her second attempt. The VTR document of Takai is mostly concerned with her role as a wife and mother but it begins with extreme close-up shots of Takai’s tear stained face as she concedes defeat in the previous election she campaigned in. Images of her wedding photos are shown to soft background piano music, followed by images of her daughter crying as Takai leaves her at a daycare centre to go campaigning. The images of Takai with voters show her pleading for their support. In short, this VTR document stresses that being a candidate is difficult for Takai. In comparison,

Izumi's marital status is not mentioned, and he is shown energetically campaigning by bicycle and jogging around parks and large apartment building complexes greeting prospective voters. Despite being an inexperienced first time candidate, Izumi's 'youthful' and energetic campaign style are constantly emphasized. Shots of Izumi being campaigning are interspersed with positive comments from citizens he meets. The constant use of uplifting and optimistic background music also reinforces this image. In this VTR document, campaigning is constructed as unproblematic for a young male candidate like Izumi.

In summary, the two VTR documents which focus on Tanaka and Ishihara (Table 6) concentrate on personality and personal power more than policy or related political issues affecting the future of Japan. However, the VTR document of Ishihara is considerably more positive, and constructs his presence in politics as natural and assured. In the case of Tanaka, her campaign is shown as being chaotic, and she is constructed as having an uncertain place in politics. The VTR documents which focus on Takai and Izumi emphasise ability and energy. Takai is constructed as having competing roles as a mother and a candidate, whilst Izumi is constructed as being energetic and committed. There is no implication that campaigning or political life is difficult or conflicting for Izumi. These two comparisons, are examples of how media construct politics as being a difficult and problematic place for women, as opposed to a natural place for men. This is achieved not only through the theme of each VTR document, but through images, background music, sound effects, and the role of the media itself, within the images.

Comedy segments in the Australian Programs

There were not any VTR document-style segments on the Australian commercial broadcaster, Channel Nine; however, there were live comedy skits. These two skits, lasting a less than a minute each, were broadcast during the first three hours of the program, when audience ratings were at their highest. The skits featured "Reg Reagan", a caricature of the stereotypical Australian 'ocker' male, played by comedian Matthew Johns. An ocker is a type of working class, anti-intellectual larrikin who makes fun of cultural and social elites as well as emphasising sexist male values. Elder (2007) defines an ocker as "an uncouth male...usually found drinking a beer...profoundly anti-culture - he watches sport but does not attend the theatre" (p. 359). At the time of the 2004 election, Johns, a former Rugby League player, a Channel Nine sports commentator, and a regular on Channel Nine's "The Footy Show", a sports magazine program, had just released a DVD of Reg Reagan skits. In the skits, Reg Reagan wears a t-shirt saying "Bring back the Biff", a reference to violence in Rugby League games.

The two skits were broadcast live from a greyhound racing track in Sydney. Johns spoke as if he were giving a live report to his 'mates' - the (male) anchor and commentators of the program - rather than the Australian voting public. In the first skit, Johns used the racing context to equate the election with a dog race, and the leaders of the major parties as race favourites. In both skits Johns included people who had come to watch the dog racing. In the first skit, he encouraged the crowd to cheer for a "race winner". On the other hand, in the second skit, he made jokes about the election and faced the camera with his arms around two women, who appear to be in their forties, and referred to them as "a couple of old girlfriends". Even though Johns asked them what they thought of the results of the election so far, to which they jokingly replied, the women appear as accessories; rather than two women who had happened to be at the dog racing and asked to make comment about the election. This is an example of how sexist humour in a sports setting which reduces the election - an important day in the democratic process - to a dog race, is used for 'entertainment'. The skits contrasted sharply with the relatively serious style of the Channel Nine election program itself, and the inclusion of gender and cultural stereotypes trivialized the purpose of the

program.

Gender and power in election television programs

Who appears in election programs, and how they appear is significant because this is one way in which media construct the 'reality' of democracy, which involves the participation of both women and men. There are certain patterns and tendencies in the programs which reinforce gender norms and continue to present women's presence in politics and relationship to power as 'unnatural'. Given that the numbers of women at all levels of politics has been gradually increasing, it is important to consider reasons why this still occurs. One possible explanation is that media perpetuate this situation in order to provide entertainment and therefore attract bigger audiences. Constructing women in politics as the 'other' makes it easier to trivialise and sensationalise their personalities and their presence in politics. Political men who are subjected to these media practices are not affected in the same way because they appear in greater numbers and more diverse ways. Their relationship to power is unquestioned.

The VTR documents in the Japanese programs clearly illustrate this point. The disproportionate attention given to Tanaka Makiko focusing on her personality is partly a result of her ouster from the top level of politics. It is then easy for media to construct her campaign as a 'drama'. The way Takai Miho appears in the VTR documents confirms the findings of previous research on women in politics, which is that the media are preoccupied with the childcare and domestic responsibilities of political women (Fountaine & McGregor, 2002; Gill, 2007). This focus reasserts gender norms and any deviation provides a focal point for media representation.

In the Australian commercial program, using a popular ocker comedian to equate the male-dominated worlds of sport and politics, amidst an election night broadcast, is clearly an attempt to attract audiences. However, in this case there is no deviation from gender norms, instead the comedy skits reinforce male dominance in sport and politics. Reg Reagan's appearance on election night shows that the ocker stereotype still carries cultural value in Australian television, to the extent that it is acceptable to include stereotypical humour in an election night broadcast. This kind of positive reinforcement, privileging the presence of men and relegating women to lesser, more marginalised roles, is also visible in the live interviews on the Australian programs. At least 20% of male candidates interviewed appeared with their families, and almost 60% appeared with supporters. Fewer than 30% of female candidates interviewed appeared with their supporters and never with their families. Van Zoonen (2000) says this is because for men the family are a source of support, whereas for women they are a source of conflict. In this way, the positive representation of male candidates is detrimental to the representation of female candidates, who appear in very small numbers and frequently alone.

Conclusion

Although the number of women in politics at the national level is increasing in both Japan and Australia, this paper has argued that media representations of political women have remained narrow and stereotypical. The growing trend of democratainment further complicates this situation, with its emphasis on personality rather than policy. The content analysis of the programs shows that it is becoming a prevalent factor in election night television broadcasts. This paper has shown examples of gender stereotyping that is constructed and utilised for entertainment, and power relations that emphasise dominant male norms.

From the content analysis we can see patterns of how media construct gender and power on election day in Japan and Australia. In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that this paper was not intended to be comparative, rather it has aimed to examine a specific problem that

has global relevance in two different geographical locations. It has shown that media treatment of political women is not 'better' in Australia, or 'worse' in Japan. Rather, similar problems exist to a similar degree. Subsequently, I would argue that while the concept of gender can be culturally and socially specific, globalised media practices are borderless and pervasive. For this reason, this paper has presented quantitative data on gender representation in election programs as evidence of this situation and shown examples of how the democratisation trend, where politics has become a form of entertainment, has further enabled the stereotyping and marginalisation of political women by media.

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Gendered Identities and Psychoanalytic Feminism

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Abstract

Interventions in educational settings to challenge masculinist and patriarchal hegemonies require a coherent conceptual basis. Many psychoanalytic feminist authors enrich our notions of gendered and human identities as well as influencing diverse currents within “queer theory” and other gender-troubling practices. Current gender debates often frame a simplistic dichotomy between “nature and nurture” in our understandings of how “women” and “men” come into being. An affirmative answer to the question “Are neonate human organisms blank slates?” seems to demand a radical social constructionist stance. A negative reply may carry dangers of biological essentialism. Psychoanalytic theory offers an alternative perspective in confronting this question in a way that takes account of the reality of repression and unconscious forces in the constitution of social subjects. It “describes” rather than “prescribes” how subjectivity is formed in sociocultural contexts where women’s subordination within gender hierarchies remains entrenched. A feminist perspective undermines this phallogentrism and focuses attention on patriarchy as a residual formation that needs to be challenged. If transformations of parenting and of familial ideology can help produce less gender-divided identities, then we do well to consider if education can reinforce such trends. A diverse range of authors: Butler, Mitchell, Chodorow, Irigaray and others, offer a rich body of literature that points to a future where gendered identities enrich our understanding of what is human and where cultural authority is invested in all human beings.

要旨

教育の場で男性中心主義ならびに父系的ヘゲモニーに挑戦していくためには、筋道の通った理論的基礎が必要である。精神分析的フェミニストの著作の数々は、性別化されたアイデンティティのみならず人間のアイデンティティの概念を深めると同時に、クィア理論の多様な学派、また他のジェンダートラブル的慣行にも影響を与えている。現行のジェンダーをめぐる議論は、「女性」と「男性」がいかにより作られていったかを理解するにあたり、往々にして「生まれか育ちか」という単純な二分法の枠にとらわれがちである。「誕生したばかりの人体組織は何も書かれていない石板、ブランク・スレートのようなものか」という問いを肯定するには、過激な社会構成主義的立場をとらなければならなくなる。他方で、この問いを否定することは、生物学的本質主義に陥る危険をはらんでいる。ここに、精神分析理論は、社会的主体の構築における抑圧と無意識の力の現実を考慮に入れるという、新たな道を提供する。この理論は、性による上下関係における女性の従属が固定化している文化社会的状況の中で、どのように主体が形成されていくのかを、あらかじめ「規定」するのではなく、「描写」するのである。フェミニストの視点は、このようなファロセントリズムを覆し、残渣物としての父系へ挑戦することに焦点を絞る。もし子育てや家族制度のイデオロギーの変革が、性により分割しないアイデンティティ構築の一助となるとすれば、教育がそうした流れを推し進めうるかを考えることの意義は深い。バトラー、ミッチェル、コドロウ、イリガライ他の多彩な著者が、それぞれ豊かな文献を通じて未来への方向性を指し示してくれている。それは、人間とは何か、そしてすべての人間の文化的権威はどこに傾注されているのかという問題を、性的アイデンティティによって理解するという方向性である。

Introduction

Soon after I began reading authors from a “Postmodernism and Education” course, it became clear to me that most of my habitual ways of thinking about gender identity were based on an essentialist, binary logic. While before, it seemed common sense to say that the world is divided between men and women, that we can neatly distinguish nature from culture and sex from gender, it now seemed to me that human realities and gender identities had a depth and complexity that are rarely acknowledged in our prevalent ways of thinking. Further reading convinced me that psychoanalytic feminist authors offered a valuable range of intellectual tools in the analysis of gendered subjectivities as constructed, complex realities. This conviction informs my presentation here today which will be woefully inadequate to explain the rich thought of diverse theorists and authors but that may serve to stimulate further acquaintance with a challenging body of theoretical work.

Mitchell and Butler

One of the most important publications to serve as an introduction to the study of psychoanalytic feminism is “Psychoanalysis and Feminism” by Juliet Mitchell (Mitchell, 1974). In that and later works, Mitchell (1984) showed that critiques of Freud by feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Germaine Greer, and others were not based on an engaged reading of Freudian texts. Mitchell argued that psychoanalytic analyses in Freudian and Lacanian texts were *describing* rather than *prescribing* the way gender relations work in society and in interior lives. She saw great potential in psychoanalytic theory for a coherent articulation of gender identities and for a critique of contemporary patriarchy. My presentation, then, is not a defense of Freud or other psychoanalytic authors. Mitchell’s work makes that defense already very convincingly. Rather the presentation hopes to offer a very schematic outline of key ideas by major psychoanalytic feminists on gender identity in recent years.

When Judith Butler refers to the interior world of human infants, she uses the term “primary impressionability.” There are many different understandings of how this impressionability works for a young child over the course of the first five or six years of life. Butler is aware, of course, that our knowledge of what a small infant of one or two years old is actually experiencing is very limited. Thus, when we speak about the subject’s prehistory it can be seen as a work of fiction or of speculative philosophy. Nevertheless, the exercise remains worthwhile, because the prehistory of the subject is the matrix from which the historical, disciplined speaking subject can come into being in the first place (a process Butler refers to as “Oedipalization”).

Lacanian Theory

One approach that Butler makes use of is in adverting to the three fundamental categories in Lacanian thinking, the Real, Imaginary, and Symbolic (even though she has drawn more on the psychoanalytic theory of Laplanche, rather than on that of Lacan). For Butler, it is important to critique Lacan’s notion of an atemporal Symbolic order where the role of the male phallus as primary signifier remains fixed over space and time. She sees the Symbolic as much more dynamic and influenced by social change. By changing what we say and what can be said, we are actually making a difference for more human relations of power in contexts of gender. Butler also emphasizes the need to be able to grieve the losses inflicted by hegemonic gender regimes. Even though, with time, our sex, gender, and sexuality identities seem natural to us, we have assumed these identities at a price, the loss of access to the fluidity of desire we knew as small infants. Butler looks to a future with less gender melancholy and with infinite possibilities for doing sex, gender, and desire.

Regarding the Lacanian paradigm of human subjectivity, it should be clarified that the Real, Imaginary, and Symbolic registers are not three separate agencies in the individual person. Rather they refer to three different modalities in the mind-body continuum that shape human action. The first stage, the Real, is body-centered and atemporal, with unmediated flows of sensation. It is a time of intense fluctuations of feelings of well-being and of anxiety, the build-up of tension and the release of tension. After about six months, this moment is followed by the Mirror Stage or Phase, which involves the creation of the Imaginary modality of subjectivity. During this phase, the small infant is absorbed in her relationship with the primary caregiver, usually the mother to create the so-called "primary dyad." With the gradual insertion into temporality and in the caregiver's loving gaze, the infant imagines a sort of mirror in which it can form an image of itself as a whole, complete, embodied being, the ego. Lacan sees this phase in a somewhat negative light, firstly because the ego ideal is an illusion, and because the child typically feels overwhelmed by the intense closeness and power of the maternal figure during this phase. He uses the comparison of baby crocodiles being carried around in the jaws of the mother crocodile. Some object is needed to force open the jaws of the powerful crocodile to allow the infant progeny to escape into the big river. However, this new-found independence comes at a cost. The young infant feels moments of devastation, as though it has lost a perfect world where consistency of being is assured. Now the young child is forced to turn her attention to the world outside of the primary dyad in order to find whatever it is that can restore the plenitude of that which is being retroactively reconstructed – on the level of the psyche – as a lost paradise. Lacan speculates that this is the initial motivation for young infants beginning to internalize the rules of language and to start speaking. Another attempt at restoring lost plenitude is made by internalizing norms of gender identity. Culture offers the young child two choices, either to enter the Symbolic Order – the world of norms, codes, language, institutions, and so on – as a girl or as a boy. In patriarchal cultures, if a human infant has been assigned sex as a female, she is interpellated or called to enter the Symbolic order as a girl, while those who have been assigned sex as males find that "boy" signifiers become identity-bearing for them. But Lacan asserts that neither biology nor culture is the fundamental factor in these processes. It is the child's own imagined scenario of how the plenitude of the primary dyad can be restored. If she imagines *being* the object that undoes loss, then, in a masculinist culture, this is coded as femininity, and one enters the symbolic order as a girl. If she imagines *having* the object that undoes loss, then this is culturally coded as masculinity. Because this reality on the level of the psyche has the deepest significance, a Lacanian perspective would say that many biological females are men, and many biological males are women, if we attach those gender categories to those two orientations of being or having the object of desire. Every biological female who materializes as a woman in society feels the loss of her masculinity, and every gendered male feels the loss of his femininity. Why is this? For two reasons. One, because all of our identifications are partial and two, because all of our desire is in flux between desire-as-force, desire-as-wish, and culturally coded desire. In any case, once we are caught up in the culturally coded networks of desire, we can, in rejecting the "other" sex, constitute ourselves as a particular sex. In other words, in desiring not to do "boy things" one constitutes self as a feminine subject, in desiring not to do "girl things" one constitutes self as a masculine subject.

Some psychoanalytic feminists such as Jacqueline Rose (1986) and Elizabeth Wright (1992, 2000) work within this Lacanian framework of the emergence of sex and gender. They emphasize that the important thing to remember in the gender identity debates is that whether a young infant enters the Symbolic Order as a girl or as a boy, neither option delivers on the hoped-for restoration of primary plenitude. If either option is preferable to the other, it would be that of femininity. In a seminar from the early 1970's, Lacan speculates that women are less colonized by the Symbolic than men because they are able to retain more primary

enjoyment or *jouissance*.

Post-Lacanian Feminist Theory

In spite of Lacan's later references to feminine *jouissance*, many feminists felt uncomfortable with his speculations. First of all, they are quite phallogentric as the male phallus is seen as the primary signifier which rescues the young infant from the primary dyad. Lacan seems to be telling the story of an isolated individual with her or his own desires who struggles to achieve self-realization. The emphasis is on the alienation caused by inner divisions at the suturing points of Symbolic, Imaginary, and Real. In contrast, object relations theory sees self-realization occurring through relationality, through the quality of the child's relationships with others. From this perspective, the primary dyad should be valued more highly. Post-structuralist feminists such as Kristeva (1984), Irigaray (1993), and Cixous (1975), see the intimate bond between mother and daughter in the primary dyad as an exemplar for human subjectivity. It could inform a flow of creativity by women who learn to undo patriarchal domination of the Symbolic order and begin to express who they are in feminine writing or "*écriture féminine*." It is possible for men, also, to celebrate this type of creativity if they are prepared to engage with what Kristeva (1984) refers to as "the semiotic", the pre-linguistic sign systems of early infancy, the wellsprings of our own creative self-realization that are often deformed and stunted when we become subsumed within a patriarchal cultural world with a phallogentric logic.

Nancy Chodorow

The U.S. sociologist and psychoanalyst Nancy Chodorow (1978, 1989) also focuses on the primary dyad, the intense bond formed between the small infant and her/his primary caregiver, usually the mother. Chodorow asserts that women tend to experience a female daughter as an extension of self, and so they prolong the attributes and qualities of the primary dyad for longer than is done with male infants. Cultural norms encourage this to happen, as well as encouraging the young female child to prolong her closeness to her mother. This is not the case with male infants who are given many cultural signs to encourage them to make a more abrupt departure from the primary dyad and to experience self as a bounded, autonomous agent. Chodorow emphasizes the need for shared parenting as a way to prevent young children becoming inducted into a social world where a feminine relation is associated with dependence and fears of engulfment, while a masculine relation is associated with independence and worldly assertiveness. Moreover, boys' brusque exiting from the primary dyad and their premature efforts to appear strong and autonomous often lead to stunted emotional lives with an inability to connect with others on a deep level. Chodorow's perspective suggests that until more men can overcome their fears of their own emotions and can relate to the world of people and things as an extension of self rather than as a separate threatening object, other than self, then many men will live with an impoverished gender identity.

Pedagogical Considerations

A feminist psychoanalytic perspective suggests that the biological differences between men and women are not as significant as differences on the level of the psyche. In so far as psyches are social, cultural, and historical realities it follows that no gender group has any inherent superiority over any other gender group. Thus, this perspective promotes a readiness to employ teaching materials and practices that challenge gender stereotypes and power relations of gender inequality. Moreover, a shift away from the dynamics of the Oedipal father-son relationship to that of the pre-Oedipal mother-daughter relationship reflects an appreciation for relationality, connectedness, and cooperation as paradigms of human inter-

subjectivity. In educational contexts this promotes classroom management practices and teaching styles that avoid an emphasis on competition, rivalries, and individualistic outcomes. Egalitarian relations between all classroom participants within an embracing atmosphere seem ideal in this regard. Put simply, the teachers who value a psychoanalytic feminist perspective will not see themselves as remote authority figures asserting their view of reality upon passive listeners but are, rather, facilitators adopting a conversational tone to direct cooperative learning task-work and to help students make knowledge for themselves and with one another.

In addition, with regard to gender roles, a psychoanalytic feminist perspective will probably see teaching activities as an opportunity not only for learning but also for human empowerment for all, especially by offering male students alternatives to hegemonic masculinity (cf. Connell, 1995). A pedagogical focus on masculinities may prove valuable in helping male students to acknowledge and value their own suppressed or excised qualities that are commonly marked as feminine such as a capacity for intimacy, inter-connectedness, ownership of one's own pain, and a realization that macho bravado is an illusion of the ego. By the same token, a psychoanalytic feminist framework highlights the need for pedagogies that allow female students to acknowledge and to assimilate their own suppressed qualities that are commonly marked as masculine: ownership of sexual and aggressive impulses, expressions of autonomy and strength, along with the assertion of clear ego-boundaries. Teachers can also play a role in helping their students understand that complete fulfillment can never be achieved through identification with any particular identity marker, including those identity markers that circumscribe socially normed boundaries of gender and sexuality (e.g., "babe", "wife", "mother" "stud", "husband", "father" etc.). Human flourishing emerges, rather, through engagement with processes of reflexivity and creativity within rich networks of human relationships. In this way, further generations of young people may be socialized into gender narratives and practices that do not simply reproduce parenting patterns along patriarchal lines (cf. Chodorow, 1978) but that allow for shared parenting, new family structures, and forms of gendered subjectivity yet to be imagined. Traces of how the psychoanalytic feminist imagination may translate into pedagogical initiatives are found in the work of a wide range of authors (e.g., Bracher, 2006; Britzman, 1998; Felman, 1997; Harper, 1997; jagodinski (sic), 2002; Kailo, 1997; Ó'Móchain, 2006a; Redman, 2000; Varney, 2002). Two of these authors, perhaps, deserve special attention for making connections between pedagogy and psychoanalytic perspectives that resonate with feminist theories: Deborah Britzman (1998, 2003) and Mark Bracher (1993, 1999, 2006). Britzman who employs psychoanalytic theory in her exploration of desire and motivations to teach and/or to learn, as well as offering outlines of what a psychoanalytically informed anti-racist, queer, or woman-positive pedagogy might look like. Similar stratagems are evident in the work of Bracher who uses Lacanian theory to inform his writing and literature classes where desire is neither stigmatized nor celebrated uncritically, but is, rather, acknowledged as a valuable resource for transformation. Bracher argues that his radical pedagogy can promote classroom cultures that support our unconscious efforts for a strong sense of identity without resorting to stereotypical, essentialist gender categories.

Concluding remarks

This presentation has offered a brief and overly schematic overview of feminist psychoanalytic theory in recent years. Unfortunately, time has not allowed for a comprehensive exploration of the implications of using psychoanalytic feminist theory in conjunction with educational theory and pedagogical practice, though I trace some of these

implications briefly in my doctoral dissertation (Ó Móchain, 2006 b). This presentation has also overlooked the work of at least three authors who have made significant contributions to psychoanalytic feminism. Theorist such as Karen Horney (who, as far back as the 1940's was asserting that Freud should have referred to "power envy" instead of "penis envy"), Joan Riviere (who, even further back than Horney, in the 1920's and 1930's explored feminine gender identity as based on a masquerade, a response to the double bind of needing to appear "masculine" in a professional or leadership role and then feeling a need to enact feminine identity signifiers to compensate for this "transgression": all of these themes were skillfully explored from a Pragmatics perspective by Janet Holmes in her keynote presentation yesterday evening); and, finally, Teresa de Lauretis (who offers a radical re-reading of Freudian texts to place perversion or non-normative desire at the center of human sexuality) have not been properly introduced to listeners. Moreover, rough outlines of the work of Butler, Chodorow and others I mentioned, have not done justice to the complexity, subtlety, and depth of their respective vocabularies. Nevertheless, this presentation may have served as a stimulus for further acquaintance with a body of work that continues to challenge the simplistic, binary logic of nature/nurture and of man/woman and so remains as timely as ever. As the British social theorist Anthony Elliot (2002, p. 155) argues in his introduction to psychoanalytic theory: "Psychoanalytic feminism has a crucial and ongoing role in helping to illuminate and guide the emotional process by which polarized gender can be transformed."

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Integrating Gender Studies into the ELE Curriculum: A Case Study from Osaka University

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Abstract

Introduction to a one-semester (15-week) ELE course offered to second-year undergraduates at a Japanese university, with ideas for flexible adaptation to various programs. The basic course, “Multicultural Literacy,” is divided into six core two-week units on the themes of nationalism, racism, sexism, religious intolerance, militarism, and economic disparity. As a specific example, in this paper I focus on the third unit, Sexism. After spending the first week studying one of these six basic concepts and mastering the vocabulary necessary to hold meaningful conversation about it, the students actually discuss selected local examples of related problems the second week. Pedagogical aspects covered in this paper include text selection, vocabulary exercises, communication tasks, feedback, assessment standards, and ethical guidelines for the classroom, with particular emphasis on the effective use of technology such as Blackboard (formerly WebCT) and CALL classroom facilities. The paper concludes with sample dialogues, a demonstration of feedback technique, and observations on the pedagogical effectiveness thereby demonstrated.

要旨

日本の大学で二年次の学生を対象とした1学期(15週)のELEコースを、多様な授業に応用可能なアイデアを交えて紹介する。「多文化リテラシー」という基礎コースは2週毎の6つの核で構成され、それぞれナショナリズム、人種差別、性差別、宗教的不寛容、軍国主義、経済格差をテーマとする。具体例として、本稿では性差別に焦点を当てる。授業は、1週目では当該テーマの基礎と、それについて意義のある会話をするための語彙を学び、2週目には身近な関連する問題について議論するという構成を取っている。この論文では、テキスト選択、語彙の練習、コミュニケーションタスク、フィードバック、評価基準、教室における倫理指針といった教育側面を扱うとともに、Blackboard/WebCTやCALL設備のような技術の効果的利用を強調する。結びとして、ダイアログやフィードバック方法の例を挙げ、そこに見られる教育効果を考察する。

Introduction

Students at Osaka University, like students everywhere, worked hard to get where they are, and many of them exhibit a not only a strong sense of school pride but also the ambition, sometimes even a sense of mission, to be a future leader of their nation, perhaps even a leader on the global stage. I encourage them to consciously view the ELE classroom as a place to develop the skills to realize these ambitions. At the same time, I feel a strong obligation to avoid perpetuating elitism, an unjust sense of privilege, or of course a sexist conception of the idea of leadership. In this paper I propose a few practical ways to implement these ethical principles within the very real constraints of Japanese university ELE curriculum policy. I begin with an overview of the practical mechanical workings of one specific unit of one specific course to orient the reader, with brief explanations of rationale, and then follow this with a reflective review of the theoretical underpinnings.

Context: The university ELE curriculum

In this paper I introduce one unit, Sexism, of a one-semester (15-week) course called “Multicultural Literacy.” This course is generally taught in the third semester of a two-year ELE program for first- and second-year undergraduates. It fits into a two-year program as follows.

First semester	Media Literacy I: Six two-week units on general topics in the news such as education, the environment, health, popular culture, and technology
Second semester	Media Literacy II: Six two-week units comparing the treatment of current events and/or controversial issues in various media
Third semester	Multicultural Literacy I: Six two-week units studying concepts such as nationalism, racism, sexism, religious intolerance, militarism, and economic disparity, and local manifestations thereof
Fourth semester	Multicultural Literacy II: Six two-week units on topics selected by the students; a class of law students, for example, may choose a series of topics such as the Constitution, elections, equal employment opportunity, free trade, and immigration

The ELE curriculum at Osaka University has two tracks, a practical English track and an academic English track, with some courses divided by the four skills and others being comprehensive four-skill courses. The example presented here is a practical oral communication course.

Text selection

I generally use a commercial textbook for the first and second semesters (Media Literacy I and II) and news articles for the third and fourth semesters (Multicultural Literacy I and II). My rationale for this is my respect for a certain degree of standardization the first year. I find the students themselves prefer some measure of uniformity, not only needing a bit of an anchor, being suddenly cut loose from the excessively rigid atmosphere of the typical Japanese high school, but also having a consumer’s sensitivity to the need for quality control in their university education as a prerequisite for fair evaluation. I will discuss this point more in the section on assessment standards.

In the particular case of this third-semester course unit on Sexism, discussion was held after reading a sampler of short articles about various offenses against girls and women, including child abuse, spousal abuse, and sexual harassment in the workplace.

I have never structured a whole ELE course solely on the topic of gender, judging a wider range of more general topics to be more appropriate to the primary objective of English Language Education, although depending on class composition it is possible that students in my fourth-semester class, Multicultural Literacy II, may choose six gender-related topics. I do direct students who indicate an interest in such course content to other areas of the curriculum where courses dedicated to the topic are offered, specifically my lectures in Japanese in two team-taught general studies courses, Women’s Studies, Men’s Studies and Introduction to Peace Studies; and I also teach a bilingual graduate seminar on Gender Studies (Topics in Language, Culture and Gender).

Vocabulary exercises

My classes are firmly grounded in vocabulary. I encourage my students to think in terms of balancing input and output: absorbing vocabulary and ideas through a basic training process

the first week of the two-week unit, with the awareness that this will provide the basis for expressing an informed opinion in the discussion the following week.

There was a time when ELE curriculum policy at many universities placed extreme emphasis on debate skills, and this may still be true at some institutions. The arguments often given for this position were that Japanese are uniformly of a shy nature, that they can't say no, and that they are poor at asserting their opinions. However, it is my observation that as a result of this short-sighted, unbalanced emphasis, Japanese students have gotten to be too good at expressing utterly *uninformed* opinions. They have learned the *form* for being assertive; they have memorized generic *templates* for expressing opinions for and against polar, formulaic, black-and-white opposites. But they have *not* been sufficiently educated to take responsibility for the *content* of their views, to explain *why* they take one particular position over another (or else even the reasons given are so formulaic as to be devoid of authentic tone). I explicitly discuss this problem as I see it with my students at the beginning of the semester, and then explain that the purpose of the two-week, input-output process adopted in my class is to correct this imbalance and train them to express *informed* opinions that will earn them solid respect as global leaders who *know* what they're talking about. In the six discussion sessions, I also attempt to explicitly set tasks to alternate between practicing both competitive and cooperative communication skills.

In the particular case of this unit on Sexism, the students read a group of articles about sexual harassment and domestic violence (child abuse and spousal abuse). In the homework they prepared for basic training the first week, the students skimmed the articles and underlined twenty words that they judged would be most important for discussing the topic the following week. They searched various websites for sample sentences using those words in similar contexts, and then wrote their own variations based on the sample sentences they had downloaded.

In class the first week, we used their sample sentences in shadow work drills, with my corrective editing. In a CALL classroom, the entire class can open their word processors and practice taking dictation as I circulate about the room engaging with each individual student, and then keep the document for future reference. I remind them that this is a valuable opportunity not only to hone their English typing skills but also to practice note-taking in preparation for possible study abroad in the future.

In the course of this training, I also provide variations using the same vocabulary to express different opinions, and so in the process the students also have time to start developing their opinions in preparation for discussion the following week. Their opinions are invariably better informed after having considered various points of view in advance in this manner, free of the pressure to produce an instant, half-baked opinion.

Communication tasks

At the end of the basic training class the first week, we decide a basic series of questions to focus on the following week, to prevent the discussion from becoming too diffuse. The students are reminded that respect for these parameters is important to ensure equal opportunity for fair evaluation for all. They know that they will be allowed some free time later in the semester, during the end-of-term review, to explore more tenuous connections that may have come to mind. I also encourage the students to try to use at least one communication skill from a checklist of skills such as cause and effect, classification, comparison, definition, evaluation, or hypothesization, and usually recommend a particular one that seems to me to be especially suited to the topic at hand.

This is when I also provide instruction in ethical guidelines for discussion, explained in more detail below.

Discussion procedure

The discussion procedure varies depending on the number of students. If there are more than 15 or 16 students, I divide them into two groups and have each group take the floor for half of the 90-minute class. We calculate precisely how many minutes each student has to speak, and I warn them that their evaluation will suffer if they waste time hemming and hawing trying to remember a word they should have mastered during basic training the first week. The discussion is structured so that it is virtually impossible for the students to simply deliver a prepared speech one-way. Although we begin with pairwork the first week, gradually widening the circle to add a third commentator and eventually building up to a panel discussion, the students do not know in advance with whom they will be paired; the goal is to be able to have real live on-the-spot English conversation that is spontaneous but nonetheless structured as it is based on a common ground of shared information, not simply topics chosen at random.

I do not speak during the entire 90 minutes on discussion day (every two weeks) except to give minimal instructions. All questions, answers and commentary are spoken by the students themselves. One reason for this is that I want the students to feel free to find their voices, to develop their own communication style, without fear of being corrected. Another reason is that if I intervene and correct an earlier speaker, later speakers are given an advantage, as they are less likely to repeat the same mistake. Instead, I play the role of scribe. I transcribe the entire discussion by shorthand and use the transcript for both evaluation and feedback the following week.

Evaluation and feedback

I make two versions of the discussion transcript, "Before" and "After." The "Before" transcript is a record of exactly what the students said, including grammatical errors, repetition, and notation for long pauses. The "After" transcript is an edited version which I distribute to them the following week. We review the edited version together the following week, before moving on to the next unit, and I point out the places where they made mistakes and coach them on how to improve in the future. I also acknowledge that I may have misheard something they said, and give them the opportunity to correct any point where they feel they have been misunderstood. These transcripts gradually grow in length over the course of the semester, and the students are quite surprised and pleased to see palpably what they have accomplished and the sure progress they make. I make it clear to the students that I do not discount for errors made when they were trying to use unfamiliar vocabulary that was beyond the range of what they learned in the basic training unit but within the agreed-upon parameters of discussion, but only if they failed to perform a task for which they had been trained (e.g., failed to use a word properly that they should have learned the previous week).

Performance in each of these six discussions constitutes half of the student's grade for the semester, and a final exam constitutes the other half. The final exam is a written exam, with questions designed to allow the students to reflect and follow up on questions that emerged in the process of the six discussions which they were not able to follow up on to any depth due to limitations of time.

Ethical guidelines for the classroom

As Japanese college students become more and more articulate and opinionated, it becomes more incumbent on the classroom instructor to be able to handle interpersonal conflicts, to monitor and to prevent human rights violations in the classroom, especially as most first- and second-year college students in Japan are still legally minors. Especially in the case of college ELE programs in Japan, where there is a high staff turnover due to the short terms of many contracts, both full-time and part-time, it may be quite difficult for many instructors to

prepare to handle a sensitive situation that may emerge unexpectedly. Yet I highly recommend that all ELE teachers in Japan invest some time to prepare for this possibility, especially if you are teaching a class where politically fraught current events or social issues may be discussed. Here I offer just a few specific suggestions.

- Let your students know explicitly that your assessment of their performance is based on their skill in use of the language and not on your judgment of the political correctness of their ideas. For example, at Osaka University, I am well known for having served as the Chair of the Human Rights Committee, Chair of the Sexual Harassment Subcommittee, Director of the Sexual Harassment Counseling Office; teaching both graduate and undergraduate courses on Gender Studies; and serving as faculty advisor for the campus Women's Studies Association. Not only in the third-semester unit on Sexism, but also in a more general unit of a commercial textbook used in a first-year course, we may have a discussion on Love and Marriage where students discuss their lifestyle choices. In addition to basic principles such as not assuming marriage to be the norm for a happy life, and not assuming "marriage" to automatically mean heterosexual marriage, I also reassure my students that I will not give a lower score to a male student, for example, who says that he wants children and hopes his future partner will take a year of maternal childcare leave but he's not sure whether he will take paternal childcare leave, just as I will not automatically give a higher score to a female student who says she does not want to have children but rather wants to focus on a professional career; I will rather judge both on how well they use the English language to express their ideas. This does not, however, mean that no consideration is given to content. I also make it clear to them that they will be judged on how fully their presentation reflects their comprehension of the content of the pre-discussion reading and exercises. So they cannot simply ignore points that are inconvenient to their position; if they differ, it is their responsibility to explain why.
- I would not consider it my place to suggest that either of these hypothetical students, male or female, consider other lifestyles than the choices they have made, but only to guide the discussion so that students with diverse perspectives will feel free to express different points of view, and that they listen and respond to one another respectfully. Although limitations of time tend to prevent the students from being able to explore such complex issues very deeply the first time around, two weeks are reserved at the end of the semester for review, when the students reread the six transcripts and follow up with questions they did not have the chance to ask the first time around. A significant number frequently say that they changed their mind and came to hold a new position as a result of hearing a different point of view in the course of the discussion.
- As soon as the textbook chapters to be covered have been selected or topics for discussion otherwise determined, take the time to do a quick risk analysis in order to prevent any problems that may arise, not by censoring or avoiding but by explicitly addressing them in advance. For example, if the topic of sexual harassment is to be included, take this as an opportunity to give a mini-lesson on respect for privacy. Suggest alternatives to a rude question like "Have you ever been sexually harassed?" in advance, and talk about why other questions would be a better use of classroom time. If the students want to talk about North Korea's nuclear capability or toxic toys made in China, don't reject the idea just because it's risky but rather take it as an opportunity to give a pre-discussion mini-lesson on nationalism, xenophobia and/or double standards.
- What if, despite all your advance planning, an unexpected conflict arises, or an insensitive question is asked? In any but the most blatant case of discrimination, I generally consider it disempowering to jump in too quickly to protect a student who may have been offended. But I make it clear that I will listen to any complaints, and I also utilize the time reserved

for follow-up the next week (or at the end of the semester at the latest) to point out the potential risk in any question or statement in the “After” transcript that I find to contain even marginal suggestion of bias. I generally find that giving a little time to cool off is ultimately more effective in raising consciousness. One example of such a case is given in the demonstration of feedback on the two sample dialogues below.

Utilizing Blackboard/WebCT

Osaka University has purchased accounts for Blackboard (formerly WebCT) online course management software to facilitate their e-learning program. I utilize the following tools from this learning system most regularly to facilitate communication with students:

1. **Course Contents:** Blackboard Learning System automatically archives a webpage for every course that every instructor teaches, or that every student enrolls in, and every instructor and student with a valid university ID can access the relevant instructor or student page anytime, on or off campus. I use this section first of all to post the syllabus (semester schedule) and evaluation standards. This feature is particularly useful when the schedule must be revised due to the instructor’s illness or other unexpected changes in the academic schedule such as measles quarantine or typhoon. I also post all “After” transcripts here as a digital backup, even if I have distributed paper copies (which I do if the class is not held in a CALL classroom).
2. **Homework Assignments:** I post instructions for all homework assignments here so that a student can easily keep up even if they have had to miss a class. I do not provide feedback on all compositions every week if the class is very large, but the students are responsible to have samples prepared for rotating critique in class if they are called upon on basic training day.
3. **Grade Book:** I post my evaluations of student performances in the bi-weekly discussions so they can chart their individual progress. I also post a statistical chart of rankings in the Course Contents section so they know where they stand in the class.

Utilizing CALL functions

I have been using CALL classrooms for about four years and have developed separate CALL courses for each of the four skills as well as a comprehensive four-skills course. I first developed a listening course (a prime candidate at a university where large listening class sizes are justified as the tradeoff for small composition and oral communication classes), then a reading course (which I also conduct in two-week units, alternating between volume reading and speedreading, using the digital blackboard function, for example, to critique summaries), then a composition course (also conducted in two-week units, organized according to six skills, spending one week on vocabulary and short sentence training and the second week on longer compositions). In the case of the third-semester course, I use the CALL functions most for the vocabulary exercise during the basic training session, especially the Model function, as students display the sample sentences they have downloaded and the variations they have created. This incidentally becomes a convenient opportunity to discuss problems of media literacy as we evaluate the quality of the sources that have been consulted and share ideas for refining search techniques. Because I place more emphasis on two-way communication than on presentation, I usually do not introduce Power Point until the fourth semester.

Sample dialogue and feedback

The following is an edited transcription of two dialogues held in class after reading a sampler of articles on offenses against girls and women.

1A(♂) Of all the offenses against the weak in this world, I would especially like to talk

about child abuse, as this is one of the most serious problems in our society. Some people use violence as discipline or education or instruction. Of course I think this is wrong. But I think corporal punishment is sometimes necessary to discipline a child. Would you agree or disagree?

1B(♀) I don't think corporal punishment is necessary. Sometimes parents hit their children impulsively, even though they know they shouldn't. But this often causes severe emotional trauma, which affects the child's psychological development. So I am against corporal punishment. Another problem I am concerned about is stalking. Sometimes stalking escalates to include physical contact, or victims may be terrified by menacing phone calls. But if they notify the police, they may be subjected to unpleasant questioning. If you were subjected to such harassment, what would you do? Would you notify the police, or would you remain silent?

1A I would tell the police, because remaining silent is the criminal's wish, and then the number of crimes may only increase. But it may be easier for me to say because I am a man

2A(♂) Some people say women who suffer from sexual harassment can't tell anyone about their suffering. But another problem is that there are some women who lie and say they have been harassed to get money. What do you think about this problem?

2B(♀) Of course it is wrong to tell a lie. But if women fear they will be accused of lying, then they will be afraid to report their experience to police even though it really happened. We must never forget that assault and stalking are crimes. We should also realize that in some minor cases of harassment, the man may not realize he is causing offense, but the woman may still be terrified because the man has more power than she does. If you had a friend in such a situation, what would you do?

2A If I had a friend who was being subjected to sexual harassment, I would advise her that she should tell him directly that his behavior bothers her. If he persists, she should talk to a counselor, administrator, union representative, or lawyer.

Next, here is a sampling of the points I took into consideration when evaluating the performance of these four students.

- In addition to mastering the vocabulary related to the given topic, the students are given a checklist of communication skills to try to master during the course of the semester. Also, they never know who will be selected to start or end a discussion or who they will be matched with in the case of pairwork. In the basic training, which precedes the first actual discussion, they are warned to be prepared to give a proper introductory or concluding statement in the event that they are chosen to be the first or last speaker, and are given models to facilitate that role. Student 1A was evaluated highly for his skill at introduction, mentioning the general topic of offenses against the weak and then narrowing down to the first specific topic, child abuse.
- *Abuse* was one of the important keywords practiced in basic training, and the students knew their pronunciation would be monitored to confirm whether they distinguished between the pronunciation of the *s* depending on whether they were using the word as a noun or as a verb.
- Not only the first student to speak but all students are trained never to ask a point-blank question without providing some background information as a cushion, or stating their own opinion first. For example, they are told that they should never simply ask their partner, "What do you think about (child abuse)?" Even if this question is correct grammatically, they are encouraged to consider that such a bald question is not good communication. Student 1A has also fulfilled this requirement by talking about various views of corporal punishment and stating his own opinion before asking his partner to

share her view.

- Student 1A was also evaluated highly for making the effort to use the keywords *discipline* and *corporal punishment*, which he may have known passively but had probably never actively used in conversation before.
- In the original response by 1B, the student had to quickly consult her e-dictionary to produce the word *impulsively*, but this was a word that was not in the original text, so she was not discounted for this. If she had had to stop to consult a dictionary to produce a word that had been practiced in shadow work the previous week, her evaluation would have been lower.
- Student 1B was highly evaluated for making the smooth transition from the topic of corporal punishment to the topic of stalking, and may appear in this excerpt to have used excellent vocabulary, but unfortunately a large portion of her speech was quoted verbatim from the text, in a way that I had explicitly discouraged. Another point that was highly evaluated, however, was her use of the hypothetical question, especially as it was accompanied by two specific options.
- To be honest, my hackles were raised when I heard 2A raise the problem of false accusations of harassment, and it took some effort to keep myself from jumping in. But despite the pressure of being in a testing situation, 2B was quite capable of handling the situation herself. In a later follow-up, I indirectly referred to the situation by analogy with a conversation about spousal abuse, and talked with the students about balancing the need for recognition that there are both male and female victims of harassment and abuse, and the need for recognition that there are both legitimate and false complaints and accusations, with the need to recognize the reality that statistically speaking, the proportion of female victims is far higher, and depending on context, excessive insistence on false accusations and male victims can be perceived as ignoring or denying legitimate claims.
- Limitations of time prevented any further discussion about 2A's idea about how to advise a friend, but in the follow-up review the next week, I did mention the problem of the risk involved in speaking to an offender directly, depending on circumstances such as the power relationship between the two individuals. I warned that this may not always be the best response, but also reiterated that my evaluation of the student's performance was not based on my judgment about whether the idea was a good one or not, but only in their skill in using English to express their idea. The only situation in which the evaluation might have been affected by the content is if the assigned text had explicitly mentioned this risk and the student had neglected to refer to it.
- I might also mention here that, although in both sample dialogues presented here, it so happens that a male student speaks first, I do consciously rotate speakers each week to provide all students a chance to play a variety of roles.

Theoretical underpinnings, and an afterword

In the 18 years of my career at Osaka University, I have never written such a practical article. As I approach the conclusion to this paper, I realize anew that I have spent far too many years playing the gentlemen's game by the gentlemen's rules, oscillating between theoretical jargon worthy of Sokol's heaviest scorn and obscure antiquarianism, manipulating data from esoteric treatises by fifteenth-century noh artists. It was refreshing to read in the Guidelines for Submission for inclusion in these Proceedings of the preference for a direct and personalized style. I was tired of pretending, and I can only hope I have not been excessively familiar or relaxed. I also regret that this paper is not based on more familiarity with the work of other JALT/GALE-SIG scholars, and hope I may be tolerated if not forgiven if I sound as though I am claiming to have reinvented the wheel.

In the process of writing this article, I also came to realize how I have oscillated between fear and desire of/for power and authority. A big part of me still wishes this were a more traditionally academic article. Let me use a big word like “epistemology” at least and only once, and argue for recognition of experience as a valuable kind of knowledge, as forcefully argued in *Women’s Ways of Knowing* (Belenky et al., 1986) and *Knowledge, Difference and Power* (Goldberger et al., 1996). Let me at least acknowledge my most recent debts to scholars in the field of feminist discourse analysis who have most directly informed the position I take here, such as Celia Kitzinger and Alison Thomas (authors of “Sexual Harassment: A discursive approach,” in *Feminism and Discourse: Psychological Perspectives*, 1995), and Jane Sunderland, especially her views on damaging discourses and intervention (in *Gendered Discourses*, 2004). And let me for once *not* cite Judith Butler!

Another big part of me still oscillates between the desire to help younger colleagues who appear to be struggling to get oriented and the fear that I am only indulging some falsely constructed maternal instinct, not to mention the fear of being loathed as a pompous bureaucrat, infringing on their intellectual freedom and stifling their artistic creativity. I struggle with the fear that I will be dismissed as hopelessly old-fashioned for advocating any degree of standardization, quantification or systematic regularity in a postmodern world where creative freedom and individuality are so highly prized. I only wish to save someone, somewhere, sometime, from making some of the more easily avoidable mistakes that I wish I could have avoided in my time.

I hope it is clear that I am not advocating quantity over quality, standardization over diversity, objectification over respect for subjectivity. Rather I hope that this essay will be received as a call for balance, beyond either-or, divide-and-conquer to both/and, or if that’s asking too much, at least a realistic balance that acknowledges the reality of finite resources and the need to negotiate the most equitable distribution of those resources. I hope that through the exchanges with my audience of October 2007 and later readers, we may come to a better shared sense of the most creative, dynamic balance between individual intellectual freedom and the systematic regularity essential to mastery of a skill; the need for objective, quantitative standards for fair evaluation as well as the flexible fuzzy logic essential to allow for the healthy recognition of diversity.

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