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Gender Awareness in Language Education
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Editorial Board for this Issue

All papers in this Journal are double-blind peer-reviewed.

Acknowledgments

From the Editors

What can we as educators, writers and publishers in the field of language teaching, do to equip students to make empowering language and gender role choices? You will find multiple implicit and explicit answers to that question within the pages of this issue.

We begin with a paper from the Recipient of the 2009 GALE Professional Development Scholarship, Rachel Winter. Firstly, Winter introduces the concept of gender bias and summarizes the effort to remove it from textbooks. Her description of gender bias research in EFL and ESL textbooks will particularly assist readers in evaluating or doing related research. A comprehensive appraisal of the literature then leads Winter to select Porecca's (1984) methodology to examine gender bias in a frequently used Japanese text series, Minna no Nihongo I and II, and her consequent findings are a poignant contribution to research in the area of gender bias in Japanese Foreign Language learning materials. In her conclusion Winter challenges future writers and educators to go beyond the representation of the 'normative' view of Japanese society, and to explore the possibilities which include the reality of diversity that surely exists in Japanese society.

In the next research paper, Yuki Maehara explores students' perceptions regarding the usage of gender-neutral language presented in the textbook "Duo" during a high school language class. Her paper includes an historical background to the evolution of gender-neutral language and its subsequent influence upon ELT materials design and teaching practices, which will surely be informative for many readers. Maehara's findings are instructive because they demonstrate that without conscious teacher intervention, students may have overlooked the issues regarding gender-neutral language usage. Following in a similar thematic vein, Dodi Levine and Mary O' Sullivan examine gender bias in images in a popular EFL textbook written for Japanese university students. They found that the majority of the images and illustrations were of males, and where females were illustrated, they were most likely pictured as schoolgirls, in low status occupations, or as formulaic and stereotyped images of non-Japanese females. This pattern of results parallels Winter's findings about JFL textbooks, suggesting that text-book publishers in Japan might generally benefit from industry guidelines to eliminate gender bias. For teachers raising gender awareness, Salem Hicks has researched many of the current major social and political obstacles to the achievement of a more gender equitable Japanese society. She hopes this paper may be of use to both teachers and students to negotiate gender barriers and may also provide impetus for change so that women can enjoy the fuller benefits of citizenship.

Blake Hayes contributes a fascinating interview with Deborah Cameron in anticipation of Cameron's special lecture at Tsuda College entitled "Sex on the Brain: Language, Sex/Gender and the New Biologism".

Finally, if you are looking for some reading to enhance your professional development, three excellent book reviews are included in this issue. Gwyn Heleverson reviews Laurel Kamada's recently published *Hybrid Identities and Adolescent Girls: Being 'Half' in Japan* by Multilingual Matters. Kim Bradford-Watts reminds us of the value of reaching into other disciplines with a review of *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods* by Pamela Moss, and Blake Hayes reviews *Gender and Human Rights Politics in Japan: Global Norms and Domestic Networks* by Jennifer Chan-Tiberghien.

As always we would like to thank the editorial board for donating their time and expertise to help make this Journal a professional success. We also appreciate the patience that the authors have granted us in waiting for this issue to be published. We wish you enjoyable reading!

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Salem Kim Hicks
Joanna Hosoya

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Maria Diets and Mr. Schmitt Does Overtime: Gender Bias in Textbooks for Learners of Japanese

Rachel Winter

Abstract

Despite over 40 years of research highlighting gender bias in textbooks, worldwide it remains widespread, persistent, and remarkably similar in its manifestations. However, a literature review revealed few studies examining whether such bias is present in materials for adult learners of Japanese. Using methods adapted from previous studies of English language textbooks, a content analysis was carried out on two textbooks popular in JFL/JSL classrooms: *Minna no Nihongo I and II*. No examples of masculine generic constructions could be identified. On the other hand, a similar pattern of gender bias was revealed in terms of "omission"; "firstness"; stereotyped gender roles and occupations; and the types of adjectives used to describe the different sexes.

要旨

教科書のジェンダー・バイアスは、40 年以上に渡り研究対象となってきたが、どの国においても、それは広範かつ執拗に、そして驚くほどの共通性をもって現れ続けている。しかし、成人日本語学習者向けの教材にジェンダー・バイアスが表れているかどうかを検証した先行研究はほぼ存在していない。本研究では、英語テキストを対象とした先行研究の方法を踏襲し、JFL/JSL 環境において広く用いられている『みんなの日本語』のⅠとⅡを対象として内容分析を行った。その結果、男性を意味する語を総称として用いる例は見られなかったものの、ジェンダー・バイアスに共通するパターンが、省略、優先順位、ステレオタイプ化された性的役割分業や職業、それぞれの性に言及する典型的な形容詞の違いにおいて確認された。

Introduction

> Sociolinguistic conventions… arise out of – and give rise to – particular
> relations of power (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 1–2)

Language textbooks have a particularly powerful role to play in what Fairclough (1989, p. 4) calls the "exercise of power through the manufacture of consent to or at least acquiescence" to dominant power structures because not only do they teach about language, they also typically try to teach *culture*. Indeed, "the presentation of culture in language classes is usually set forth as an explicit goal" (Hartman & Judd, 1978, p. 383), so that mixed up within all of the language instruction one can always find helpful comments about cultural etiquette:

this is how you should behave when you meet someone, enter their house, or take a public bath; this is how you should address a superior; this is how women talk; this is the polite way to refer to someone's husband; this is the way things *are*. Language textbooks and classes thus become a primary vehicle for passing information on to incomers about those who are powerful in a society and those who are marginalised.

Little wonder, then, that despite numerous studies showing gender bias to be an issue in English language textbooks, several fellow female Japanese learners confessed to never having really noticed gender bias in Japanese language textbooks. After all, isn't the depiction of a society of men who work as *sarariman* (company employees) and women who stay at home or shop, just an accurate reflection of a society and culture which is commonly perceived to be very male dominated?

A literature review revealed few previous studies about gender bias in textbooks for learners of Japanese, so, using a methodology designed to identify such bias in textbooks for learners of English as a Foreign/Second Language (EFL/ESL), a content analysis was carried out on two widely-used beginner level textbooks to find out to what extent various forms of gender bias were present. A similar pattern was found to exist to that previously found in EFL/ESL textbooks, with the exception of masculine generic constructions.

This paper begins by explaining what is meant by gender bias, before giving a brief background to the history of the fight to remove it from textbooks. A literature review of content analyses of EFL/ESL textbooks and the current situation surrounding research into gender bias in textbooks for learners of Japanese as a Foreign/Second Language (JFL/JSL) is then followed by an explanation of the methodology used in this study. Finally, the results are presented and discussed, along with some limitations and possible avenues for future research.

Definitions

There is a phenomenon whereby females in textbooks often appear in disproportionately low numbers and predominantly in roles related to housework or child-rearing, rather than paid work or positions of authority outside of the home. In comparison, males are depicted as strong, physically active breadwinners. However, an answer to the question of what to call it remains elusive.

Over the last few decades, with the rise of gender studies, there has been a shift "from biologically-based approaches towards socially constructed, culturally, and historically imprinted views of what it means to be a man or a woman" (Hahn, Bernard-Powers, Croco, & Woyshner, 2007, p. 336), and this seems reflected in a move away from labelling the phenomenon "sexism" (Porecca, 1984; Hartman & Judd, 1978; Kanemara, 1998), "subliminal sexism" (Ansary & Babaii, 2003), or "sexual bias" (Harashima, 2005), towards naming it "gender bias" (Blumberg, 2007) or "gender inequity" (Hahn et al., 2007).

Following Blumberg (2007), this paper will use the term "gender bias", because bias, rather than inequity, seems to better encapsulate the myopia that arises from, but also sustains, this phenomenon. Specifically, gender bias is here defined as the tendency to preference one gender over others, in ways which perpetuate the status quo or (sub)conscious beliefs about the way people of a particular sex and gender should be(have).

Background
The Fight to Eliminate Gender Bias in General Education Textbooks

In the spring of 2000, 164 countries, including Japan, agreed to six goals aimed at achieving "Education for All (EFA) by 2015" (UNESCO, 2007, p. 5). The fifth focused on achieving "gender parity" in primary and secondary education by 2005 and "gender equality" by 2015 (UNESCO, 2007, p. 79)[1]. However, although some progress has been made at the primary school level, an EFA monitoring report concluded that worldwide:

> Progress towards gender equality remains elusive… Gender-biased teacher attitudes, perceptions and expectations are common, *and textbooks often reinforce stereotypes of gender-specific roles of adult men and women.* (UNESCO, 2007, p. 6, emphasis added)

This failure to achieve gender equality in education, including access to gender-bias free textbooks, spans more than a mere decade. According to Blumberg (2007, p. 12), the earliest study into gender bias in textbooks was conducted in 1946, although it was not until the 1970s that a large number of studies on the subject began to be published. This began in Latin America (see Blumberg, 2007, pp. 27-28), but it was in the United States that a strong activist movement first succeeded in getting commitment at the legislative level towards ensuring gender-bias-free textbooks in US schools[2]. When the Education Boards of large states like Texas and California started adopting regulations aimed at eradicating biased content (including gender bias) from educational materials, publishers were forced to take note, and they and professional associations soon began to produce their own guidelines (Blumberg, 2007, pp. 13-15; Adams, 1996, pp. 8-11).

Nevertheless, second generation analyses paint a disappointing picture of the progress that has been achieved (Hahn et al., 2007). Textbooks published around the world mostly "ignore the changes in women's position in society in recent decades" (Blumberg, 2007, p. 89). Furthermore, no matter what the level of economic development or gender parity, there is a surprising consistency across all countries, cultures, education levels, and textbook subject matter:

> However measured – in lines of text, proportions of named characters, mentions in titles, citations in indexes – girls and women are under-represented in textbooks and curricula… Both genders are still generally shown in highly stereotyped household and occupational roles, with stereotyped actions, attitudes and traits. (Blumberg, 2007, p. 89)

More encouragingly, it seems that extreme stereotyping has been diluted in textbooks published after the guidelines were produced. For example, it would be hard to imagine finding similar examples of the dialogues or sexist jokes quoted in analyses of books from the 1950s to 1970s (see Hartman & Judd, 1978, p. 385; Adams, 1996, pp. 1-4; Blumberg, 2007, p. 14). This has led Blumberg (2007, p. 15) to call for ways to be found to measure the "intensity" of gender bias, in order to better assess what progress has been made.

Literature Review
Identifying Gender Bias in EFL/ESL Textbooks

After Marjorie U'Ren published *The Image of Women in Textbooks* in 1971, a slew of studies followed into the books used in US schools (for a review see Ansary & Babaii, 2003 or Blumberg, 2007). This soon led to self-examination in the EFL/ESL world.

Hartman & Judd's 1978 article "Sexism and TESOL materials" was one of the first to examine the issue. They found that male references outnumbered female ones; that women were often the butt of jokes; that both genders were regularly portrayed in stereotypical roles; and that the English language itself contains sex bias in terms of the ordering of mixed-sex pairs and the use of masculine generics like "man" to refer to the whole population (Hartman & Judd, 1978).

Hartman & Judd employed a descriptive approach but it was Porreca's (1984) more systematic analysis of 15 ESL textbooks, selected because they were purchased in the largest quantities by 27 different ESL centres in the US, which became a model for later studies (e.g., Ansary & Babaii, 2003; Harashima, 2005).

Porecca analysed 6 aspects of the texts and their illustrations, namely: 1) *omission*, the ratio of females to males; 2) *firstness*, the order of female-male mention; 3) occupations, the number of times men and women were shown in employment and the number of different occupations available to them; 4) the number of common nouns indicating a female or male, and the frequency of each noun when it was used with its opposite-sex counterpart; 5) masculine generic constructions, the use of the masculine pronoun and words such as man to refer to people in general; and 6) the type and frequency of adjectives used to describe both genders (Porecca, 1984, pp. 712-713)[3].

Such studies resulted in the publication by TESOL organizations of standards aimed at eradicating gender bias in materials used by the profession (Ansary & Babaii, 2003). Similar guidelines were proposed for avoiding sexism in EFL materials published in Japan (Women in EFL Materials, 1991, as cited in Harashima, 2005) but despite this, EFL textbooks produced in Japan have still been found to contain significant gender bias (Harashima, 2005; Kanamaru, 1998).

Gender Bias in JFL/JSL Textbooks

Studies, published in English, about gender bias in JFL/JSL classrooms have tended to concentrate on how to teach students about the gendered speech styles present in Japanese (Tsuruta, 1996), and how female learners negotiate this issue (Siegal, 1996; Tuitama-Roberts & Rubrecht, 2005). However, a literature review turned up only two studies of actual JFL/JSL textbooks.

Of these, Ohara, Saft, & Crookes's article focuses on the presentation of male versus female speech forms (2001, pp. 109–110). More promisingly, Siegal & Okamoto (2003) have a section devoted towards a survey of seven textbooks (not including the two analysed here) used in American JFL/JSL classrooms. According to them, these textbooks "portray stereotypical images of Japanese men and women", who play roles that "largely conform to traditional gender norms" (p. 51). Men are shown in high status and managerial roles while women appear as housewives and secretaries. They conclude:

These textbooks thus emphasize traditional gender stratification, while under-recognizing the diversity and change in gender roles and relations in contemporary Japan. (Siegal & Okamoto, 2003, p. 51)

That said, the main focus of Siegal & Okamoto's article is also about how the textbooks present gendered speech patterns, and how teachers and students deal with this issue. As gendered speech is not introduced in the beginner level textbooks analysed here, however, this aspect of gender bias within the language itself could not be examined.

Methodology

A content analysis was performed on volumes I and II of the *Minna no Nihongo* series. Although the publisher was unwilling to disclose how many books have been sold, the texts are commonly used by Japanese learners worldwide, with different versions available in a wide range of languages. Consequently, the English versions of *Minna no Nihongo I & II*, first published in 1998, are now in their 18th and 17th reprint respectively (as of February 2010).

The format of the books mirrors that of its sister series, *Shin no Kiso Nihongo*, developed by the Association for Overseas Technical Scholarship, the body responsible for the Japanese government's *gijitsu kenshusei* (technical trainee) scheme. However, the original series focussed on situations likely to be met by the trainees and, according to the translated foreword in the Romanized Edition of *Minna no Nihongo 1* (1998, p. i), it was felt that there was a need for a series which was "more universal in order to appeal to a wider range of learners". Therefore, the *Minna no Nihongo* series is specifically "aimed at anyone who urgently needs to learn to communicate in Japanese in any situation, whether at work, school, college or in their local community", and designed to provide for learners with a "diversity of learning needs" (*Minna no Nihongo 1*, 1998, p. i).

Following Porecca's (1984) method, both texts and illustrations (other than the teachers' pages, contents pages, and final vocabulary lists) were analysed as follows:

Omission: Using a system of coloured highlighters, wherever a reference was made to a female or male, by name or the use of a female or male noun or pronoun, the word was highlighted and the number of such references was noted at the top of each page, to allow for rechecking. To see if there was any difference in the visibility of females in the parts of the texts that might be focussed on during a lesson, separate tallies of both sexes were also kept for the illustrations, the example sentences at the start of each practice exercise, the main dialogues, and the reading passages.

Firstness: This refers to the order of mention, when two nouns are paired according to gender, e.g. "boys and girls" or "husband and wife". This kind of pairing does occur in Japanese, as in, for example, 男女, (*danjyo* – men and women), or 夫婦 (*fufu* – husband and wife), but it is rare for beginner level textbooks to contain these expressions, due to the double kanji needed to represent them. Instead, therefore, firstness was examined, following Porecca, by counting which sex was placed first in any sentence containing a mixed-sex pair and in the illustrations of the main characters on the first pages where the characters are grouped together according to their relationship to one another (for example, with the husband first, wife to his right and any children below).

Occupational Roles: The numbers of males and females shown in employment were counted in both text and pictures, as was the variety of jobs available to each gender. If a character

appeared in a suit but there was no other indication of occupation they were counted as a *kaishain* (company employee).

Nouns: A tally was taken of common nouns used to indicate gender to see how often males and females were referred to simply as woman, boy, father, wife, etc.

Masculine Generics: Masculine generics do not seem to be a prominent feature in the Japanese language, although the word *kyoudai* (brothers) is commonly used to refer to all siblings, whereas the use of *shimai* (sisters) is limited to refer to sisters only. *Bokura* (the plural of the informal first pronoun generally used by males only) is also sometimes used to mean "we" even when there are females in the group, so a check was conducted to see how often such words were used this way.

Adjectives: The types of adjectives used to describe each gender were recorded as well as the frequency with which they were used[4]. A comparison was then made of how often adjectives for describing physical appearance were applied to each sex.

Results

For ease of reference the numerical results from the content analysis are summarised in Table 1 below. A more detailed explanation with examples from the texts follows.

Table 1: Revealing the presence of gender bias – a summary of quantitative results

TYPE OF GENDER BIAS	BOOK I (f : m)	BOOK II (f : m)	BOOKS I & II (f : m)	% OF FEMALES (BK I & II)
1) OMISSION (total number of females to males)				
a) Overall (text)	203:332	170:276	373:608	38.0%
b) Main dialogues	26:40	20:35	46:75	38.0%
c) Example sentences (例)	20:62	13:25	33:87	27.5%
d) Main readings with an identifiable narrator or character	4:12	3:14	7:26	21.2%
e) Frequency of appearance of famous characters (text & illustrations)	1:4	2:27	3:31	8.8%
f) Illustrations	142:717	93:527	235:1244	15.9%
2) FIRSTNESS (number of females and males appearing first in a mixed sex pair)	14:25	10:34	24:59	28.9%
3) OCCUPATIONAL ROLES a) Frequency of appearance in a work context (text)	29:98	18:77	47:175	21.2%
b) Frequency of appearance in a work context (illustrations)	28:141	17:89	45:230	16.4%
c) Variety of occupations (text & illustrations - excluding main characters)	10:24	7:34	14:41	25.5%
4) NOUNS (frequency of common nouns indicating females and males)*	66:54	134:96	200:150	57.1%

5) ADJECTIVES				
a) Types	10:15	6:22	12:29	29.3%**
b) Frequency	16:30	9:34	25:64	28.1%
c) Types describing physical appearance	5:6	1:2	5:6	45.5%
d) Frequency of adjectives describing physical appearance	11:10	1:3	12:13	48.0%
e) Percentage of adjectives describing physical appearance [(d) divided by (b) X 100]	68.7%: 33.3%	11.1%: 8.8%	48.0%: 20.3%	N/A

The figures here and those below refer to the number of nouns/adjectives used per gender, while the respective percentages indicate the proportion of such words used to refer to females.

**8 of the adjectives used to describe females were also used to describe males, so the total number of adjectives introduced in both books was 33. Similarly, 2 of the adjectives used to describe the physical appearance of females were also used to describe that of males, so the total number of such adjectives was 9.

Omission: It was found that for every reference to a female in *Minna no Nihongo I and II*, there are 1.63 references to a male. This is slightly lower than the ratio of 1:1.77 found in the texts analysed by Porecca (1984, p. 718), but does it really reflect the actual extent of female (in)visibility in the texts?

In the main dialogues, on the second page of each chapter, the rate of omission is identical. However, a look at the example sentences (indicated by 例 or *Rei*) lends credence to the suspicion that males actually have an even greater prominence within the books. Here, for every female there are now 2.64 males.

By the main reading passages at the end of each chapter, the situation has become even more lop-sided. Simple passages appear first, describing the routines of various male characters. Later we find, *Boku no Obaachan*, a grandson's description of his grandmother (*Minna no Nihongo I*, 1998, p. 205), and *Suzuki-kun no Nikki*, an entry from young Mr. Suzuki's diary in which he confesses his love for fellow office worker, Ms. Watanabe (*Minna no Nihongo II*, 1998, p. 151). Only one story, "Shizuka and Asuka", focuses solely on females, contrasting the *yasashii* (kindhearted) and *otonashii* (quiet/reserved) behaviour of the older girl with that of her twin, who scrapes by in tests but is a fast runner, likes to play outdoors, and never loses a fight, *even* when fighting boys (*Minna no Nihongo II*, 1998, p. 109)! Other than this, the passages are typically written about men, or from a male perspective, so that for every female identified there are now 3.71 males.

Interspersed among these passages are letters to, and stories about, famous men like the astronaut Takao Doi and Mr. Ando, the inventor of Cup Ramen (*Minna no Nihongo II,* 1998, p. 9 and p. 143). Altogether, 18 famous males, real and fictitious, historical and contemporary, are mentioned 31 times throughout the books. In contrast, only two famous women are included; references to Murasaki Shikibu, who wrote what may be the world's first novel, "The Tale of Genji", appear twice (*Minna no Nihongo II*, 1998, p. 96, and illustration on inside of back cover), along with a poster of Marilyn Monroe in a strip of illustrations depicting some of Mr. Miller's favourite things (*Minna no Nihongo I*, 1998, p. 75). For every female there are now 10.3 males.

With regards to illustrated omission; at first one wonders if the editors have managed to avoid this? Although it is easy to guess the intended gender of the main characters, the practice exercises are accompanied by smaller cartoons, featuring an almost bald, stick figure. A closer look soon reveals, however, that this beer-swilling, soccer-loving, nicotine addict, charmingly depicted in figures 1 and 2, plus his associates, must in fact be male,

since, as figures 1, 3 and 4 demonstrate, whenever a woman is indicated she comes with long hair, and heels to boot. Once this was established, it was found that 84.1% of the characters illustrated are male: a female to male ratio of 1:5.29.

Figure 1
Minna no Nihongo 1, 1998, p. 118
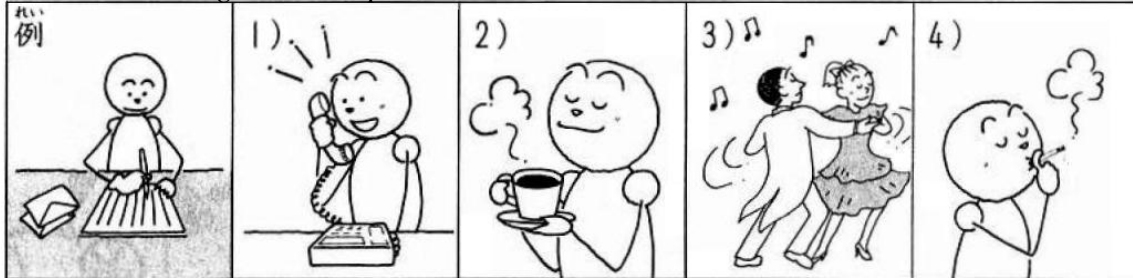
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Figure 2
Minna no Nihongo 1, 1998, p. 107
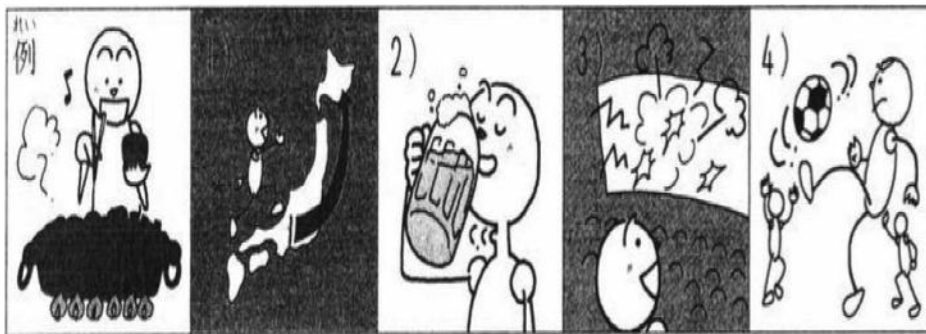
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Figure 3
Minna no Nihongo 1, 1998, p. 11
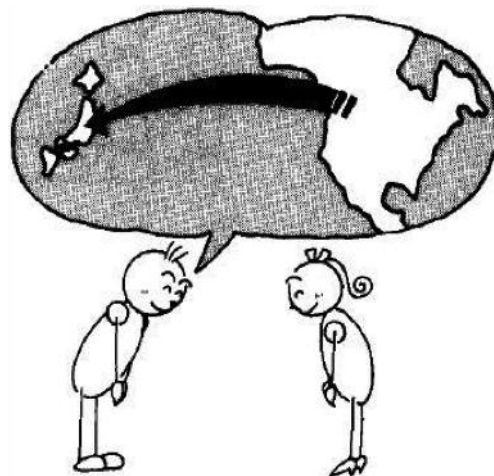
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Figure 4
Minna no Nihongo 1, 1998, p. 28
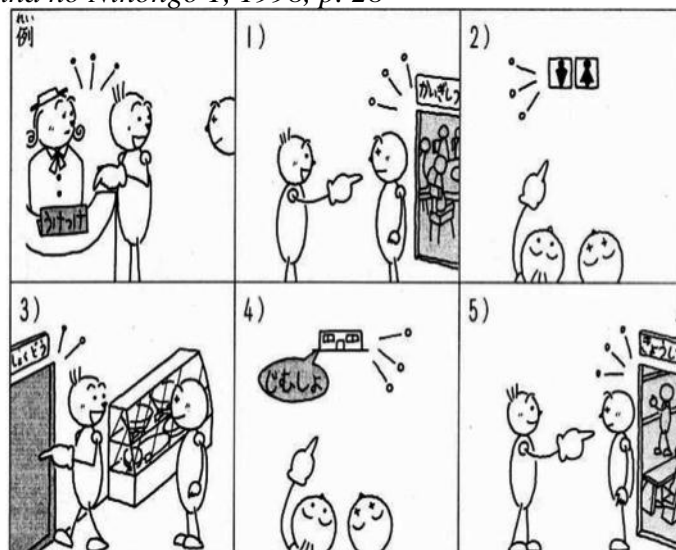
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Firstness: The situation is more pronounced in Book II, but, overall, in pairs of mixed gender nouns, males appear first 71.1% of the time.

Occupational Roles: In general, more males are shown in employment than females. In the texts of both books 78.8% of characters described in a work context are male, while in the illustrations of people in paid work only 16.4% are female.

As for the variety of jobs, in Book I, men are shown working in over twice as many occupations as women (24 to 10 respectively, excluding the main characters), and while several hold high status jobs like *shachou* (CEO), prime-minister, doctor, and *buchou* (department head), not one woman is shown in such a role. Instead, the most common employment for the *Minna no Nihongo I* women is shop assistant.

By Book II, the variety of jobs available to women has shrunk to 7 compared to 34 for men. As a caveat, the situation of the *main* characters has become slightly more equitable, with six females now in paid work (up from four), including one *kachou* (section chief).

*Nouns:* Although the majority of characters in both books are male, when their gender is indicated solely by a common noun, the ratio of males to females is suddenly inverted: for every male there are now 1.33 females. Interestingly, however, nouns for females often indicate their relationship to a male or their family. Thus, among the main characters of both textbooks, three women are referred to only as *shufu* (housewife) and one as mother, while in Book II, 11 women are described as somebody's wife (for example, *buchou no okusama,* the department head's wife). Men on the other hand are never described as somebody's husband or solely in terms of their relationship to a female character. Moreover, while apron-wearing mothers are seldom depicted doing paid work, fathers are typically only referred to in sentences related to work, as in, for example, "When I graduate, I'm going to work at my father's company" (*Minna no Nihongo I*, 1998, p. 136).

Masculine Generics: No examples of the use of masculine generics were found.

Adjectives: In Book I, 15 adjectives are used (30 times in total) to describe male characters. The most commonly used adjectives are *genki* (cheerful/vigorous), *shinsetsu* (kind), *hansamu* (handsome), *omoshiroi* (amusing/interesting), *ii* (good, as in a good teacher), *wakai* (young), *se ga takai* (tall), and *atama ga ii* (intelligent). Six adjectives – *hansamu* (handsome), *chiisai*

(small), *ookii* (big), *kami ga kiroi* (black-haired), *me ga ookii* (big-eyed), and *se ga takai* (tall) – are used ten times (33.3%) to describe physical appearance, but, with the exception of 'small', which was used to describe an unidentified boy, they are only used to describe foreign males, and presumably, therefore, their unusual appearance.

In contrast, only 10 adjectives are used, on 16 occasions, to describe females. However, in 11 of those 16 cases (68.7%) they are used to describe physical appearance. Females are described as *kirei* (beautiful) six times, and *se ga takai* (tall) twice. Foreign women are also described once respectively as *me ga ookii* (big-eyed), *kami ga mijikai* (short-haired), and *kami ga nagai* (long-haired).

It was expected that more adjectives would be introduced in Book II and that they would be used more often. Nevertheless, although a greater variety are used for males (22 different adjectives), as a group, adjectives are only employed three more times than in Book I. Despite the overall increase in variety and frequency of use, however, only two adjectives are used in Book II (on three different occasions) to describe physical appearance. Instead men are portrayed four times respectively as yasashii (gentle) and majime (earnest/serious), and twice as nesshin (eager/keen), keiken ga aru (experienced), wakai (young), isogashii (busy), and hima (not busy). More new adjectives include erai (great/distinguished), hataraki sugi da (overworked), byouki (sick), totemo ninki ga aru (very popular), kanashii (sad), suteki (wonderful), and kinchou (nervous), indicating that males are now being shown in a range of both positive and negative contexts.

By comparison, females in Book II are hardly described at all. Only six different adjectives are used for them (nine times). This time the word beautiful is used only once but it is difficult to judge the significance of this given the small numbers. The most common adjective used is *genki* (used three times to describe 80 year old grandmother Ogawa), followed by *yasashii* (gentle), *otonashii* (reserved), *atama ga ii* (intelligent), and *suteki* (wonderful).

Discussion

> One of the most widely examined manifestations of sexist attitudes is omission. When females do not appear as often as males… the implicit message is that women's accomplishments, or that they themselves as human beings, are not important enough to be included. (Porreca, 1984, p. 708)

Although the overall ratio of females to males is slightly better than in the books analysed by Porecca, it is considerably worse in the example sentences and reading passages which are likely to be remembered far more clearly than stand alone sentences. This, together with the paucity of females in the illustrations, belies the claims that the books are "aimed at anyone". Instead, *Minna no Nihongo*, "Japanese for Everyone", is revealed to be "Japanese for Every Man" – and not in the masculine generic sense – in which the world seems to be largely populated by males, plus a few female attendants.

Likewise, with *firstness*, the placing of males first in mixed-sex pairs only adds to the impression that females are of secondary importance based on their relationship to the main players: men and their sons. This supporting role for females is emphasized by the fact that there are more females than males in the books when we count common nouns indicating gender, since many of these indicate their family roles or social relationships with men (for example, wife, girlfriend, etc.).

With regards to occupation, in Porecca's analysis of ESL texts males were found in over five times as many types of jobs as females (1984, p. 714). Due to the use in Japan of the

generic term *kaishain* (company employee) to describe people with a wide range of jobs, the same variety of occupations was not expected. However, while this occupation is most common for the male characters, they are still employed in more types of jobs, and by the second book the variety of jobs available to women compared to men is surprisingly similar to Porecca's results.

The absence of masculine generics stands in sharp contrast. However, this may be because words such as *kyoudai* (brothers) and *bokura* (we) are rarely introduced or used in this way in beginner level textbooks.

The level of the textbooks also means that the adjectives within are fairly sparse. Nevertheless, in general, a bigger variety of adjectives are used to describe men, and men are described more often. It could be argued that this is simply because there are more men in the books, but this fails to explain why so few adjectives are used for women in Book II, even though the ratio of females to males hasn't changed. Nor does it explain why in Book I women's physical attributes are described twice as often as men's. This reinforces the passive image the female characters often play, by placing them in the position of physical objects to be viewed and admired rather than (perish the thought) active viewers themselves.

Despite similarities to the gender bias found in EFL/ESL texts, the question about intensity *and how to measure it* remains. Adams (1996) gives examples of more recent EFL/ESL texts which clearly attempt to portray females in more diverse roles, and is even able to poke fun at one such text where "the composition of the [main characters'] household… couldn't be more symmetrical, [and] the division of labour couldn't be more equitable", something which he complains is "highly improbable" (p. 11).

By comparison, the gender stereotyping present in the *Minna no Nihongo* books seems less camouflaged, as a list of some of the activities the characters are shown engaging in demonstrates. For example, after Maria diets unsuccessfully, Karina makes *o-bento* (packed lunches) for male friends who have come to help lift the heavy boxes when Mr. Wan moves house (*Minna no Nihingo I*, 1998, p. 155, p. 199). Subsequently, in Book II, Ms. Ee is shown visiting a beauty salon, while Ms. Watanabe, in a later chapter, shows Mr. Schmitt some photos of potential suitors she has received from a match-making company (*Minna no Nihongo II,* 1998, p. 153, p. 145). In between these episodes, Mr. Thawapon and Mr. Kobayashi make plans to climb Mt. Fuji, Mr. Matsumoto and Mr. Santos discuss an upcoming soccer game over a beer (*Minna no Nihongo I*, 1998, p. 165, p. 173), Mr. Suzuki admires the table that Mr. Miller made, Mr. Schmitt gets sick from doing too much overtime, and Mr. Miller comes second in a men's marathon (*Minna no Nihongo II,* 1998, p. 11, p. 53, p. 161).

In fact, both genders are almost exclusively shown carrying out activities traditionally associated with them, leaving the women cooking for others, plotting marriage, and worrying about their physical attractiveness, while the men, whenever they are not working for their company, engage in physically demanding outdoor activities, watch sports, and indulge in "manly" hobbies, like carpentry. The only exception to this is the chapter in Book II (1998, p. 103) in which a female university administrator complements Professor White's tidy study with the phrase "*seiri ga jyouzu nan desu ne*" (you are really good at tidying up, aren't you?). The kindly professor then offers to lend her a book called "*Jyouzuna Seiri no Houhou*" (The Way of Tidying Up Well), but the subsequent illustration which shows her head literally turning in comic surprise when she enters the room only reinforces the suspicion that she feels this is quite an unexpected talent for a man to have!

Limitations and Further Research

It is possible that there was a slight underestimation of the number of males in the text because sometimes the gender of a character was unclear. For example, *Santos-san* could mean either Mr. or Mrs. Santos, and so references to Santos-san were not counted unless there was no doubt about who was being referred to (usually Mr. Santos, as Mrs. Santos is typically referred to as just Maria). Likewise, it is possible that the number of males shown in managerial roles was slightly underestimated since, despite indications that everyone described as *buchou* or *shachou* was male (including the absence of pictures of females in this role), they were not counted unless their gender was clear from a name or illustration. Both these factors could also have led to a small underestimation of firstness and the number of adjectives used to describe males.

More significantly, as mentioned, only a few adjectives were introduced in the books, so the initial indications that certain adjectives are used for females more than males remain in need of further study in more advanced level texts, in which a wider range of categories can be examined. It was also impossible to verify from textbooks at this level the initial impression that masculine generics are not prevalent in Japanese language textbooks, or to investigate the way that the male and female speech forms present in the Japanese language itself might interplay with other, more widespread, forms of gender bias.

Thus, although this study seems to suggest that methods of content analysis developed for EFL/ESL textbooks can usefully be adapted to analyse JFL/JSL textbooks, there may be a need to adapt them for more advanced level textbooks to take account of specific features of the Japanese language. For example, it might be useful to analyse whether women are shown using various forms of *keigo* (honorific language) more often than males, especially given Tsuruta's (1996) research with trainee JSL teachers in which she describes how her students' have a "fixed idea that every female native speaker of Japanese normally speaks consistently using feminine expressions [which she defines as honorific expressions]… until they listen to a piece of actual conversation… tape-recorded in the university cafeteria" (p. 116).

In addition, it is not clear what effect the gender bias which has been proven to exist in these textbooks actually has on language learners, and specifically on *adult* female learners. Studies have shown that the performance of both genders in reading comprehension tests may be affected by how personally relevant they find the topics to themselves (Brantmeier, Schueller, Wilde, & Kinginger, 2007, p. 307) and that male university students recall essays better when they are written using the "generic" masculine form, while their female peers perform better with the female-inclusive form (Crawford & English, 1981, p. 7). These studies suggest that females are likely to be disadvantaged (and males advantaged) by texts dominated by passages presented from a male point of view, but, so far, surprisingly little research has been carried out on what effect, if any, gender bias in textbooks has on learners (Blumberg, 2007, p. 33) and particularly on adult females. For this reason a follow-up qualitative study is now being conducted to tease out in more detail how exactly gender bias in JFL/JSL textbooks can impact on women's language learning.

Conclusions

This study confirms that the textbooks in question exhibit most of the types of gender bias present in textbooks used world-wide, with the exception of masculine generics. Even given a small underestimation in the number of males, there is a clear omission of females, particularly in the illustrations and key readings. Furthermore, there is a strong tendency to

position males first in mixed-sex pairs; to show males in a much wider range of occupational roles whilst limiting females to a narrower range of lower status jobs; to more often identify women in terms of their relationship to men than vice versa; and to use a more limited range of adjectives to describe women, often focused on their physical appearance.

Of course, it could be argued, if one ignores the actual sex ratio of the Japanese population and the changes underway in Japanese society, that the classic gender bias within the books is the inevitable result of the gender inequities present in Japanese society and that the textbooks are merely a representation of the wider reality, but this begs the question: whose reality is being presented? Hardly that of single mothers or *freeta* (temporary contract workers) or any of the other marginalised people in Japan today. However, even supposing a more "probable" depiction were possible, should a textbook merely reflect the power structures it "arises out of"? Or could writers and educators also allow other representations some space?

Without a critical pedagogy, language textbooks are too often perceived in an additional light, as a guide for foreigners about how to navigate a new culture, often reified as some kind of traditional, national culture. The student is told that this is the way things are here and the gender bias within the books slips under the surface and starts to reinforce as well as merely reflect that which is present within the wider society. Instead of passively accepting this, we must remember that while it may be true that language both arises out of and gives rise to existing inequities, the corollary must be that language teachers and their textbooks could also use it to question them.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. This goal was also incorporated in the third Millennium Development Goal, which aims to "promote gender equality and empower women" (UNESCO, 2007, p.14).
2. Including Title IX (1972) which prohibits sex discrimination in any US government-funded education program, and the Women's Educational Equity Act (1974).
3. Ansary and Babaii (2003) use the terms "sex visibility" instead of omission, and "sex-linked job possibilities" for occupations. "Firstness" was analysed by Hartmann & Judd in 1978 but Porecca (1984, p. 706) appears to have coined the term.
4. Adjective phrases were included in this count: for example, *atama ga ii* (lit. a good head), which is often used instead of its synonym, *kashikoi* (smart/intelligent).

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Learners' Perceptions of Gender-Neutral Language in an EFL Textbook

Yuki Maehara
Jikei University

Abstract

Many studies report that there are stereotypical images and gender-biased language in EFL (English for Foreign Language) textbooks and children's books in Japan (Farooq, 1999; Nakai, 2000; Sugino, 1998). However, there has been little study documenting learner perceptions and teaching practices with respect to gender and language usage in the EFL classroom. Learner perceptions cannot be ignored when considering gender education in society. Therefore, it is important to investigate how learners react when they actually encounter gender-related language. This study attempts to explore this issue further by examining learners' usage, perspective and preferences regarding gender-related words in an EFL textbook. A vocabulary test and survey were administered twice within 40 days to 124 third-grade junior high school students in the metropolitan Tokyo area. The findings suggested that without conscious teacher intervention, students may have overlooked the issues regarding gender-neutral language usage. Based on the findings revealed in this study, teaching implications and future recommendations regarding teaching gender and language in the EFL classroom will be proposed.

要旨

日本の英語教科書や子供の本に現れるジェンダーに偏りのある表現や描写については、これまで多くの論文で指摘されてきた。しかし、教科書を使用する生徒達がどのような影響を受けるのか、またそれをどう活用するかについての研究は少ない。本稿では、実際にジェンダーに関する言語に出会った日本の中学３年生の英語学習者が、それをどのように受け止め、どういう使い方をするのかを調べた。その結果、教師が意識的にジェンダーに関する言語についての認識を高めなければ、学習者はジェンダーと言語の問題を見過ごしてしまうことが判明した。その後、学習者の言語に対する認識を分析した結果に基づき、ジェンダー・ニュートラル言語の使い方、役割について学習者に適した指導を考案し実践した例を紹介する。

Introduction

Despite the wealth of literature documenting the prevalence of gender-biased images and language in EFL textbooks in Japan (Farooq, 1999; Nakai, 2000; Sugino, 1998), there has been little study focusing on how these linguistic and non-linguistic gender representations

affect students who actually use these textbooks. Sunderland (1992) states "course books' (and dictionaries' and grammars') representations of gender potentially affect students as language learners and users" (p. 86). When considering issues of gender and language, it is essential to take the learners' perspective into consideration. Sunderland (1992) also states that raising students' awareness of gender and language operates at more than the level of materials themselves: namely in the form of classroom processes, learning processes, teacher interaction, and intervention.

This paper will begin by providing a historical background to the evolution of gender-neutral language and its subsequent influence upon ELT materials design and teaching practices. Following this, an action research project investigating how students were affected by the gender-related explanations provided in one EFL textbook is documented. How subsequent teacher-led intervention raised students' awareness about the importance of gender–neutral language usage in English and the nature and effect of this intervention will be outlined in detail.

Literature Review
Sexist vs Gender-neutral language

In the 1970's, Lakoff's work motivated many researchers to start looking at how linguistic codes transmitted sexist values and biases (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Kennedy, Knowles, Caldas-Coulthard, and Coulthard, 1996; Montgomery,1995). Lakoff's work "*Language and woman's place*" (1972) brought about a flurry of research and debate. It highlighted two issues: the extent to which women and men talk differently; and how differences between women's and men's typical speech patterns result from yet also underpin male dominance. Cameron (1995) documents male dominance in language over the centuries and posits that language rules and codes which control women's language behavior were essentially developed by men's status as norm-makers, language regulators, and language planners. The first major feminist challenge to such male dominance in language regulation and planning emerged in the 1970s (Pauwels, 2003; Sunderland, 2006).

Some feminists claimed that English is a sexist language, which enhances male dominance and maintains social inequalities. Doyle (1998) defines sexist language as "terms and usages that exclude or discriminate against women" (p. 149) For instance, there is gender disagreement if one retains the generic masculine pronoun "*he*". Given the widespread use of "*they*" or "*their*" as a singular pronoun, many sociologists have adopted this usage as an alternative to the generic masculine pronoun "*he*" (Fasold, 1990; Freeman and McElhinny, 1996; Romaine, 1994). Whilst some researchers claim that studies on sexist language have concentrated on the ways in which it portrays women negatively; in principle sexist language is that which encodes stereotyped attitudes towards both women and men (Holmes, 1992; Wareing, 1999). For example, nurse, in Japanese *kangofu*, (suffix "fu" 婦 refers to a woman) reinforces sexist stereotypes against a nurse who is male. Likewise, nurse in English has been thought of as "female" for such a long time that some people use the term *male nurse*. McCarthy, O'Dell and Show (2007) suggest avoiding the use of both *male/female* before the names of jobs so as not to exclude one gender. In order to alleviate such inequalities, there have been deliberate attempts to change or modify languages to free them of perceived gender biases or make them gender-neutral.

Attitudes for and against Gender-neutral Language in English Language

Gender-neutral is also referred to as "gender-inclusive" or "non-sexist language" in such literature. One method of changing gender-specific terms into gender-neutral ones involves changing compound words ending with the suffix –man into compounds ending with the suffix –person, for example substituting *chairman* for *chairperson*. However, determining whether compounds ending with the suffix –man are gender-specific or gender-neutral has been controversial. This is because man refers to both *human beings* in a broad definition such as 'Man is mortal' as well as *male* in a narrow definition such as 'Man cannot give birth'.

Myojin (2007) suggests that linguistic reform regarding gender-neutral language is necessary because the usage of the terms reflects people's thoughts. In fact, the results of some experiments indicated that readers of terms like "he" and "man" were more likely to think of males than of females (Erlich and King, 1998 as cited in Myojin, 2007). Furthermore, studies of college students and school children indicated that even when a broad definition of "man" was taught, subjects tended to conjure up images of males only (Jacob, 2002). Weatherall (1998) also found this tendency in her analysis of children's conversation.

Initially, some researchers were dubious about the success of linguistic reform. In the early 1980s, Thomson and Martinet (1980) predicted that this fashion to *de-sex* by using the suffix-person instead of –man would not continue (as cited in Sunderland, 1992). Romaine (1994) claimed that the reforms regarding gender-neutral language use perpetuated the inequalities expressed by the old gender-specific terms since - when linguistic parity is achieved - it enhances positive images of men whilst simultaneously ousting women from the language. For example, there may be a bias in the usage of gender-neutral terms; women are far more likely than men to be referred to as a chairperson or salesperson.

Recently some researchers are opposed to the use of gender-neutral terms. Ravitch (2003) expressed a strong concern over the revision of words into gender-neutral forms in school books in the USA, and claimed that "banning words like *mankind* is just plain silly and that we should be mature enough to live with diversity of language use" (p. 29). According to Pauwels (2003), the social effectiveness of gender-neutral reform can not be seen yet. Some evidence is reported that compound words ending with the suffix –person are not utilized in the manner in which feminists originally intended or expected them to be used. The newly created –person compounds are simply replaced by –woman compounds (Ehrlich and King 1994; Pauwels 2001a as cited in *ibid*, 2003).

Gender-neutral language in EFL texts

Pellowe (2000) examines the modifications over three editions of one EFL textbook *New American Streamlines Departures* (Hartley & Viney, 1978, 1983, 1994) which was quite popular in Japan. In the 1994 edition, changes in occupational titles showed a greater awareness for gender-neutral terms. In the 1983 edition, "policemen", "barman" and "bellman" were replaced by "police officers", "barkeeper", and "bell captain" respectively. Furthermore, in the 1994 edition, both women and men were given a greater variety of roles such as firefighter for a woman and homemaker for a man. Pellowe suggests that these changes which had occurred over three editions of the textbook reflect a move towards more egalitarian portrayals of males and females.

In order to evaluate the latest tendency regarding usage of gender-neutral words ending with the suffix –person, five of the most recent vocabulary and grammar books in the international market were examined. The books included were namely: *Understanding and Using English Grammar* (Azar and Hagen, 2009), *Business Vocabulary in Use Intermediate* (Mascull, 2002), *Vocabulary in Use Intermediate* (McCarthy, *et al.,* 2007), *Vocabulary in Use Intermediate* (Redman and Show, 2001), and *Practical English Use* (Swan, 2005). In most books, the suffix –man used in occupational titles/roles was no longer used. Terms such as chair/chairperson, salesclerk/salesperson, and police officer were used instead. *Vocabulary in Use Intermediate* (McCarthy, et al., 2007) includes a unit which examines ways of avoiding sexist or gender-biased language. Traditional job titles/roles marked for gender by the use of the suffixes –man and -woman have been replaced with neutral alternatives because "*many* people consider some of the words *sexist*" (ibid: p. 195). Swan (2005) states that; "as many women dislike being called *chairman* or *spokesman*, in many cases, -person is now used instead of -man" (p. 197).

Social Context
Movements to overcome gender bias in Japanese

Japanese society has been changing rapidly. In the 1970s there was still a stereotypical image of Japanese females: women/girls were expected to cook for men/boys. This was illustrated by a 1975 television commercial for instant noodles which promoted stereotypical norms of gender roles. In the commercial, a girl says, "*Watashi tsukuru hito* = I am the one who cooks it," followed by a boy who declares, "*Boku taberu hito* = I am the one who eats it" (Yukawa and Saito, 2004). This commercial was discontinued as a result of a protest by a women's group called 'The International Women's Year Action Group' and it marked a remarkable event in the history of the Japanese women's movement.

In 1994 (about 20 years after the controversial commercial), both girls and boys started to take cooking lessons together in home-economic classes. Until then, cooking lessons had been compulsory only for girls in the secondary school curriculum, while boys learned woodwork separately. In addition to curriculum changes, some gender-specific terms at school were changed. For example, the parents' meeting called "*fu-kei kai*" ("fu" 父 means fathers and "kei" means elder brother) was changed into "*hogosha kai*" (parents' meeting). The former term originated from the feudalistic family system which was abolished in 1947. This system advocated the idea that children only belong to males, the father or brother who succeeds as family heirs. Usage of the old term is voluntarily restrained in the media due to broadcasting guidelines in which the term is regarded as gender-biased language.

Meanwhile, in 1986, "The Equal Opportunity and Treatment between Men and Women in Employment" Act was implemented in order to improve the working environment of women. In 1999, "The Basic Law for a Gender-equal Society" Act was enacted. With the rising consciousness for a gender-equal society, some linguistic reforms were made. Job titles were changed to be gender-neutral as more males began to engage in jobs which had long been regarded as female's specific professional roles (Kawamata and Terada, 2008). For instance, kindergarten teacher "*hobo*" (suffix "bo" means a mother) was changed into "*hoiku-shi*" (suffix "shi" means a person) in 1999. At first the male kindergarten teachers were called "*hofu*" (suffix "fu" 父 means a father). However, it was soon regarded as a discriminative occupational title and was changed to a gender-neutral one. Likewise, the occupational title

coal miner "*tankofu* (suffix "fu" 夫 means a male) was changed into *"tanko-sagyoin"* ("sagyoin" means worker) , and nurse *"kangofu"* (suffix "fu" 婦 means a woman) was changed into *"kango-shi"* (suffix "shi" means a person) in 2001. In 1999, "stewardess" was voluntarily altered into "flight attendant" or "cabin attendant" by Japanese airline companies.

In this way, gender-neutral words have been penetrating Japanese society. Gender-specific words such as *"hobo"*, *"hofu"* or *"kangofu"* are rarely heard. This trend facilitates the understanding and acceptance of English gender-neutral language by Japanese learners. However, there are two features of the Japanese context which should be noted. First, the Japanese government has exerted strong control over the Japanese language in several ways. The government has a system of determining which Chinese characters are to be learned in school and it also has a policy of selecting all textbooks for use in schools, often with detailed advice for revisions. For this reason, the government was able to carry out language reforms aimed at creating gender-neutral terms without much difficulty or strong resistance. Secondly, compounds ending in –man words sound familiar to Japanese learners' ears because they have been long adopted as English borrowed words, such as "salary-man", "businessman" or "salesman". The suffix ending in –man has also been used for popular Japanese animation characters: *Anpan-man* (*Anpan* means bread) and *Ultra-man.* Weatherall (2002) points out that the prevalence of male characters in children's stories promotes a masculine impression of the world.

Previous Studies
Classroom Methods for Teaching Gender-neutral Language

Beebe (1998) posits the prevalence of unhelpful and misleading explanations about gender-related words over the years in grammar and vocabulary books. Beebe (1996, 1998) specifically introduces the negative experience of a student who used an up-to-date English textbook and picked up the appropriate opening to write a business letter. The student started off the letter with "Dear Sirs/Gentlemen" when asking for a job. The personnel manager who read the letter was a woman who subsequently became irritated at being addressed in this manner. Consequently, the student could not get the job. Beebe (1998) therefore advises teachers to provide various usage options and explanations concerning specific gender-related terms, including the theoretical background of words.

Myojin (2007) examines the extent to which EFL learners were aware of gender-biased language through a survey of 66 Japanese university students. About 70% of the students had known that words containing the suffix –man were recently replaced by their alternatives. 87% of them had learned the replacements in their high school days, and half of them were explained by their teachers. Myojin suggests that teachers should equip students with ways to avoid gender-biased language by using appropriate substitutions.

Sudo (2007) explores methods of teaching gender-related changes in English to Russian university students. She gives an example of a Russian student's experience:

> 'Ivan' 16, a high school student, Michigan, 2001 – 2002
> I had not known "policeman" meant only a male person. My classmate's older sister worked at the police department, and I said, "Wow, she is a policeman!" And all the guys laughed at me, and that classmate said, "She is a police officer, dummy." I had never heard the term "police officer" before that day. I so wanted to go back home

right away (p. 13).

Sudo adopted the term "gender-inclusive" instead of "gender-neutral" in her essay. In general, Russian university students have both linguistic and psychological difficulties in accepting gender-inclusive language due to the nature of their L1 and traditional society. In fact, gender-inclusive language is rarely taught in secondary schools and universities. After presenting some lessons to introduce gender-inclusive language, Sudo concludes that students need to understand the role of gender-inclusive language and the possible consequences of using gender-exclusive language in real communication.

Chairman/chairwoman, chairperson or chair

This paper specifically focuses on one set of gender-neutral terms: *chairman/chairwoman, chairperson or chair*. The use of *chairman/chairwoman, chairperson* or *chair* has been particularly controversial for the past two decades. The introduction of gender-neutral terms in the United States resulted in some other English-speaking countries reforming law manuals. In 1997, there was a case of reverting to the use of *chairman*. The Australian Prime Minister John Howard ordered that the gender-neutral word *chairperson* should be replaced by *chairman* in the drafting of Bills (Peterson, 1999: p. 47 as cited in Williams, 2008). In contrast, in 1999, the New Zealand Law Commission Legislation Manual of Structure and Style explicitly supported adopting *chairperson* whilst avoiding *chair.* In 2007, Conservative MP Ann Widdecombe opposed the UK Labour government's proposal to introduce gender-neutral drafting; "Chair is a piece of furniture. It is not a person. I am not a chair, because no one has ever sat on me," (reported by Branigan, 2007 as cited in Williams, 2008).

Another theory claims that the term *chairman* has nothing to do with either gender or the word "man", and that chairwoman, a female counterpart of chairman, does not make sense. In Latin, *manus* means hand; a chairman is one who sits in the *chair* and *handles* the meeting. In debates in educational settings, the same theory is adopted and *Mr or Madam Chairman* is used (Sather, 2007).

In order to see how *chairman/chairwoman, chairperson* or *chair* are treated in reference books, sixteen vocabulary books recently published by Japanese companies were examined. 50% of the books contained these words as key vocabulary (Appendix 1). In the majority of these books, *chairman* and *chairperson* are introduced as synonyms. For example, *Data Base 4500* (Ogino, 2006) denoted "*chairperson*" as a key vocabulary and adds; "*chairman* is not recently used" (p. 200). In contrast to EFL textbooks in the international market where *chairman* appears to be less widely used these days, most books from Japanese publishers still contain "*chairman*" whether introduced as a synonym or as key vocabulary. The majority of these books fail to elaborate upon or provide succinct explanations regarding the changing nature of gender-neutral forms and their roles in English.

Method
Participants

The participants were 124 third-grade junior high school students (girls=60, boys= 64) with a pre-intermediate level of English. The gender issue we encountered in the classroom was

which pronoun to use when the person's gender is unknown. In this case, '*he/she*' was taught as being suitable to use. The plural pronouns '*they*' or '*their*' were deliberately not taught because it would be confusing for students who had just learned singular and plural pronouns. The main textbooks used in class include *Birdland II and Birdland III* (Yoshida, 2008, 2009). Through these textbooks, students have already learned that "stewardess" is commonly avoided and replaced by "flight attendant". Some gender-neutral job titles such as *salesclerk* and *newsperson* are used, while *workman* and *craftman* are also adopted. The vocabulary book, *Duo* (Suzuki, Ehara, and Cataldo, 2008), was introduced as a supplementary self-study book in conjunction with the main textbooks and words in five units were tested each week. *Duo* is one of the largest selling vocabulary books for secondary-school students in Japan containing 1600 key vocabulary words.

Research Questions

Duo (Suzuki, *et al.,* 2008) contains the words *chairman/chairwoman*. The words *chairperson* and *chair* are also presented in the textbook and these words were explained in an annotation as follows:

> Many people may be taught to change compounds ending in –man words such as chairman and salesman into -person, but do not change everything into –person. Compounds ending in –man and –woman are commonly used when gender is clear. According to our company corpus (February, 2000) the search resulted in; -man: 6949 hits, -woman: 193 hits, -person: 15hits (*ibid,* p. 76)

This prompted me to conduct research into what influence the use of these words in this textbook has on my students. Two vocabulary tests and two surveys were administered to provide data relevant to the following research questions:

1. Are students affected by gender-related annotations of these words in this textbook? Do students have difficulty accepting gender-neutral language, such as the word *chairperson*?
2. How can teachers help students to use these words appropriately especially when gender is not clear?

Procedure

1) In order to see how students use *"chairman/chairwoman"*, *"chairperson"*, Vocabulary test (1) was administered where students had to fill in the blank with an appropriate word with a Japanese translation of each word provided. In question One (Appendix 2), students were required to translate the Japanese word "*gicho*" into English. "*Gicho*" is used to mean chairman/chairperson in Japanese. The gender of the person was not purposefully clear in the testing context.
2) One week after, Vocabulary test (1) was marked and returned to the students. The first survey (Appendix 3*)* was conducted to gauge students' reflections on their answers and textbook. The survey was written in English, so a Japanese language translation was

given orally to avoid misunderstanding. Students gave their comments in Japanese and the teacher translated them into English.

3) Four days after the first survey, Vocabulary test (2) was administered. Students again were required to translate the Japanese word *"gicho"* into English. The gender of the person was not clear in the testing context.

4) A month after Vocabulary test (2) was administered, the second survey (Appendix 4) was conducted in order to examine the students' usage and preferences regarding the words *"chairman/chairwoman"* and *"chairperson"* and their perspective of the suffix –man. Table 1 depicts an overview of the research procedure.

Table 1. The research procedure

Vocabulary test (1)	→	First survey (1 week later)	→	Vocabulary test (2) (4 days later)	–	Second survey (1 month later)
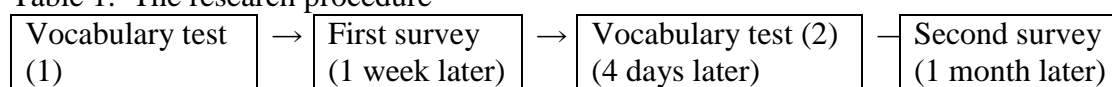
Results
Vocabulary Test (1)

As a result of Vocabulary Test (1), 115 students (92.7%) answered "*chairman*", whereas 6 students (4.8%) answered "*chairperson*". Two students (1%) answered *chairman/chairwoman*" and 1 student answered "*chair*".

The First Survey

Q1. How did you translate 〝*gicho*〞 into English in the vocabulary test and why?
Concerning the reasons for using "chairman", 81 students (70%) answered that it was because "*chairman*" was first written in *Duo* and presented as key vocabulary. Five students (2 boys and 3 girls) used "*chairman*" based on their stereotypical image of "*gicho*" being male, writing comments such as; "I think *chairman* is usually male". Two boys adopted a broad definition of "man" writing; "I think -man refers to human beings". Concerning the reasons to use "chairperson", examples of students' answers included:

> The gender of a person is not identified, so I used -*person*.
> The teacher told us to use –person when the gender is not clear.
> I think using the –man word might lead to some kinds of discrimination.

Q2. When you solved the question, did you consider about the gender of 〝*gicho*〞?
Thirty-four students (28%) answered *Yes*, whereas 86 students (72%) selected *No*.

Q3. Did you read the annotation about the words in textbook when you learned the vocabulary?
Thirty-five students (29%) answered *Yes*, whereas eighty-six students (71%) answered *No*. One student failed to answer. The results of Q2 and Q3 (28% and 29%) suggest that the students who read the annotation took gender into consideration. The ratio of answers for Q2 and Q3 by boys and girls is equal.

Q4. How do you comprehend the following annotation in *Duo*? (see Appendix 3)
Examples of students' answers included;
   When gender is clear, we should use "*chairman/chairwoman*".
  They recommended distinguishing the use of "*chairman*" and "*chairwoman*".

Q5. This is the latest Google search result. Compare the result with the one above.
  Chairman: 18,000,000 hits, Chairwoman: 491,000 hits,
  Chairperson: 2,640,000 hits (December 3, 2009)
Examples of students' answers included;
      The number of users of "*chairperson*" has been increasing.
      I found that "*chairman*" is still mostly being used.
      The data in *Duo* is out of date and too small; 15 hits are not enough.

Q6. When the gender is not clear, which do you think is the appropriate term to use?
One hundred and five students (87.5%) answered "*chairperson*", whereas 14 students (11%) answered "*chairman*". The number of boys and girls who answered "*chairperson*" was equal. The number of students (boys/girls) who answered "*chairman*" was 10:1, which indicated that girls were more likely to avoid using "*chairman*" than boys.

Q7. Are you interested in learning gender-neutral language?
One hundred students (83%) answered "*Yes*", whereas 20 students (17%) answered "*No*". The number of boys and girls who answered "*Yes*" was 12:13. On the other hand, the number of boys and girls who answered "*No*" was 7:3, which indicated that boys were more likely to show negative attitudes about learning gender-neutral language than girls.

Vocabulary Test (2)

As a result of Vocabulary Test (2), 16 students could not answer the question because they forgot the word after the first vocabulary test. 61 students (57%) who answered the question wrote "*chairman*", whereas 44 students (41%) wrote "*chairperson*". Compared with the first test, the number of students who answered "*chairperson*" had increased (4.8% to 41%). On the other hand, compared with the first survey (Q6), the number of students who answered "*chairperson*" had decreased (87.5% to 41%). "*Chairman/chairwoman*" was used by 2 students.

The Second Survey

Q1: Put the appropriate word in the blanks. You can use the word more than twice.
1. We appointed Mr Martin a (   ).
2. We appointed Ms Martin a (   ).
3. Who will be chosen a (   )?

chairman,   chairwoman, chairperson

One hundred and three students (83%) adopted "*chairman*" for male, "*chairwoman*" for female, and "*chairperson*" for a person of unidentified gender. Five students (4%) used "*chairman*" for males and "*chairperson*" for females or a person of unidentified gender. Four students (3.2%) used "*chairperson*" for all cases. The above three usage options as adopted by 90.2 percent of the total sample are appropriate based on the annotations given in the textbook and subsequent teacher intervention regarding appropriate usage. In contrast, 9.6 percent of the total sample used "chairman" for either female or a person of unidentified gender or both of them. This result is arguably problematic demonstrating inappropriate usage. Overall, though, the results suggest that the majority of students could utilize the gender-neutral terms appropriately following guided instruction. The result of Q1 is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. The result of Q1

percentage / gender	83% (103)	4%(5)	3.2%(4)	3.2% (4)	3.2%(4)	3.2% (4)
	90.2%			9.6%		
Male	-man	-man	-person	-man	-man	-man/person
Female	-woman	-person	-person	-woman	-man	-man/woman
Unknown gender	-person	-person	-person	-man	-man	-man

(N= 124, boys = 64, girls = 60)

Q 2: In "chairman", "businessman" and "salesman", I think –man refers to (   ).
The result of Q2 is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. –man refers to male or human/person

Male	64 (52%) (b = 33, g = 31)
Human/person	60 (48%) (b = 31, g = 29)

(N= 124, boys = 64, girls = 60)

Fifty two percent of students regarded –man as *male*, while 48% of students regarded –man as *human/person*. The ratio for this answer of boys and girls was nearly equal.

Q 3: Which do you prefer to use "chairman" or "chairperson"? Why?
The result of Q3 is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. The result of preference

Chairman	61 (49%) (boys = 31, girls = 30)
Chairperson	52 (42%) (boys = 26, girls = 26)

(N= 124, boys = 64, girls = 60)

Sixty one students (49%) preferred to use "*chairman*", whereas 52 students (42%) preferred to use "*chairperson*". Eleven students (9%) gave no answer. The number of boys and girls who preferred "*chairman*" was nearly equal (31, 30), whilst the number of boys and girls who preferred "*chairperson*" was also equal (26, 26).

The reasons to support "*chairman*" included;
> I first remembered the word as "*chairman*", so it is easy to use.
> It sounds familiar to my ears through daily life.
> -man words are commonly used in Japanese.
> It is easy to write, and easy to say.

The reasons to support "*chairperson*" included;
> It is a useful word which can be used for both men and women.
> It is easy to use because we do not need to consider gender.

Discussion

1. Are students affected by gender-related annotations of these words in the textbook?

  Initially, the textbook had a strong impact on students with respect to the word to be used regardless of gender issues. In Vocabulary Test (1), 92.7 percent of students answered "*chairman*" and 70% of them answered that it was because "*chairman*" was used as a key vocabulary in the textbook. This suggested that key vocabulary provided in the textbook plays an important role in influencing learners' choices with respect to language usage. The first encounter with a word leaves a strong impression on the learners. If "*chairperson*" were used as key vocabulary, more students might have answered "*chairperson*". Concerning the influence of gender-related annotations, at first most students were not affected because 71 percent of them did not pay attention to the annotation provided in the textbook. Students concentrated on memorizing the key vocabulary word "*chairman*" while ignoring the other supplementary words and their usages. Although 87.5 percent of students regarded "*chairperson*" as the most appropriate word to use when the gender is unclear in the first survey, in Vocabulary test (2), 57 percent of students still used "*chairman*". Their test results show that the first encounter with a word remains with learners for a long time. The result indicated that unless the teacher consciously and explicitly raised students' awareness about gender-neutral language, the students may have simply overlooked the gender issues regarding language use. This trend may be even more pronounced in cases where the textbook does not mention anything about the role of gender-neutral terms. After the teacher's intervention, 83 percent of students used "*chairman*" for male, "*chairwoman*" for female, and "*chairperson*" for a person of unidentified gender. These results indicate that the teacher's intervention was effective.

2. Do students have difficulty accepting gender-neutral language such as the word *chairperson*?

The result indicated that Japanese students have some difficulties in accepting gender-neutral language, such as the word *chairperson*. In the second survey, 49 percent of students answered that they preferred to use "*chairman*". Many students stated that it was because "*chairman*" sounds familiar to them. One obstacle to Japanese learners' using –person words appears to be L1 interference. A large number of words using the suffix "-man" exist as

borrowed English words and as names of popular television animation characters. Students have more chances to hear or use words using the suffix –man than words using the suffix – person in their daily lives. Whilst words using the suffix -man are still naturally accepted in a learners' L1, the new terms in English may sound awkward and more challenging to learn for Japanese students. On the other hand, a gender-neutral term such as "flight attendant", which has already been reformed in the Japanese learners' L1, is more easily accepted by students. In this study, when the teacher attempted to use the term "stewardess" in the classroom, some students pointed out that it is no longer used.

3. How can teachers help students to use these words appropriately especially when gender is not clear?

Based on the results of the vocabulary tests and surveys, teacher intervention was applied. The aim of this was twofold; namely to clarify the usage of the words *chairman/chairwoman* and *chairperson* and to make the students aware of the role of gender-neutral language. The phrase in *Duo,* "do not change everything into compounds ending in –person" (p. 76) was ambiguous and confusing. First, the special occasions in which compound words using the suffix -man are unchangeable were introduced. The fixed title of "*Chairman*" cannot be changed into "*Chairperson*". "*Mr* or *Madam Chairman*" is acceptable in debates. Secondly, the usage of *chairman/chairwoman* and *chairperson* was discussed in classrooms using Table 5.

Table 5.

preference Gender	Gender-neutral	Man refers to person Man refers to male	Woman refers to female
For male	Chairperson ○	Chairman ○	Chairwoman ✕
For female	Chairperson ○	Chairman ?	Chairwoman ○
Gender is not clear	Chairperson ○	Chairman △	Chairwoman △

○= appropriate △= not always appropriate ✕= inappropriate ? =arguable

Students need to learn that using *"chairman"* for females is as problematic as using *"chairwoman"* for males, especially when the gender of a person is unidentified. To enhance their understanding of the role of gender-neutral language, amendments in Japanese job titles were introduced such as fisher *"gyo-fu"*(male specific suffix "fu" 夫) which has been changed to *"gyo-shi"*(suffix "shi" means person) and nurse *"kango-fu"*(female specific suffix "fu"婦) which has been changed to *"kango-shi"* (suffix "shi" means person). In the Japanese language, one can clearly see if the Chinese character "fu" (婦 or 夫) refers to male or female, however in English the term "man" is not always regarded as gender specific. Some people consider "man" as gender-neutral referring to human beings, while others consider "man" as male-specific referring only to males. The results of the second survey (Q2) concerning how students regarded the term "man" illuminated this. About half of the students regarded this term "man" as a gender-neutral suffix, whereas slightly more than half of the students regarded it as a male specific suffix. After teacher intervention, students were able to imagine situations in which the suffix is used for females or a person of unidentified

gender. To illustrate the possible consequences of using male specific terms when addressing women in real-life communication, I introduced Beebe's student's experience (see p. 6) to my students.

Conclusion

This research has a number of limitations. Firstly, it only focused upon one gender-neutral term: namely, one compound word *chair* ending with the suffix–man and –person respectively. Subsequent studies could include more gender-specific words and investigate which of these gender-related terms are considered as being more applicable and appropriate for Japanese students. Secondly, the number of hits for *chairman/chairwoman,* and *chairperson* from Google search was not reliable enough. More accurate data should be presented to students through the use of a language corpus.

As for future research, comparative studies documenting the differences, if any, between boys and girls perceptions regarding gender and language usage could be conducted. The first survey results have already indicated different perceptions; girls were more likely to avoid using "*chairman*" than boys (Q6) and girls showed more interest than boys in learning about gender-neutral language (Q7). Future studies could examine if there are any more differences in perceptions between the sexes using a wider range of gender-neutral terms.

This study revealed that the gender-related words *chairman/chairwoman, chairperson* and *chair* are in fact very complex and political words. These words have been controversial not only in EFL contexts but also in ENL (English as a National Language) contexts such as the USA, UK, Australia, and New Zealand. The results of this small-scale study correspond with the above view; these words are also controversial among a small number (124) of third-grade junior high school students in Japan. Even students with limited English language learning experiences ascribe their own beliefs and attitudes toward gender-related language. Inevitably, to a certain degree, students' perceptions reflect those of the wider society and teachers need to be aware of these perceptions.

This research suggested that only a small number of EFL textbooks utilized in Japan provide sufficient explanations about gender-related words. In particular, Japanese EFL textbooks do not reflect or provide an updated version of the constant, evolving nature of language. Even within the same textbook, gender-neutral terms are sometimes not used in a consistent way. This lack of consistency can result in confusion for students. Therefore, an important task for language teachers is knowing when to avoid using these textbooks, and also knowing how to supplement textbook materials and teach gender related language appropriately in the classroom.

In order to achieve this, teachers should/can:

1. Raise student awareness about gender and language by supplementing the textbook.
2. Document theoretical background and reasons as to why the language used is considered to be gender-biased.
3. Provide updated, reliable data which indicates the present state of the language.
4. Give examples of assumed misunderstandings caused by gender-biased language.
5. Exercise caution when using gender-related terms since teachers' usage may influence students.

A teachers' role is to provide a greater variety of usage options whereby students can subsequently make selections based on informed knowledge stemming from teacher interventions. Gender equality needs to be achieved in many areas and this can be done both through language use and through an awareness of the effects of language use. It is beneficial for learners who are in the early stages of studying English, as is the case with the junior high school students in this study, to gain early insight regarding the appropriate use of gender-related language.

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Gender and Images in the EFL textbook Talk A Lot, Starter Book, Second Edition

Dodi Levine
Tenri University, Tenri, Japan
Mary O' Sullivan
Shiga University, Hikone, Japan

Abstract

This paper discusses and determines if gender bias or female invisibility exist in images and illustrations in an EFL textbook written for Japanese university students, *Talk a Lot, Starter Book, Second Edition, 2008*, (Martin, 2008). Using quantitative and qualitative analyses, images were grouped according to the images' main identifying features of 1) manner of dress 2) involvement in sports and 3) occupations. These were counted, and divided into male and female. One illustration from each group was selected for further qualitative analysis. We analyzed the images using four queries based on those used in *Critical Image Analysis* for gender bias in "Gender Positioning in Education: A Critical Image Analysis of ESL Texts" (Giaschi, 2000). We concluded that quantitatively the images and illustrations are overwhelmingly of males, that where females were illustrated, they were most likely to be as schoolgirls in uniforms, projecting an image both childlike and juvenile. Females were overwhelmingly pictured as schoolgirls, in low status occupations, or as formulaic and stereotyped images of non-Japanese females.

要旨

本研究では、日本の大学生を対象とした EFL 教科書、*Talk a Lot, Starter Book, Second Edition, 2008* (Martin, 2008)に使われているイメージやイラストに、ジェンダーに関する偏見や女性の不可視性が表れているかどうかを検討した。計量分析および質的分析の両手法を用い、教科書のイラストをジェンダーに関する偏見、女性の不可視性、ジェンダー・ステレオタイプの視点から分析した。質的分析においては、イメージを 1）服装、2）行動のタイプ、3）職業でグループ分けし、出現回数をカウントするとともに男性的なものと女性的なものに分類した。質的分析においては、各グループから 1 イメージを選択し、"Gender Positioning in Education: A Critical Image Analysis of ESL Texts" (Giaschi,2000）に基づく 4 つの質問事項を分析軸とした。その結果、量に関してはイメージやイラストには圧倒的に男性のものが多く、女性が描かれている場合には、子どもっぽいイメージが投影された制服を着た女子生徒のものが多くを占めた。この教科書における女性描写は、女子生徒、低地位の職に就いた女性、そしてステレオタイプ化された非日本人女性の 3 種に圧倒的に偏っていることが分かった。

Introduction

Illustrations from the University EFL textbook, *Talk a Lot, Starter Book, Second Edition* (Martin, 2008) were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively for gender bias. The textbook, *Talk a Lot (Martin 2003),* came to the authors' attention via a blog discussion on "Debito.org" (Debito, 2008) of an illustration of a "Scary Foreigner" in the first edition. In the context of the discussion, Aniberu (2008, November 12th) wrote, "The gender stereotypes in textbooks like Talk A Lot are … narrow, exaggerated and perpetuate mainstream media ideals of age and beauty''. In Japan, the textbook occupies an enormous part of the Japanese students' contact with English. (Nakai, Roslyn Appleby,2001). Moreover, as Otlowski observed (2005) "The teacher and the textbook are the two most important and immediate links between the student's native culture and the target foreign culture" (p. 2). Additionally, according to Dominguez (2003) "EFL/ESL textbooks can be one of the great influences in contributing to cultural prejudices and personal biases that learners can, unfortunately, observe in their learning" (p. 5).

Literature Review
Current Research on Gender bias in Illustrations and Images in EFL/ESL Textbooks Used in Japan

Otlowski (2005) analyzes both the conversations and illustrations quantitatively and qualitatively in a textbook "used throughout Japan," (p. 1) *Expressways A,* for "gender bias and the portrayal of ethnic diversity" (p. 2). Otlowski found "The most noticeable failing is the lack of depiction of women in roles other than those of homemakers and mothers" (p. 8). Otlowski's analysis of the seventeen illustrations in the text depicting working situations, found twelve are of males, and five of females, with one female as a doctor. Otlowski concluded that the one image "is not enough to dispel the pervasive image of the homemaking role of women" (p. 8).

   Harashima (2004) in "Sexual Bias in an EFL Textbook: A Case Study" conducted quantitative and qualitative analyses for gender bias in a chapter on "Physical Appearances" in an unnamed textbook used in the author's Japanese university EFL class. Harishima found that illustrations of males did not significantly outnumber female images, but the illustrations displayed considerable insensitivity towards women, in ways that were "stereotypical, inappropriate, and inconsiderate" (p. 1009), including comments about degrees of popularity and which females are "better-looking" (p. 1009). Acknowledging the limited nature of the study, Harashima recommended further studies should be conducted on similar texts (p. 1010).

   Using the EFL Textbook *Birdland Oral Communication,* a Japanese High School textbook, Mineshima (2008) conducted quantitative analyses of gender roles, and qualitative analyses of images of females and males. Upon examining five cross gender dialogues, Mineshima concluded that utterances, or opportunities to speak and first appearances were equal in number (p. 5) and that "Females and males are evenly heard" (p. 5).

   Yet, Mineshima's own observations indicate a significant disparity in occupational status of the genders. For example, compare the status of "President of International Trading Company" (male), with that of "Fairy Tale Translator" (female). Although perhaps the latter job entails considerable expertise, the title falls short of implying an equivalent level of job security and status. Moreover, generally women held traditional low-status positions.

He concluded that the textbook "has succeeded in maintaining a generally well balanced proportion of females to males in text and pictures, and … it seems to take more of a prescriptive than descriptive approach to gender roles, emphasizing especially the importance of male contribution to the household chores" (Mineshima, 2008, p. 51).

Whereas Mineshima and Harashima were among those using a small sampling of images, Giaschi (2000) examined ESL/EFL textbooks he had used to teach in Japan, Canada, and Italy (p. 38), selecting images that juxtaposed men and women for comparison. He looked to correct the perceived problem of bias in qualitative analysis of images by using the following seven queries to guide his analyses.

1. What is the activity of the image(s)?
2. Who is active (the "protagonist") in the image?
3. Who is passive (the "receiver") in the image(s)?
4. Who has status in the image(s)?
5. What does the body language communicate?
6. What does the clothing communicate?
7. Where are the eyes directed?
(*Giaschi, p. 37*)

His results showed that in 76 percent of the images, the man was given an active role (p. 39), and "In fully 89 % of the images men were given higher status than women" (p. 39). He stated,

> I believe that further research using queries 2-4 on a quantitative basis might well provide incontrovertible numbers that could prove effective in bringing industrial pressure to bear on publishing houses to reflect a less distorted reality. (Giaschi, p. 41)

Materials and Methods

We conducted a quantitative analysis of all images and illustrations in *Talk A Lot, Starter Book, Second Edition (2008)*, a current English Language teaching textbook in Japan, to determine possible gender bias, gender representation, and female invisibility in the images and illustrations in the textbook. Illustrations or images were grouped according the most prominent identifying features of 1) manner of dress, 2) involvement in sports and 3) occupation.

For the quantitative analysis, styles of dress, activities and occupations were identified and counted, and divided into male and female. The illustrations were then further subjected to qualitative analysis, one illustration from each group being selected for analysis in greater depth. Where possible, we chose images where both males and females were juxtaposed, as in Giaschi (2000). For the qualitative analysis, we evaluated the images using four queries related to and overlapping with Giaschi's Critical Image Analysis (Giaschi, 2000). These were:

1. Which gender is in the image?

2. What is the activity of each figure?

3. What is their occupation?

4. What is their status relative to the other gender?

The answer to the last question is inferred from clues such as clothing and appearance, body language, relative activity or passivity, as well as the relationship depicted, and occupational status. Hence it is based upon a compilation of characteristics Giaschi considers separately.

Results
Quantitative Analyses of Illustration

1) Gender

A quantitative analysis of illustrations of both genders in the textbook showed 169 male images and 91 female images, with male images representing 65% of 260 total images.

2) Identifying features
 a) Manner of Dress

The most noticeable feature with respect to manner of dress was that there are thirty-six images of female students in junior high or high school uniforms, compared to sixteen males.

b) Involvement in Sports
There are 22 total illustrations of males and females involved actively in sports. Eighteen are of males and four are of females.

c) Occupation.
Sixteen male and six female images are shown as having any kind of occupation. Of the female images, two are of the same person, a female non-Japanese blonde teacher identified in the text as "Jackie" and in another illustration as a New Zealander (Martin, p. 4). The 16 male images are all of different males. These sixteen male images are portrayed in a variety of occupations. Occupations portrayed for males include among others, 2 teachers (both images of Japanese males), a non-Japanese (Caucasian) teacher, an office assistant, a carpenter, a doctor, a manager, a film director, a general office worker, and a dishwasher. Other than three Japanese celebrities, Japanese female adults with an occupation are represented in two images: one is a young female waitress in a short skirt at "Hard Rock Café *(sic)* (Martin, p. 35), the other is a flower shop assistant (same image in pair work activity) (pp. 30, 66). There are three images of young blonde Western women: two of Jackie, the English teacher from New Zealand, (pp. 4, 12) and one of an office worker (p. 32).

Qualitative Analysis of Images

Images were also grouped and analyzed according to identifying features of 1) manner of dress, 2) involvement in sports and 3) occupation. We selected one illustration from each group to analyze in depth, if possible an illustration juxtaposing female and male images.

1. Manner of Dress.
Illustration 1 [see Appendix] featuring school uniforms, is the sole image where the female students and male students are in the same image *and* outnumber the male students: there are 12 females and eight males in a classroom of '*Troublemakers'*, (title of image). A male teacher (the official authority figure) is yelling at the class (the writing above his head is in Japanese). Female students are listening to iPods, smoking cigarettes, putting on makeup, and talking on cell phones, while the male students' actions include not looking at the text,

sleeping or talking, and playing cards.

2. Involvement in Sports.
The *sempai* (higher status) female student in Illustration 2 orders her *kohai* (juniors) to swing their rackets in Japanese, "100 more times" (Martin, p. 55, see Illustration 3 in Appendix). The positioning of the females and their facial expressions seems to indicate that they are not enjoying the tennis practice, and arguably the older student is taking pleasure in her position of authority, and at the unhappiness of her charges. This is the only illustration in the text of female students actively involved in sports: there are no images of males and female students juxtaposed in sports activity.

3. Occupation.
Illustration 3 [see Appendix] shows images of both a female and a male. The female image is of a young, winking female waitress in a short- skirted uniform, saying, "Welcome to (*sic*) Hard Rock Café!" The male image on the page is, according to the text, a doctor at a university as well as being the waitress's father. He is examining a male patient (Martin, p. 35). Not only does the male have higher occupational status, we can infer that he probably has some degree of responsibility for the female's well-being, especially if she is taken to be a student doing arbeito (part-time work).

Discussion

There is a huge disparity in this textbook in the number of male and female images. The quantitative analysis showed that males were pictured close to twice as many times as females, indicating that this text also suffers from the problems of female under-representation and female invisibility described by Mineshima (2008).

The analysis of the gender breakdown of students in school uniform indicated that more than twice as many females as males are wearing Japanese school uniforms. In particular, illustration 2, the sole illustration where female students outnumber the male students, shows females as overwhelmingly misbehaving. Given that there are so few female images compared to male images in the textbook, the overall portrayal of females is as girls in school uniforms, with the implication that they are juvenile, childish or childlike.

The quantitative analysis indicated that there were 18 images of males actively involved in sports compared with two of females (pp. 55, 56). Moreover, the three females embedded in illustration 2 (p. 55) are apparently not enjoying their tennis practice, and their female student/coach is arguably enjoying the younger students' discomfort. The only other female sports image, (p. 56), is of a young blond woman who seems to be the fantasy object of a young male named "John," who is talking about his dream vacation in the text (Martin, p. 56). On the other hand, males are uniformly portrayed as either enjoying sport, or as neutral: We see boys baseball and soccer, (p. 18), a man involved in 12 different activities such as skate-boarding, swimming, ice-skating among others (p. 20). There are no positive experiences associating females and sports in the textbook. As with the images Giaschi analyses in ESL texts, "(M)en are the protagonists, men are the doers" (p. 39).

Males are pictured in a wide range of occupations. Females, when they do have occupations, are illustrated in low social-status or stereotypical fields such as waitressing and selling flowers in a shop. While there are two images of Japanese male teachers (they are both pictured as speaking in Japanese in the textbook), there are no images of Japanese female teachers. The only female image of a teacher is of a stereotypical western blond young woman wearing a pink sweater, named Jackie and from New Zealand. Overall there

are very few images of females in any kind of occupational activity; it is as if adult women do not work. There are simply no images of females in high or medium status occupations, apart from the image of the non-Japanese (foreign) teacher and one image of three female Japanese celebrities. Otherwise, the few women pictured are either as part of a family unit or in low-status occupations (Martin, pp. 10, 60).

Recommendations

David Martin's *Talk A Lot Starter Book*, (2nd Ed.) is presented in an organized and easy –to-use manner. The varied material and topics should be of interest to Japanese students, but the textbook illustrations and images are problematical in the number of female adult images (almost none) and the stereotypical female images of girls and non-Japanese females. Further editions of this text should include images of adult women, in a range of occupations and paths with a more balanced view of female and male involvement in occupations, family, and school. We further recommend using Giaschi's Critical Image Analysis (2000) queries 2-4, or other standardized criteria, such as Brugeilles and Cromer's (2010) *Analysing Gender Representations in School Textbooks,* a new manual on data collection methods for analyzing gender representation in textbook images and illustrations.

Conclusions

Our conclusions are that the images represent stereotypical, traditional views of women and girls as to age, beauty, and professional status. Females are overwhelmingly portrayed as childish, childlike or mischievous schoolgirls in uniforms. The only image of females actively involved in sports are those of a negative experience except for the sexy, blond surfer girl, illustrated as a young male's vacation fantasy (p. 56). Men are depicted as having higher work status, and adult females are almost non-existent. These findings demonstrate that the text does not promote the concept of gender equality.

Considering the "false beginner" level of students this particular text is intended for, remedial English discussion with students about the gender bias in the text would be impractical, and unrealistic. Moreover, we cannot presume that teachers would be equipped or willing to discuss issues of female invisibility and gender bias in the text with their students. Hence adopting the text for classroom use could perpetuate gender stereotyping.

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Authors Note

Appendix Illustration 1

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Illustration 2

4 Are you going to…?
Ask several classmates these questions. Use one of the expressions in the box below to answer.
If a classmate answers 'yes', you must ask a follow-up question (any question is okay).

Are you going to (gonna)…

1 …do homework tonight?
2 …watch TV tonight?
3 …call anyone tonight?
4 …go to bed before 1:00 am?
5 …go shopping tomorrow?
6 …watch a TV drama tomorrow night?
7 …exercise the day after tomorrow?
8 …go to a movie this weekend?
9 …go anywhere next school break?
10 …belong to a school club next year?

Yes, I am.   No, I'm not.   I'm not sure.

5 Dream Vacation, Part I
Imagine you are going to take a dream vacation. You can go to any country (or prefecture) you want. And you can spend as much money as you want! Plan your vacation and write your answers to the questions below. Next, interview 2 classmates and write their answers.

I'm gonna… Dream Vacation	You	Partner 1	Partner 2
Where are you going to go?			
When are you going to go?			
How are you going to get there?			
How long are you going to go for?			
Who are you going to go with?			
What are you going to do there?			
What are you going to buy?			

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Illustration 3

3 Listening

Decide where the words go in the dialogs below. Listen to the recordings to check your answers. Next, practice saying each dialog line by line. Finally, practice the dialogs with a partner.

DIALOG 1

A: So, what do you do?

B: I'm a ....

A: Oh, really? Where do you work?

B: At .... in ....

A: That sounds interesting. Do you like it?

B: Yeah, I like it a lot. It's .... and I get to ....

A: Is there anything you don't like about working there?

B: Well, it's .... because I have to ....

- tiring
- fun
- stand up all day
- meet a lot of people

- waitress
- Roppongi
- Hard Rock Cafe

Welcome to Hard Rock Cafe!

- hard
- interesting
- work long hours
- help a lot of people

- doctor
- Shinjuku
- Keio University Hospital

DIALOG 2

A: So, what does your father do?

B: He's a ....

A: Oh, really? Where does he work?

B: At .... in ....

A: That sounds interesting. Does he like it?

B: Yeah, he likes it a lot. It's .... and he gets to ....

A: Is there anything he doesn't like about working there?

B: Well, it's .... because he has to ....

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An exploration of the connections between citizenship, care work and gender equality in Japan

Salem Kim Hicks
Kyoto Women's University

Abstract

The divide of public versus private spheres of citizenship contributes to the maintenance of social systems that ensure many forms of gender inequity continue. The very traditional gender roles, which persist in Japan, continue to result in equality falling behind developed, as well as 'less developed' countries. The demanding obligations of care and domestic work placed on women ensure they experience citizenship differently from men. University students express *perceived* truths about gender equity and roles, and are often not able to substantiate their beliefs with supportive data but rather rely solely on their perceptions and personal anecdotes. This paper explores each of the *perceived* truths using data from several sources in an effort to provide educators in Japan with information to help students better critically analyze some of the factors that continue to hinder the achievement of more substantial gender equality in Japan.

要旨

市民性の公的／私的領域への分断は、多様な形態のジェンダー不平等を擁護する社会制度が存続する要因の一つである。日本に根強く残る伝統的性別役割は、日本女性が先進国のみならず、発展途上国の女性にすら遅れを取るという結果を招いている。ケアと家事の担い手という大きな義務を女性に課し続けることにより、市民としての女性と男性の経験は異なるものとなるように方向づけられている。教育の現場である大学において、学生はジェンダーの不平等や性別役割について、自分たちが「知覚した」事実を述べるが、多くの場合、個人的に感じたことや逸話だけに基づく主張であり、それを裏づけるデータを基に検証するということはできていない。この論文では、学生が知覚した事実を取り上げ、複数の資料から得たデータに基づいて一つずつ検証する。それによって、日本でより本質的なジェンダー平等の達成を阻んでいる要因を、学生がより説得力をもって、批判的に分析することを促すための情報を、日本の教育に関わる人々に提供したい。

Introduction

The status of citizenship in a nation-state provides access to rights and responsibilities in a broader community and is rooted in two main traditions. Liberal traditions stress individual citizenship rights such as legal rights, political representation and social welfare benefits. On the other hand, civic republican traditions stress responsibilities to the wider society such as

military service, paying taxes and financial independence. A fundamental understanding of both includes equal rights for all members, however researchers continue to illuminate how in reality citizenship is often unequal based on differences such as race, class, ethnicity and gender (see for example Lister 1997, Walby, 1994; Voet, 1998).

The struggle for equality in Japan has traditionally focused on attaining rights for women (Mackie, 2003; Fujimura-Fanselow & Kameda, 1995), as it has in most other countries. The pursuit and acquisition of some very important equal rights for women and minorities has "secured the prerequisites of citizenship" (Vogel, 1988 as cited in Lister, 2004, p. 326) however, this has created to some extent the illusion that citizenship is presently a neutral status, accessed as equally by women as by men. Moreover, the public versus private dichotomy of citizenship, which is central to both models, and the normalized division of gendered "responsibilities" in both realms, ensures that citizenship is experienced differently by women and men (Lister, 1997). The lack of equal employment opportunities, the persistent wage and employment status gap leading to financial dependence or poverty, and the lack of child and eldercare support all function to reinforce this difference (Mackie, 2003; Miller, 2003).

Present in both models, the notion that (male) citizens should be financially self-supporting, not dependent on the state and therefore have a right to access full-employment, is of specific interest in this paper. It is this fundamental belief around which institutional, ideological and fiscal factors still exist to keep citizenship a gendered experience, to the advantage of males.

This investigation has been inspired by third year students in my university classes regarding some of their ideas related to gender equity. Female students often express a keen interest in work or careers after graduation but usually with the caveat "until I get married and have children". Male students often reveal they would support their future wives if they worked but would prefer them to stay home to raise their children. Students who express they do not want to follow this normative path often quickly become silent in these types of discussion. Notably, students often express beliefs about gender equality and roles but are unable to substantiate them with supportive data. Rather they rely predominantly on their perceptions and personal anecdotes. These *perceived truths* held by my students and examined in this paper are:

1. In Japan, women and men have equal access to education.
2. Gender equality ideals are a Western concept.
3. Gender equality in Japan is much better than many other countries, especially less developed countries.
4. Women chose to be stay-at-home, primary caregivers.
5. Women and men are equal citizens in Japan.

Upon inquiry, most of these students report they have not engaged in any critical analysis of gender equity issues in university classes prior to our discussions. Whether care-giving, citizenship and gender equity are part of the educational syllabus or whether they emerge authentically in classroom discussion, it is clear that students are deeply connected to these intersecting issues with the advent of graduation, job-hunting and life-style pursuits. As a foreign educator in Japan, negotiating through the highly gendered society, while trying to be culturally sensitive, is often difficult. Therefore, it is important to clarify that I do not believe that women necessarily need to be saved from the domestic sphere, nor do I advocate that all women develop a career or even work outside of their homes. However, I do believe it is essential that young people are exposed to a variety of information and taught the analytical learning tools and skills to be able to make informed decisions for themselves. This paper

explores each of the *perceived truths* held by students in my classes using data from several sources.

Do women and men have equal access to education in Japan?

Equity issues in education in Japan:
(i) Access

In Japan, Confucian beliefs had traditionally prevented women from receiving a formal education other than tasks related to domesticity (Mackie, 2003). A shift in ideology came in the Meiji period that instituted compulsory education for both genders. The subsequent 1879 reform aimed at training women to be *good wives and wise mothers* (Mackie, 2003), placing the primary value of the education of women on national and societal interests over those of the individual. There was an unabashed assumption that women should be educated to fulfill the role as educator of the next generation and in this way directly contribute to Japan's nation building.

As early as in the 1940s the enrolment rates for both girls and boys at the level of primary education to secondary reached almost one hundred percent. Presently, compulsory education in Japan comprises six years at elementary school and three years at junior high school. The percentage of students advancing into upper secondary schools is extremely high. In 2008, just over 96 percent of girls and boys advanced into upper secondary schools. However, the enrolment rates in tertiary education start to show trends more clearly related to traditional gender roles – 55.2 percent of men versus 42.6 percent of women enrolled in university undergraduate courses; 15.5 men versus 7.5 percent women enrolled in graduate school (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b, p. 38). Statistics from the 2009 Gender Statistics Database in Japan further reveal that the majority of women tend to enroll in courses related to healthcare, home economics and education. Even though the gender gap is closing in tertiary education, it begs the question whether the economic rate of return is similar for both male and female graduates.

(ii) Professional role models

The teaching profession presently in Japan guarantees the benefits of salary and retirement age and therefore is an attractive career choice to many women. Women are prominent as primary education teachers (65 percent in 2008) and then the numbers start to decline in secondary education. The national average of women employed as professors in tertiary education is a mere 11.6 percent (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b, p. 39). Moreover, the proportion of female to male teachers declines rapidly as one moves up into higher status and full-time positions - lecturers to associate professors to professors - or into positions of decision-making (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b). The unyielding lack of affirmative action programs designed to promote the hiring of women and gender-equity promotion committees in most universities, ensures the extremely low representation of women in full-time faculty and high-level decision-making positions, which has changed little in decades. The resultant absence of female role models in tertiary educational environments for young female and male students may perpetuate the idea that career women are an anomaly in Japan, as well as potentially limiting the curriculum content. As students rarely see or learn from the wisdom of female tenured or even part-time faculty, it can be imagined that female students have

difficulty envisioning themselves in such careers with prestige, power and responsibility. In the mid-90s Kameda (1995) wrote, "Integrally related to the issue of male dominance in the teaching profession is that of the role played by teachers in shaping students' attitudes and future aspirations" (p. 119). There is little in the tertiary educational system to challenge conceptions of women primarily as caregivers and positioned in the private sphere.

(iii) Teaching Gender Awareness

Although domestic science classes became compulsory after the government ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1986, the Japanese government has not adequately enforced the policy, resulting in some schools not adhering to the intended course content. According to a 2009 report by the Japan Network on Education for the Advancement of Gender Equality, in the 2006 revision of the School Education Law, gender equality in secondary education was marginalized into social studies and domestic science classes to be taught to both boys and girls. The report also cautions against reactionary trends in Japan that oppose gender equity in education, citing several examples. These include the phrase 'gender free', referring to a society without gender gaps, being banned from use by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in 2004, as well as the words 'gender' and 'comfort women' being deleted from junior and high school textbooks. The term 'gender-free' was criticized by the local government for being unclear, conjuring up negative images, and denying traditional family values, however advocates countered "the current arguments over "gender-free" and "gender" reflect a backlash against promoting sexual equality" (Nakamura & Arita, 2006). Both of these examples illuminate the various ways that gender awareness initiatives are circumvented by both educational institutions and government practice.

The movement to make education in Japan free from gender biases began in the early 90's (Kameda, 1995) but there still remains a lack of gender awareness training in teacher education programs as well as teaching materials (Miyajima, 2008). Furthermore, a search of Japanese university homepages on the Internet found that very few Japanese universities, even in departments like political science and international relations, offer more than one or two courses in gender studies. Apart from specialized courses offered in some universities, gender awareness is still not formally or widely integrated into the core curriculum. Moreover, women's studies courses are not necessarily taught by gender experts and are frequently offered on the teacher's own initiative. Fujieda and Fujimura-Fanselow (1995) further pointed out that "we cannot necessarily assume that women's studies is a form of feminism or that those who teach such courses are committed to the feminist goals of identifying oppression and promoting women's liberation, as opposed to simply teaching on the subject of women" (p.163).

Are gender equity ideals are a Western concept?

There is an argument by some that Western ideals of gender equity are not compatible with traditional Japanese values. As women, even in the same society or culture, do not suffer discrimination in a uniform way (Yuval-Davis, 1997), researchers question the cultural essentialist arguments that persist to justify gender inequity in various countries (Gelb, 2003; Phillips, 2010). Gelb (2003) stated,

> The concept of 'cultural essentialism' through 'traditionalism' is a way of manipulating and recombining cultural patterns, symbols and motifs to legitimate contemporary social realities…culture and traditions and religion are, in many cases, being used by male elites to justify the perpetuation of inequalities. (p. 37)

In fact, feminism in Japan dates back to at least the late 19th century and early 20th centuries during which several women's groups existed dedicated to improving the status of women and targeting discriminatory government policies (Kaneko, 1995; Mackie, 2003). After WWII, Japanese women received the vote and the new constitution of 1946 promised equality between the sexes.

Although the constitution guarantees equality before the law regardless of sex and other attributes such as race, creed or social status, it was not designed to regulate the discriminatory actions of private employers. Subsequently, in large part due to the participation of Japanese feminists (Miller, 2003), the Japanese government responded to the initiatives and recommendations of the United Nations to advance the status of women. The ratification of the United Nations Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) by Japan in 1985 led to some important changes in national legislation to improve the status of women such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1985, the Basic Law for a Gender-equal Society, and the Childcare and Family Care Leave Law of the late 1990's.

In addition, various types of government groups have been established, some of which issue reports on the current social and economic situation regarding gender equality. In 1994, the Hashimoto government established the Council for Gender Equality as part of several reforms. Gender equality was given greater policy weighting and was seen as "not just a pious ideal, but also an essential precondition for the attainment of other fundamental reforms urgently needed in Japan's socioeconomic system" (Osawa, 2005, p. 166).

These reports, however, have not been encouraging about the rate of positive change in Japan for women. Formulated in the late 1990's, the Gender Equality Bureau, as part of the government Cabinet Office wrote in their 2009 report that gender equality in Japan has not "shown much progress" (2009b, p. 18). As well, interim reports to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women by Japan evaluating Japan's progress in following the convention have also been less than encouraging. The 2009 report by the Japanese delegation stated that,

> progress in gender equality had been slow by international standards, despite the country's high education and development levels. Stereotypical gender roles remained deeply entrenched (CEDAW General Assembly Meeting, 2009)

Recent Japanese feminists have concentrated their activities at the local and also the transnational level (Bishop, 2002) further utilizing the United Nations' initiatives and directives to pressure the Japanese government into more concretely addressing the issue of gender equality. This can be seen in groups such as the Working Women's Network which has traveled to Geneva several times to petition and update the United Nations on what they evaluate as a more realistic view of the situation of Japanese women, as opposed to that presented by the government.

Despite the legal changes by the Japanese government, as well as the criticism and actions of Japanese feminists, several societal and structural obstacles remain in place to ensure women are situated primarily in the private sphere of citizenship. Miller (2003) summarized some of these obstacles when writing, "structural impediments such as the seniority system,

the lifelong employment system, and the M-curve pattern of employment allow companies to profit from the manipulation and curtailment of women's labor force participation" (p. 167). Japanese women have long been "deprived of benefits associated with the system of 'life-long employment" (Custers, 1997, p. 322). These obstacles will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

Is gender equality in Japan much better than many other countries, especially less developed countries?

International measures of equity

Japan ranks very high (10th in 2009) in the United Nation's Human Development Index based on data on life expectancy, education and per-capital gross domestic product, which is used as an indicator of standard of living. However, a more detailed assessment by global gender equity measurement systems show Japan as being well behind the majority of the industrialized nations as well as several developing countries. First published by the World Economic Forum in 2006, the Global Gender Gap Index is a "framework for capturing the magnitude and scope of gender-based disparities and tracking their progress" (Global Gender Gap Report, 2009, p. 3). Within the report, the index measures outcome variables related to basic rights such as health, education, economic participation and political empowerment. Economic participation and opportunity is assessed through three concepts: the participation gap, the remuneration gap and the advancement gap. In 2009, Iceland was ranked first followed by Finland, Norway, Sweden and New Zealand. Out of the 115 countries covered in the report since 2006, the Philippines remains the leading Asian country and 9th in the global rankings. In 2009, Japan ranked 101 overall out of 134 countries, is 108th in economic participation and opportunity, 110th in political empowerment and, although the highest in educational attainment, only ranked 98th in tertiary education enrolment.

   Another measurement system, the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), is a measure of inequalities between men's and women's opportunities in a country and is used by the United Nations Development Programme in its annual Human Development Report. It combines inequalities in three areas: political participation and decision-making; economic participation and decision making; and power over economic resources. In 2009, Japan was ranked 57th out of 109 countries surveyed.

The status of women in Japan

Changes in social behaviour, such as the increased number of women receiving higher education and participating in the workforce, can often give inflated impressions of the actual reality of substantial change and lead to a belief that gender equity is well on its way to being realized. In the last 20 years the percentage of women in the workforce has barely increased from 40 percent in 1988 to 41.5 percent in 2008 (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b, p. 25) and the percentage of those women in full-time employment is still well below men's. Although more and more Japanese women are being educated in universities and junior colleges only 46.4% of working women are in regular employment, compared with 80.8% of regular male employees (Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training, 2009b, p. 47). Ono's (2001) finding that on average female university graduates earned less than male high school graduates, highlights the irony.

The increasing trend since 2004 has been for the majority of women to work in non-regular forms of employment such as part-time, dispatched and limited-contract (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b, p. 11) with few opportunities for promotion, job-security or commensurate salary to male counterparts (ibid, p. 48). After taking time off for childcare, the majority of women in Japan return to some sort of part-time work.

Undertaking childcare has been identified as one of the most influential factors in disadvantaging women in workplace. The loss of human capital potential that occurs during time away for child-raising is almost impossible to recover (Kershaw, 2005). Furthermore, care and housework are seen as 'unskilled' chores, whereas men's work is viewed as skilled, generating paper qualifications which are often difficult to acquire and update for women without time or money. Although women are present and active in the part-time service sector, the skills developed there are usually awarded little value in the present human capital model.

When the government enacted the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1985, companies reacted by creating a two-track employment system funneling women into clerical work and men into promotion track employment (Kawashima, 1995). Even though a revised version of the law was put into force in 1999, women in most cases are still not given equal opportunities in promotion in comparison with men.

Despite over two decades of anti-discrimination legislation and changes in company rhetoric, Japanese women working full-time still receive 33 percent less money then their male counterparts, well below the global wage gap average of 17.6 per cent (ITUC Report, 2008). This gender discrepancy was most prominent among wage earners in the 7 million yen per year bracket (Gender Equality Bureau, 2006, p. 15), which the government has determined is the benchmark for guaranteeing an independent lifestyle. The government document reported that in 2005 only 3.4 percent of women, compared to 21.7 percent of men, earned this recommended salary, whereas 65.5 percent of female, versus 20 percent of male salaried workers earned 3 million yen or less annually (ibid, p. 15). Female regular workers earned an hourly wage that was 67.1 percent of that paid to male regular workers. Even when it came to part-time work women, who constituted 75.2 percent of that labour force, earned a mere 46.3 percent versus male part-time workers who earned 52.5 percent compared to a regular worker (Gender Equality Bureau, 2006, p. 15). This disparity leads to either financial dependence on husband or another family member, or to financial poverty.

Notwithstanding these government findings of gender disparity in employment, the changing lifestyle choices of many young women are being blamed for some of Japan's most problematized social issues. The declining marriage rate and rising marrying age in recent years is often given as a major explanation for the dropping birth rate. In popular media and in government reports the lowering birth rate, 1.37 children per woman in 2009, is portrayed as problematic in terms of the failing economy and the increasing burden on resources of an aging population. The government has reacted with monthly child allowances to encourage women to have more children. Nonetheless, Japanese women are continuing to have fewer children which economist Yuri Okina ("Japan offers cash for kids", 2010) argues is a result of the inequity of domestic duties and the country's lack of day care, both of which result in women having to suspend their employment.

Indeed, data from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2007) suggests that the reasons for lowering birthrates should not be as readily blamed on women but rather on lack of government social schemes. Japan showed a relatively small increase in birthrate from 1970 to 2000 (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009a, p. 1), whereas countries like the US, Netherlands and Norway on the other hand, had an upward rise in their birthrate. Not surprisingly, the high level of maternal and paternal leave, and a generous

system of financial benefits for families with children in Scandinavian countries have been connected to this upward trend (OECD, 2007, p. 7).

It is becoming clear that the factors which may promote a rise in birthrate are those that enable diversity in lifestyle choices such as: flexibility in working styles for both men and women; relaxing gender roles; participation of men in housework and care work responsibilities, and equity in employment opportunities (Gender Equality Bureau, 2007, p. 13). Had the Japanese government the strengths of it's convictions more would be done to introduce structural change of workplace practices; for even the Gender Equality Bureau recent summary opined that "The fact that improvement of environments to support balancing work and home life and child-rearing have not kept pace with female participation in society as employees in Japan may underlie the declining birthrate" (2009b, p. 1).

Do women chose to stay at home and caregive?
Care work

It seems from data on Japanese women`s employment cycle that many women with young children suspend their employment to stay at home and do childcare. Japan still displays the M-shaped employment curve - the first spike indicating when women enter the work force, the dip when they leave for reasons of marriage or childbirth, and then another spike when they re-enter the workforce (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b, p. 9). Even though this M-curve does not show up in most other countries, a popular belief is that Japanese women simply chose to stay home and do childcare as it is a natural, maternal instinct. This essentialist rationale of the 'motherhood instinct' has been disputed by researchers (Badinter, 1981).

Rational choice theory is often used by economists when explaining such issues of gender segregation (Blackburn, Browne, Brooks & Jarman, 2002). The basic premise is that people choose to do the things they do. However, the theory has been criticized as being a tautology, meaning that if you assume everyone is pursuing their choices then the theory brings no new information to the analysis. Thus if we believe choice is a rationale for women who choose to stay home and care for children without taking into consideration the social, political, cultural, etc. constraints that exist which may influence and formulate that 'choice', then the rationale is meaningless. So let us examine some of these constraints briefly.

A major assumption underpinning private oriented versus public oriented care systems, is the degree to which families are obligated to look after their own members. In Japan it is generally expected that care for children under the age of six, or before elementary school, is predominately a private responsibility of the parents. Pervasive traditional culture and customs insist Japanese women shoulder the burden almost entirely without the support of family or institutional support. Recent attitudes among younger men have indeed changed regarding household duties and care work (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b, p. 15), however, this unpaid domestic work has for the most part remained staunchly within the responsibility of women in Japan. Studies have shown that after marriage men nowadays do not participate equally in domestic affairs (Ishii-Kuntz, 2008) and rather perform the role of an assistant. Even in surveys where both husband and wife are full-time workers, about 75 percent of the respondents answered that the "wife mainly does household chores and husband assists her" and only about 20 percent answered they share the chores equally (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b, p. 13). It seems regardless of whether married women work outside of the home or not, men spend little time on housework, raising children, or eldercare.

Complicating the issues, Japanese women stereotypically perform femininity through childcare and housework as those are the domains which women are traditionally obligated to manage. Thus it is often difficult for them to construct an identity that is equated with

femininity that doesn't include maternity (Sodei, 1995; Mackie, 2003). Nemoto (2008) found career women sometimes feel unfeminine due to their career tracks.

A further constraint comes in the form of the government tax system which has encouraged the traditional structure of women as mothers and wives and men as breadwinners. When the secondary employed spouse's (wife's) gross income is less than ￥700,000, the primary earner is entitled to a total spousal deduction of ￥700,000. When the wife's gross income is ￥1:35 million or more, the total spousal deduction is zero (Akabayashi, 2006, p. 354), and she is classified as an independent. However, if earnings are below ￥1:35 million she can receive free pension and medical insurance Thus, the tax system plays a strong role in ensuring women stay primarily in the private sphere and Sugimoto (2003) argues that the government's tax policy basically encourages women to only work casually or on a part-time basis.

Another factor affecting choices women make is the lack of support for childcare. For example, in the 2008 UNICEF report on childcare in industrial nations, Japan scored poorly (4 out of 10) in terms of childcare services. This is not surprising since there were 25,384 children are on waiting lists for day care centers in 2009 (Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training, 2009a). Bearing this in mind, it is understandable that where there is no childcare at the work place, many women resign before they have their first child (Ikeda, 2009, p. 5).

In short, as 45 percent of mothers with small children wish to work, and this increases to 90 percent of mothers with children at junior high school or above (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009b, p. 29), it cannot be claimed that women are simply *choosing* to stay at home. Rather, as a recent editorial in the Japan Times newspaper opined "Women resigning their jobs for reasons of marriage, childbirth or childcare is a worn-out excuse for what is clearly continued discrimination against women in the workplace" ("Japan's Salary Gap", 2008).

Are women and men are equal citizens in Japan?
Gendered Citizenship: An equal experience?

Historically, men and women have had access to different rights and obligations related to citizenship. The acquisition of many essential legal rights by women over the past century has definitely equalized the citizenship of women on some levels, however many of the gendered responsibilities still persist. Traditional expectations of child and elder care, as well as of bearing children to boost the flagging birthrate, are substantial for women. Additionally, the idea that people, specifically men, have a responsibility to work in the public sphere of society and earn a wage, is often cited by my students. They believe that for men, being economically independent and not a financial burden on the state or family, is critical to effective and responsible citizenship. So how does this difference in responsibilities ensure women experience citizenship differently from, and at a disadvantage to, men in Japan?

In the social sphere, women are not able to compete equally with men in the labour market, not because they lack formal education or legal rights but primarily because of gendered domestic expectations which limit access to equality. Women or men who engage in childcare, housework and other unpaid work are not excluded as citizens per se, however they are excluded from certain social benefits due to their 'unemployed' or 'under-employed' status. Various types of social insurance schemes are in effect to at least temporarily protect citizen-workers such as unemployment insurance, pension, and worker compensation benefits based on salary earnings before the claim. The majority of women are in part-time, dispatch or contract work and are thus ineligible for insurance payments, and women who do work full-time are usually segregated into industries with low status and earnings. This results in

much lower pension or insurance payments. As well, accidents that happen during unpaid care or housework, or most part-time work rather than during salaried work, do not qualify for any type of worker's compensation. As women engaged in part-time employment or unpaid domestic work are not eligible for the full range of social benefits associated with full-time work, financial dependency on a spouse or other family members is inevitable.

In 1999, the poverty line rate was 1.9 million (Tachibanaki, 2006) and the average annual income of a single mother family in Japan was just 2.15 million yen. Ten years later, there are 1.23 million single-mother households in Japan, Health and Labor Ministry statistics show and their average annual income, government benefits included, is 2.11 million yen— which is only 40 percent of the overall household average ("Single mothers," 2010). Elderly women, especially widows make up the majority share of people living below the poverty line (Tachibanaki, 2006) and it was only in April 2007, that a Split Pension Payment law passed into Japanese legislation making women eligible for 50 percent of their spouse's pension upon divorce. Thus death, desertion or unemployment of a spouse can be financially devastating for many dependent women indeed.

Gender equity laws and movements have for the most part centered on attaining the same rights for women that men have traditionally enjoyed. However, since the social and economic systems in place still benefit and give preferential treatment to men, citizenship is ultimately gendered, to the advantage of the male citizen.

Conclusion

This paper has examined some of the connections between caregiving, citizenship and gender equity in Japan using the perceived truths believed by many of my students as a starting point. Current research and data castes suspicion upon and encourages further exploration of these commonly held ideas, and can be used by teachers to aid students in critical awareness of gender equality issues. It can be observed that although more women are attaining higher education degrees, they are still not on par with their male counterparts, either in employment status or earnings. Hence, without access to full-time employment, women's citizenship is often limited, especially in terms of financial independence and related social benefits. As many of my students are not fully aware of the implications of the current expectations and practices that restrain their life choices, critical analysis of gender issues will facilitate and empower them to make more informed life-choices. It may also inspire them to take initiative to participate in the public sphere and in the formulation of more equitable future social policy.

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Conversation with Deborah Cameron

Interview by Blake E. Hayes
Ritsumeikan University

Dr. Deborah Cameron is the editor of the seminal book *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader* (1998), which brought such diverse authors as Deborah Tannen, Robin Lakoff, Aki Uchida, Dale Spender, Luce Irigaray, and Jennifer Coates together to discuss issues such as language and culture, sexual relations and linguistics, langue, culture and power. Groundbreaking at the time, these ideas continue to be debated and built upon. Cameron is a materialist radical feminist who looks at the dynamics of conflict in gender relations. Her recent book, *The Myth of Mars and Venus: Do Men and Women Really Speak Different Languages?* debunks a lot of the pop culture conceptions of gendered language that have been put forward by others, and she does this formiddably, by linking together many strands of culture, power, science, language and gender. Cameron states that gender is not the sole determinant of language; roles play a part as well. How gender and language, which are basic to our sense of self are interconnected is intriguing and some of Cameron's thought provoking research forms the background for this interview.

Blake Hayes (BH): *Why is the study of gender and language important?*

Deborah Cameron (DC): Having a gender and speaking a language (or languages) are both very basic to our sense of who we are as human beings, so the question of how (or if) the two connect seems to me quite a profound question.

BH: *What motivated you, personally, to look at English and gender?*

DC: Feminism. I was a feminist before I was a linguist.

BH: *In your reader "The Feminist Critique of Language: Second Edition" that you edited, you briefly question whether we are coming full circle in relation to post-modernism and other theoretical underpinnings. What theories are now underpinning current discussions on gender and language, and where do you stand?*

DC: There are people publishing who are very committed to postmodernist theory and people who are strongly allied to conversation analysis, whose theoretical underpinnings come from ethnomethodology, but I think a lot of researchers are theoretically eclectic (they're not committed to one theory), or pragmatic (they'll use what works) or on the fence (they're not really that interested in theory). Some of the theoretical debates that were going on a few years ago (e.g. gender 'relativism' versus 'realism') seem to have died down more recently. I think we're in a quiet phase so far as theory is concerned. As for where I stand, I am a materialist radical feminist, and my approach (which I explain in the introduction to my 2006 book *On Language and Sexual Politics*) places particular emphasis on the dynamic of *conflict* in gender relations. In terms of the

dominance/difference duality, that puts me on the side of dominance, but just talking about male dominance is too static, you also have to pay attention to the ways in which that is negotiated, resisted and contested. Your theory has to be able to deal with the nuances of different situations or with changes in gender relations over time.

BH: *Tannen's work is widely known in Japan, perhaps contributing most strongly to popular discourse on gender and language here. At the time, the dominance/difference debate was being challenged in terms of the diversity/identity debates. Is this still true today?*

DC: I think that particular debate is over for most academic language and gender researchers, in the sense that we now take it for granted that 'women' and 'men' are internally diverse categories. The global generalizations that were once made about dominance and difference have therefore been rejected as simplistic. However, that doesn't mean there is no place at all for ideas about dominance/difference. Dominance, in particular, has made something of a comeback, with scholars like Susan U. Philips (in her contribution to the 2003 Blackwell *Handbook of Language and Gender*) asking whether we've become so fixated on questions of identity, and so enamoured of postmodernist theories about its instability, we're in danger of overlooking what should be obvious: the continuing pervasiveness in many or most societies of female subordination and exclusion, particularly from the public sphere and the kinds of language used there. That was also a theme of Judith Baxter's 2006 edited collection *Speaking Out: The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. So the dogma that you can't make any general statements about gender is being challenged; but I don't think we'll be going back to the opposite view, that

there's some common denominator uniting everyone of the same gender worldwide, and that there's one thing (dominance, difference or whatever) that explains everything about gendered linguistic behaviour.

BH: *Affective labour is strongly gendered: the norms of women's language are related to affective roles in relation to culture.*

DC: Yes, I think that is certainly true. But in relation to actual practice (as opposed to ideology) I think role has more influence than gender per se. They are connected, of course, but you can tease them apart by looking at cases where, for instance, people are doing jobs that aren't traditional for their gender. Back in the 1990s, Bonnie McElhinny published some papers about the communicative behaviour of women police officers in Pittsburgh, US. Their verbal and other self-presentation was strikingly low-affect—they didn't smile, their intonation was flat—not because they were mindlessly aping men, but because that was what they considered appropriate for the role and the work. Of course policing is a historically male role, but arguably you will never have emotionally hyper-expressive police officers no matter how many women you recruit, it just doesn't go with what policing is. Conversely, a researcher in Belfast, Joanne McDowell, recently completed a doctorate looking at the behaviour of male nurses, who are still very much a minority in their profession, and she found they were just as warm and empathetic as the women: because that too is what the work demands.

BH: *We used to assume, in Japanese, that women and men used quite different language and this lead to studies that examined how and when women contest the feminine norm. In English, we used to assume, before feminists proved otherwise,*

that the language wasn't really that gendered; this lead to studies that examined power and contextual factors. You write in The Myth of Mars and Venus, that "linguists estimate that the overlap between men and women is about 99.75%" and the differences within the gender are greater than the between the genders. So, isn't this area of research a closed book now?

DC: The statistic you quote refers specifically to overlap in men's and women's verbal *abilities*; it doesn't follow there is that much overlap in their verbal *behaviour*, because variation in behaviour can arise for all kinds of reasons. In fact there *is* a lot of overlap in men's and women's verbal behaviour, and ironically that's one of the reasons why this area of research is still important: because until people get it, it's important to go on saying, 'the two sexes are not that different—and all men/all women are not the same as each other'. However, most linguists now have abandoned the old quest for clear-cut universal male-female differences and reconceptualised what the study of language and gender is about (not what distinguishes all men from all women, but how local conditions affect the linguistic production of masculinities and femininities). In that sense the 'old' idea of what we were trying to do *is* now a closed book. Work on language and gender in Japanese is a very good example of the shift—a lot of the most interesting research looks at the tension between 'women's Japanese' as an ideological construct and the very different ways of speaking which different groups of Japanese women adopt in reality.

BH: *You also argue that we now, for possibly the first time, hold "unequivocally positive beliefs about women's ways of speaking" (p. 38). Are you talking about English-speaking countries and historically how have we "progressed" to this point and what are the implications?*

Does this give women an advantage in the business world/careers?

DC: It isn't just an Anglophone thing, though arguably it is a western thing, connected to a form of individualism which does not have the same hold in most non-western societies. The reason it has come about that we now value what used to be thought of as female linguistic qualities, like empathy and co-operation, more highly than we used to has nothing to do with feminism or women's rights. It's because of two other things: one is the way capitalism has developed over recent decades, so that teamwork skills (rather than individual leadership) and the ability to 'care' for customers are at the heart of more and more enterprises, while the other is the influence of 'therapy culture' (talking through your problems, getting in touch with your feelings, listening without judging, etc.), which is all over the media and self-help literature. We now think of a 'good' conversation as one where people share their most personal experiences and emotions, whereas 100 years ago the emphasis would have been more on expressing conventionally appropriate sentiments in a polite and decorous manner. It so happens that this idea of what's good in human interaction coincides with old ideas of what women are better at than men. However, the people most advantaged by it are not women; they are the kind of men of whom it is said that they are 'in touch with their feminine side'. In other words, they have both the decisiveness/authority associated with traditional masculinity *and* the 'emotional literacy'/empathy associated with femininity. Examples of the type include Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and Barack Obama. For a woman (as Hillary Clinton showed during the campaign for the democratic presidential nomination) the same combination is still considered threateningly 'unfeminine'.

BH: *You wrote that the lack of women in positions of power has been argued to be due to the differences in male/female styles of communication. Women are cooperative. Men are competitive. Women have trouble being decisive and dealing with conflict. You write, "While competitive men are busy blowing their own trumpets, supportive women are sharing the credit and missing out on the rewards they deserve." (p. 123). What do you mean?*

DC: Actually, I am glossing an argument made by other people—it's not what I think myself. I don't think women miss out on professional advancement because they don't use a sufficiently assertive communication style or do enough boasting. I think that's an excuse. I think women miss out (or, let's stop sugaring the pill here, are discriminated against) because they're women.

BH: *We hear of biological rationalizations for the differences in fe/male communication styles. The Malagasy people of Madagascar have long been used as an example of a culture where communication styles are gender-reversed, with men being "delicate and subtle" and women being straightforward. You also mention a New Guinea people who contradict the assumptions of fe/male gender communication patterns. While this is encouraging, in that it points to a diversity of styles for women and men, it is also problematic. It seems to confirm that no matter what women do, they are disadvantaged. Is this just because of the historical place we are in right now, looking through a lens where women are generally subordinated and that there actually are examples of language usage from the past can confirm that women have not always been, and therefore are not intrinsically subordinate?*

DC: As a feminist I would actually agree that 'no matter what they do, women are disadvantaged'—I know of no culture in which there is not some degree of male dominance and female subordination (though exactly what degree is variable). Feminists really are fighting for a kind of arrangement between the sexes which has not existed previously in history (one which is neither horrendously unequal nor egalitarian in the traditional anthropological sense where women and men interact on a more reciprocal basis, but there is still a strictly observed sexual division of labour). I certainly see that as a challenge, but just because something has not existed in the past does not make it unthinkable as a future possibility. One of the pre-conditions for the feminist advances of the last 50 years was for women to achieve a high degree of control over their own fertility, neither needing (for economic reasons) nor being obliged (for social/technological reasons) to spend their most productive years of life continuously pregnant or caring for infants. 200 years ago that would have sounded like science fiction.

BH: *How has this knowledge base of feminist sociolinguists benefited and complicated your professional and personal life? How do you deal with the silencing/self-silencing or self-editing that comes with conceptualizing interactions through a feminist lens?*

DC: If by 'how does it complicate my personal life' you mean, does being a feminist linguist mean I go round analysing the sexual politics of every random conversation I have with family or friends—and if by 'how does it benefit my life' you mean 'and do my analytic skills allow me to win every argument—then the answers are no and no.

DC: On your second point, I don't feel that I have been silenced myself: I feel that through becoming educated and then becoming an academic I ended up in the privileged position (a rare one for a

woman, even now) of having not just the opportunity to develop my views and the freedom to express them, but a platform to communicate them where they might have some wider influence. Language is both liberating and limiting (in the sense that there are always social constraints on how you can use it and what you can use it to communicate), but my own feminism does put the emphasis on the 'liberating' side, the side that says: women don't have to be

silent, they can speak and demand to be heard. Because that has been my own story.

BH: *Where do you go from here? What are your current research interests?*

DC: I'm not going anywhere: there's plenty still to say about the subjects I've been interested in up till now.

*Reprinted

BH: *Recently, in a discussion I was having with a friend who is the dean of a large Women's Studies Department in Canada, we pondered the recent developments that we are now back to discussions of gender and biology/essentialism. How has this development occurred and what do you make of it?*

DC: I don't think there's just one reason why it has occurred, though I agree it's a very striking development. Part of it is about changing intellectual fashions: the excitement generated by new advances in life sciences—especially genetics and neuroscience—and the more general 'Darwinian turn' in social sciences. Evolution/natural selection has become far more important in the stories we tell to make sense of ourselves, our history and our place in the world; as well as reflecting the changes in our self-perception which are happening because of things like the decoding of the human genome, I think the return to a kind of biological determinism may have something to do with the postmodernist abandonment of earlier 'grand narratives' which did a similar job (particularly Marxist or historical materialist ones). We can't easily do without these big stories, and it's not entirely surprising that the Darwinian story has emerged as the one that seems most suited to fill the gap—it can be seen to rest on solid scientific foundations and not to

carry too much ideological baggage. In relation to sex/gender, though, it actually carries a lot of ideological baggage, and I think that too has contributed to its popularity both academically and in the wider culture. It's a story for conservative times, dressing up very traditional certainties in new scientific language for an era when there is no mass feminist movement any more, and quite a lot of uncertainty, anxiety and disillusionment about the legacy of second-wave feminism. So there's a political backlash element to it as well.

BH: *Affective labour is strongly gendered: the norms of women's language are related to affective roles in relation to culture.*

DC: Yes, I think that is certainly true. But in relation to actual practice (as opposed to ideology) I think role has more influence than gender per se. They are connected, of course, but you can tease them apart by looking at cases where, for instance, people are doing jobs that aren't traditional for their gender. Back in the 1990s, Bonnie McElhinny published some papers about the communicative behaviour of women police officers in Pittsburgh, US. Their verbal and other self-presentation was strikingly low-affect—they didn't smile, their intonation was flat—not because they were mindlessly apeing men,

but because that was what they considered appropriate for the role and the work. Of course policing is a historically male role, but arguably you will never have emotionally hyper-expressive police officers no matter how many women you recruit, it just doesn't go with what policing is. Conversely, a researcher in Belfast, Joanne McDowell, recently completed a doctorate looking at the behaviour of male nurses, who are still very much a minority in their profession, and she found they were just as warm and empathetic as the women: because that too is what the work demands.

BH: *Tannen's work is widely known in Japan/ Her work on same-sex, culturally homogeneous communication has been criticized when applied to male-female understanding. Uchida, for example, proposed cross-cultural and intercultural communication, suggesting the importance of distinguishing these and the necessity of including issues of power. How has this discussion progressed and where does it stand now?*

DC: I always felt that Aki Uchida made a very important intervention in that discussion: as far as I was concerned she was right and the argument was closed! I'm not sure anyone has improved on her contribution since, though there have been some interesting developments within applied linguistics looking at gendered communication across cultural differences and in multilingual situations (the work of Aneta Pavlenko, for instance, and Ingrid Piller and Kimie Takahashi).

BH: *You mention in "The Myth of Mars and Venus" that power is an important influence on women's and men's use of language. You wrote, "Rather than being treated unequally because they are different, men and women may become different because they are treated unequally" (p. 12).*

Yes, I think power comes first, and of course it affects your behaviour if you belong to a dominant or a subordinate group.

BH: *In English, refusals can be direct or indirect, using silent pauses, hedges and softeners (I'd love to, but...). Yet, it is argued that it is socially plausible to plead ignorance to intent when it comes to women refusing sex. How is language linked to coercive sexuality? I think about this in terms of our students who feel culpable when they are coerced by senior students, Japanese and western professors, and teachers who take advantage of Japanese refusals that usually don't contain the word no.*

DC: Well, what you've just told me is that it isn't actually believable to plead ignorance in either English or Japanese. If indirectness is the norm for refusals in a particular language, then no one who speaks that language can plausibly claim not to understand indirect refusals. Just because the context is sexual doesn't make it some special case where the normal rules of interaction don't apply.

BH: *Japan has the lowest percentage of immigrants and expatriate workers of any advanced industrialized nation, about 1% of the population, but since the 1990s permanent migrant communities have been increasing. We can no longer assume that Japan has a common language, which has increased the importance of the role of English. How do we deal with the language-teaching of gender-inclusive language without resorting to the "non-sexist guidelines" and "gender-inclusive handbooks" that are so problematic because they don't deal with issues of power and context?*

DC: Not everything in those handbooks is problematic. If I were teaching academic writing in English to humanities and social science students I would certainly advise

them not to use the generic masculine pronoun *he/him/his* for sex-indefinite or inclusive reference. Gender-neutral alternatives are so much the norm in humanities and social science disciplines, generic masculines look old-fashioned as well as sexist. I would also have no problem telling students that *firefighter* is now preferred to *fireman*. It is. But where there isn't consensus, you've got an excellent opportunity to teach language learners, especially those with advanced proficiency, a more general lesson about the non-neutrality of meaning and the importance of choice, by presenting them upfront with a range of the alternatives now found in English and discussing the reasons (both contextual and political/ideological) why there is variation. Give them the means to make their own choices.

BH: *Change in the amount of media reporting on human rights issues and the ensuing policy and legal changes have been possible partly because of the changes in an understanding that "women's rights are human rights". In Japan, local discourses, which made taboo topics sound more "delicate", have recently been reframed in international terms of human rights issues. The term sexual harassment replaced the former "unpleasant sexual experiences"; military sexual slavery replaced "comfort women"; sexual health and freedom replaced "a problem of morality"; domestic violence replaced "marital disputes"; the Elimination of Violence against Women Week replaced "the Purification of Social Moral Environment Campaign"; and child prostitution and pornography replaced "assisted entertainment". Language impacts how we conceptualize social issues. These terms did not exist in Japanese in the 1980s. They were treated with silence in academia and public policy, and only started to be addressed in the 1990s, partially from the influence of transnational feminism and international treaties on women's rights. The influence of terminology has been profound in conceptualizing social issues.*

DC: The examples you give from Japan are very interesting. And terminology does matter, but actually what matters more is the global dissemination of information and ideas which it is now very difficult for any democratic society not to engage with. I was talking recently to an American who used to work in Saudi Arabia, which is not a democracy, and the ruling authorities do try very hard to prevent their citizens coming into contact with global discourses on women's rights as human rights (actually they are not that keen on human rights in general). She told me about a rather innocuous film show she used to give in schools and colleges about the US, there was a slide showing the first woman general in the US army, in uniform with men saluting her. When she showed it in all-female institutions there was always an intake of breath, and quite frequently the authorities didn't let her show it in all-female institutions. In this case it was the visual image they were trying to censor directly, but any talk about that visual image would have called for the use of certain words to explain certain concepts. Vocabulary gets imported along with ideas—it's a whole conceptual/linguistic package. The words would not be any use, or threat, without the ideas. And conversely, ideas can change the value of the words without necessarily replacing them. For instance, there have been some extremely radical feminist campaigns fronted by Korean women, which did use the term 'comfort women', but always in a way that challenged the 'delicate' connotations of the phrase and emphasized the reality it referred to, forced prostitution in wartime.

BH: *What is your current research about and what will you be talking about at the IGALA conference in Tokyo?*

DC: Now we have come full circle back to your first question. Recently I have been reading evolutionary science and neuroscience in an effort to get to grips with the return of biological essentialism, and develop a sociolinguistic feminist critique of it which is not just dogmatically opposed to the whole idea of biological sex differences, or based on total ignorance about recent scientific discussions. I'll be talking about that in Tokyo.

*The following part of the interview first appeared in the JALT Language Teacher publication 34 (4,) July/August, 2010 pages 53-56 and is reprinted here with kind permission from the TLT editors.

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Book Reviews

Hybrid Identities and Adolescent Girls: Being 'Half' in Japan
Laurel D. Kamada. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 2010. xix, 258 pp

Reviewed by Gwyn Helverson
Kyoto Sangyo University

A Japanese girl noted with disgust that during play in elementary school, her classmates targeted her and said, "*gaijin* (foreigner) dodge the ball."[1]

"yeah, it's just totally shocking looking in the mirror," said another about being born and raised in Japan, having a Japanese identity, but realizing that she does not 'look' Japanese in her homeland because one of her parents is Caucasian.

Laurel D. Kamada, Senior Lecturer at Tohoku University (Applied Linguistics PhD), spent several years analyzing the rarely-heard voices of these girls in her book *Hybrid Identities and Adolescent Girls. Being 'Half' in Japan.* Kamada utilizes DP (Discursive Psychology) and FPDA (Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis) to deconstruct their conversations, and in doing so, succeeds in revealing "how people are simultaneously gendered, raced and classed" in contemporary Japanese society.

Kamada begins her book by contrasting Japan's dominant discourse of homogeneity with discourses of diversity imported since the Meiji Era. She then focuses on the conversations of the six girls, who grew from age 12 to 15 during this research, were all middle-class, half-Japanese, half-Caucasian, and attended Japanese schools, but possessed varying degrees of English proficiency and international experience. Despite being an atypical minority, in elementary school they feel and act Japanese. They also fear *hamideru*, or sticking out as different, from being visibly *haafu* (half, or half-Japanese and half-Other), stating that while anyone who does not conform is bullied, *haafu* boys suffer more in the form of physical violence. Kamada adds that the domestic discourse of racial purity, which marginalizes all *haafu* children, resembles racial superiority discourses applied by the West to justify colonization and slavery.

These *daburu* (double, bicultural, or both Japanese and Other) girls are then ascribed agency; they are said to embrace multiculturalism in junior high school so that they can "expand" their futures via access to the high status of English-speaking, white, superpower nations. Some of the girls engage in "Englishing" themselves by; for example, proudly reading and discussing English-language literature. Since acceptance and popularity, closely related to appearance, are "paramount" to adolescents, adopting a discourse of foreign attractiveness helps them come to feel confident about physical features such as their *"hori ga fukaii"* (nicely-sculpted Western) faces. Kamada states; however, that beauty ideals causes *daburu*s distress since they must now be "cute" in Japanese style and "sexy" in Western style at the same time.

Kamada's copious research on hybridity/ethnicity has until now focused mostly on boys. The similarities in the *daburu* childrens' conversations leads the author to conclude that hybridity, not gender, may be the "more salient" factor in negotiating identity. Kamada's analysis of Japanese discourses is solid and convincing, and interpreted in a positive manner. As she has noted, in other FPDA studies, contradictory discourses are said to further constrict

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[1] Quotes from study subjects are taken from the text as is.

girls' behavior. Necessity, in the form of external political circumstances, forces girls to conform to double the number of societal rules (pun intended) in later developing bi-cultural personas. Yet in this research, the girls are not seen as having to internalize their 'Otherness' to survive, they are applauded for their "chameleon"-like ability to "negotiate multiple identities" as "a vital means of….strength." Kamada concludes with the hope that Japan will develop into a society in which all multi-ethnic children are accepted and appreciated. Unfortunately, describing this admirable goal as Japan becoming more "socially developed" along Western lines rings of the superiority discourses which Kamada has in fact critiqued throughout her book.

    The Japanese part of the girls' identities was "unremarkable and ordinary" to them when they were living in Japan, while their Western part was seen as exotic. Now that some of these *haafu/daburu*s are pursuing educational and career paths overseas, what are their experiences? Kamada notes that in many non-Japanese cultures, women are objectified as the sum of their physical parts. Japanese culture is also exoticized, with Japanese females subjected to specific biases. Therefore, it is hoped that Kamada will expand upon this important contribution to the field with further research into how these adult female *daburu*s negotiate contradictory discourses both in Japan and abroad.

Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods.
Pamela Moss (Ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell. 2002. 288pp

Reviewed by Kim Bradford-Watts
Kyoto Women's University

> Paying close attention to how ideas about feminism, power, knowledge, and context play out when undertaking the research itself and engaging particular research methods are part and parcel to doing feminist research. Without a continuation of thinking through these issues, the work going into designing a feminist research project might be lost. (Moss, in Moss (Ed.), 2002, p. 9).

When I bought this book, I didn't dream that I would be reviewing it for a JALT- related journal. I thought I would be reading a roundup of recent research in feminist geography, an area of personal interest. However, although this collection of papers does provide some indication as to what and how feminist research is being conducted in geography, it offers so much more. In fact, Mary Gilmartin suggests that "… even though disciplines build barriers and claim territory as their own, we don't have to accept these definitions. We are free to discover; though we often need support as we set out on this journey" (p. 32).

    The most valuable points of this volume are that it a) discusses how research projects have been approached and the challenges encountered in undertaking such feminist research, b) questions how successful such research has been, and c) (probably unintended) for researchers in other fields, it offers possibilities of expanding feminist research into considering questions related to "the intersection between the places we inhabit and the identities we assume" (Gilmartin, p. 39).

The book is organized into three sections: "Taking on Feminist Research," "Thinking about Feminist Research," and "Doing Feminist Research." Each section begins with reflections or insights from meetings and discussions about the submissions by group members of the Feminist Pedagogy Working Group (composed primarily of undergraduate and postgraduate geography students based in Victoria, BC, Canada) who then collaboratively created the section introductions.

These introductory chapters are each followed by a short piece illustrating issues within the section. For example, in "Short 2," Liz Bondi discusses the contradictions encountered and compromises made when *Gender, Place, and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* was founded, allowing the reader to "look into the minds" of the editors and understand the issues they faced and the choices which they eventually made. Shorts 1 and 3 similarly offer insights into issues that researchers have actually encountered in their work. The reader is privy to the intricacies inherent in the process of feminist research, and herein lays the value: By working through decisions with the researchers and understanding their choices, we learn.

The chapters that follow the shorts in each section offer valuable insight into the various stages involved in the process of feminist research. For example, in the first essay of Part 1, Gilmartin discusses how her studies in Literature and Geography shaped the development of her approaches to research in Geography. Meghan Cope then writes about "Feminist epistemology in Geography," or the "theory of knowledge with specific reference to the limits and validity of knowledge" (p. 42), and indicates how a feminist epistemology influences the formation of research questions, collection of data, choice of methods, the analysis and interpretation of data, and the representation of results of the research. In the third essay in Part 1, Louise C. Johnson outlines her research into unemployed women in an Australian region, concluding that although gender has clearly shaped these women's educational and employment choices, other factors—such as ethnicity, disability, and age—may be shaping their employment histories. In reflecting on her research, Johnson cautions that the choices made at each stage of the research process as a feminist researcher have the potential to predetermine the outcome of a study. However, she also suggests that an individual's "postmodern story of multiple identities and oppressions" may better be "be apprehended by a researcher with multiple identities as a socialist, postmodernist, and feminist" (p. 70). The essays in Parts 2 and 3 similarly outline issues and practice in a wide range of research contexts.

Concluding most chapters is a short "Research tips" box, useful as a reminder about doing feminist research. The research tips in Part 1 cover data sources, maintaining a research journal, and gaining access to research participants. At the conclusion of Parts 1, 2, & 3, study material has been provided, including key words, questions, engaged exercises, and suggested further reading. The provision of this section allows the volume to be used as a text, but may also be used by individual researchers for reflection on the issues raised.

I found this book to be a wonderful collection of papers in which researchers share their insights into, and experiences of, thinking about and doing feminist research.

Gender and Human Rights Politics in Japan: Global Norms and Domestic Networks. Jennifer Chan-Tiberghien. California: Stanford University Press. 2004. 240 pp

Review by Blake E. Hayes
Ritsumeikan University

Education is not often positioned as the driving force for political change, but Chan-Tiberghien (2004) successfully argues that civil society has been instrumental in educating the general public and the Japanese government on human rights issues. For those of us living in Japan who have been frustrated with the slow pace of change on issues of internationalization, the author suggests that Japan, which rarely uses demonstrations or public protests as civil actions, is succeeding, nonetheless, through civil society, to educate on sexual harassment, reproductive health and freedom, military sexual slavery, the rights of children and child prostitution and pornography, and domestic violence. These ongoing educational efforts have greatly contributed to policy changes.

Constructivism underpins this international relations examination and posits that Japan is an *embedded network state*, in other words, civil society networks are an important part of the process of political change. It is proposed that the individual in civil society, versus the bureaucracy-interest group alignment, is instrumental in advancing human rights in Japan. Three mechanisms of norm diffusion are used to explain the legal changes of the 1990s: reframing of issues, and "local advocacy education, and leverage politics through alliance with key domestic politicians" (p. 119). The failures around minority rights issues are explicated by the lack of specific global frameworks that only came into existence at the more recent World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance (WCAR-2001).

Chan-Tiberghien provides invaluable detail on the history of gender and human rights issues in Japan and the changes since the 1990s. Before the 1990s, little progress was made on these issues. However, significant progress began with the successive world conferences in the 1990s on human rights, women's rights, children's rights, population, and social development. The global women's movement's discourses produced a paradigm shift; women's rights were human rights. On human rights issues, Chan-Tiberghien argues that Japanese political culture has been primarily influenced by transnational social movements through grassroots education, by civil society, by groups such as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), non-profit organizations (NPOs) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs).

Through transnational networking, Japanese feminists were able to articulate issues such as sexual harassment, domestic violence, sexual slavery and sexual exploitation, as equivalent terms had not existed in Japanese. According to the author, these were taboo topics and absent from academic and public policy debate, though the early temperance movements and pioneering feminists such as Hiratsuka Raicho and Ichikawa Fusae, at the turn of the last century, campaigned against domestic violence. Change in the amount of media reporting on human rights issues and the ensuing policy and legal changes have been possible partly because of the changes in an understanding that "women's rights are human rights". Additionally, local discourses, which made taboo topics such as domestic violence, child prostitution, and sexual harassment sound more "delicate", were reframed in international terms of human rights issues.

Change in the amount of media reporting on human rights issues and the ensuing policy and legal changes have been possible partly because of the changes in an understanding that

"women's rights are human rights". Additionally, local discourses, which made taboo topics sound more "delicate", were reframed in international terms of human rights issues. The term sexual harassment replaced the former "unpleasant sexual experiences"; military sexual slavery replaced "comfort women"; the pill and sexual health and freedom replaced "a problem of morality"; domestic violence replaced "marital disputes"; and child prostitution and pornography replaced "assisted entertainment".

Despite the clarification of euphemisms concealing racial and sexual exploitation, Japan is still a prostitution culture - the big business of the sex industry is legal and regulated through the Regulatory Law on Adult Entertainment Businesses; Asian sex tours flourished in the 1970s; Japanyuki san or migrant workers in the "entertainment" business in the 1980s; and enjo kosai or child prostitution in the 1990s. Laws to prohibit prostitution have not succeeded and have been termed "*nanzan*" or a difficult delivery by women's groups. Chan-Tiberghien argues that changes have occurred more slowly in areas that are problematized by the intersection of race and gender in Japan, such as sexual slavery, child pornography and child prostitution, migrant workers, minority groups, as well as military sexual slavery.

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), ratified by Japan in 1995, "did little to change the legal recognition and protection of Burakumin, Ainu, Okinawans, Koreans, and migrant workers" (p. 9). This is a result of the "limited impact of global norms regarding minority rights" within Japan. However, there is a glimmer of hope. The UN convention on indigenous and migrant rights, the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families came into effect in 2003, and the later ratification may mean that it is only a matter of time before discursive and legal changes explode in Japan. If the changes brought about by transnational movements have been and are continuing to be effective for women's rights, it may not be long before transnational affects on racial and minority rights to begin to appear.

It is beyond the scope of this research to address the degree to which discursive and legal changes have created or will create substantive improvements. In fact, one could argue that there is the danger of civil interest groups, such as feminist groups, being assimilated into the government machinery of evidence-based social change, diverting activism away from grassroots methods of social change. However, the researcher's arguments are compelling, thought provoking, and highly relevant. It may just be a matter of time before substantive changes are borne of the discursive changes so succinctly outlined in Chan-Tiberghien's research.