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Language Education
Special Interest Group
of the
Japan Association for Language Teaching

Volume 14 ♦ January 2022

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Editorial Foreword

For years in my content-based English classes at university, students would initially react to discussions on diversity-related issues with blunt dismissal. These are actual quotes: “There is no discrimination in Japan.” “Japan is a monoculture.” “LGBT are just selfish people who need to grow up.” “Women who don’t marry and have children are unnatural.” However, from last year, students began to discuss such issues in a nuanced manner which seems to indicate major shifts in both awareness and attitude. “My mother said she was forced to quit her job when she got pregnant,” wrote multiple students, with one young woman adding to their personal story, “She’s glad I’ll be able to become a doctor.” Numerous others supported the legalization of same-sex marriage. One student described how their friend in elementary school was “a *daburu*” [biracial person, or lit. “double”] and no one noticed, but then in junior high school, he was bullied. They wondered how he feels about that now, writing, “I feel very sorry.” My students’ insights have at times been quite poignant, and it is hoped that you, too, have been witness to similarly astounding shifts.

2021 has nonetheless been a challenging year. At press time, it is not known whether the omicron variant will set the world a few steps back again, or whether it is a minor hurdle around which we can maneuver. It is certain, however, that the combination of discriminatory systems with this unusual strain is causing feminized poverty to increase. Authoritarian regimes around the world continue to persecute persons who do not adhere to their particular versions of sexist and heterosexist gendered ideologies. In the US, women’s legal right to reproductive freedom seems soon to be destroyed.

Nonetheless, this year has been promising in other ways. The array of speakers at JALT’s 2021 online national conference was strikingly diverse. Despite the irony of a plenary talk on privilege by a female professor being interrupted by a male in the Zoom audience, there were, in fact, many excellent presentations: on ELF, activism, creating online communities for learning, and more. Around the globe, scientific researchers, art directors (such as Daisuke Tsuda of the Aichi Art Triennale), and megastars (including actor Benedict Cumberbatch) have made good on their pledges to only participate in events with equal representation and/or equal pay. The efforts of gender rights activists are having tangible effects, and, perhaps, 2022 can be yet another year of positive change.

Volume 14 of the journal includes four full-length papers and nine book reviews which aim to be a part of this sea-change. In the first paper, “Shining under the Glass Ceiling: How Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party’s Josei Kyoku (Women’s Affairs Division) Keeps Women in their Place,” author Antonija Cavcic deftly employs Critical Discourse Analysis and text mining to dissect the language used by the LDP in its pro-natalist PR materials which have been designed, supposedly, to address the needs of Japanese women and encourage their participation in politics. The contents of these materials are sometimes so absurd as to make a reader laugh out loud in disbelief: Alongside an abundance of pink hearts, catchphrases encourage women to “make Japan smile more” [この国にもっと

笑顔を！], as if that is women's responsibility and is somehow the solution to women's lack of representation in Japan's political arena.

For their paper entitled "Foreign Working Mothers and Support Received," Lauren Landsberry and Tenesha Kanai have interviewed non-Japanese parents in Japan, mostly English-speaking wives in heterosexual relationships, to reveal the barriers they face. In addition to language and cultural support, childcare and parental leave are solutions which could have immediate impact on improving conditions. (However, it must be noted that these two solutions are unfortunately not being promoted in the PR materials analyzed in the previously mentioned paper.) Landsberry and Kanai's data also sheds light on the rigidity and inherent inequality of traditionally gendered roles in heterosexual relationships: One parent, the working mother, seemingly must ask the other for help and be grateful if they comply.

Both papers depict all too clearly how mainstream societal structures are designed to force women into one-dimensional roles inside the home, when the reality in Japan is vastly more diverse. For example, as Landsberry and Kanai relate, non-Japanese same-sex couples face different struggles when raising their children here, both legal ones such as work visa issues, and cultural ones. Will Japan publicly embrace diversity as a strength rather than continually attempting to, at the least, ignore its existence, and at the worst, quash it? Perhaps.

In "An Introduction to the Japan Association for Language Teaching's Code of Conduct," authors Tanja McCandie, Eleanor Smith, and Brent Simmonds describe persistent efforts to create a code of conduct which can protect and thereby nurture all members of the JALT community. As the authors explain, a system exists to deal with discrimination in any form, yet "fear of being blacklisted for employment, fear of being blamed, fear of being perceived as sensitive, and fear of retaliation" sometimes halt the process of resolution before it can even begin. Indeed, this theme of retaliation, feared or actual, also appears the research in the Landsberry and Kanai paper: A working parent may not be able to take the parental leave to which they are legally entitled without negative repercussions upon their career. In addition, in the next paper, "Gender and the Rhetoric of Waste: An Intersectional Approach," author Gerry Yokota analyzes rhetoric in films in which characters rebelling against class and gender discrimination often suffer harsh consequences. Yokota eloquently describes "the indomitable spirit of characters who had once been subject to the disempowering rhetoric of waste," yet who persevere.

Academic book reviews in this volume include *Language Teacher Recognition: Narratives of Filipino English Teachers* by Alison Stewart, reviewed by Carey Finn and Allison Shearer. The reviewers note that Stewart employs recognition theory effectively, in which the act of (mis)recognizing is "an act of power" in and of itself. Nine Filipino teachers in Japan were interviewed about the discrimination they have faced, including native speakerism, throughout their careers. Filipino English Teachers in

Japan (FETJ) is lauded by both the author and reviewers as an organization dedicated to fair representation.

In her review of *The Psychological Experience of Integrating Content and Language* (Kyle Read Talbot, Marie-Theres Gruber, and Rieko Nishida, Eds.), Susan Pavloska notes that European CLIL and so-called soft CLIL in Japan are quite different: Here, as part of MEXT's attempt to prepare students to succeed in a globalizing world, English Medium Instruction (EMI) and soft CLIL classes are increasing at universities. Nishida (Ed.) describes the Japanese university context in her article and Pavloska concurs with her own experience of teaching a gender studies module that soft CLIL in Japan is "intrinsically motivating" for students.

Intercultural Families and Schooling in Japan: Experiences, Issues, and Challenges (edited by Melodie Lorie Cook and Louise George Kittaka) is reviewed by Sara Schipper. Described as "inspirational," this significant selection of articles by non-Japanese parents on "the Japanese school system and the place of children from intercultural families within it" are predominantly based on qualitative research, and in particular, ethnography. Attempts at multilingualism and multiculturalism described therein illuminate cultural assumptions and biases on all sides, and ultimately indicate that progress is occurring.

Other books under review encompass the topics of activism, autobiography, and literature. In their review of *Daughter of a Samurai* (E. I. Sugimoto), Yusuke and Lucinda Okuyama intriguingly focus on a feminist re-interpretation of the autobiography of Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto, who was "born to a high-ranking samurai in Echigo province of Japan in 1874." Sugimoto later emigrated to the US to become a sort of cultural ambassador who grappled with major issues of the times such as "immigration, forced marriage and racism" and in particular, attempted to "critique the discriminatory [US] government policies" towards Asian immigrants of that era. It is an intriguing review of a fascinating book by a feminist pioneer.

Susan Laura Sullivan commends 20 writers whose "blood is boiling" in her review of *Women of a Certain Rage* (Liz Byrski, Ed.). Despite the diverse life experiences of the contributors (from Aboriginal Australian to refugee to x-gender, and various other backgrounds), "common themes" of "nullification, oppression, and the absence of representation" are evident. Sullivan describes a parallel: "acts of erasure and erosion" which "might unwittingly occur" in our classrooms in Japan, particularly regarding non-native speakers losing their "voice." Sullivan insightfully analyses how one of the writers, McKinlay, felt powerless because of the sudden loss of her "voice" as an exchange student in Japan. Paradoxically, as explained in the Schipper review of Cook and Kittaka's *Intercultural Families*, students from multicultural families who are in fact fluent in Japanese sometimes find themselves silenced here because of assumptions made about them and their abilities.

Mikki Kendall attempts to jolt privileged, middle-class white women out of complacency and into action with her book, *Hood Feminism: Notes from the Women White Feminists Forgot*. Reviewer

Antonija Cavcic is dismayed at realizing the degrees and types of oppression faced by Black women in the US, and brainstorms ways to truly be an ally. This data-packed book is a must-read.

Winnifred Lewis Shiraishi muses on the novel *If I Had Your Face* by Frances Cha, an acclaimed best-seller which employs the technique of multiple narratives to depict the desperation of young South Korean women attempting to survive in an extremely gendered and competitive society. In contrast, *Circe* (Madeline Miller) is a novel about breaking the bonds of gendered expectation. Reviewer Eleanor Smith places the novel firmly into both literary and gender studies genres. *Circe*, a ‘witch’ who turns men into pigs and who entraps Odysseus on her island, disrupting his homeward bound journey in the classic *The Odyssey*, is now the protagonist of her own story. Smith notes how *Circe*’s “deeply embedded learned obedience” in her youth fuels her later struggle for independence.

What happened to the characters in *If I Had Your Face* when they left youth for adulthood, one must wonder? Did they find their “voices” as Sugimoto and the fictional *Circe* have done? The pertinence of Kendall’s call for action in the previously mentioned *Hood Feminisms* resonates far beyond its intended US audience. When is “voice” just another expression of privilege? Can those whose “voices” are readily acknowledged do better for those whose voices are not?

It seems appropriate to end this edition of the journal with Kathryn Tanaka’s exemplary review of the massive tome, *The Routledge Companion to Gender and Japanese Culture* (edited by Jennifer Coates, Lucy Fraser, and Mark Pendleton). Tanaka describes this book as “an absolute must have for anyone interested in Gender and Japan” because of its success at documenting micro-changes in Japan alongside “seismic shifts” around the world. In doing so, the book avoids “conflating ‘gender’ with ‘women,’ ‘minority,’ or ‘disempowered,’” and instead envisions a variety of hopeful and compelling “new futures.”

Indeed, diversity already exists in Japan. It has always existed, here and beyond. There is certainly a great deal to smile about: So much is actually being done. As evident in the works by these authors, rights are being protected, efforts are being lauded, and voices are being heard.

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Shining Under the Glass Ceiling: How Japan's Liberal Democratic Party's *Josei Kyoku* (Women's Affairs Division) Keeps Women in Their Place

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Abstract

In 1955, Japan's Liberal Democratic Party's Women's Affairs Division was founded as a means to communicate about party affairs with its female supporters. Over 65 years later, the division still exists and arguably for the same purpose—to propagate the party's conservative beliefs under the guise of a network of women who are supposedly encouraging other women to “shine.” To what extent does the Women's Affairs Division genuinely embrace diversity and encourage women's participation in the workplace and politics? In this paper, I reveal the findings of a critical discourse analysis of the Women's Affairs Division's official website and PR activities to demonstrate how the division's efforts to support women instead reinforce conservative, pro-natalist ideology, and ironically “keep women in their place.”

Keywords: female politicians, politics in Japan, pro-natalist PR, gender studies

概要

1955年、自由民主党に政党と女性支持者たちの架け橋となるべく、女性局が創設された。すでに設立から65年以上が経過したが、そこで論じられている課題、すなわち、世間一般の女性達をサポートし、より良い未来に導いている女性支持者達を通していかに同政党の保守的な政策を宣伝していくかという事は相変わらず同じである。女性局は、社会の多様性と、職場/政治への女性進出を推し進めようとしている。しかし本論文では、女性局の公式サイトに掲載されている談話を分析することで見いだした新たな結果を論じる。公式サイトでは、女性局は女性の社会進出を進めサポートしているかのように読めるが、その実情はそれとは異なる。女性局は保守的な考えと[出生促進主義]のイデオロギーを持ち、皮肉にも「女性を家庭内に押し戻そう」としている事が公式サイトから読み取れる。

キーワード：女性政治家、日本の政治、出産促進者のPR、ジェンダースタディーズ

With consistently poor results in annual gender equality reports as well as within the context of raising awareness of SDGs (sustainable development goals) in Japan, it is reasonable to suggest that gender equality goals should be one of Japan's top priorities. Data has shown that economies and companies which best harness female talent are the most productive, innovative and prosperous, but in 2018, women in Japan held only about 15% of management-level roles, while in the US and UK, the share exceeded 35% (Pesek, 2020). This is even after the Abe administration introduced “Womenomics” in 2013, which intended to “create an environment in which women find it comfortable to work and enhance opportunities for women to work and to be active” (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2013). In 2021, women still earn 73% of that which men earn. In addition, in trying to save

face regarding claims of ongoing sexism, the coalition suggested that only five female members of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) could observe all-male key meetings on the condition that they did not speak (*Japan's LDP Party Invites*, 2021). With female MPs making up only 9.9% of the lower cabinet and the international average sitting at 25.1% (McCurry, 2020), it seems that the issue will not likely be solved without implementing a quota system or introducing similar policies. Perhaps in an attempt to appeal as a party which is trying to improve or embrace diversity, the LDP bolstered the “Liberal Democratic Women’s Affairs Division” (自民党女性局). However, to what extent does the division genuinely embrace diversity and encourage women’s participation in the workplace and politics? In this paper, I reveal the findings of a critical discourse analysis of the Women’s Affairs Division’s official website and PR activities to demonstrate how the division’s efforts in actuality reinforce conservative, pro-natalist ideology, and hinder progress.

Background

Anyone familiar with Japanese postwar history or politics will know that the conservative-leaning Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has been predominant in Japanese politics since its formation in 1955 and has led the government for more than 90 percent of its lifetime (except for two short breaks in 1993–1994 and 2009–2012, Umeda, 2018). After the longest serving LDP prime minister, Shinzō Abe, stepped down in 2020, two perfectly capable ministers aspiring to become Japan’s first female prime minister were left dejected when three male candidates made the short list instead. As scholar Emma Dalton (2015) has noted, “despite the removal of legal barriers to female political participation, women’s entrance—into electoral politics at least—is something that stands out simply because women are still a numerical minority” (p. 1). While many factors contribute to this low participation rate, it has been argued that “perhaps it is not women who are uninterested in politics, but politics that is uninterested in women” (Oyama, 2003, pp. 269–270). This is evident in the fact that the LDP has never elected a woman as its president in its entire 65-year history. Journalists summarized the situation in 2020 as such:

Japan trails other countries in terms of women’s involvement in leadership roles not only in politics but also in business management. The Abe administration set a goal to increase the ratio of women in leadership positions in politics and business, among other sectors, to 30 percent by 2020. However, in July [2020], that goal was abandoned. [Tomomi] Inada has asked for a quota system to increase the number of female candidates in elections, but her idea has gained little support. Toshihiro Nikai, the LDP secretary-general who has a lot of pull in the presidential race, flatly rejected Inada’s idea. “Democracy is based on equality,” he said. “The most important thing is that voters decide.” Less than 10 percent of the LDP’s Diet members are women. (Ōta & Ishii, 2020)

In fact, the female minister in charge of women's empowerment and gender equality, Marukawa Tamayo also admitted that "it has become clear that Japan is only halfway in efforts (to achieving) gender equality" (Japan LDP Lawmakers to Shun, 2021).

It is in this context that like-minded female LDP lawmakers like Inada Tomomi formed an all-women's parliamentary group. It has been described as a project focusing on "politics and policies from women's perspectives" (Ōta & Ishii, 2020). While introducing gender quotas in Parliament might not be a solution to the root of the problem, it would be the simplest and swiftest step towards increasing the ratio of women in leadership positions. That said, sociologist Nemoto Kumiko (2016) suggests that even with the "emulation of Western policies aimed at achieving gender equality, certain Japanese management customs are likely to continue to block egalitarian reforms in Japan" (p. 6). For instance, between 2017 and 2018, in a move to improve diversity and receive government funding for doing so, Tokyo Medical University "presented an increase in female admissions from 26.9% to 32.4% as evidence of its efforts, even as it was actively taking steps to deny admission to women with qualifying scores" (Shieder, 2019).

Scandals like this are not uncommon, and sadly, when events like the global Covid-19 pandemic crippled Japan's healthcare system, economy, and livelihoods of its people, addressing gender equality issues was put on hold. Consequently, women have been impacted as they are "more likely to bear the brunt of the social and economic consequences of a pandemic, and policies and public health efforts have not addressed the gendered impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic well" (Nomura et al., 2021).

2020 was indeed a year that women in Japan especially needed support. In October 2020, suicides among women in Japan increased almost 83% compared to the same month in 2019; many of the women were part-timers who were laid off or simply overwhelmed with work, unpaid care and accumulated anxiety (Wakatsuki et al., 2021). In a frank interview with CNN correspondents in Tokyo, survivor of multiple suicide attempts Kobayashi Eriko said, "Japan has been ignoring women. ... This is a society where the weakest people are cut off first when something bad happens" (Wakatsuki et al., 2021). Important here is the utterance "has been ignoring"—a statement in the present perfect continuous tense, which indicates ongoing and unfinished action. Given these circumstances, any dramatic legal, let alone ideological, shifts regarding gender equality will arguably not occur without effective and aggressive awareness-raising and campaigning—hence the reason for increasing the presence of the Liberal Democratic Women's Affairs Division.

Although the Women's Affairs Division was established in 1955, its official website has been actively posting news since 2016, whereas its presence on social networks began in 2015 on Facebook (Jimintō Josei Kyoku, n.d.), followed by Twitter (Josei Kyoku, n.d.) in 2019. With only 3,885 followers on Facebook and 5,690 followers on Twitter (as of June 2021), their followings pale in comparison to Renhō Saitō, one of the most outspoken female members of the Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan (one of the LDP's major opposition parties), who has over 521,000 followers on Twitter (as

of June 2021). In any case, as witnessed in the Trump presidency, having an online presence is evidently an effective way to appeal to younger or tech-savvy audiences and even mobilize the masses, per se. For these reasons, analyzing the division's activities online can provide some insight into the extent to which they are encouraging female participation in politics, leadership roles, or in the workforce. Although recent research has analyzed hate speech and verbal abuse of female politicians on Japanese Twitter (Fuchs & Schäfer, 2020), the coalition's official Women's Division website has not been scrutinized. Furthermore, while Dalton's seminal work *Women and Politics in Contemporary Japan* (2015) covers extensive ground and her analysis of women politicians' experiences of sexual harassment (2019) provides great insight, her work does not exclusively focus on LDP members or their online activities. In addressing the lack of scholarship which solely covers the LDP's Women's Division online activities, this paper may be a resource for researchers specializing in gender and politics in Japan.

Research Methods

As noted prior, this study involved a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the Women's Affairs Division's official website (Women Jimin, 2021a) and reports of its PR-related activities published on the respective website and its pages. The time period of the data collection was between February and March 2021, and focused primarily on the following pages of the website (which are the sources for the data and any citations in the analyses):

Key Pages

1. 女性局パンフレット: Women's Affairs Division pamphlet
2. 女性局の活動: Women's Affairs Division activities and the links embedded on the page

Secondary Pages

Other pages not subject to thorough analyses but forming part of the discussion:

3. 機関誌のご案内: The division's monthly magazine called *Libre*, which is also referred to as "Woman Magazine"
4. 女性局メンバー: Members of the Women's Affairs Division

The "Women's Affairs Division Activities" and "The Women's Affairs Division Pamphlet" were chosen as the main sites of examination since, rather than focusing on who the members are, they provide information and insight into what the members do and what they represent. By focusing on these areas, we can gauge whether and how the division is actively supporting the advancement of women.

The approach involved a critical discourse analysis based on Norman Fairclough's (2013) three-dimensional framework. According to Fairclough (1995), his approach to and intentions of discourse analysis are as follows:

to make visible through analysis, and to criticize, connections between properties of texts and social processes and relations (ideologies, power relations) which are generally not obvious to people who produce and interpret those texts, and whose effectiveness depends upon this opacity. (p. 97)

Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework for analysis involves a linguistic description of the language text, an interpretation of the relationship between (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and an explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and social processes (p. 97). While a semiotic analysis of some of the visual aspects of the website applies, CDA was used as the primary means of analysis since text was the major source of data which provided insight into the overall discourse surrounding the support and advancement of women in Japanese society.

As well as Fairclough's approach, I utilized the text-mining tool, User Local (n.d.), to analyze word frequency and term clusters. The purpose of doing so was to determine what was discursively significant in the data based on the frequently used words and clusters. With this combined approach, the study aims to describe the linguistic features of the Women's Affairs Division's website's text; interpret the social factors contributing to the process of text production and its interpretation; and finally explain the effects the text may have on social structure and gender relations in Japan.

Analysis and Discussion

Prior to examining the aforementioned pamphlet and activities pages, a brief overview of the members and the *Libre* monthly magazine will provide some insight into the division's previous and current nature and activities.

Libre

Long before the official website existed, the Women's Affairs Division's monthly paid subscription bulletin was established in 1982 and was one of the party's ways to reach out to their older and generally loyal female voters. Borrowing the French term *libre* (liberal), the naming of the bulletin was not only chosen to reflect the party itself, but emphasizes their claim that they "strive to ensure true freedom lasts forever" (Kyoto Jimin, 2021). According to the publishing team on Kyoto Jimin's "Paper" webpage:

読者層は、情報に敏感な 40 代から 60 代が中心です。簡潔な表現と、美しく読みやすいレイアウト。女性の期待に応える紙面づくりを展開。総合女性誌として、幅広い層にご愛読いただける月刊誌です。[The main readership is women in their forties to sixties who crave new information. With concise expressions and a beautiful and easy-to-read layout, we have developed a monthly magazine that meets the expectations of women. As a comprehensive women's magazine, it is a monthly magazine that can be read by a wide range of people]. (Kyoto Jimin, 2021)

Concise, beautiful, easy—apparently the expectations of women. What is implicit here is the assumption that middle-aged women supposedly avoid reading complex, demanding or even mentally stimulating texts. When examining the content, according to the description on *Libre*'s page, it includes: (1) interviews with female politicians, (2) reports on what the division has been doing nationwide to increase women's participation in the workforce, and it looks at policies and politics "from a woman's point of view", and (3) lifestyle-related news and information (such as cooking, traveling, culture, and daily life-related subjects, Women Jimin, 2021b). While interviews and reports are common in magazines, what exactly is inferred by "politics from a woman's point of view"? Perhaps, as the publishers suggest, it might be something concise, beautiful, and easy. Furthermore, while topics such as cooking, traveling and culture are also featured in men's magazines in Japan, the fact that "cooking" was mentioned first and the description closed with "daily life-related subjects" seems to imply that women's daily lives are occupied with cooking rather than political affairs.

Division Members

In regards to the list of members on the website (Women Jimin, 2021c), it is broken up into two sections: (1) key board members and administrative staff of the Women's Affairs Division and (2) lower and upper house members of Parliament (as of February 2021) who belong to the division. While the latter is fully comprised of female members, the majority of the key board members are male (18 of 30 members as of February 2021). Although diversity is essential for progress, it is questionable whether having more male members on the board gives female members in the Women's Affairs Division more agency. It seems counterintuitive considering that one of the aims of Womenomics was to increase the number of women in leadership roles.

In any case, having established the nature of the Women's Affairs Division (with key members being predominantly male) and gaining insight into the demographic of the main readership of the monthly magazine (presumably middle-aged homemakers), one can surmise that the official website was made for a similar target audience and serving the interests of the majority of the board members. In order to substantiate these claims, it is critical to analyze the promotional content and activities of the Women's Affairs Division based on the official data on the website, that is, the pamphlet and page dedicated to their activities.

Pamphlet

Firstly, perhaps the most striking thing one notices when loading the homepage (or top page) is that as well as the logo, the banners, and backgrounds, font colors, and icons on the page are overwhelmingly pink and decorated with hearts (see *Libre*, <https://women.jimin.jp/libre>).

While colors signify different things in different cultures and even from person to person, in Japan, pink is generally associated with femininity (among other things). In fact, a study from the Nippon Color & Design Research Institute found that among its survey respondents in Japan, rose pink was considered "feminine" and "childlike" (Intage, 2013). A simple glance at the women-only zones in commuter trains, women's clinics, women's toilets, or even the Tokyo 2020 Paralympics mascot will

reinforce that when it comes to gender, pink denotes female/femininity. Understandably, the production team and designers may have opted for pink to easily indicate that the page and division is dedicated to women. However, since it is clear that the Women's Affairs Division concerns women, one could argue that the excessive use of pink is redundant. On the other hand, one could argue that the deliberate saturation of pink reinforces gender stereotypes, the notions of a rigid gender binary, and the cultural value placed on 女性らしさ (or, being feminine, being womanly). In any case, the reason could be considered both practical and political.

Aside from the blatant use of pink on the top page, first-time visitors to the page are likely to be drawn to the protruding "Message" and the "Pamphlet" clickable image links on the right. Rather than focusing on the president's message and intentions, for the purpose of this study, the pamphlet, which centers on the division itself, will be the subject of analysis.

Upon opening the pamphlet (Women Jimin, 2018), the cover page reads: "やさしさはちから" [Gentleness is strength] and "この国にもっと笑顔を!" [Make this country smile more!]. For aspiring leaders or politicians, it is questionable whether these slogans are sending the right message. Moreover, the use of hiragana, as evidenced in political posters, is typically used to appeal to even members of the voting public with low literacy. The implication is that it is easy to read for many, but the suggestion is that it is better to avoid being complicated. Nevertheless, given that the major demographic of the division is possibly conservative middle-aged women, the simple suggestion to make one's country smile more may be a fitting image.

The following page reads: "「政治」というとちょっとかたく聞こえますね" [When someone mentions "politics," it sounds stiff/formal doesn't it?]. If appealing to the general public or newcomers to politics, one could argue that politics is indeed not the most pleasant or easiest subject to discuss. On the other hand, the demographic is presumably women of voting age and over, so to assume that they generally find the subject of politics unapproachable frames women as indifferent to politics. Also, the "ね" (being a softener to emphasize agreement) especially suggests that the audience agrees or should agree with the statement it follows.

The pages which follow briefly cover what the Women's Affairs Division actually do and their policies, which will be covered in the discussion on the "Activities" page. However, the key messages being conveyed seem to reinforce the conservative prewar "Good Wife and Wise Mother" rhetoric, which essentially reduced women's contributions to society to their abilities to reproduce and manage their husbands and households wisely (Tsuchiya-Dollase, 2010, p. 247). For instance, in one of the first few pages of the pamphlet, it is suggested that in order for women to "shine" in society, it is important to create a workplace environment where women raise their children to be strong and healthy. While this is desirable in most cultures, upon an analysis of the text by utilizing text-mining tools, word frequency patterns and clouds painted a clear picture of what the text's implicit meaning actually may be. Upon specifically analyzing the sections on "女性が働きやすい社会に向けて"

[Towards a society where it is easy for women to work] and “誰もが安心して暮らせる社会に向けて” [Towards a society where anyone can live with a sense of security], it was found that after “woman/women,” the other most common words were “child,” “society,” and “support.” When looking at the frequency of verbs, “to work” only just came in before “live,” “raise,” and “protect.” Ironically, there is less emphasis placed on “to shine” than there is on protecting and raising children.

This is summarized in Table 1 (Word Frequency) and Figure 1 (Word Cloud), which indicate that more value is placed on children, childcare, support and care than advancing in leadership roles or politics. Moreover, while creating accommodating workplaces by offering childcare solutions or support is helpful for staff with children, there is no mention of preventing workplace harassment (such as “power harassment,” sexual harassment, or even “mother harassment”). There is also no mention of further education or training, introducing quotas of female staff, or equity in terms of pay. More often than not, it is what is left unsaid that reveals the true bias in a text. Regardless, based on the discourse in the pamphlet, the Women’s Affairs Division’s assumption that in order for women to “shine” in society, having and raising healthy children is a top priority. Work, education, or political aspirations appear to be secondary.

Table 1. Pamphlet Word Frequency

Nouns		Frequency	Verbs		Frequency
女性	wo-man/-en	10	できる	to be able to/can	5
子供	child	7	向ける	to aim/advance towards	4
社会	society	6	進める	to advance/make progress	3
支援	support	5	働く	to work	3
推進	promote	5	暮らせる	to live	2
健康	health	5	育つ	to raise/rear	2
安心	ease/security	5	守る	to protect	3
環境	environment	4	輝く	to shine	1
介護	nursing	3	働ける	to be able to work	1
分野	field	3	応じる	to respond to	1
整備	maintenance	3	取り組む	to work on/tackle	1
生活	life	3			

Figure 1. Pamphlet Word Cloud



Activities

Aside from the pamphlet, when looking for information about what the division is involved in or is actively doing, the “Women’s Affairs Division Activities” tab (Women Jimin, 2021d) on the top page gives a brief overview of campaigns and regular events that the division holds. The following is a list of the activities stated on the respective page:

1. 女性未来塾: “Women’s Future” Cram School (lectures and seminars held regularly with guest speakers/politicians in which discussions are also held)
2. 女性未来塾 特別講座: Women’s Future Leadership Program (a course specifically for women aspiring to be leaders/politicians)
3. 幸せのカタチ 私たちの憲法: The Shape of Happiness: Our Constitution
4. 児童虐待防止活動: Actions to Prevent Child Abuse
5. 井戸端キャラバン: Nationwide Chit-Chats
6. 女性の健康: Women’s Health
7. テレワーク・web 会議: Web conferences and promoting telework/working-from-home
8. 防災 Natural Disaster Prevention (in particular, support for women during natural disasters)
9. 女性局関連会議 Nationwide meetings and workshops with members in other prefectural blocks

While the items above seem relevant for aspiring politicians and women concerned about health, children’s welfare and security, when examining the respective pages dedicated to each of the items, the implicit interests of the division are revealed.

1. “Women’s Future” Cram School

Firstly, in regards to the “Women’s Future” Cram School, the concept of holding lectures to network with politicians and get advice and insider information sounds appropriate and productive. However, upon opening the link, the first image one sees is a middle-aged male speaker in a blue suit (as of May 21, 2021). Not only is the camera’s focus on the male speaker, but he is in the center of the frame while the female attendees are simply sitting and listening. Although it is by no means necessary to have only female speakers or lecturers, having an image of female as a role model on the website would be more appropriate if the goal is to inspire women to assume leadership roles.

Another example is a talk event with a maker of disaster evacuation site supplies, which was held on July 20, 2020. For women at evacuation sites, privacy, safety, and sanitary items are some of their central concerns and needs (Munekata, 2011). However, rather than choosing to focus on any of those issues with a female guest speaker, an image of a male holding up stretchy black stockings was featured on the post instead (Women Jimin, 2020). Once again, he occupies the center of the frame and what the viewer sees is essentially a male introducing products marketed to females. Whether this is inappropriate or not is debatable, but like the Cram School’s main page’s central image, it seems to suggest that when it comes to women’s bodies or women’s education/training, men have greater authority and women ought to take a passive stance.

2. Women’s Future Leadership Program

In contrast, the women’s future leadership program page features a message from the female MP who helped establish the course. Although the message claims that aspiring female politicians can network, support each other and share know-how about getting into politics and campaigning, the very first sentence somewhat implies that the course was only founded since the government introduced the Act on Promotion of Gender Equality in the Political Field. Specifically, it states:

[政治分野における男女共同参画の推進に関する法律] が成立し、女性議員の活躍が求められる中、自民党女性局は、即戦力となる女性議員候補者を育成するため、女性未来塾に特別講座を設置することにしました。[Since the Act on Promotion of Gender Equality in the Political Field was enacted, and female MPs are now required to take active roles [in politics], the Liberal Democratic Women’s Affairs Division established a special course as part of the Women’s Future Cram School to develop female candidates who will be fully prepared to work].

What is significant here is the use of the passive expression 求められる (are required). The nuance is that female candidates need to be nurtured and trained to become MPs as it is required by law and or an authoritative body. The lack of agency in the sentence assumes that female candidates perhaps do not take the initiative to become MPs on their own accord.

3. The Shape of Happiness: Our Constitution

Given that the constitution of a nation can have a significant impact on gender equality, a page suggesting how the Constitution can contribute to one's "happiness" could be considered appropriate content. However, upon inspecting the page, there is little to do with improving equity and more to do with revising Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution to reduce the constraints on its Self Defense Force. First illustrating how many times other countries have revised their constitution, the page goes on to describe how certain countries have done so. For instance, the page mentions how China revised its "One-Child" policy, and how Ireland legalized same-sex marriage in 2015, adding that, "Thanks to the revision, there are over 2,500 same-sex couples who are now married." Considering that the page specifically mentions marriage equality/gender relations, one would assume that a division concerned with gender equality and diversity would proceed by encouraging similar constitutional revision. Instead, the page proceeds to describe how the LDP wishes to (a) revise Article 9 of the Constitution, (b) bolster the government's abilities to prepare and respond to natural disasters more quickly, (c) to have at least one member from each prefecture in the Diet, and (d) to make education available to children of all socio-economic backgrounds.

How the above-mentioned points relate to the ultimate happiness of or advancement of women in Japan is debatable. What is apparent, though, is the assumption that the target readership may have children. What is not mentioned is further gender equality acts, legislating parliamentary quota laws, or anything specifically indicating that the advancement of women could be assured.

4. Actions to Prevent Child Abuse

Child abuse is an issue that occurs all over the world, but data indicates that cases are rising in Japan. In 2019, child abuse cases were up 40% from the previous year (Yagi, 2020). Of course, this may be related to the amendments to the Child Welfare Act and the Child Abuse Prevention Act in 2019 which included the prohibition of corporal punishment (Library of Congress, 2021). Addressing this issue is crucial, but this section once again reflects the division's emphasis on producing, protecting and prioritizing children above everything else. As the child abuse prevention page suggests, "自民党女性局は「子供は社会の宝である」という考えのもと、児童虐待防止活動を推進しています" [The LDP Women's Bureau promotes child abuse prevention activities based on the idea that "children are a treasure of society"]. Incidentally, in 2019, sexual abuse, including rape, accounted for 12.5% of child abuse claims (Yagi, 2020), so the absence of a sexual abuse or domestic violence prevention campaign by the Women's Affairs Division seems somewhat unfair considering that women are their main readership/audience.

5. Nationwide Chit-Chats

Yet another activity that the division is engaged in is nationwide chit-chats, which are essentially gatherings held at local/regional LDP branches nationwide. It is at these meetings, according to the page, that opinions are exchanged on various issues such as "child-rearing and childcare, the declining birthrate and aging population, medical welfare, and revising the Constitution." If these are indeed the

key issues the Women's Affairs Division is concerned about and want to discuss, then their interests are clear—address issues related to childcare in order to increase the birth rate, ensure citizens have access to healthcare, and that strengthen national security by revising Japan's pacifist Constitution. What this will ultimately ensure is that the nation has a live and healthy labor force, which is something the LDP is invested in because, and this has been witnessed in countries hit hard during the Covid-19 pandemic, if a country lacks healthy and living human resources, then the economy will suffer.

6. *Women's Health*

Having established that many of the division's activities relate to children and childbirth, it is unsurprising that matters regarding women's reproductive health would also be a central concern for them. In a letter addressed to the government, the division made an itemized list of requests to improve facilities and spread awareness about women's health issues. Some of the items included: creating consultation services for women's specific health problems; working on the prevention and early detection of diseases related to hormones which may affect pregnancy, childbirth, and menopause; sharing accurate information about pregnancy and childbirth (from a biological point of view); increasing opportunities for maternity examinations, and expanding prenatal and postnatal care; and expanding research specializing in women's health (including measures against breast cancer, ovarian cancer, and menstrual disorders).

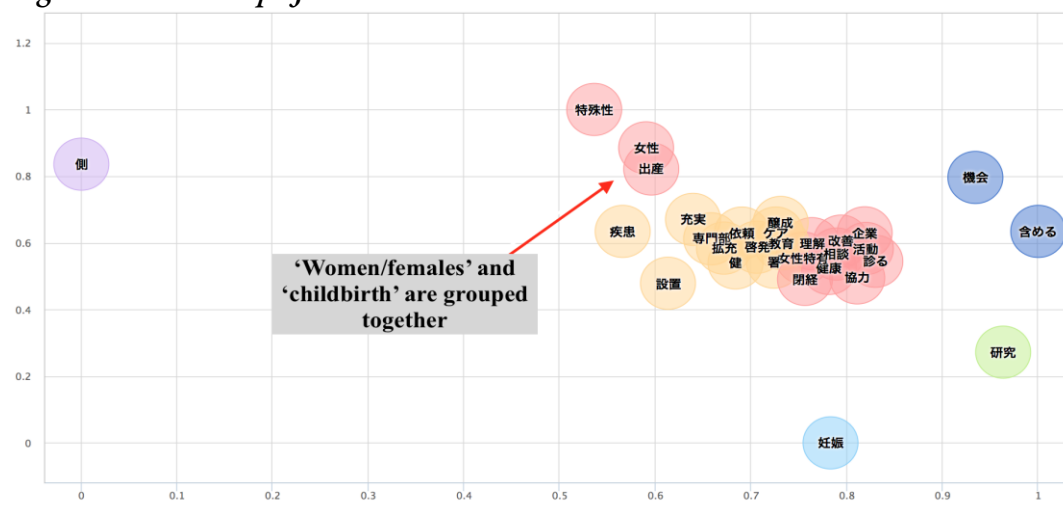
Table 2. *Women's Health Word Frequency*

Word	Frequency
女性 wo-man/-en	7
健康 health	7
充実 to fully provide/enhance	5
理解 to understand/be understanding	5
啓発 to enlighten	5
女性特有 specific to women	4
醸成 to foster	3
疾患 disease/disorder	2
出産 childbirth/birth	2
教育 education	2

When thinking about women's health, these requests are fairly reasonable. However, there was no information about sexually transmitted diseases (or safe-sex awareness campaigns), mental health, or transgender-related health issues. Moreover, there is an implicit bias towards reproductive health, which is reflected in Table 2 and Figure 2 of the most frequent lexical items and the map of clustered terms. With

the term “pregnancy” isolated, while “women” and “childbirth” are distinctly clustered together, it seems to imply that women’s health is less to do about preventing or educating about pregnancy and more about ensuring safe childbirth. In any case, the frequency of “to understand” and “education” suggests that awareness campaigns are essential. However, it is also essential to thoroughly examine what exactly the division is educating, since it reflects the party’s overall interests.

Figure 2. Term Map of Clustered Terms



If anything, 2020 demonstrated that flexible work styles in many fields of employment were not only possible, but preferable. In fact, the results from a survey by the Japan Productivity Center showed that “60% of people wish to continue working from home after the pandemic has eased” (*How the Coronavirus Is Changing*, 2020). However, the Women’s Affairs Division was promoting telework prior to the pandemic. As outlined on the web conferences page:

働き方改革の一環として注目されているテレワークや、web 会議。女性局では地方の皆さんとの意見交換や勉強会をするためのツールとして web 会議を活用しています。また、子育てや家庭の時間と仕事のバランスをとるため、テレワークを有効活用する可能性を追求しています。[Telework and web conferencing are attracting attention as part of work style reform [in Japan]. The Women's Bureau uses web conferencing as a tool to exchange opinions and hold study sessions with residents in regional areas. We are also pursuing the possibility of effectively utilizing telework in order to balance child-rearing, family time (including housework), and work.]

Naturally, using web conferencing tools to communicate and network with a greater range of residents across the country is both practical and efficient. However, the latter sentence once again assumes that women have children (or will). Furthermore, it also assumes that women are responsible for raising their children, keeping on top of the housework, and balancing all of that with work. For aspiring politicians or women in demanding managerial positions, working from home and

somehow managing a household (while raising children) is sometimes not an option. Telework is by no means something that should be discouraged, but on the other hand, encouraging it specifically for women insinuates that a woman's place is ultimately in her home. Unfortunately, too, home is sometimes not the most optimal place to be. While working from home was viewed favorably for company employees in Japan, 2020 also demonstrated that working from home during the pandemic had a significant toll on women. According to a report in early 2021:

While the pandemic has been difficult for many in Japan, the pressures have been compounded for women. As in many countries, more women have lost their jobs. In Tokyo, the country's largest metropolis, about one in five women live alone, and the exhortations to stay home and avoid visiting relatives have exacerbated feelings of isolation. Other women have struggled with the deep disparities in the division of housework and childcare during the work-from-home era, or suffered from increases in domestic violence and sexual assault. The rising psychological and physical toll of the pandemic has been accompanied by a worrisome spike in suicide among women. (Hida & Rich, 2021)

Granted, there are always two sides to the coin when it comes to telework, but when encouraging telework, it is crucial to take into account the women's diverse lifestyles and home situations. Something that was neither mentioned nor encouraged was fathers taking the initiative to work from home, take parental leave or commit to more household tasks. This apparent bias reinforces how the division perpetuates prewar "Good Wife and Wise Mother" discourse and ideology.

8. Natural Disaster Prevention

Much like a virus, natural disasters do not discriminate. Anyone's life can be affected by a devastating natural disaster, but mitigating damage through preparation is certainly one way to save lives and livelihoods. As previously discussed, rather than stockings, women at evacuation sites need privacy, safety and sanitary items (Munekata, 2011). Furthermore, considering that cases of sexual abuse or violence at evacuation sites have occurred so much so that a support system had to be introduced ("Hinansho no Bōryoku Higai," 2020), it is also an issue that needs to be addressed by an organization or group such as the coalition's Women's Affairs Division.

Instead, as evidenced on the division's natural disaster prevention page, their activities are primarily focused on providing and distributing liquid milk (rather than powdered milk) for infants at evacuation sites. Understandably, nutrition and clean water are top priorities in times of disasters, but for older/elderly women or women without children who face different issues, liquid milk may not be their first priority. The lack of mention of creating a support system for victims of sexual violence or abuse, the provision of sanitary items, or increasing efforts to ensure privacy for women at evacuation sites suggests that women's needs are secondary in a crisis.

9. Nationwide Meetings and Workshops With Members in Other Prefectural Blocks

Similar to the Women’s Future Leadership Program, the division’s nationwide meetings and workshops are exclusively for members of the Women’s Affairs Division and the LDP. The events include national director meetings, block meetings, workshops, and so on. According to the respective page, key members of the party “listen to local issues and frank opinions about the party and utilize them in party management and policy making.” Although it suggests that local issues are discussed, they are discussed by LDP members, which usually means that the subjects of discussion serve LDP interests.

To ascertain the frequently discussed topics, an analysis of the meeting reports listed on the page (from November 15, 2020 through to February 22, 2021) revealed that “suicide” and “women/females” were the top two terms in the word frequency count (see Table 3). This is unsurprising considering the spike in suicides among women in 2020. With all the emphasis the division has placed on childbirth, childcare and child protection, it seems as if it has neglected protecting the needs of the group it represents—women of all walks of life, whether they are mothers or not. While—as the word frequency list uncannily seems to suggest—suicide prevention countermeasures might build a happy society, without serious systemic change and a shift away from ultra-conservative ideology and traditional gender roles, these problems will persist.

Table 3. Meeting Page Word Frequency

Word	Frequency
自殺 suicide	10
女性 wo-man/-en	5
防止 to prevent/prevention	4
コロナ coronavirus	3
地域 regional areas	3
対策 countermeasures	3
ハッピー happy	2
社会 society	2
断続 to continue	2
構築 to build	2

Conclusion

Whether an NPO or a government body, an organization established to support and encourage the advancement of women has its own agenda. In either case, the individuals who are being represented and addressed are women. However, when the objective shifts from supporting women to supporting children, the underlying intentions of such an organization are revealed. Through critical

discourse analysis of the LDP's Women's Affairs Division official page, I have demonstrated how the division's efforts reinforce conservative, pro-natalist ideology, and ironically "keep women in their place" instead of campaigning for greater equity.

As noted, given that the Women's Affairs Division's key members are predominantly male and the main demographic of the monthly magazine is presumably middle-aged homemakers, it can be argued that the official website was made for a similar target audience and serves the interests of the majority of the board members. In addition, the discourse in the division's pamphlet conveyed the idea that in order for women to "shine" in society, having and raising healthy children is a top priority (rather than education, work, or political aspirations). The activities pages and meeting reports also reinforced the centrality of childbirth, the lives of one's children, and essentially the currency of "Good Wife and Wise Mother" rhetoric even in 2020.

While 2020 was a particularly difficult year for women in Japan, 2021 showed little signs of improvement when former IOC chief Yoshihiro Mori made global headlines with his remark that women talk too much in meetings and "if their speaking time isn't restricted to a certain extent, they have difficulty finishing, which is annoying" (Bonesteel, 2021). Gender equity in Japan will never be realized unless the groups which stand for it more actively campaign for change. This study has revealed how a government division made by women and for women has arguably failed women. Given that the LDP's Women Affairs Division's online presence has a short history and their previous activities are not explicitly outlined on any web resources, the findings from this study are limited in scope. Another limitation of the study is that the authors of the posts or web editors are unlisted. If the website's content is beyond the Women's Division's control, it might be the case that it does not adequately or accurately reflect their activities. With further longitudinal analyses of individual members' activities on wider-reaching digital platforms such as Twitter or Facebook, it is possible to trace ideological shifts and ascertain whether progress, if slow, has been made. In the meantime, perhaps rather than "shining", we might see a shift towards speaking.

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Foreign Working Mothers and Support Received

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Abstract

The biggest challenges foreign working mothers in Japan face are stress, lack of personal time, and managing clashes between school events and work (Landsberry & Kanai, 2018). Whilst these issues may be faced by mothers across the world, foreign working mothers in Japan face unique obstacles, including language difficulties and cultural differences. The level of support received becomes important in helping them manage their multiple roles as caregivers and professionals. Using data obtained via an anonymous online questionnaire, this study investigates the level of support provided to foreign working women by their partners and family. It also explores their hopes for improvements at the societal level. It is hoped that the realization of the lack of societal and familial support would increase the level of understanding for foreign working mothers in Japan. In addition, our data clearly shows that an immediate increase in the number of child-care facilities and a more flexible and supportive work culture are needed to improve the situation.

Keywords: Foreign working mothers in Japan, child-care policy, maternity leave, paternity leave, gender studies

概要

日本で働く外国人母親が直面する最大の課題は、ストレスと自らの時間確保、子どもの学校行事との重複であるということが明らかになっている (Landsberry & Kanai, 2018)。これらの課題は世界中の母親が直面している可能性があることと認識する一方で、外国文化の中で生活する上で、言語や文化の違いを含む特有の課題にも直面しているとされる。介助者や専門家として等、多様な役割を持つ外国人母親を手助けする上ではサポート水準が重要になるとと思われる。本研究は、このような女性が生活でパートナーや家族、社会から受けるサポートについて調査するものである。また、社会的なレベルでの改善を期待する声もある。社会的、家族的な欠如を実感することで、日本で働く外国人母親への理解度が高まることが期待されると考える。さらに、本研究のデータにより、この状況を改善するためには、保育施設の数を早急に増やすこと、より柔軟で協力的な職場環境を整えることが必要であることが明確となった。

キーワード：日本の外国人ワーキングマザー、育児政策、産休、育休、ジェンダースタディーズ

Literature Review

Over the last decade working women have made substantial gains in the labour market in Japan. As of 2019, 69.6% of women aged 15–64 participated in the workplace (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2020). However, it should be noted that although more women have joined the workforce, 56.1% are employed as non-regular workers (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2020; Statistics Bureau, 2019). Non-regular workers are mostly engaged in part-time work or are on fixed contracts which usually result in lower pay, lack of opportunities for promotion, and the risk of being laid off if there is economic distress (Feng, 2020; Hara, 2018; Pesek, 2020).

As Japan's population continues to shrink, more women in stable employment are necessary to promote economic growth, a concept that was a driving force behind former prime minister Shinzō Abe's plan, known as Womenomics, for increasing the number of working women (Dalton, 2017). However, even with this need to diversify the workplace to boost the economy, and with government initiatives to increase the number of women in employment, systemic and cultural discrimination continue to cause issues for many women who seek to combine work and family (Kamata & Kita, 2021; West, 2019). For example, the culture of habitually working overtime, gender segregated career tracks, a taxation system that prefers sole breadwinners over dual-income families, and maternal harassment are often experienced by a high number of pregnant women and new mothers in the workplace (Nagatomo, 2012; Takami, 2018; West, 2019). For foreign women who want to pursue work and family, all of these issues may be further complicated by cultural and linguistic barriers. Pre-Covid figures show an increasing number of foreigners in Japan (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2019), which means there is a need to examine the type of support that is available, especially for working mothers, and to capture the experiences of these women so policymakers can implement programs that not only assist foreign working women but also encourage societal changes.

For any woman combining work and child-rearing, three areas of support are important: societal, familial, and institutional. These are believed to be positively associated with achieving a work-family balance while also encouraging women to return and stay in employment (Kamata & Kita, 2021; OECD, 2007; Takami, 2018).

Over the years, many developed nations have incorporated family-friendly policies which can be helpful for women to achieve a work-life balance. Some of these policies include the promotion of gender diversity in the workplace, the implementation of flexible working styles (e.g., telecommuting), the availability of high-quality child-care services, and the encouragement of paternity leave (OECD, 2007).

In Japan, working parents find little support for a work-life balance. The long and inflexible working hours that exist within most companies make it difficult for both parents to combine work with child-rearing commitments. According to the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office (2020), 14% of males work 60 hours or more per week. These long working hours by men means that mothers are responsible for the majority of household chores and child-care with limited contribution from fathers (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2020; OECD, 2007; Ono, 2018; Shirakawa, 2019).

It is not surprising that the time spent on child-rearing and housework by Japanese men is one of the lowest among developed countries. Women in Japan spend an average of 3 hours and 45 minutes tending to children daily compared to 49 minutes for men (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2020). Seventy percent of men do not do housework or take part in child-rearing, irrespective of whether their wives work (Kamata & Kita, 2021; Shirakawa, 2019). This can be quite challenging for a foreign woman with a Japanese partner as she generally does not have her extended family living nearby to offer help (Landsberry & Kanai, 2018).

In addition to their limited participation in household duties, men often do not take advantage of the programs designed to help them raise their young children. As of 2018, only 6.16% of male workers took paternity leave, even though Japan has the most generous paternity package in the developed world (Kyodo, 2019; Shirakawa, 2019). Landsberry and Kanai's (2018) research on foreign working women in Japan shows that foreign working women support paternity leave, so their husbands can help more when their children are small.

As subordinates are expected to remain at the office for the same time or longer than their bosses, hierarchy at work actually prevents young fathers from returning home to their families or helping out in the household. In Japan, there is even a phrase *tsukiai zangyō* (collective overtime) which describes the reluctance of workers to leave the office before their colleagues or bosses (Ono, 2018, p. 41). This social and corporate stigma must be broken in order for men to be even able to attempt to take on an equal share of child-rearing responsibility.

With the level of male participation in child-rearing in Japan lower than other developed countries, it is important for working mothers to have support from their employers (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2020). Some large Japanese organisations have provided assistance to working mothers. For example, Shiseido introduced shorter working hours for mothers, along with in-house child-care facilities. As a result, Shiseido sees almost all of its female employees return to work after childbirth and maternity leave (Hara, 2018; Steger, 2017). This is not mandatory assistance outlined by the government, so many smaller and medium sized companies make less effort in supporting mothers, or even fathers. Many women in Japan have quit their jobs due to the lack of employer support, and some have experienced employer harassment when taking time off to tend their children (OECD, 2007; Hafner, 2018). According to the Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare (MHLW), 55% of women continue working after the birth of their first child. However, 35% choose to leave their jobs due to complications that arise with work-life balance and child-rearing, or because of workplace pressure to resign (MHLW, 2010; National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2019).

Another important way in which support can be provided, as seen in the actions taken by Shiseido, is through the provision of child-care. The availability of high-quality, affordable child-care is widely recognised as a critical factor in determining the ability of women with children to participate in paid employment (Brown, 2010; OECD, 2007; Padman & Reddy, 2013). In Koide's (2015) study of foreign and Japanese mothers, many mentioned the need for reliable child-care, especially for school-aged

children during school closures and vacation time. Some parents spoke of the many days on the school calendar that are incomplete or designated festival and event days which shorten the school day and create challenges for working mothers. With the declining population in Japan, and the government's reliance on immigration and women to boost the economy, it is important that the Japanese government and society at large create an environment to support working mothers, including foreign women who may face greater challenges. The aim of this research was to investigate the type of support that foreign mothers currently receive and what kind of changes they hoped for.

Purpose and Research Questions

The following research questions were chiefly examined:

- RQ1: What support do foreign working women receive from their family and society?
- RQ2: What other support do they feel is necessary for them to contribute successfully as a working member of society?

Methods

Participants

The respondents were 145 foreign working mothers throughout Japan. The respondent group consisted of women from North America (44.1%), Oceania (19.3%), the UK (7.6%), Europe (5.5%), the European Union (4.1%), and 14% came from other regions (such as Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Africa, and South-East Asia outside of Japan, the Caribbean and South America). Due to Brexit, the UK was grouped separately from Europe.

5.5% of the respondents stated that they were Japanese citizens even though their responses demonstrated that they were foreign. It is possible that they had attained Japanese citizenship during their time in Japan, possess dual heritage, or lived abroad; however, the researchers were unable to confirm this, and therefore their responses were included in the results.

The respondents had lived in Japan for an average of 16–20 years, had an average age of 41.35 years, and had an average of 1.72 children. Most of the respondents (75.2%) had a Japanese partner while 15.9% of partners were from their home country, 8.3% were from a different country and 0.7% were mixed Japanese. The majority of respondents are or were in heterosexual relationships, hence, the focus of the analysis on this particular demographic.

More than 10% of the respondents were on their own: divorced (4.1%), separated (2.8%), never married (3.4%), and widowed (0.7%).

Data Collection and Analysis

Data was collected between June and October 2018 using a questionnaire administered through Google Forms entitled "Foreign Working Mothers and Child-rearing." The questionnaire consisted of both open and closed-ended questions and a total of 145 responses were received and analysed.

As the questionnaire used Google Forms, the data was assembled onto a spreadsheet. The quantitative data was analysed, and frequency counts were applied, with several respondents' comments being chosen from the qualitative data to represent the areas covered in this paper.

Questionnaire

Before launching the final questionnaire, a pilot study was conducted amongst colleagues and peers to ascertain potential problems. Based on the feedback received, several changes and additions were made to correct the general flow and comprehensibility of the questionnaire.

The resulting questionnaire consisted of six sections focusing on participants' demographic data, work life, family structure, bilingualism, hopes for their children's identity, the different activities they exposed their children to for their bilingual and bicultural development, familial and social factors that affected their lives, and the challenges and difficulties they faced. It also examined how the participants dealt with these problems, their future aspirations for Japan, and how they hoped gender roles and institutional systems would change so that Japan would become a better place to live and work whilst they raised their families here. All questions required answers except for the open-ended items. Several questions were Likert-type questions, with the neutral option of three omitted to attain more precise data (Edwards & Smith, 2014).

Results and discussion

Balancing Work and Home Life

For many families in Japan, the role of breadwinner usually falls to the male partner, so the female partner's motivation to work varies greatly. Table 1 summarizes the respondents' reasons for returning to work after childbirth. At 66.2%, the majority of respondents replied that it was both for financial reasons and because they enjoyed their career. More than 15% said it was solely for financial reasons, while 10.3% claimed to enjoy their career. Other reasons at 8.3% included for "personal satisfaction" and to "keep my working visa." One of the participants who mentioned visas went on to say, "Gay marriage is not legally recognized in Japan and therefore it would be difficult to get a spousal visa. Therefore, each parent needed to maintain a "working visa" so giving up work was not an option."

Table 1. *Why Respondents Returned to Work*

Reason	Number	Percentage
For financial reasons	22	15.2
I enjoy my career	15	10.3
Both	96	66.2

When respondents were asked how they felt about balancing family life with a career, 75.1% responded "Difficult, it's a struggle." When asked whether they felt they could excel at both, 70.4% responded "Yes, but at the sacrifice of my family." Even though this notion appears contradictory,

the majority of respondents chose it. There is still a lack of child-care, with waiting lists for enrolment (Kittaka, 2018), and a general cultural and social view that women should sacrifice themselves or their careers for the sake of their children (Dalton, 2017). All these factors affect not only the working woman, but also their partner and family. With more than 70% of mothers in the workforce (Jiji Press, 2018), it seems clear that there is a need for support systems, and yet these are lacking (Kittaka, 2018; Koide, 2015).

During the past few administrations, the Japanese government has attempted to encourage women's participation in the workforce. In 2003, the then prime minister Koizumi Ichiro announced an ambitious target of 30% of women in leadership positions by 2020. However, in 2015, when then prime minister Shinzo Abe was unable to fulfil this target in his own cabinet, the target was reduced to a mere 7% (Mollman, 2015). In late 2019, when the World Economic Forum announced their Global Gender Gap Report (GGGR) Index, the results regrettably showed that Japan had fallen from 110th to 121st position out of 144 countries (World Economic Forum, 2020a). In fact, the GGGR estimates that it will be 257 years before gender parity will be achieved in the fields of economic participation and labour opportunities, especially given that only 5.3% of women currently sitting on the boards of Japanese companies (World Economic Forum, 2020b). Whilst this is a global figure, and therefore Japan will perhaps reach gender parity beforehand, the GGGR suggests that it is not something that will be witnessed by either the readers of this paper or their children.

Some of the biggest reasons for women in Japan not returning to the workforce after childbirth, or not working to their full potential and only taking part-time work, is due to the increase in taxes and the Social and National Health Insurance and pension payments, along with harassment faced at their workplace (West, 2019). In Japan, the infamous 1.3-million-yen barrier, where workers stop being a dependent, is commonly known throughout the population. Wives will often not work beyond this amount, so they can remain a dependent of their husband, who then pays much lower tax than would otherwise be required by an individual employee (EN Haken, 2021).

Support Provided by Japanese Partners

Given the impact of traditional views of gender roles and institutionalized systems that prevent women from excelling in their places of work, support from partners is essential. Tables 2 and 3 report the extent to which the respondents felt they could depend on their partners. The questions used to attain this data were Likert-type questions and the respondents were asked to choose an option on a scale of one to four, with one being *no* at one end of the scale, and *yes* being at the other for the first three questions and *doesn't help* and *helps a lot* for the final question. The responses showed that the majority of respondents felt supported in their child-rearing by their child's father (73.1%), and that the majority of fathers helped out with domestic duties (64.8%).

Unfortunately, from our data we were unable to ascertain how much help is given with domestic duties. Although the majority of respondents chose *helps a lot*, national data shows that women still do seven times the amount of housework compared to their male counterparts. In addition to the

data mentioned above, figures from one source indicate that women spend 4 hours and 40 minutes daily on housework while their male partner spends 31 minutes (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2019).

Table 2. Support Received From Partners

Is your husband/partner or your child's/children's father supportive with child-rearing?	No			Yes
	1	2	3	4
Number	14	25	39	67
Percentage	9.7	17.2	26.9	46.2

Table 3. Help With Domestic Duties

Does your husband/partner or child's/children's father help with domestic duties?	Doesn't help			Helps a lot
	1	2	3	4
Number	14	25	39	67
Percentage	9.7	17.2	26.9	46.2

As previously mentioned, there are numerous reasons for this: social and cultural biases that assume household chores should be done by women, and a corporate culture which requires employees to work extremely long hours: Only 20% of men and 50% of women work fewer than 40 hours a week (OECD, 2007). Whilst there are many other countries that officially work longer hours than the Japanese (OECD, 2019), it is overtime that is problematic, with almost a quarter of Japanese companies requiring more than 80 hours of overtime per month (World Economic Forum, 2017).

Support From Parents and In-laws

In addition to support from partners, foreign women may also depend on their own parents and their in-laws. Support received from parents and parents-in-law is outlined in Table 4. Only one of the respondents' parents were here in Japan, whilst 94.5% were overseas. About 70% of parents-in-law were in Japan, whilst 24.8% were abroad, with the remainder being deceased.

Not surprisingly, respondents were more likely to get advice or emotional support from their own parents. Parents who are overseas are perhaps more likely to give advice and emotional support, rather than babysit, due to the obvious fact that they are not residing in the same country. The researchers felt some cultural differences could also be observed in the data. For example, the Japanese parents-in-law would help financially more, which according to both data collected and anecdotal data is quite common between parents and children in Japan.

Other answers included those from two North American women in their thirties who had been in Japan for 6–10 years, one of who said “since separating, [my children and I] have had no contact with

my husband or his family.” Another said her parents supported her by sending “books and toys from my country.”

Table 4. Support Received From Parents and Parents-in-Law

Type of support	Parents		Parents-in-law	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Give advice	72	49.7	44	30.3
Give emotional support	79	54.5	40	27.6
Help financially	17	11.7	31	21.4
Babysit	5	3.4	30	20.7
Nurse children when sick	0	0	17	11.7
None of the above	41	28.3	53	36.6
All of the above	0	0	8	5.5
Other	13	9.1	15	10.5

Note. As respondents were able to choose multiple responses, the totals are not 100%.

Hopes for the Future

For women who want to have a career and be able to excel in their professional lives, support is crucial. After examining the data, it is clear that support is still lacking from partners, family, and society. More than a quarter of the respondents received no or little support from their partners when it came to raising their children. In addition, more than 35% received little to no help with domestic duties. Even though these women worked, they were expected to bear the brunt of looking after the home, and it is these familial and domestic duties which keep many working women from performing to their full potential in their professional lives. Whilst parents-in-law provided hands-off assistance in the form of advice and emotional support, the hands-on assistance of babysitting or nursing children when sick was still relatively low. With this support missing, many respondents hoped for societal changes that would enable them to more fully participate as working members of society. In Table 5, the respondents' future aspirations for Japan were investigated. At 67.6%, the biggest aspiration was for companies to offer flexi-time. This has been implemented in many companies abroad and is said to improve work-life balance as it allows for flexible schedules that can be arranged around children, and related family matters (Avery & Zabel, 2001).

An overwhelming number of respondents, 66.2%, hoped for a society that encourages fathers to take paternity leave, and more than 44% hoped that companies would allow paternity leave. Another 44% hoped organisations would offer longer paternity leave, and it is probable that the respondents did not know that Japan already has a very generous paternity leave system, as both of the researchers were also unaware when having children. Paternity leave is something that many fathers and mothers desire, especially when their children are small (Landsberry & Kanai, 2018). However, statistics show

that only 6.16% of Japanese men took paternity leave in 2018, with employees claiming that staff shortages, paternity leave not being offered by their company, and an atmosphere that did not encourage it to be taken are their reasons for not taking it (Kyodo, 2019). Japanese corporate culture and society does not actively encourage paternity leave, and many men have experienced a salary cut, demotion or no prospect of a promotion when returning to work (IoriinJapan, 2017).

Table 5. *Future Aspirations for Improvement*

Future aspirations	Number	Percentage
Flexi-time	98	67.6
Encourage fathers to take paternity leave	96	66.2
Equal pay and job responsibilities	82	56.6
Language support for foreign mothers (e.g., letters/notices written in the mother's native tongue)	74	51.0
Babysitting services	71	49.0
No waiting list for child-care	70	48.3
Allow paternity leave	64	44.1
Schools scheduling more events on the weekend	55	37.9
Offer longer paternity leave	43	29.7
Creating ways to get working mothers involved in school activities	30	20.7
Not closing classes due to contagious illness	25	17.2
All of the above	12	8.3
Other	0	0

Note. This table appeared previously in “Foreign Working Women and Child-Rearing,” by L. Landsberry and T. Kanai, 2018, in P. Clements, A. Krause, & P. Bennett (Eds.), *Diversity and Inclusion*, p. 36 (<https://jalt-publications.org/sites/default/files/pdf-article/jalt2018-pcp-005.pdf>). Copyright 2018 by Japan Association for Language Teaching. As respondents were able to choose multiple responses, the totals are not 100%.

As respondents were able to choose multiple responses, the totals are not 100%. Thus, whilst Japan has the most liberal paternity legislation in the world, entitling men to take an entire year's leave with an average of 58.4% salary (OECD, 2019), social stigma and a stagnant corporate culture impede men from accessing their legal right (IoriinJapan, 2017; Miyajima & Yamaguchi, 2017; Rich, 2019). The role of major caregiver for children then falls to mothers, who often have no choice but to stay at home and care for the children or take up a job with limited working hours.

More than half of the respondents, 51%, wished for more language support for foreign mothers. This data indicates that many of these foreign mothers struggle with the Japanese language, perhaps particularly when it comes to reading written Japanese.

A little over 48% of the respondents hoped that there would be no waiting list for child-care, particularly in bigger cities such as Tokyo where there is a lack of both facilities and child-carers (Hoiku no O-shigoto Repōto, 2019). As of October 2019, the Japanese government began to subsidise child-care and it became free for all families. However, this policy has not solved the dilemma of waiting lists. A parent is often required to stay home and take care of any children until a child-care facility opening becomes available, a role which generally falls to the mother, as mentioned above.

Study Limitations

Perhaps the most significant limitation with the data collected was that it was self-reported. In order to attain more precise data, it may have been better to interview several of the respondents using their responses to triangulate the data. The questionnaire was also administered in English which limited the data collection to English speakers. It would be ideal to conduct this questionnaire again in several different languages to be able to collect a more diverse sample. Furthermore, as the questionnaire was distributed with the help of JALT's special interest groups, the data may be limited to those who, as educators and researchers themselves, are more likely to participate in others' research. It also must be mentioned that as the majority of working mother respondents worked in the field of education, they may have different experiences to women working in other industries. Moreover, the respondents' level of education was not investigated, nor the amount of support received from friends, either compatriots, fellow foreigners, or Japanese friends. These topics could also be areas for further study.

The authors would also like to acknowledge that many of the survey's questions and options focused on women who are or have been in heterosexual relationships. Although answers to some of the questions show that this was not the case for all respondents, replies indicate that certain concerns, such as access to childcare, are universal, but others, such as visa and taxation, may be unique to foreign working mothers in same-sex relationships. Although beyond the scope of this paper, further investigation of the topic of foreign working parents in same-sex relationships is necessary.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that governmental bodies and institutions are attempting to improve conditions for women to join and stay in the workforce, offering free child-care and a very generous paternity leave system. However, whilst these governmental systems are designed to support families and working mothers, social expectations, a rigid corporate culture, and a lack of facilities are fundamental problems that need to be solved.

Accessible childcare for everyone throughout the nation, along with the implementation of flexi-time as a norm within the workforce, would be positive steps toward making both women's equality and empowerment in Japan a reality.

More than a quarter of these working mothers also did not feel supported in their child-rearing or responded that their partner did not help with domestic duties. These are areas immediately requiring improvement if working mothers are to have success in the workforce. Perhaps easier said than done, any improvement will require a cultural and mental overhaul from patriarchal ideas where the woman traditionally cares for the family unit, to one where men take on a more proactive and contributory role within the household.

Even though the Japanese government, institutions, and companies have tried to implement change, the 2019 GGGR showed that the working woman's position has actually taken several steps backwards, estimating that it will be more than two centuries before gender parity is attained. The implications of this research are that changes to the above-mentioned tax structure, rigid corporate culture, and especially, an increase in the number of child-care facilities could dramatically improve the situation for working mothers in Japan. Not only would this tie into the aims of Womenomics of encouraging women to stay in the workforce, it would be a step towards improving gender parity in Japan.

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Appendix

Excerpts from the Questionnaire

Note. This appendix only contains data discussed in this paper. For the full questionnaire, please see the article “Foreign Working Women and Child-Rearing” (Landsberry & Kanai, 2018)

Section 1. Demographics

Age

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------|------------|
| 1. 25 and under | 4. 36–40 | 7. 51–55 |
| 2. 26–30 | 5. 41–45 | 8. 56–60 |
| 3. 31–35 | 6. 46–50 | 9. Over 60 |

Marital Status: You are _____

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Engaged | 5. Divorced |
| 2. Married | 6. Never married and a single mother |
| 3. Widowed | 7. Other: _____ |
| 4. Separated | |

Which region are you from?

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Oceania | 6. Eastern Europe | 12. South America |
| 2. Japan | 7. Europe | 13. The Caribbean |
| 3. South East Asia
(outside Japan) | 8. European Union | 14. The Middle East |
| 4. Africa | 9. The UK | 15. Other: _____ |
| 5. Central Asia | 10. North America | |
| | 11. Central America | |

How long have you been in Japan?

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. 5 years or less | 4. 16–20 years | 7. 31–35 years |
| 2. 6–10 years | 5. 21–25 years | 8. 36–40 years |
| 3. 11–15 years | 6. 26–30 years | 9. More than 40 years |

Section 2. Work Life

Please tell us about your work life.

Why did you return to work after having a child/children?

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| ♦ For financial reasons | ♦ Neither |
| ♦ I enjoy my career | ♦ Other: _____ |
| ♦ Both | |

How do you find balancing family life and a career?

On a scale of 1–4: Difficult, it’s a struggle. – Easy, no problem at all!

Do you feel as though you can excel at both?

On a scale of 1–4: No, my family hasn’t suffered at all – Yes, but at the sacrifice of my family.

Section 5. Familial and Social Factors

Please tell us about your family situation.

My husband/partner is... or my child's/children's father is...

- ♦ Japanese
- ♦ The same nationality as me
- ♦ Not Japanese and from a different country to me
- ♦ Other: _____

Who cares for your child/children while you are working? (more than one answer is ok)

- ♦ Public/private kindergarten (youchien)
- ♦ Public/private kindergarten (hoikuen)
- ♦ Private authorised day-care
- ♦ Private unauthorised day-care
- ♦ Grandparents
- ♦ School (Elementary, JH, HS)

Are your parents here with you in Japan?

- ♦ Yes
- ♦ No
- ♦ No, they are deceased.

How do they support your child-rearing? (more than one answer is ok)

- ♦ Babysit
- ♦ Nurse when sick
- ♦ Help financially
- ♦ Give emotional support
- ♦ Give advice
- ♦ All of the above
- ♦ None of the above
- ♦ They are deceased.
- ♦ Other: _____

Are your husband's/partner's or your child's/children's father's parents in Japan?

- ♦ Yes
- ♦ No
- ♦ No, they are deceased.

How are they supportive in your child-rearing? (more than one answer is ok)

- ♦ Babysit
- ♦ Nurse when sick
- ♦ Help financially
- ♦ Give emotional support
- ♦ Give advice
- ♦ All of the above
- ♦ None of the above
- ♦ They are deceased, not applicable
- ♦ Other: _____

Is your husband/partner or your child's/children's father supportive with child-rearing?

On a scale of 1-4: No – Yes

Does your husband/partner or child's/children's father help with domestic duties?

On a scale of 1-4: Doesn't help – Helps a lot

Section 6. Challenges and Difficulties

How would you like to see Japanese society change to make it easier for foreign working mothers?
(more than one answer is ok)

- ♦ Flexi-time
- ♦ Offer a longer maternity leave
- ♦ Allow paternity leave
- ♦ Encourage fathers to take paternity leave
- ♦ Schools scheduling more events on the weekend
- ♦ Not closing classes due to contagious illness
- ♦ Creating ways to get working mothers involved in school activities
- ♦ Language support for foreign mothers. (e.g., letters/notices written in the mother's native tongue)
- ♦ Babysitting services
- ♦ No waiting list for child-care
- ♦ Equal pay and job responsibilities
- ♦ All of the above
- ♦ Other: _____

If you would like to make further comments, please use this section.

An Introduction to the Japan Association for Language Teaching's Code of Conduct

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Abstract

The Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) created its Code of Conduct (CoC) in 2017 to ensure a safer and more inclusive environment for all its members, volunteers, and guests at all associated events. The authors will outline why the Code of Conduct was created, the creation of a committee to oversee complaints, and the complaints procedure itself. Some issues that have arisen with regards to current complaints procedures, recent developments to the Code of Conduct, and awareness-raising efforts by those involved are highlighted. The processes outlined here can serve as a guideline of what to expect for other organizations seeking to create a Code of Conduct and a complaints procedure, while the resulting Code of Conduct itself could function as a workable template for institutions in a similar field.

Keywords: conduct, harassment, awareness, complaint procedures, gender studies

概要

全国語学教育学会 (JALT) は、組織に関連するすべてのイベントにおいて、すべてのメンバー、ボランティア、ゲストがより安全で包括的な環境を確保できるようにと 2017 年に行動規範 (CoC) を作成しました。この論文では、行動規範が作成された理由、苦情を監督する委員会の設立、および苦情の手続き自体について説明します。また、現在の手順、行動規範と委員会の最近の進展、および委員会の関係者による意識向上の取り組みに関して生じたいくつかの問題にも焦点を置きました。ここで紹介するプロセスは、行動規範を作成しようとしている他の組織に何を期待するかのガイドラインとなる一方で、行動規範自体が雛形として機能することを期待します。

キーワード：行為、ハラスメント、気づき、苦情手続き、ジェンダースタディーズ

Background

In 2017 the Health, Labor, and Welfare Ministry of Japan released survey results that stated 32.5% of polled staff had experienced power harassment at work (Aoki, 2017). Following this, in 2018 numerous medical schools in Japan admitted to systemic manipulation and biases against female applicants in favor of lesser performing male applicants ("Japan Medical Schools," 2019). Despite these instances bringing issues of discrimination to the fore, in October 2019, an elementary school in Kobe made

headlines due to the documenting of a younger male coworker bullied at the hands of four senior staff members (“Kobe Teacher Bullied,” 2019). While there is considerably more awareness these days with regards to creating improved work environments, harassment and discrimination in educational institutions persist. Problematic behavior at schools potentially indicates that similar behavior exists in other education environments, such as teacher associations, conferences, and training programs, with the Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) being no exception.

The authors of this paper, McCandie, Smith, and Simmonds, have contributed to JALT as volunteers on the Code of Conduct (CoC) committee and are thus acutely aware of the incidences of all forms of harassment within the organization, including incidences of sexual harassment at JALT-related events. McCandie and Simmonds were members of the “Working Group” that helped create the CoC, McCandie is the former Chair of the CoC, Simmonds is the Chair at time of publication, and Smith is a member of the CoC. This article is, however, not written as an official CoC statement. Rather, it is an attempt to help clarify how the CoC was created, what its purpose is, and some of the issues the CoC committee members, past and present, have been confronted with and our personal thoughts with regards to JALT and the changes we feel the CoC has been part of.

Many research and educational institutions have created diversity and harassment committees to help promote awareness and act as mediators when problems arise. Teacher associations worldwide have their own CoC to ensure fairness between members and at events (see Appendix A). Several websites and communities (see Appendix B) have publicly pushed for an end to discriminatory and harassing behavior found within language teaching communities. JALT is not exempt from its members experiencing harassment and inappropriate behavior, resulting in the need for a CoC. The creation of a workable CoC is no easy task, but it is a fundamental component of any successful organization. It is hoped that the experiences and realizations outlined here create awareness and serve as a resource for other organizations looking to develop their own CoC and complaints procedures.

The Need for a Code of Conduct

A CoC is essentially a representation of an organization’s standards and ethics regarding the professional behavior of its members. It ensures all members are concordant with said organization’s stipulations concerning their conduct within the organization, especially in situations potentially perceived as ambiguous from a moral perspective (Frankell, 1989). Given that what constitutes proper conduct is a continuously evolving ideal, CoCs must evolve to reflect changing times.

JALT formed in 1976, decades before the #metoo movement, and before rules regarding varying types of harassment and discrimination were in place and understood. The world we live in now is a more aware and accepting society for visible minorities, women, and LGBT+ people; however, there is still much to be done. Ignorance is no longer an acceptable excuse for othering those who are different from the perceived dominant demographic. As society evolves, so must organizations such as JALT.

Over the years, there have been numerous incidents at conferences, meetings, and social gatherings. Reports of these incidents exist within both unofficial and official channels, including reports to the JALT Board of Directors (BoD) who have worked hard to address and resolve them. In June 2017, revelations regarding conduct within JALT at an Executive Board Meeting (EBM) called for the need for a more specific reporting procedure that clarified the necessary steps to lodge an official complaint, one which did not necessitate communicating directly with a BoD member. A CoC was needed to protect members, volunteers, and those attending any JALT events or functions as guests, leading to its official development in JALT in 2017. A CoC in and of itself, though, is not a blanket solution. Studies have shown that training, adequate enforcement, and continuous refinement is required if a CoC is to be effective. As members' conduct is usually most influenced by established social norms within an organization, and with how management conducts itself (Adam & Rachman-Moore, 2004), simply asking members to read the CoC is insufficient and many may even be unaware of its existence (Giorgini et al., 2015)

Establishing a Working Group

A Working Group, known as "The Sexual Harassment Committee" was formed in January 2017 to create the JALT CoC. It included nine members with diverse teaching experiences, nationalities, first-languages, and working environments. Many were members of the Gender Awareness in Language Education (GALE) Special Interest Group (SIG), who had experience in harassment policies, or were members of their employment institution's harassment committee. Members shared their accounts of racial and first language discrimination, homophobia, and power harassment experiences within JALT, clarifying that focusing solely on sexual harassment would be a disservice to all members of the organization. Lawyers were consulted in order to clarify the legal status of the CoC and protect JALT from overstepping boundaries in the case of recourse.

At the June 2017 EBM, in connection with a report by the BoD regarding an official complaint, a few members questioned the necessity of the CoC, expressing sentiments that, as adults, members are predisposed to being aware of proper conduct. Numerous women immediately began bravely sharing their stories of harassment endured while dedicating their time to JALT. This powerful #metoo moment clarified the need for a CoC, and led to the development of the following statement:

JALT seeks to provide a safe, hospitable, and productive environment for all JALT members, staff, volunteers, and event attendees, regardless of nationality, ethnicity, religion, disability, physical appearance, gender, or sexual orientation. JALT prohibits any intimidating, threatening, or harassing conduct during JALT events and at any socializing related to those events. Harassment includes, but is not restricted to, offensive gestures or verbal comments related to nationality, ethnicity, religion, disability, physical appearance, gender, or sexual orientation, as well as inappropriate physical contact or unwelcome attention. Anyone who is asked to stop harassing behavior is

expected to comply immediately. Action taken by JALT may range from a warning to notifying local law enforcement. Any harassment concerns should be brought to the attention of the JALT Code of Conduct Committee at conduct@jalt.org. Immediate steps will be taken to resolve the situation. All replies to these addresses will be delivered to all members of the current Code of Conduct Committee. (JALT, n.d.)

This forms the foundation of the CoC and informs the work of the CoC committee. As understanding of proper conduct inevitably evolves, so will the CoC to best safeguard JALT's membership.

Becoming a Committee

The CoC was formally adopted at JALT's 2017 June EBM after a vote of attending Executive Board members, and a revised Working Group was assembled to oversee complaints. For two years, the goals were to refine the CoC, finalize a complaints procedure, and establish a protocol for dealing with complaints. This process necessitated that the CoC group become a formal committee. In 2019 it became a subcommittee of the existing Administration Committee (AC), responsible for addressing complaints related to the JALT CoC. Officers were nominated to staff this newly formed Subcommittee.

As the CoC Subcommittee began operations, its independence from the AC became of paramount importance. Not all AC members were on the CoC Subcommittee, yet the AC was the official channel to communicate with the BoD. Concerns over personal information and JALT members' perceptions of the BoD having too much influence necessitated that the CoC Subcommittee become a separate entity. In the February 2020 EBM, a motion to become independent passed by a unanimous vote. As it currently stands, the BoD is not part of the CoC Committee, nor is it involved in the complaint procedure. Subsequently, all BoD members no longer receive CoC complaints emails. The transition to becoming an independent committee will further help protect the privacy of complainants as well as alleviate the concern of power structures influencing both procedure and outcome. Upon receiving a complaint, the CoC will conduct an independent investigation. If this investigation finds against the respondent, then appropriate action will be taken. In more serious cases, the CoC Committee may, via the BoD, recommend the EBM bar the respondent from meetings, terminate their official duties if the individual is a JALT volunteer or member of staff, or terminate their JALT membership.

Developing and updating the CoC Complaints Procedure

The CoC complaints procedure had not yet been finalized when JALT officially recognized the CoC Subcommittee in June 2017. Procedures needed to be succinct and easy to follow, with loopholes and ambiguity removed. The final draft was composed in time for the November 2018 EBM and formally adopted at the 2019 February EBM. The procedure outlined below shows the process as it currently stands. Committee members recognize that continuous refinement will always be required.

The Code of Conduct Complaint Procedures

1. If an incident occurs, it is suggested that an individual first try to settle it informally by making it clear to the other individual(s) concerned that the behavior is unacceptable. This may be face to face or in writing. If an individual feels this is difficult or embarrassing, they should seek help from conference personnel, local Chapter and/or SIG officers, or any other National Officers they feel comfortable talking to.
2. If a person affected by the situation wishes to pursue the matter, a formal complaint should be made to the Code of Conduct Committee, either in person or through the officer mentioned in 1. above, face to face or electronically. All complaints will be treated seriously. Complainants always have the option of going directly to law enforcement.
3. The complaint must be put in writing in a signed letter or via email stating the name of the person accused, the nature of the complaint, dates and times, names of any witnesses, and action already taken.
4. All complaints will be considered by the Committee, which will investigate the complaint as thoroughly as possible to allow opportunities for statements from both the complainant and the respondent. Any person against whom a complaint is made should also be interviewed. Anyone interviewed will be assured of confidentiality, except in the case of alleged illegal activity, which must be reported to law enforcement. The Committee's initial responsibility, wherever possible, will be to seek reconciliation between the parties involved. Where this proves to be impossible, the Committee will make any necessary recommendations for action to the Board of Directors.
5. Anyone involved in the procedure has the right to be accompanied during all steps in the procedure by a support person or to withdraw from the process at any time.
6. Prompt action, including but not limited to warnings, expulsions, or notification of law enforcement, will be taken if a complaint is determined to be well-founded.
7. The Board of Directors, with the approval of the Executive Board, may bar the perpetrator from meetings, terminate official duties if the individual is a JALT volunteer or member of staff, and/or propose a motion to the Executive Board to dismiss the individual from JALT in accordance with Chapter II, Article 11 of the JALT Constitution. In addition, the Board of Directors may take legal action and, if necessary, the Board will contact and cooperate with local law enforcement agencies (JALT, n.d.).

Desired Updates to the Code of Conduct

Experiences with formal complaints thus far reveal discretion regarding information-sharing by members to be of concern. Additionally, legalities surrounding formal complaints are often unclear.

The CoC Committee would like more transparent channels to independently access the legal counsel available to JALT.

JALT and SIG officers (who are not working members of the CoC Committee) involved in investigations should be able to continue with their JALT duties and retain access to official communication channels, including EBM.net and their JALT email address. However, some will elect not to be involved, particularly if accused, which is their right to not self-incriminate. No protocol exists for dealing with JALT members who decline to engage in investigation procedures.

At the June 2020 EBM, a motion passed allowing the Committee access to email correspondence on official JALT email lists that may include information relevant to an active complaint. Subsequently, several members commented that other modes of communication (such as JALT Slack—a messaging platform) should be included as concerns have risen regarding potentially harassing correspondence. The extent to which the CoC Committee authority reaches such types of communication platforms is something the Committee is considering.

Awareness-Raising

Awareness-raising and training are central to the CoC Committee agenda. It is not enough to merely have a CoC in place; awareness needs to be fostered through training workshops, conferences, and events to make participants cognizant of the CoC and its continually evolving needs. Since formation, its members have been present at every JALT International Conference holding poster presentations, workshops, and information booths. Members have given workshops and presentations at various chapter meetings throughout Japan and endeavor to continue doing so. We hope to bring specific issues to light, develop awareness, and encourage resolution, through member and guest participation. Numerous committees (such as the Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Committee) and SIGs, notably Gender Awareness in Language Education (GALE), have worked with the CoC Committee offering training and support at International, Pan SIG, and SIG conferences, and at chapter meetings. They have included the CoC in conference handbooks and ask conference attendees to acknowledge they have read the CoC when completing conference registration and allowed committee members to present on conference panels and hold workshops.

The BoD and numerous other members, most notably the EBM, have helped the CoC Committee immensely by:

- ♦ having the CoC displayed on the JALT website
- ♦ encouraging discussions amongst EBM members at meetings and on EBM.net
- ♦ supporting motions regarding alterations to the CoC and complaints procedure
- ♦ supporting the transition to an independent committee
- ♦ enabling the inclusion of official JALT communication channels in the CoC.

The Code of Conduct and Social Media

The CoC Committee has been approached regarding how the CoC should be interpreted in terms of interactions on social media, which are becoming an increasingly important aspect of communication within JALT. The discussion of inappropriate online behavior has become prevalent due to issues on SIG and Chapter Facebook pages, official JALT email communication, and EBM.net posts. Questions regarding what to do when observing unprofessional conduct, and how to submit complaints to the CoC Committee have increased.

The line between official JALT communication and JALT-related communication through personal or social media channels requires succinct clarification. Currently, some SIGs and Chapters and EBM.net have separate CoCs relating to communication. Multiple CoCs may understandably lead to confusion as to where members should file complaints. Groups with a separate CoC who receive a complaint are asked by the JALT CoC Committee to first utilize their own complaint procedure. Additionally, if the main CoC committee directly receives an official complaint which they feel should be passed on to a SIG, Chapter, or another committee with their own CoC, then they reserve the right to do so.

Recent incidents have shown that when complaints were not formally made, or a separate CoC was in place, the actions the CoC Committee could take were unclear. Valuable lessons were learned through these incidents, especially concerning what should not be done. If there are other Codes of Conducts in place within an independent group, the official CoC respects the group's autonomy and asks that the independent group address the complaints. However, this has led to some people feeling that JALT should only have one CoC so that all complaints are handled following the same protocol. While the authors agree that this helps foster transparency and fairness, the CoC committee members are not in a position to insist that those with their own Codes, some that date back to before the creation of the JALT CoC, do away with them. There remains a concern that incidents can escalate if they are openly discussed on social media and other communication platforms. Thus, the need for a stringent reporting and handling process is paramount, but autonomy of other CoCs certainly needs to be respected.

While developing a new CoC for social media communication is not seen by the Committee as a feasible option, further discussions with the EBM and the BoD will be pursued in order to reach a consensus on how the current CoC could be used to best create supportive and respectful spaces for online discussions for JALT members. It is critical that complaints be made through the relevant complaints procedures, rather than posting them (or complaints) on social media, to ensure a fair outcome in all cases.

Current Discussion Points for the CoC Committee

Official Complaints

Numerous JALT members have sought the advice of the Committee on how to best address incidents with other JALT members. The Committee does not desire the responsibility of monitoring or policing members. It is responsible for offering advice and support to those who present concerns. The first step in the reporting process is asking that members attempt to handle issues in an unofficial capacity by communicating effectively with those involved. This is not always possible. The CoC Committee can offer advice and support without an official complaint. It will not pressure nor persuade but will offer options that endeavour to achieve a successful and satisfactory outcome for all involved.

Though members turn to the Committee for advice regarding inappropriate conduct, the main reason official claims are not filed stems from fear: fear of being blacklisted for employment, fear of being blamed, fear of being perceived as sensitive, and fear of retaliation. These fears correlate with similar reasons for silence in the face of injustice in the workplace or at other institutions (Kish-Gephart et al., 2009). Our position is not to push people into making official complaints. How can the CoC Committee and JALT community better support those with concerns but who do not feel secure with making an official complaint? Potential responses to this question are detailed below, showing ways in which both the CoC committee and the JALT community can better support those who fear speaking up in the form of an official complaint.

Training and Support

Bilingual training opportunities for the EBM and general membership are scarce in Japan. For many, executive position training is on-the-job training. The delicacy of situations that the CoC Committee is tasked with calls for training and support. How should JALT support Committee members? Should JALT insist they undergo training and workshops? If so, should all JALT committee members, SIG, and Chapter officers also undergo such training? Who would be responsible for sourcing and funding such training? Currently, the committee is looking into the possibility of using some of its available budget to go towards training some of its members with TELL Lifeline Support (<https://telljp.com/lifeline>).

Diversity and Awareness

At the time of writing, the CoC Committee consists of four white first language English speaking university teachers, raising concerns of language, culture, and perceived-status barriers. There is concern about the lack of diversity, but encouraging volunteers to step forward has proven difficult. What can JALT do to encourage more diversity on the CoC Committee?

The CoC is on the JALT website, is included in many conference websites, and posted throughout events, yet not everyone is aware of its existence. How can the association create more awareness of the CoC? Currently, the committee is active in raising awareness of both its existence and the need

for a more representative committee through publications, giving presentations, and holding workshops. More innovative ways are also under consideration.

The Future of the CoC

The work of the Committee is an ongoing process. The groundwork has been laid but will need to be reviewed and revised continuously. As the world becomes more aware of what does and does not constitute harassment, and as societies evolve, inevitably begetting new forms of harassment, CoCs must evolve accordingly. This is an organic process requiring frequent and careful consideration, a fact true for any organization looking to develop their own CoC.

The Committee will continue to review the CoC, with the current focus turning towards fine-tuning the complaints procedure, adapting the CoC to encompass all aspects of JALT, and holding awareness-raising and training workshops. Above all, we must instill faith that the CoC is not a threat but a positive benefit to JALT's future and the well-being of members and guests alike. We believe that while a CoC can help produce an environment of trust, consideration, and understanding, we should acknowledge that some people can be intimidated because making official complaints is something they may have never considered before.

Conclusion

At each stage of development, the CoC has received unwavering support and encouragement from JALT, and the Committee looks forward to continuing in this manner. Awareness-raising efforts have been substantially supported by the organization. The foundation and development of an effective CoC is no easy feat. Nevertheless, it is a necessary one for organizations endeavoring to set expected standards of behavior while simultaneously ensuring members' safety. It takes time and dedication to create a workable code that is void of ambiguity or avenues for misinterpretation. It requires continual effort to ensure the code reflects current social climates, and that the members it represents are both aware of its existence and striving to implement its intent. This calls for sufficiently consistent, innovative, and practical training. A continuously evolving, organic code that is adequately promoted and executed can only be of benefit to any organization in terms of member-satisfaction and organization-reputation.

Involved in English education for over 20 years, **Tanja McCandie** has worked in Canada, the UK, and Japan. She founded www.equityeltjapan.net, is a "Best of JALT" recipient, Japan Cambridge University Press' lead teacher training and senior tutor, and writes for Abax ELT. Research interests include gender, teacher education, and leadership.

Eleanor Smith, currently an assistant professor of Cultural Studies at Aichi University, has been teaching in Japan for 16 years. Research interests include developing classroom practices to foster engagement in global social issues, cross-cultural examinations of communication and practices in yoga, and applying principles of yoga to language learning.

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Appendix A

Code of Conduct for Education Groups

1. The International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) Code of Conduct: https://members.iatefl.org/downloads/member_info/IATEFL_code_of_conduct.pdf

This is a comprehensive yet easy to follow code for the UK based association. It would make a good template for organizations looking to create or evolve their own CoC.

2. International Institute for Educational Planning's Teacher Codes of Conduct:

<http://etico.iiep.unesco.org/en/teacher-codes-conduct>

This site provides a comprehensive set of guidelines specifically for teachers but could be adapted to suit related contexts.

3. Korea TESOL (KoTESOL) Code of Conduct: <https://koreatesol.org/content/code-conduct>

This page states explicitly behavior deemed unacceptable and outlines the Complaint Procedure in terms of both online and face-to-face contexts.

4. Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) International Association Code of Conduct: <https://my.tesol.org/codeofconduct>

This site provides a set of positively oriented guidelines with a brief description following each one.

Appendix B

Awareness-Raising Groups

1. ELTtoo: <https://elttoo.wordpress.com>

This website aims to give voices to those who have been harassed in ELT and works towards raising awareness of the issues surrounding it as well as providing support, endeavoring to make ELT circles harassment-free.

2. Equal Voices in ELT (EVE): <https://evecalendar.wordpress.com>

This is a team of people looking to raise awareness around gender parity and highly proficient first-language/other-language speaker parity at ELT conferences and events by posting to their calendar only those events that fit their parity criteria.

3. The Fair List: <https://thefairlist.org>

This website encourages gender parity at ELT events in the UK through The Fair List award, awarded to those who put together events that demonstrate gender balance in terms of 'plenary speakers, presenters, and speaker panels.

4. Women of Color in ELT <https://womenofcolorinelt.wordpress.com>

This website encourages anti-racism and addresses native-speakerism and gender issues within ELT. It promotes safe spaces for women of color (WOC), includes a database of WOC, and offers numerous resources to learn about anti-racism and what we as an ELT community can and should be doing to promote equity.

5. TEFL Equity Advocates: <https://teflequityadvocates.com>

This website addresses native-speakerism and provides resources for training and advocacy for all speakers of English who have experienced the detrimental effects of native-speakerism, and who want to promote equality.

6. Equality in ELT in Japan: <https://www.equalityeltjapan.net>

This website addresses gender imbalances for ELT events in Japan. A list of female ELT professionals and their research/presentation interests is provided for event organizers to contact. A “Male Allies” page allows men to pledge to participate only on panels that show gender balance.

Gender and the Rhetoric of Waste: An Intersectional Approach

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Abstract

Metaphor can be a double-edged sword. It can serve as a bridge in intercultural communication, fostering mutual respect, but it can also obscure harsh realities. Rhetorical literacy can help the foreign language learner navigate this territory, to avoid unconscious cooptation into hidden ideologies and prevent their unintentional perpetuation. In this study, I present a model for integrating lessons on rhetorical literacy into English language education by linking them with common textbook topics. As an example, I take discourse on material waste, a common topic when discussing environmental issues, and demonstrate the subtle ways it has been incorporated into rhetoric that perpetuates the treatment of women as human waste. In conclusion, I advocate leveraging an intersectional perspective to better contextualize single-issue studies and expose the role of rhetoric in reinforcing the social roots of bias in language.

Keywords: metaphor, rhetoric, intersectionality, engaged pedagogy, materials development, gender

概要

メタファーは諸刃の剣。異文化間のコミュニケーションにおいては、相互尊重を育む架け橋となることもあるが、厳しい現実を隠蔽し、力を奪うために悪用されることもある。レトリカル・リテラシーは、外国語学習者がこの異文化間という領域で活躍するためには不可欠のスキルの一つになる。隠れたイデオロギーに無意識に取り込まれるのを避け、意図せずに助長するのを防ぐ助けとなる。本論文では、レトリカル・リテラシーのスキルを育成するために、教科書の共通トピックと結びつけて指導する教育モデルを提示する。例として、環境問題をテーマにする授業で物質廃棄物に関する教材を取り上げる際、同時に女性を人間の廃棄物として扱うレトリックに注目する。最後に、言語に潜在するバイアスの根源を徹底的に暴くために、交差性（複合差別）を重視した視点でシングル・イシューを見据え、社会全体の文脈に位置付けることを提唱する。

キーワード：メタファー、レトリック（修辞学）、複合差別（交差性）、関係性教育、教材開発、ジェンダー

Waste is a critical issue for the survival of all species on the planet today. Some face the basic challenges of food waste and water shortages. Others are affected when land is laid waste through deforestation, desertification, and pollution, especially the long-life pollution caused by nuclear waste. Many also face the challenges of wasted minds and wasted lives: minds wasted due to lack of equitable access to education; displaced persons languishing in refugee camps; human potential wasted due to biased hiring practices.

As cogently demonstrated in works such as Zygmunt Bauman's 2004 *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*, the word "waste" may especially reverberate in the hearts and minds of those who have been marginalized in inequitable social systems. How many girls, even in the most developed countries such as Japan and the U.S., have been denied the right to an education because their fathers said it would be a waste to spend money to send them to school?

As one index to an investigation into how such rhetoric is used to justify sexism, in this study I examine a small group of films featuring situations in which the rhetoric of waste is used to justify sexism. I have chosen an array of films appropriate for use in an English language classroom where the teacher seeks to introduce social issues such as sexism and racism. My first goal is to analyze the rhetoric and consider the degree to which such representations in popular culture perpetuate such ideologies, and the degree to which they may offer models of resistance. My second goal is to then consider the value of teaching language learners to pay attention to metaphors. My third goal is to provide an integrated model for starting with a single issue such as sexism but ultimately viewing it in intersectional context.

Theoretical Bases

Rhetorical Literacy

"Think globally, act locally" has become a common mantra in many foreign language classrooms. But the emphasis in many textbooks is more on the global, and a disproportionate focus on stories of poverty in other countries can have the consequence, however unintended, of obscuring local issues. In fact, one in seven children even in an affluent country like Japan live in poverty, according to *The Asahi Shimbun*, citing the 2020 "Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions" released by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare ("Studies, More Support Needed," 2020). Such a narrow focus can also have the unintended consequence of fostering the chauvinistic view that Japan's affluence is purely a result of hard work and national superiority. Similarly, a disproportionate focus on the destruction of the natural environment in faraway developing countries can have the consequence, however unintended, of obscuring issues of human rights violations perpetuated by multinational corporations.

An emphasis on rhetorical literacy (Yokota, 2015) can help to bridge this gap. Even if a teacher is using a designated commercial textbook, a lesson on plastic waste, for example, can be supplemented with a metaphor spotting task (Yokota, 2020), employing scenes like the ones introduced here from the teacher's own materials collection, with minimal scaffolding required.

The primary theoretical foundation for my concept of rhetorical literacy comes from *Metaphors We Live By*, the classic study in cognitive linguistics by Lakoff and Johnson (2006). Lakoff and Johnson incisively point out the role of rhetoric in perpetuating the dehumanizing effect of any work ethic that promotes Weberian rationality or efficiency as paramount, with matters of personal meaningfulness secondary. "In the area of politics and economics, metaphors matter more, because they

constrain our lives. A metaphor in a political or economic system, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2006, p. 236).

To illustrate this point, Lakoff and Johnson give the example of the conceptual metaphor LABOR IS A RESOURCE. They note that most contemporary economic theories treat labor as a natural resource or commodity, equating it with raw materials, speaking of its cost and supply. They further note that when we unconsciously accept the LABOR IS A RESOURCE metaphor, then cheap labor becomes a good thing, just like cheap oil. “The exploitation of human beings through this metaphor is most obvious in countries that boast of ‘a virtually inexhaustible supply of cheap labor’—a neutral-sounding economic statement that hides the reality of human degradation” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2006, p. 237).

This aspect of the work of Lakoff and Johnson, originally published in 1980, finds later echoes in a wide range of philosophical, sociological and cultural studies, such as Bauman (2004), which traces the use of numerous examples of the rhetoric of waste subtly mapped from the source domain of the material to the target domain of the human.

Through supplementary lessons on rhetorical literacy using materials such as the film scenes introduced here, the foreign language classroom can be transformed into a productive site for the development of awareness and strategies of resistance to prepare all foreign language learners, not only immigrants, migrants, and refugees, to defend themselves against both exploitation and complicity in exploitation.

Intersectionality

The six films treated here are all commonly viewed as focusing on a single issue such as sexism, racism, or anti-Semitism. With this study, I propose a way for the foreign language teacher to establish a core pedagogical principle whereby all texts are consciously examined for their potential to serve in the development of a broader intersectional perspective, no matter how narrow the theme may appear at first.

Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term “intersectionality” back in the eighties, particularly in order to expose flaws in the US legal system that failed to account for multiple causes of injustice in the courtroom: An individual would be forced to choose a “single axis” (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 139) by which to be judged—for example, sexism or racism, but not both. The term was immediately incorporated into many discourses and came to be known in Japan especially through the work of Ueno Chizuko, who aptly translated it as *fukugō sabetsu*, complex discrimination (Ueno, 1996). Nonetheless, the concept never seems to have been as fully integrated into gender studies as it should have, despite attempts such as Goldberger and Belenky (1996), who published with the explicitly stated intent of acknowledging the lack of intersectional perspective in their previous work (Belenky et al., 1986).

There are now many studies that introduce intersectionality comprehensively, including Collins and Bilge (2016) and Sensoy and DiAngelo (2017). The point most relevant to the present study is that

intersectionality is not merely a matter of personal identity but rather a framework for analyzing social inequality. Governed by social and legal norms which may vary from place to place, the same individual may be treated with differing degrees of advantage and disadvantage due to the way apparent aspects of their identity are perceived, such as their sexual orientation, gender identity, ethnicity, and nationality (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2016, p. 177).

Analysis: The Disempowering Rhetoric of Waste

Freedom Writers, 2007

Of the 200 scripts in my small corpus of films on social issues collected for potential use in the English language classroom, the one with the most obvious use of the rhetoric of waste is *Freedom Writers* (LaGravenese, 2007). The main character is Erin Gruwell, an idealistic young white teacher who believes in the promise of integrated schools and fights, in her way, for the right of her students to receive equitable treatment in the system. The verb “waste,” in the sense of squandering resources, is used four times: once by Erin’s father in a dinner conversation, and three times by Erin in a negotiation with her supervisor.

You’re gonna *waste* your talents on people who don’t give a damn about education.

Why should they *waste* their time showing up when they know we’re *wasting* our time teaching them? We tell them, “Go to school. Get an education.” And then we say, “Well, they can’t learn, so let’s not *waste* resources.”
(LaGravenese, 2007)

The first scene is an especially good example of racism and also of a complex intersection of race and gender, as Erin’s father is problematically expressing his respect for her by telling her that she, a white woman, is too good for her students, who are primarily people of color.

But a simple quantitative approach based on occurrences of the search keyword “waste” in this original small corpus did not yield the anticipated results, and so I was compelled to employ a more experiential approach. Instead, I started to look at films known to present scenes or themes involving sexism and other forms of discrimination, and search for examples of the rhetoric of waste more broadly defined—thematically related rhetoric that might not use that exact word.

With this approach, I found five more films that met the broader criteria. The first film that immediately sprang to my mind was *A World Apart* (Menges, 1988). It turned out to be the only one of the four that explicitly uses the word “waste.” I found my way to the other four films by way of my revelatory analysis of the more extensive rhetoric of waste in *A World Apart*.

The reader is encouraged to search online for still images and videos as aids in visualization where desired.

A World Apart, 1988

A World Apart was written by Shawn Slovo and directed by Chris Menges (1988). It is Slovo's loving homage to her mother, the white anti-apartheid activist Ruth First, who was assassinated by letter bomb in exile in Zimbabwe in 1982. The action takes place largely during the year 1963, when Molly (the pseudonym used for Shawn in the film) is 13 years old. Her father has gone into exile, and in the course of the film her mother is arrested under the infamous Ninety Days Act, which could be used to detain a political activist for 90 days without bringing any charges; detention was also infinitely renewable. The film shows how Molly matures not only in her understanding of racism but also in her understanding of her mother: she grows from hating her mother for not playing the stereotypical role of suburban housewife to recognizing that her mother was fighting not only for black South Africans, but for a better world for her children and for all South Africans.

The word "waste" occurs only once, in a scene where Diana (the pseudonym used for Ruth) is being interrogated by a police inspector after being detained.

Your family is suffering as a result of your delusions. All this hand wringing, playing Joan of Arc, it's nothing. Nothing but an excuse for being a terrible mother. Unless you make a statement, you'll die in your cell, and no one will know what happened. *You've wasted your life.* You could have done so much. (Menges, 1988)

This is a clear example of the use of the rhetoric of waste as a psychological strategy to mentally torture a political prisoner, laced with toxic sexism. The last sentence is a particularly twisted way of reiterating the assertion that Diana is personally to blame for her own suffering. In sentiment, it echoes the words of Erin's father in *Freedom Writers* as an example of how hypocritical expressions of respect for white women subtly, but nonetheless heavily, intersect with racism.

This was the only explicit use of the word "waste" in *A World Apart*. But as I continued to analyze the script, I came to realize that the same logic was being expressed with two other pointed words, loudly and clearly enunciated: "nothing" and "no one."

Your family is suffering as a result of your delusions. All this hand wringing, playing Joan of Arc, it's *nothing*. *Nothing* but an excuse for being a terrible mother. Unless you make a statement, you'll die in your cell, and *no one* will know what happened. (Menges, 1988)

Diana does indeed almost die in her cell; she is only released after attempting suicide.

How might such indirect expressions of disparagement, by virtue of their very subtlety and nuance, work together with direct acts of violence to effect loss of self-esteem or even mental breakdown? This breakthrough question immediately led me to the next four films, where I indeed found the rhetoric of waste, expressed in different words, being used to the same devastating effect.

The Color Purple, 1985

The Color Purple (Spielberg, 1985), based on the novel by Alice Walker, follows the life of Celie, a young Black girl growing up in the American South in the early twentieth century. She is abused first by her incestuous father and then by her husband Albert, whom she calls “Mister.” She is separated from her beloved sister Nettie, but gradually finds self-respect through her friendship with Shug Avery, a traveling singer.

This is the line from *The Color Purple* that immediately echoed in my mind when I became aware of the correspondence between the rhetoric of waste and other rhetoric of disparagement in *A World Apart*. Albert shouts these words at Celie when she finally decides to leave him after years of abuse. “Look at you! You’re black, you’re poor, you’re ugly, you’re a woman! You’re nothing!” (Spielberg, 1985).

Other scenes throughout the film demonstrate the debilitating cumulative effect on a woman of being repeatedly told that she is ugly, in a world where women are so relentlessly subjected to impossible beauty standards. The effect of the word “ugly” is further underscored by the initial “Look at you!” In an androcentric world, visibility equals vulnerability. Celie is forced to look at herself through the eyes of a man who wants her to think she is worthless, like a prisoner in Bentham’s panopticon, with the additional implication that his view is shared by all men. And as with the interrogator in *A World Apart*, the final phrase “You’re nothing!” is violently hurled, although not so much with vicious meanness as with a sense of desperate projection.

Suffragette, 2015

“Nothing” is used to similar effect in *Suffragette* (Gavron, 2015), a film about the fight for women’s right to vote in England in 1912. The following lines are spoken by a police inspector who tries to persuade the main character, Maud, to become an informer to avoid prosecution.

You’ve been nothing but trouble since you got here. And do you think anyone listens to a girl like you? That anyone cares? They don’t. *You’re nothing in the world.* I grew up with girls like you, Maud. People who sacrificed life for revenge and a cause. I know you. And so do they. They know how to draw on girls like you. Girls with *no* money, *no* prospects, who want things to be better. They primp and they preen, and they fluff you and they tell you you are the foot soldiers of the cause. But you’re only fodder for a battle *none* of you can win. (Gavron, 2015)

In addition to the general effect of grinding down Maud’s sense of self-worth, the accusation that she has been “nothing but trouble” also plants seeds of fear—fear of incarceration and loss of employment—in order to compel subservience. The word “only,” which occurs in the last sentence, should also be noted as part of the broader rhetoric of waste.

In both *The Color Purple* and *Suffragette*, the word “nothing” was used directly by men against women as a term of verbal abuse. In the next two films, its use is more indirect and complex.

Dirty Dancing, 1987

The next echoes came from a film where the word “nothing” is not used directly as verbal abuse but has rather been internalized by two young people: Johnny, the dance instructor at a summer resort frequented by wealthy patrons, and Frances (Baby), a doctor’s daughter staying at the resort with her family for the summer as a guest.

The first example, spoken by Johnny, occurs in a scene that comes after Frances’s father, Jake Houseman, has saved the life of Johnny’s dance partner Penny, who was the victim of a botched abortion. Jake has erroneously assumed that Johnny was the father, and verbally abuses him on the basis of that misunderstanding. When Frances tries to apologize for her father’s rudeness, Johnny nonetheless expresses his admiration for the doctor’s professionalism. He compares himself to Jake unfavorably, expressing an internalized sense of inferiority. “The reason people treat me like I’m *nothing* is because I’m *nothing*” (Ardolino, 1987).

The second example, spoken by Frances, appears in a scene that occurs after it has been discovered that an elderly couple, guests at the resort, are serial pickpockets. Johnny had originally been accused of the crimes and fired from his job. Frances was able to provide an alibi to prove his innocence, by reporting that he was with her at the time the incident of theft occurred. But Johnny is still fired, because the information that he was with her constituted a violation of the house rule against workers socializing with guests. “So, I did it for *nothing*. I hurt my family, you lost your job anyway—I did it for *nothing!*” (Ardolino, 1987).

An obvious parallel in these two quotes is the painful repetition of the word “nothing.” But a significant difference will be noted in the degree of internalization of feelings of low self-worth by the two young people. Johnny truly sounds like he has internalized a habit of self-deprecation. Frances is more angry at the injustice of the power structure than surrendering to a low sense of self-worth. This difference is a reflection of the characterization of Frances as a young woman who was raised in a progressive, wealthy family where she was named for Frances Perkins, the first woman Cabinet member in the US administration. Elsewhere in the film, dialogue reveals that she is on her way to college to major in economics and dreams of joining the Peace Corps.

The word “nothing” is used six other times in the course of the film, more indirectly than in the four cases quoted above, but effectively amplifying the rhetoric to the status of a significant theme. The other most significant echo, again repeated for emphasis, occurs after Frances’s father, in a subtle expression of classism, finds out that the money Frances had borrowed from him had gone to pay for Penny’s abortion. “I don’t want you to have anything to do with those people. *Nothing!* You’re to have *nothing* to do with them ever again!” (Ardolino, 1987)

Julia, 1977

My last example, *Julia*, is the most complex in terms of the rhetoric of disparagement. As with *Dirty Dancing*, it is not used in scenes of direct abuse. The absence of any such dialogue is due to the fact that this film is based on an autobiographical memoir, *Pentimento* (1973), by the playwright Lillian Hellmann. In that account, Lillian recounts her memories of her childhood friend Julia, who joined the Resistance during World War II, as well as her own peripheral involvement. Julia was clearly subjected to both physical and psychological torture by the Nazis. But the thrust of the film is not so much the telling of Julia's story as it is Lillian's exploration of her own emotions and identity through her friendship with Julia. They are portrayed as being of two highly contrastive personalities. In Lillian's eyes, Julia is always supremely full of confidence; Lillian herself is constantly plagued by self-doubt.

The word "nothing" appears three times, but not as disparagement. In the first instance, Lillian uses it when she is trying to bluff her way out of a sticky situation with her Hollywood friends on a trip to Paris. They are curious about why she is changing her itinerary to pass through Berlin to get to Moscow, especially considering that she is Jewish. She insists: "*Nothing's* wrong" (Zinnemann, 1977).

In the second instance, the word "nothing" is used by a member of the Resistance, a sort of "conductor" along an underground railroad charged with discreetly protecting Lillian, as she has agreed to take on the dangerous assignment of delivering a large amount of cash to Julia in Berlin from her comrades in Paris. Border patrol is taking a long time to check Lillian's visa, and the "conductor" sees that she is starting to panic. Standing in line behind her, he whispers: "It is *nothing*. Do not worry" (Zinnemann, 1977).

In the third instance, when they finally meet in Berlin. Julia says to Lillian: "It's all right, everything's fine, *nothing* will happen now" (Zinnemann, 1977).

But all these lines turn out to be terribly ironic foreshadowing. Julia is murdered.

I continued to scrutinize the dialogue for other examples of the rhetoric of waste or disparagement. And, as with the previous examples, I discovered a line that was short but carried an impact far out of proportion to its brevity. It is spoken by Lillian's partner Dashiell Hammett. He is impatient at being awakened night after night, as Lillian suffers from terrifying nightmares after learning of Julia's violent death. Lillian is further tormented by her failure to find Julia's child after months of searching. "Lillian! The baby is dead. Julia was and isn't. That's all" (Zinnemann, 1977).

Dashiell doesn't know whether Julia's baby is dead or not. He is just trying to persuade Lillian to forget about it. It is true that Julia is dead. But what is Lillian to make of his pronouncement, "That's all"? What are we to make of it?

Lillian is usually quite submissive with Dashiell, her mentor and her elder by many years. The whole film is about her timid personality, starkly contrasting with Julia's courage. Her decision to take on the dangerous Resistance assignment was entirely out of character for her.

But this time she resists—perhaps a lesson learned from her experience with the movement. She challenges Dashiell's pronouncement, asking him: "And when you die, will you want me to feel that way about you?" (Zinnemann, 1977).

He tries to deny that possibility: "I'll outlive ya" (Zinnemann, 1977).

But then, unusually for him, he hedges: "Oh, maybe not. You're stubborn" (Zinnemann, 1977).

That stubbornness, despite her timidity, is what will be seen in the following section to fuel Lillian's chosen strategy of resistance.

Analysis: Empowering Strategies of Resistance

A common quality to be found in these six works, I would argue, is that they conclude with scenes showing the indomitable spirit of characters who had once been subject to the disempowering rhetoric of waste but who persevered and found ways to resist by transforming that very same rhetoric and turning it against their assailants.

Freedom Writers

At the end of *Freedom Writers*, the students in Erin's class find empowerment in identifying with good ancestors, comparing themselves to the Freedom Riders of the civil rights movement. They also employ the strategy of remembrance to resist oppression.

Ms. G, we can fight this, you know, like the Freedom Riders.

Yeah, yeah, we'll all drive around on a bus. Only this time, they try and bust us up, we bust a few of them board members' heads.

Or we can go to the newspapers, media. That'll get their attention.

Or we can paint the administration building with the word "assholes" in various colors.

Hey, it's something. We can do this.

We weren't just kids in a class anymore. We were writers with our own voices, our own stories. And we won't forget. (LaGravenese, 2007)

A World Apart

Remembrance is also the strategy of Shawn Slovo, whose story of her mother will endure even though South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission never found who murdered Ruth First. It is also the strategy of Molly and Diana (Shawn and Ruth as they are depicted in the film). *A*

World Apart further conveys the power of remembrance in combination with solidarity. The end of the film depicts Diana defying house arrest—she has been released from prison only because she attempted suicide—to attend a comrade’s funeral. Molly, the eldest of Diana’s three daughters, joins her mother for the funeral, saying, “He was my friend” (Menges, 1988).

Solomon Mabuse was one of us. What he suffered, we all suffer. We do not mourn him. We honor him, and we say that the only true tribute to him is to pick up the spear from where it has fallen. Solomon is just one man. When we defy them, when we resist in ourselves, when we resist in our hundreds, when we resist in our thousands, in our millions, then victory is certain. Mayibuye! iAfrika! (Menges, 1988)

The Color Purple

In *The Color Purple*, Celie finds the courage to resist Albert’s attempt to destroy her self-esteem and finally talks back to him.

Until you do right by me, everything you even think about gonna fail!

The jail you planned for me is the one you gonna rot in.

Everything you done to me ... is already done to you.

I'm poor, black, I may even be ugly. But dear God, I'm here! I'm here! (Spielberg, 1985)

Suffragette

Maud Watts models two strategies, both the strategy of remembrance and the strategy of turning one’s tormenter’s words against them. She employs the strategy of remembrance when her son is taken away from her. “Georgie. Your mother’s name is Maud Watts. Don’t forget that name, ‘cause I’ll be waiting for you to find me. Will you find me, Georgie? Don’t forget it” (Gavron, 2015).

Next is an example of how Maud employs the strategy of turning one’s tormenter’s words against them.

Maud: What gave you the right to stand in the middle of a riot and watch women beaten and do *nothing*? You’re a hypocrite.

Inspector: I uphold the law.

Maud: *The law* means *nothing*. I’ve had no say in making *the law*.

Inspector: That’s an excuse.

Maud: It’s all we have. We break windows, we burn things, ‘cause war is the only language men listen to. ‘Cause you’ve beaten us and

betrayed us, and there's *nothing* else left. There's *nothing* left but to stop you. (Gavron, 2015)

The repeated use of the word "left" at the end also evokes the idea of waste.

Dirty Dancing

Dirty Dancing also ends with a suggestion of a way that the negative force of derogatory rhetoric can be confronted and transformed, though it is not a straight or simple path. When Frances despairs at the futility of her action (providing an alibi for Johnny that cleared him as a suspect accused of pick-pocketing), saying she did it for nothing, Johnny tries to reassure her. "No, not for *nothing*. Nobody has ever done anything like that for me before" (Ardolino, 1987).

Frances is not immediately persuaded. She basically ignores his attempt to comfort her and continues to express despair. "You were right. You can't win no matter what you do" (Ardolino, 1987).

This expression of despair is especially poignant because, when Johnny had originally complained to Frances about feeling like he could never win no matter what he did, Frances had been the one to encourage him.

Now Johnny finds it is his turn to encourage Frances, although his words of encouragement are troublingly tinged with continuing traces of self-deprecation, indicated by the accent on the word "you" in the last sentence. "Listen to me. I don't want to hear that from you. You can" (Ardolino, 1987). Frances is still not persuaded. "I used to think so" (Ardolino, 1987).

But the movie is structured to lead to a happy, if somewhat qualified, ending where Frances, at least, triumphs over this despair, although Johnny's future after summer's end is significantly unclear. And justice is at least partially served as Frances's father finds out who really got Penny pregnant and apologizes (however obliquely) to Johnny for judging him unfairly.

Julia

As we saw in *Freedom Writers*, *Suffragette*, and *A World Apart*, Lillian Hellmann's strategy is remembrance: remembering and passing the story of her friend on to future generations by including it in her autobiography, *Pentimento*, which formed the basis of the movie *Julia*. "He was right. I am stubborn. I haven't forgotten either of them" (Zinnemann, 1977).

Conclusion

When an individual chooses a particular film for private viewing, their selection may be influenced by their interest in a single issue such as sexism or racism. Thus, in their initial engagement, their cognitive focus may be limited to situations related to that particular concern. So it may also be for the teacher seeking authentic materials for a course they are developing.

And just as private appreciation of a work of art deepens through repeated engagement, so may a teacher find that certain course materials, originally selected for a lesson on a single issue exhibit the

potential to be fruitfully combined with other materials to present a more intersectional view of social reality.

The concept of rhetorical literacy can aid in the development of an integrated course design that makes such an intersectional perspective a core feature of individual units as well as the overall course. *Freedom Writers* may originally be selected due to an interest in or desire to learn and teach about Chicano and Latino culture, but it also includes intersections with white and Jewish culture, as well as scenes of anti-Asian racism. *A World Apart* may originally be selected in connection with racism, but the mother-daughter relationship provides an opportunity to consider intersections of sexism as well. Intersectional connections are likewise to be found in all of the works introduced here, and it is the responsibility of the educator to make sure their vision is not obscured by the “single axis” in a way that perpetuates such a narrow view.

Perhaps the best-known example in English literature of the literary use of the word “waste” is *The Waste Land*, by T. S. Eliot (1922). But apart from the title, the body of the poem does not actually include a single instance of the word “waste.” Were one to search Eliot’s oeuvre further for examples of the rhetoric of waste, one would need to develop an associative eye for other key words, as I have demonstrated here. May this be a sign to the educator about the risk of excessive dependence on quantitative corpus analysis, and the benefit of sensitivity to metaphorical language in our quest to empower our students with the rhetorical skills and intersectional perspective they need to navigate this complex globalized world.

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Book Reviews

Hood Feminism: Notes from the Women White Feminists Forgot.

Mikki Kendall. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2020. 288 pp.

Reviewed by Antonija Cavcic
The University of Shiga Prefecture

In one of her Comedy Central performances, stand-up comedian Dulcé Sloan summarized just one of the daily struggles that Black women face as such:

It's interesting 'cause when I'm talking to, uhh, these white girls and they're trying to talk to me and they're like "We're all women, we're all women, we need to come together." And I'm like, "Listen, girl, I'm Black first. I'm a Black woman. I'm Black first." It's literally in my name of me as a human. And there's so much oppression to deal with—with being Black and being a woman that what I have to do is break my oppression down. You know, to make it manageable. (Comedy Central Stand-Up, 2019)

Like Sloane, Mikki Kendall's (2020) *Hood Feminism: Notes from the Women White Feminists Forgot* confronts the multiple layers and manifestations of oppression Black women have to deal with on a daily basis. Following on from *Amazons, Abolitionists, and Activists* (Kendall, 2019), which illustrated the history of women's activism, Kendall's most recent work takes readers, whether coming from privilege or not, to an eye-opening and often uncomfortable place. Everyone needs to go there.

White, lightweight, soft to the touch and printed on responsibly sourced paper, the reader could be fooled into thinking *Hood Feminism* is also a light, informative read. Rather, it is heavy both in terms of the content and the reader's interaction and emotional engagement with the text. I am a middle-class white feminist with an awkward Catholic upbringing. I come from a place of privilege and while I can fancy myself an ally to women of colour, I now realize that I am guilty of inaction or simply not being angry enough. This book was an essential slap in the face. While outlining *Hood Feminism's* strengths and shortcomings in this review, I will demonstrate how pertinent and personal this book is, as well as how problematic the complacency of white feminism is.

Unfortunately, and unsurprisingly, in 2021 we witnessed ongoing voter suppression and further reports of police brutality towards Black people in the United States. With the intention of bringing about awareness and change, especially regarding Black women's rights, Kendall's *Hood Feminism* covers a vast range of issues from hunger and poverty through to eating disorders, eugenics, and education. Of all the 18 chapters, there is not a single one that seems redundant or excessive. Every single issue matters, and this is largely due to Kendall's approach and authorial voice.

Kendall does not shy from being blunt and calling out mainstream white feminists in a persuasive fashion. As she herself warns in the introduction, “It’s not going to be a comfortable read, but it is going to be an opportunity to learn for those who are willing to do the hard work” (p. xvii). What is particularly effective is the way she first personalizes each chapter with anecdotes or experiences of others close to her about issues such as gun violence and hunger. It is both compelling and confronting and draws the reader into uneasy reflection. Kendall then substantiates her claims by drawing on recent statistics, laws, news reports, and anecdotes. For example, as painful as it is, being reminded that 90% of trans people who have been killed were people of color (p. 153) or that one in three Indigenous women will be victims of sexual assault with the abuser most likely being a white man (p. 56), is both shocking, yet sadly unsurprising. Aside from laying out the facts and revealing uncomfortable truths, one of the most effective means to gain readers’ attention and bring about awareness is the genuine sense of anger in her tone. It is legitimate, honest and jarring. It is almost jarring enough to get the message across that mainstream white feminists are simply not doing enough and need to wake up. Each chapter closes with the author explaining what needs to be done, what white feminists need to reconsider, and possible solutions for issues regarding equity that can be addressed feasibly.

One of the caveats, perhaps, is that Kendall bases a great deal of the discussion on her experiences in Chicago. Although one could argue that growing up as a Black woman means being subjected to white patriarchal systems anywhere and everywhere in the US, some cities and even states are more progressive and supportive than others. Furthermore, and although implicit in the title, the book seems to address an American readership more than a wide-reaching international one. Nonetheless, it would be useful to incorporate or take into account some experiences of Black women elsewhere. For example, the experience and struggles of Black women in the US may be different from, for example, Black women in the United Kingdom who have access to the National Health Service and do not have to deal with issues such as voter suppression. While some topics regarding race and gender are universal, some region-specific issues perhaps limit the audience reach.

Another issue I had with the text is that while it covers a broad range of issues pertaining to Black women’s struggles, it does not go into great detail. Each issue is covered just enough to promote awareness, and even fury, but somehow that seems not enough to inspire the intended audience (mainstream white feminists) to take actual action. Basically, there is great breadth, but also brevity. Granted, one of the intentions of this book is to enlighten general readers, and especially, middle-class white feminists, about issues they are disconnected from in their daily lives. In that sense the book achieves one of its aims. However, one of the other major arguments that Kendall consistently makes throughout *Hood Feminism* is that mainstream white feminists need to do more. This is something I wish she had expanded upon—the calling out, the legitimate privilege shaming, and especially, giving more explicit and tangible advice to white feminists beyond a North American context. That said, what white feminists should be doing is taking the initiative to educate themselves, actively communicate with people beyond their bubbles of privilege, engage in online activism, and campaign for change.

How exactly can readers go a step further? Although attending rallies and publicly confronting issues related to systemic racial and gender discrimination can prove challenging during a pandemic, readers can educate themselves, spread awareness and listen to the experiences, wants and needs of friends, family and colleagues who may be people of colour (when and if they want to share them). Ordering a copy of *Hood Feminism* for your library or suggesting it for your book group is a start. As suggested in the book, register to vote for candidates or parties are more likely to introduce policies which promote equity for both women and people of colour. This was evidenced in the voter turnout and results of the 2020 US elections, when we witnessed not only the greatest voter turnout in the 21st century, but 90% of female voters and 87% of black voters opted for a democratic administration through which the first woman, first Black woman, first woman of South Asian descent, and first daughter of immigrants ever was elected to national office (*Exit Polls, 2020*). As Kendall states, “feminism that encompasses all the issues that impact women ... is feminism that ensures voting rights for all as a foundational issue” (p. 187).

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Language Teacher Recognition: Narratives of Filipino English Teachers in Japan. Alison Stewart. *Multilingual Matters*, 2020. 140 pp.

Reviewed by Carey Finn
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This book can be described as a rare window into the roots and routes of Filipino English teachers in Japan, drawing on recognition theory to contextualise their experiences. Longtime Japan resident Stewart, who is a professor at Gakushuin University in Tokyo, interweaves the career narratives of nine Filipino language teachers with considered, insightful analysis to provide a valuable and highly relevant contribution to the literature on both Filipino educators and language teacher identity more generally.

Stewart begins with the assertions that identity matters, and that it is defined by more than discursive practices. Citing the research of German social theorist Axel Honneth and Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor, she makes a strong case for the use of recognition theory as an alternative framework for the discussion of teacher identity, preferring this to the discourse-centered, poststructuralist orientation that appears to be dominant in contemporary identity research (p. 2). Stewart explains that recognition is an act of power, lack of recognition or misrecognition can be understood as the basis of identity politics, and recognition is associated with both pride and prejudice and rights and respect (or lack thereof). Recognition—in particular the striving for it—is a recurring theme throughout the stories presented in the book; many of the Filipino teachers, particularly the older ones who arrived in Japan in the 1980s or 1990s, have experienced discrimination based on their nationality and perceived skillsets. While there are more opportunities in English education for Filipino teachers today, as Stewart shows, the prejudice that characterises native speakerism persists, adding extra hurdles to the career paths of many. This, together with a worrying increase in the public expression of racism and xenophobia around the world (p. 28), was a major motivating factor for Stewart in publishing the book. In such contexts, the identity of language teachers, and their position at the interplay of culture and communication, becomes even more important. Not Filipino herself (she is a White, British woman), Stewart expresses some concern over her position as the author. However, she makes no claim to be an authority on the lives of Filipino teachers in Japan, offering her work as a starting point for discussion and calling for further research to be done.

All but two of the nine teachers featured in the book are members of Filipino English Teachers in Japan (FETJ), a support, training, and advocacy organisation in which Stewart has been involved since 2010. She details the evolution of FETJ from its inception as a small, home-based support group to a fully-fledged association registered with the Philippine Embassy as a legal corporate entity, with

chapters across the country and members numbering in the hundreds. The first story told is that of the founder of FETJ, followed in chronological order by stories of other senior members, moving on to newer, younger members. Lastly, two teaching professionals who are not members of FETJ are included for an alternative perspective. The narratives chart the movement of Filipino English teachers into public schools from the private, informal sector in Japan (and prior to that, the entertainment and unskilled labour sectors), and touches on the political history of the Philippines that has resulted in a large migrant workforce (p. 82). Indeed, Filipinos make up one of the largest groups of foreign residents in Japan (pp. 35–36).

Each teacher's story, including Stewart's own, is accompanied by a critical analysis to connect it back to recognition theory and issues around language teacher identity, which include those of nationality, discrimination, and language teacher group identity (recognised by Stewart as an area of burgeoning academic interest, p. 59). She also looks at the question of whether teaching English as a foreign language can be deemed a career, considering the often marginalized, temporary, and precarious positions of assistant language teachers (which many of the narrators are), as well as the presence of career tracks established prior to or in parallel with teaching, such as in media or business.

The narratives are engrossing and offer many lessons; they are also exceptionally real, thanks to Stewart taking a light approach to editing the interview transcripts and obtaining prepublication approval from the participants. The commentary sections are, however, not always as easy to read, containing a good deal of what Stewart herself admits is “academicspeak” (p. 122), as well as concepts that require a degree of familiarity with identity theory in the context of education. It is interesting to note that although the book is highly academic and thus likely to be found on university bookshelves, the majority of teachers whose stories it tells are employed in primary education. Stewart acknowledges the need for more research across a variety of educational contexts; it is worth suggesting that any further research be made as accessible as possible.

The book is relevant to anyone with an interest in native speakerism and the changing faces of English education in Japan, migrant workforces, and—critically—language teacher identity. It may also appeal to those interested in language teacher associations (LTAs), though the FETJ differs from many other LTAs in that one of its primary goals is to help members become teachers, rather than drawing its membership from people who are already employed as teachers (p. 119). It also has a strong emphasis on pride and recognition, leading Stewart to describe it as “a case of identity politics in action” (p. 3). As a record of the history and work of FETJ alone, Stewart's book holds value.

The stories presented are overwhelmingly ones of success. There is a sense that the narrators have overcome obstacles through grit and determination, as well as with the support provided by fellow Filipino teachers, particularly in the FETJ. This kind of speaking out and sharing may serve as inspiration and affirmation (p. 6) for others who may be wondering how they can create similar career trajectories. However, for a broader view, it may be worth reading about the stories of other Filipino teachers in Japan—and indeed, those from other countries.

Overall, this is an engaging book that will pique or further the reader's interest in Filipino history and language teacher identity. It is an important publication that will go some way to filling the research gap on Filipino English teachers in Japan.

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If I Had Your Face. Frances Cha. Ballantine Books, 2020. 216 pp.

Reviewed by Winifred Lewis Shiraishi
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If I Had Your Face is a work of fiction focusing on the lives of five women in modern day Seoul, South Korea and how unrealistic beauty standards and rigid social order affect their lives. The author, Frances Cha, is based in New York and is a former travel and culture editor for CNN. The novel highlights themes of gender, power relationships, social status, and materialism. It is a harsh, unflinching look at a darker side of modern South Korean culture and society, both at home and abroad.

The novel alternates between the viewpoints of several women: Ara, who works as a hairdresser; Kyuri, a “room salon girl” who makes her money pouring drinks and entertaining businessmen in the evenings; Wonna, a young married woman; and Miho, an artist who studied in the US and has now returned to Korea to work. The fifth major character, Sujin, is obsessed with getting top quality plastic surgery to become a successful salon girl. Sujin is viewed through the eyes of the other characters, her friends, and her obsession drives one of the main plotlines and themes of the novel: Beauty as one of the few means for women to improve social standing in a merciless, unforgiving society coupled with intense economic pressures.

Ara has been a non-speaking person since childhood, but the novel opens with her “voice.” She grew up in an orphanage with her friend, Sujin. Sujin studies the hair, fashion, and styles of South Korea’s top actresses, many of whom have had plastic surgery. She hopes that by emulating them, specifically with plastic surgery, she can create a better life for herself. Ara is obsessed with meeting her favorite pop star and hopes that her salon connections will somehow allow her to do so. For both women, pop stars and actresses represent a life they long for and which they will do anything to attain. It may be easy for some readers to mock the superficiality and naivety of such characters, but the purpose of Cha’s book seems to be to help the reader develop empathy. The reader may not agree with the characters’ preoccupations, but one does begin to understand them, as well as the harshness of the society in which these young women live.

Kyuri works at one of the top ranked room salons where she gets a firsthand look at the actions of many of Seoul’s wealthy men. She is romantically involved with one man and, though she finds him a boorish, spoiled drunk, she is attracted to what he represents: wealth and a way out of her current life—even though she knows this is not really possible. Through her unrealistic and desperate actions, she risks losing the status she’s managed to gain. Kyuri’s job exists in a grey area of entertainment between “hostessing” and “prostitution” and whether there are/or should be distinctions between the two. There are clear differences in acceptable behavior for men and women, and she comes to believe that all men cheat and that she is realistic about marriage and romance. Her later actions

demonstrate, however, that the beliefs created by the environment in which she works are at odds with her innermost feelings.

Miho, an orphan from a poor country town, wins an art scholarship to study in New York City where she becomes part of the Korean ex-pat community, and romantically involved with the son of a very wealthy family. While in Seoul, she reflects on the somewhat isolated lives of students in a Korean cultural bubble in the US. Wonna married a businessman and struggles with whether or not they can afford a child. She is haunted by her childhood memories of a harsh, unloving grandmother, and her father who abandoned her to live abroad. Challenging connections such as these in terms of relationships and social advancement are strong undercurrents through much of the book.

The use of four narrators allows for differing perspectives and opportunities to connect with the characters. It is easy to choose a favorite. However, that strength is also a weakness, making it more difficult to engage in the storylines of characters with which readers feel less affinity. The “crossed paths” approach helps to build tension, though some stories do not interlace as well as others. Wonna, for example, is a great character. Her narrative voice has a sense of humor, and she provides a much-needed view of Seoul outside of salons and nightlife. Miho’s perspective contrasting Korean and American cultures helps drive the plot and make the themes more relatable to an international audience. I empathized with Kyuri, Ara, and Wonna by the final chapters, even if I did not agree with their choices. Miho’s less naive character arc remained much the same, and as such seems unresolved, while Sujin’s self-defeating choices are tragic.

In an educational setting, this book would be best suited to higher level English learners, preferably with previous experience reading literature. There are a variety of themes to explore that are suitable for university students. Most of the text focuses on plastic surgery and the gendered beauty culture in South Korea. Students may wish to compare Japanese attitudes towards beauty or use the book as an opportunity to learn more about modern South Korean culture. A set of reader questions focusing on the characters may be appropriate.

For students of literature, this novel also provides an opportunity for a further discussion of narrative structure. What are the benefits of this structure? What are the limitations? Why is one main character (Suijin) viewed through the eyes of the others, but not herself? From a gender studies perspective, do these characters succeed in using their voices for empowerment? In addition, instructors who prefer a language-based approach may create tasks and activities focused on reading comprehension passages and vocabulary. This is a powerfully written work that may be of interest to students wishing to explore mainstream fiction as a means of language acquisition, as well as the study of the intersectionality of culture and gender.

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Daughter of the Samurai. E. I. Sugimoto. Olympia Press, 2016. 338 pp.

Reviewed by Yusuke Okuyama
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Lucinda Okuyama
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Daughter of the Samurai is an autobiography that unearths the unconventional life of Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto, born to a high-ranking samurai in Echigo province of Japan in 1874. The central theme of the book is Sugimoto's cross-cultural experiences as a Japanese woman who is forced to move between Japan and the US. The book, published in 1925, was exceedingly popular in the US in 1935 and offers exotic anecdotes of her upbringing as a samurai's daughter, weaving together stories of Eastern mythology, customs, and traditions (Huang Guiyou, 2001). Although not mentioned in the book, Sugimoto later lived in New York and taught Japanese culture, language, and history at Columbia University. She passed away in 1950.

Sugimoto's writing can be viewed through an anthropological, socio-political and feminist lens (Lim, 2001; Kugishima, 2010). Regardless of how a reader interprets the text, it is apparent that interconnected social issues lie beneath the story: immigration, forced marriage and racism, to name a few. Many initial reviews, however, overlooked the feminist messages in the book.

The book can be divided into four parts. The first part introduces rural Japan at the beginning of the Meiji period and describes Sugimoto's family relationships and her rigid education. The author positioned herself as a tomboy who never really adhered to gendered expectations regarding her conduct or appearance. As her brother failed to live up to his responsibilities as the eldest first-born son, Sugimoto was inadvertently cast into this role by her father, despite the family previously having decided from birth that she was to become a priestess. She came to be addressed as Etsu-bo, a "masculine designation" (Yamashita & Obayashi, 2021, para. 17).

The second part deals with the death of Sugimoto's father, which plunged the family into financial difficulty and eventually resulted in her engagement around the age of 14 to a Japanese merchant in the United States. Sugimoto prepared for this unconventional marriage by attending an English Mission school in Tokyo where she eventually converted to Christianity. *Daughter of the Samurai* contrasts her educational experience with other Japanese women who, at that time, were mostly preparing for marriage by learning how to be good mothers and wives.

The third part deals with her relocation to the US in 1898 around the age of 24 to live with her husband. Etsu immigrated during a time when restrictive anti-Asian immigration policies were in place. For instance, the Page act of 1875 prohibited entry of East-Asian Women, particularly Chinese, and

the Chinese exclusion act of 1882 banned the immigration of Chinese men (Ispahani & Ramdas, 2021). Following on from these acts, a series of anti-Japanese movements and anti-Japanese immigration bills gained traction from 1900–1924. In 1924, President Coolidge signed the anti-immigration act that effectively restricted all immigration from Asia. Some of this legislation was not disbanded until the 1950s (Anderson, 2020; National Japanese American Memorial Foundation, n.d.).

Notwithstanding, Etsu took on the role of bridging cultures as she explained Japanese culture to her newfound American friends. Here she contrasted the freedoms of white American women and Japanese women, and challenged the stereotypes of the latter as accommodating, docile and submissive. Sugimoto explained that Japanese women are sometimes like volcanoes: “They may look shy and quiet on the outside but on the inside their anger bubbles like lava” (Kuo, 2016). Moreover, she “gently [rebuffed] American disapproval of Japanese customs and [employed] subtle humour to critique America” (Dodge, 1996, p. 57).

In the fourth part, Sugimoto’s husband passed away and she was forced to return to Japan to live with his family under strict patriarchal rule. Her in-laws dictated where she lived and how her daughters were educated. Nonetheless, she regained some of her agency as she convinced the family to allow them to live in Tokyo, and later to move back to the US for the sake of her daughters’ education.

Although Sugimoto neither claimed to be a feminist nor pled for women’s rights, she “challenged the pervasive aestheticized and orientalized images of Japanese women as docile, submissive Madame Butterflies and geishas ...” (Kuo, 2015, p. 57). In doing so, she cleverly contested “American women’s so-called feminist beliefs about themselves and about ‘unprogressive’ Japanese women who [relied] upon the West for their liberal education” (Kuo, 2015, p. 58). Undoubtedly, Sugimoto did much more than just act as a cultural bridge. Her messages were hybrid in nature. Through explaining the lives of American and Japanese women to each other, she created a dialogue of shared female identity as well as of feminism (Kuo, 2015). There is evidence to suggest that she was influenced by feminist movements in both the US and Japan (Kuo, 2015), such as the literary feminist movement started by Hiratsuka Raicho and Yosano Akiko of the Seito Society during the Taisho period in 1911 (Tsomo, 2019).

Considering the historical context of the 1920s, Sugimoto expressed progressive beliefs about gender. However, from an intersectional feminist perspective, it is evident that Sugimoto compared Japanese women to white Northern American women and made no mention of the oppression of African American women. Sugimoto reveals her own “lack of exposure to the realities of black [*sic*] life in America” in her autobiography with her “comic” portrayal of Minty, the African American housekeeper (Dodge, 1996, p. 66). According to bell hooks (2000), African American women were excluded from the struggle against sexism early in the feminist movement. Furthermore, Sugimoto neglects to acknowledge her own class privilege as she was not a typical example of a Japanese immigrant in 1898 (Dodge, 1996). Most Japanese women immigrated to Japan to join their working-class husbands as picture brides (Dodge, 1996). In fact, Sugimoto lived in an upper-class neighbourhood and

enjoyed a privileged social position which insulated her from the racial hostility often directed at Japanese people (Dodge, 1996).

Ostensibly, Sugimoto's conversion to Christianity initially seems incongruous with her feminist narrative. However, upon further investigation, it becomes clear that Christianity was an important aspect of a feminist consciousness for Sugimoto as well as other elite Japanese women (Kuo, 2015). For the Japanese, missionaries were signs of Western hegemony, and the samurai were amongst the most enthusiastic converts to Christianity because they thought that it could expose them to Western practices and increase their status in society (Kuo, 2015). At that time, white missionary women were seen to be more equal to their husbands and mission organisations supported women's suffrage in Japan.

Interestingly, some believe that the author created Etsu as a fictional character based on her own life to counter anti-Japanese propaganda and support the struggle against anti-immigration legislation in the US at the time (Kugishima, 2010; Hirakawa, 1993). It is thought that the author refrained from mentioning political disputes between Japan and the US and tweaked the story to highlight the importance of personal identity as opposed to a disproportionate focus on religion, race, or age. It seemed that it was easier to convey her message in story form considering the political climate of the time (Kugishima, 2010).

While *Daughter of the Samurai* may not be a precise historical account of Etsu Sugimoto's life, it is based on her experiences as an Asian immigrant and widowed single parent (Kuo, 2015). Sugimoto offers a fascinating blend of autobiography, history, cultural commentary, and feminist reflections. With subtle humour, she expertly crafts this story for a Western audience. This subtlety allowed her to counter disapproval stemming from Western "ignorance, arrogance or insensitivity" as well as to critique the discriminatory government policies of that time (Dodge, 1996, p. 61).

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The Psychological Experience of Integrating Content and Language.

Kyle Read Talbot, Marie-Theres Gruber, and Rieko Nishida, Eds.

Multilingual Matters, 2021. 328 pp.

Reviewed by Susan Pavloska

Doshisha University

In their introduction to this collection, editors Kyle Read Talbot and Marie-Theres Gruber quote one of the pioneers in the field of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) to point out that “being educated in a language other than one’s mother tongue has been around for over 5,000 years” (Coyle, 2007 in Talbot & Gruber, 2021, p. 1). CLIL, in its “hard” or “European” form, aims to instruct students in a variety of disciplines using a language that is not the students’ L1 with no provision for language instruction or oral corrective feedback (OCF). Programs in English-Medium Instruction (EMI), partially a result of ERASMUS (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students), which was established in 1987 and succeeded by ERASMUS Plus in 2014, did not gain steam until the early 2000s, after which their number increased dramatically. By 2016, top European universities were offering over “72,500 full-degree study options in over 700 disciplines”—all taught in the L2 of both the instructors and their students (Coyle, 2007, as cited in Talbot & Gruber, 2021, p.1). Therefore, the “psychological experience of integrating content and language” to which the title alludes is that of non-native English-speaking instructors and—to a lesser extent, students—in a variety of countries, including Austria, Finland, Canada, the United States, Wales, Spain, Japan, and Argentina.

Thanks to the work of such researchers as Do Coyle and Christiane Dalton-Puffer, there is a large body of scholarship on CLIL best practices, but the emphasis here is on the identity, beliefs, and well-being of instructors who have had to teach, with varying degrees of willingness, in a language that is not their L1. Resentment about increased workloads and a lack of preparation and confidence seem to be major issues, as well as frustration about not being able to cover as much of the syllabus because of the necessity of having to progress and speak more slowly (Chapter 8). However, the most important criticism that proponents of CLIL face is the accusation that “content” invariably is “dumbed down,” and in fact, one of the Austrian technical college instructors interviewed in Chapter 6 does admit to being tempted to use CLIL only when covering easier, less detailed lessons.

In the one chapter devoted to CLIL in Japan, “A Longitudinal Study of Japanese Tertiary Students’ Motivation, Perceived Competency, and Classroom Dynamics in Soft-CLIL,” editor Rieko Nishida explains how such government initiatives as Global 30 (2009), Global 30 Plus (2012), and Super Global (2014) have led to a dramatic increase in the number of EMI programs at Japanese universities. However, in Japan, for the majority of students, EFL concerns have continued to be emphasized, resulting in a “soft” version of CLIL. In the soft-CLIL class described in Nishida’s study, content is integrated from the students’ major and used as “part of a language course” (p. 251). Her analysis confirms that teaching content is intrinsically

motivating for students, not only because it offers intellectual stimulation and a sense of accomplishment, but also because it is best taught in a student-centered manner where it also serves to improve students' perceived communicative competence and enhances group dynamics.

Nishida's chapter looks deeply at the experience of *students* in the CLIL classroom. However, in my experience, for English native speaker instructors, this emphasis on EFL can be seen in the way that the instructors are perceived by students and administrators. Anecdotally, many non-Japanese university instructors (even those with advanced degrees in such subjects as Law and Politics who perceive themselves to be teaching a class in Law or Politics) are primarily seen by the administration as language teachers. At the same time, for many, probably most, EFL instructors with English as their LI, teaching content is as intrinsically motivating to them as it is for their students, with many university EFL teachers making efforts to add additional content to their classes, either by expanding upon the content in their EFL textbooks in creative ways or by providing supplementary materials. This is possible because, unlike colleagues teaching second foreign languages other than English, EFL instructors do not need to spend time teaching the basics due to English having already been taught in the elementary and secondary stages of education. This is not to say, however, that explicit language instruction/review is no longer needed.

In the case of the members of GALE, our common interest manifests itself not only in our awareness of how gender affects our professional lives, but also in its appearance as content in our classes. I was pleased to discover from reading these essays that my EMI Gender Studies class, taught as an elective in a regular (that is, non-EMI) faculty, uses many of the techniques mentioned in this research. The techniques include intensive vocabulary instruction (using the *GLAAD Media Guide*), various scaffolding strategies, and, above all, a student-centered approach with significant time devoted to translingual group discussion. During these discussions, students are free to choose their own groups and use whatever language they want as long as, in the course of the semester, each takes a turn doing a summary in English for the class. In lieu of a long paper, students do a group presentation at midterm using the concepts learned and write a weekly reflection paper (*kansōbun*) in which they frequently say how surprised they are by the diversity of opinions and experiences in the class. In contrast to the experience of the instructors from many of the chapters in this book, as well as the opinions of some administrators and colleagues here in Japan, the course content has not been "dumbed down" at all. Rather, content seems to be integrated not only with students' English expressive ability but with their own experiences and their identity as young people with access to a multiplicity of viewpoints. The freedom to use LI at stages of the lesson (not unheard of in CLIL) is probably a contributing factor to this ability.

While much of this book is focused upon cases which do not directly relate to instructors here, these essays are useful to those interested in incorporating gender issues into their classes in Japan insofar as they offer a good opportunity to glean best CLIL practices contextualized across a world-wide scale.

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Intercultural Families and Schooling in Japan: Experiences, Issues, and Challenges. Melodie Lorie Cook and Louise George Kittaka, Eds.
Candlin and Mynard ePublishing, 2020. 273 pp.

Reviewed by Sara L. Schipper
Kyoto University

This book consists of 11 chapters, each one an article related to the Japanese school system and the place of children from intercultural families within it. The majority of the chapters are based on qualitative research, including methods such as (auto/duo)ethnography and narrative inquiry. Each chapter is unique in the availability and the sources of data used (e.g., school reports, homework, personal interviews, surveys).

For qualitative researchers in particular, the authors' own explanations of the value and the limitations of these methods should prove extremely useful. For example, as parents of bilingual children struggling to provide homework help, long-time friends and colleagues Cynthia Smith and Lily Thurkal (Chapter 5) found autoethnography to be the best method for comparing and analyzing their shared experiences. In Chapter 2, Jon Dujmovich explains how the lack of research on single fathers in intercultural families in Japan, particularly where the father is a foreign national, helped determine his use of autoethnography as a method. As for limitations, Meredith Stephens (Chapter 6) explains that as a parent and educator with an obvious interest in her children's educational success, it would be impossible to rule out bias when using autoethnography. However, the author's awareness of this issue and willingness to pursue findings contrary to her expectations minimize that bias.

Many articles in this volume are quite personal, as most authors are parents describing their own experiences or those of their children. As Melodie Lorie Cook writes in the introduction, the authors aimed not to generalize their results, but to "share stories, with the hope that these stories will resonate with ... the reader" (p. xxi). Indeed, they do just that.

In the foreword, Fred E. Anderson says, "As frequently documented, in this volume and elsewhere, children who are not ethnically Japanese, or only partially so, often find it difficult to gain acceptance as full members of the society, even if they themselves *feel* Japanese" (p. xiv). This is indeed a recurring theme in this book, particularly with regard to schools' attitudes toward multilingualism and multiculturalism. In fact, sections with this theme resonated with me the most as both an educator and a parent with a bilingual/biracial child who is growing up in Japan.

In one striking example related to multilingualism, Jennifer Yphantides relays her son's experience in an English support program at a Japanese public elementary school. Although he was completely fluent in Japanese when he entered the school, the parents were told he was not permitted to join the "Japanese only" class, as he did not have a Japanese parent to assist him with his homework (Chapter 1, p. 10). Moreover, during the half of the day that the English program students and the Japanese

only students took classes together, the former group was made to sit in the back of the room with an English translator regardless of their Japanese ability (p. 12). This relegation of non-Japanese students to the back of the room, though perhaps practically motivated, seemed to reinforce the separation of the two groups while denying a possible opportunity for Japanese language learning. In fact, Yphantides states that while parents of the children in the program were quite pleased with their children's progress in English, many expressed concern about the seeming lack of improvement in their children's Japanese ability (p. 13).

Continuing with the theme of multilingualism, in Chapter 3, Marybeth Kamibeppu presents the difficulties many parents face in ensuring that their children become bilingual and bicultural, acknowledging that success requires a great deal of time and perseverance on the part of the parents. She gives a thorough explanation of the methods of raising bilingual children, providing parents and educators with a better understanding of the potential limitations of language learners' development. The perseverance Kamibeppu references is clear in many chapters of this book, including Chapter 9, in which Eugene Ryan uses autobiography to share his experience of successfully maintaining bilingualism in his autistic son. The result of parents' continued efforts is also clear in Chapter 11, in which Louise George Kittaka discusses issues related to sending children from Japanese schools to English-medium schools overseas. The author provides a comparison of the school systems in Japan with those in New Zealand and, using her own experiences, offers advice for parents considering a transition.

Alongside language-based challenges, cultural assumptions also contribute to the idea of not belonging in several chapters of this book. Based on both her own experiences and a review of the literature, Cook (Chapter 10) stresses the importance of teachers in Japanese schools not making assumptions about adopted/foster children of foreign parents, such as that they speak English fluently or "can't eat Japanese food" (Cook, 2018, as cited in Cook & Kittaka, 2020, p. 243), implying that these assumptions are not unusual. Shane Doyle and Fiona Creaser (Chapter 4) mainly discuss the linguistic challenges of raising children in two languages in three different cultures, but they also mention that their teenage daughter's views on gender equality and other issues are often dismissed as cultural differences at school, even though she has grown up in Japan and attended Japanese schools since the age of 18 months (p. 85).

Differences in language or culture—perceived or real—may lead to the lack of acceptance Anderson referred to in the foreword. In Chapter 1, Yphantides offers some explanation for this, describing the disconnect that often exists between the differing visions of the parents of multilingual/multicultural children and the school system. Although parents often want their children to "be accepted as migrants to Japan by Japanese nationals," schools and administrators often expect multilingual/multicultural people to "go home" one day (p. 14). Although somewhat disheartening, this idea helps facilitate understanding of the actions of Japanese schools or even the public in general. In Chapter 7, Charlotte V. T. Murakami provides an insightful historical account of Japanese overseas' schools, which have traditionally assumed that Japanese children who study abroad will one day "come

home” to Japan and will thus need to be able to fit into expected cultural roles. Murakami posits that many Japanese schools might be applying the same principles to multicultural children in Japan, assuming they will need to fit into roles different from those they would assume if they stayed here in Japan.

On the other hand, Suzanne Kamata (Chapter 8), who describes her experience as the mother of a deaf child with cerebral palsy, explains that her difficulties with communication and her inability to fully blend in as a foreigner in small-town Japan have positively affected her understanding of her daughter’s situation as a biracial person in a wheelchair. The story Kamata shares so beautifully in this chapter is sure to resonate with readers, particularly those with intercultural families and/or health and mobility issues.

In a few of the chapters of this volume, I found the analysis and discussion of the data to be written with more clarity and coherence than the explanations of the methodology, but in all cases the topics were well-researched, and the interpretation and explanation of data were thorough and well-expressed. The abundance of research on Japan’s education system, multilingualism, and multiculturalism will surely be of value to researchers and educators. Members of or those close to intercultural families in Japan will likely also feel frustration, anger, admiration, pain, and triumph while relating to the personal stories of the authors. Each chapter holds unique perspectives that will undoubtedly be an inspiration to readers on both a personal and professional level.

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Circe. Madeline Miller. Bloomsbury, 2018. 336 pp.

Reviewed by Eleanor Smith
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Numerous retellings of well-known classics have contextualized “the importance of unheard and silenced voices of women” (Devi & Khurajam, 2020, p. 275). Famous examples include Lisa M. Klein’s (2006) *Ophelia* and Jean Rhys’ (1966) *Wide Sargasso Sea*. Miller’s *Circe* adds to this genre by centering Circe, a minor character in Homer’s *Odyssey*, as the protagonist, with themes of oppression, agency, and voice generating the novel’s pace and substance. We observe a naive Circe struggle to belong as her patriarchal family dismisses her as inferior (due to her nymph status, unattractiveness, and mortal-sounding voice). Her powers for transformation incite fear and humiliation in Helios, her father, whose response is to exile her. In exile, a tumultuous journey of self-discovery begins.

Oppression, Agency, and Voice

Homer (ca. 700 B.C.E./2003) originally positions Circe as a villainous witch who, despite her reputation for transforming men into pigs, is inevitably outwitted by the charismatic Odysseus, eventually becoming his subordinate lover. Though Homer excludes consideration of the roots of her powers, they exist, according to Miller, as “an incarnation of male anxiety about female power – the fear is that if women have power, men are getting turned into pigs” (Weiner, 2019, para 6). By placing Circe as the protagonist, Miller encourages reflection on contemporary female oppression. For readers in Japan, this inevitably inspires contemplation of Japan’s struggle to improve gender parity, particularly regarding the lack of women in higher-level positions (World Economic Forum, 2021). Miller provides substantial background that contextualizes Circe’s predilection for turning sailors into swine and, at the very least, depicts Circe as Odysseus’ equal.

Themes of oppression that range from daily microaggressions (being silenced, condescended, and ignored) to formative experiences (rejection, violence, isolation, and rape) are explored in depth. These themes are not limited to Circe’s character. To illustrate, a disobedient nymph is banished to Aiaia to do a year’s penance. Circe observes, “She showed no fear. Not of me, not of my wolves and lions. And her father disapproved of her” (p. 157). Having endeavored to assimilate to life in Japan, I found many of Circe’s experiences synonymous with my contemporary reality. In a face-saving, patriarchal, hierarchical culture, speaking out as a woman, irrespective of nationality, can risk severe ramifications, including alienation. That said, I was pushed to consider the extent to which the themes of oppression equate to the “Othering” I experience here compared to far more prominent forms of oppression currently at the fore of global discussion. Though I found myself resonating on many levels with the Circe’s experiences, often nodding vigorously along with her character’s ruminations and wishing I could warn her of what was to come, Miller intricately explores the entanglement of oppression with overlapping themes of class, gender, race, and sexuality to such a degree that

I am pushed to confront my own inherent blind spots that my positionality affords. It left me with the question: In what ways do women with different positionalities to me resonate with *Circe* and how could their views inform me of my own ignorance?

Miller correlates agency with voice throughout the book. Circe's voice is deemed unpleasant in her approval-seeking youth, inspiring her name "Hawk" for "the strange, thin sound of my crying" (p. 4). Her siblings label her "screechy as an owl" (p. 6) and suggest that "She could never speak again" (p. 7), rendering Circe largely silent and unseen. Oppression of the female voice is a concept familiar to women in Japan. Recent remarks by Mori Yoshiro (head of the Japanese Olympics Committee) regarding his annoyance at the length women speak being the reason for their absence on the committee reveal prevailing sexist ideals among those in power (Denyer, 2021).

In the paradoxical freedom that her exile provides, readers observe Circe increasingly embrace her voice, from casting spells, commanding dangerous animals and a succession of banished nymphs, dictating sailors' terms of stay, to summoning Helios, with whom she successfully renegotiates her exile. Thus, as she finds her voice, she also finds her agency. Considering the Japanese context, the daily aggressions that women endure have contributed somewhat to cultivating agency and voice. Mori's remarks were met with a hugely successful women-led online petition ultimately leading to his resignation (Denyer & Inuma, 2021).

Miller is careful, though, not to make Circe's traverse from quiet naiveté to commanding wisdom entirely linear, thus sensibly grounding the mythological Goddess in a believable reality. In exile, Circe is violently raped. Immediately preceding this, readers see her newfound agency weaken as she remembers the words of another God: "You sound like a mortal. They won't fear you as they fear the rest of us" (p. 162). She then responds obediently to command, "there was a piece of me that still only spoke what was bid" (p. 163). This culminates in her attempting to justify the attack: "I am only a nymph after all, for nothing is more common among us than this" (p. 164). This pivotal incident spotlights a reaction to which many women in patriarchal societies may relate—despite claiming some measure of agency, a deeply embedded learned obedience can often override it, silencing us, sometimes with tragic consequences. Surviving the rape propels Circe into self-reinvention. She obsessively hones her witchcraft, with her resulting capabilities contributing to her renewed and strengthened agency. Readers understand that the root of Circe's resulting embodied empowerment is not the often-attributed Odysseus but, instead, determined perseverance and unwavering hope through times of rejection, violence, and isolation. Perhaps many women readers can relate to this.

***Circe* in the Classroom**

In teaching contexts, *Circe* is a source rich for analysis using several frameworks, in particular Feminist theory, as the narrative mainly reflects current issues of female agency in a male-dominated world. Using both versions of *Circe*, a comparative analysis (of women's roles, attitudes towards women by male characters, feminine imagery and its significance, and stereotypical gender

characterizations) could precede consideration of relevant connections to current gender issues, a valuable method of developing critical thinking as it demands consideration of various truths.

The novel lends itself to analyses with Marxist theory (considering depictions of class and power-imbances), Psychoanalytic theory (assessing family dynamics and values), Postmodern theory (evaluating revelations that different perspectives expose regarding contemporary society), Critical Race Theory (evaluating power balance and dominance), and Queer Theory (analyzing intersections of class, race, gender, and sexuality).

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Women of a Certain Rage. Liz Byrski, Ed. Fremantle Press, 2021. 232 pp.

Reviewed by Susan Laura Sullivan
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“All is modelled on an adult male’s shoulder span. We accept this—all of us—at our peril” (p. 63), writer and academic Julianne van Loon states in a chapter exploring Seneca’s views on anger in *Women of a Certain Rage*, an observation she feels is applicable to both Western philosophy and our everyday lives. The default measurements for wardrobe fittings are based upon the aforementioned span. Caroline Criado Perez researched the dire outcomes resulting from this absence of female measurements in 2019, and Margaret Atwood warns that gains made by and for women, visible or otherwise, are still at the mercy of patriarchal power structures (Equality Now, 2018). These and related issues are more than enough to make the blood of 20 writers boil.

Women of a Certain Rage, an Australian anthology, explores gender, sexuality, climate-change, police harassment, racism, corruption, parenting, ageing, education, discrimination, feminism, and physical and mental health, among other topics. Common themes are nullification, oppression, and the absence of representation, all of which can inform anger.

Pieces of interest to *GALE Journal* readers might be those dealing directly with feminism and education, which in turn branch out into other areas. In “Women of a Certain Rage?” Eva Cox posits that Australian feminism has missed opportunities to improve women’s lives by adhering to “macho” corporate structures for gains, rather than focusing on general societal obligations to one another which ultimately benefit all. Accompanying the neoliberal outlook that she feels has permeated the aims of feminism is risk avoidance. When risk avoidance is employed, funding and focus *in reaction to* societal problems such as domestic violence ensues, rather than channelling resources into addressing the causes of such problems. Accordingly, the path towards long-term change is lost. She believes that outspoken female voices are silenced due to patriarchal systems, but also due to the modelling of feminist policies on such systems. This is especially reflected in the previously mentioned reluctance to take risks. The result is a lack of leadership which in effect ensures that any real attempt at change is stymied (p. 217). Essayist Caitlin MacGregor, while praising Cox’s analysis, also criticises her outlook for not acknowledging many current voices in Australian feminism, particularly those of indigenous, disability, trans and non-binary rights activists (paras. 2–3). Of note is that chapters in *Women of a Certain Rage* are penned by activists from most of these backgrounds, and that MacGregor also alludes to this fact.

Lack of voice, or the importance of it, is a major theme in this publication. Meg McKinlay, writer and former university lecturer in Japanese literature, wanted to be heard as a child, but her curiosity was undermined when her family continually compared her to a fictional character that McKinlay initially identified with, Agapanthus—a little girl who threw tantrums. Her outspokenness was

called to task in a way her brother's physically violent behaviour was not. She was excited to attend school, but school was less than excited by her:

I was four when I recognised my own frustration and five when I realised school wasn't going to solve it. That not only was I still at the bottom of the power structure, but I had no clear idea of what the rules were.

I say this, of course, with the benefit of hindsight. I was four and then five, too young to articulate any of this to myself at the time. And by the time I was six, I couldn't articulate much of anything to anyone because I had developed a stutter. (p. 201)

She interpreted the advice she was given about stuttering as her "thoughts ... racing too fast for ... [her] mouth" (p. 202). Confused about not knowing what was fine to share and what was not, she was shamed by her teachers for her precociousness.

Regarding the latter point, although females are generally shown to have higher intrinsic motivation and communicative interaction in language learning here in Japan and globally (Yashima et al., 2009; Yazawa, 2020), they and their teachers have come through education systems where male students are still favoured over female, often unconsciously (Helverson, 2016; Liu, 2006, as cited in Adler, 2017; Sadker et al., 2009, as cited in Adler, 2017). McKinley's story reminds *GALE Journal* readers that similar acts of erasure and erosion might unwittingly occur in our classrooms, both from learning differences and gender issues.

McKinley's experience offers further insights. Despite school being far from a comfortable bed of learning for her, she went to Japan as an exchange student at age 17:

For a year, I grappled with a different kind of linguistic disadvantage—that of the non-native speaker—as well as a sharp increase in the severity of the challenges I was accustomed to. The Japanese language is full of initial hard consonants, and the therapeutic principles of 'smooth speech'—which I had by then begun to take on board to mitigate my stuttering in English—did me no favours here. I had no idea how to apply them to Japanese and knew that as a foreigner, any attempt to soften consonants or breathe across plosives would simply come across as wrong or strange. In a physiological sense, it was now even more difficult for me to speak coherently, to be heard. But for cultural reasons, this was also true in other respects.

My Japan year was a kind of crucible for me, a perfect storm for voicelessness. How could I be any version of myself given all these constraints on self-expression? (p. 204)

She sought secluded spaces where she yelled as loudly as she wanted in order to allow herself some form of expression. She “snuck out” at night and ran and sang along “city streets and rice fields, along the river and highway” (p. 205).

Our students might also struggle with non-native languages that feel “wrong” in their mouths, which can affect confidence and production. Language and its expression can shut down the same rather than encourage it. McKinlay also points out the discomfort of being perceived as different. The effects of being singled out can also be applied to our students when they are the focus of attention in class. Additionally, many non-Japanese instructors have experienced varying forms of “Othering,” including aggression and violence towards people of colour. In the anthology, former Greens candidate, activist, and writer, Rafeif Ismail, speaking about Bla(c)k women, states:

Hypervisibility lends itself to hypervulnerability, and ... [Bla(c)k women] always have to rebuild ourselves after every brush of violence. I am trying to articulate my rage at effects of misogynoiristic violence on Bla(c)k bodies with incomplete vocabulary in every language. (p. 164)

Ismail, having come through “refugee pathways” (p. 165), reminds the reader of the outrages, historical and current, that women of colour experience, particularly in countries where they are the minority and/or where colonialism has destroyed social structures. She reminds us that countries with strict policies towards accepting people in need, like Australia and Japan, inadvertently and perhaps deliberately uphold these cycles that those with power have helped create (nippon.com, 2021; Refugee Council of Australia, 2020). She reminds us that not all experience can be conveyed verbally or with the written word. “This is the history underpinning this body: a history of forced displacement, of lost languages, stolen lifetimes and the plethora of issues that come with being an Afro-diasporic youth” (p. 163).

Writer Claire G. Coleman, a Noongar woman from southwest Western Australia also familiar with the history of displacement, says of anger:

I have on more than one occasion used justifiable anger to overcome fear; the fight response was used to wash the flight response from me.

I am afraid of fear, I hate hate; anger without fear or hate is a fertile space in which to work. I embrace fury, hold onto it, claim it as my own; after all, it always was. (p. 138)

Reflecting the theme of the anthology, there is no guarantee that contributors from such diverse backgrounds would see eye to eye. However, the idea of claiming fury and anger as one’s own is particularly powerful coming from Coleman. Respectfully extrapolating this concept, it can be said that the anger resulting from the diminishment of voices and the dismissal of experience and hope can grant many women “fertile [spaces] in which to work” (p. 138).

Language empowers us to get messages like these out to the world even while it lets its users down, and other users of language let their fellow humans down in ways which must be contemplated—but which can be truly horrible to contemplate. From outright violence and oppression due to race, prejudice, and social standing (Ismail, Coleman, Drummond, Muscat, Findlay), to bureaucratic violence in the granting and then erasing of official negotiations, sustenance, and healing (Pettit-Schipp, Niscolescu, Stanley, E. Cox), to other wide-reaching issues, this book explores 20 notions that anger is not always an agent of change, but certainly can be.

Susan Laura Sullivan co-edited the award-winning *Women of a Certain Age* (Fremantle Press, 2018). Associate editor for the *GALE Journal*, her work has been widely published, most recently in *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies*. Research areas include creativity, student autonomy and lifelong learning.

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The Routledge Companion to Gender and Japanese Culture.

Jennifer Coates, Lucy Fraser, and Mark Pendleton, Eds.

Routledge, 2020. 424 pp.

Reviewed by Kathryn M. Tanaka

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Many of the essays in this collection reflect the fact that in 2021, in the World Economic Forum's *Global Gender Gap Report* rankings, Japan once again was rated the lowest of all the G7 nations, coming in at 120 out of 156 countries ranked. This ranking is evident in gender disparity across the fields of health, economics, political participation, and education. As *The Routledge Companion to Gender and Japanese Culture* points out, such standard ways of measuring gendered experiences of everyday life reveal slow change, but do not necessarily provide an accurate idea of changes occurring across broad sections of society. Hidden within these measurements are the complex ways in which gender intersects with other elements of identity such as sexuality, class, and ethnic background, for example. Thus, this volume sets up the ambitious project of covering both "the history of the field" and attempts to address "seismic shifts in the wake of today's popular gender-related social movements, connecting these up with the macro trends emerging at a global level" (p. 1).

The Routledge Companion to Gender and Japanese Culture broadly accomplishes what it sets out to do, which is no small feat. It offers an in-depth look at the many ways in which gender and all its inflections are imbricated in a complex matrix of culture, as well as rapidly changing private and public constructions of identity inflected by global movements. It is an important contribution to a growing and radically shifting discourse about gender, sexuality, and identity. It deftly traces the development of research into gender issues in Japan and connects them to global currents that are changing our ideas of gender and its relation to legal, medical, social, and political structures. The works collected in this text are significant and important contributions to a growing and dramatically shifting discourse about gender and identity and how they are informed, and how it in turn informs society, politics, law, and culture. The book showcases an exciting number of international scholars from a variety of backgrounds and perspectives, as well as at various points in their careers.

The companion is divided into six sections, opening with seven essays on "Theorizing and Historicizing Gender and Japanese Culture." The essays contained in this section provide a broad theoretical grounding of the state of gender studies in Japan. Barbara Molony and Rajyashree Pandey update and explore the historiographical approaches to gender in Japanese culture, and Ayako Kano introduces feminist debates of issues such as motherhood and abortion. In an essay that may be of particular interest to language teachers, Miyako Inoue explores feminist sociolinguistics in Japan, tracing its history and key trends in research from the 1930s to the present, and in doing so she complicates the notion of an ideology of women's language. Emma E. Cook, S. P. F. Dale, and Jamie Coates

round out the first section with essays that discuss the multiplicities of gendered experience the book seeks to highlight; Cook's essay on masculinity studies analyzes both dominant trends in masculinity studies as well as how different notions of masculinity connect to ideas about labor and care. S. P. F. Dale traces new frameworks that shift social and legal discourse away from binary conceptualizations of gender to include transgender, non-binary, intersex, and x-gender identities. Finally, Coates closes out the first section with an examination of ethnicity and identities historically and in contemporary urban Japan.

The first section provides a rigorous theoretical frame and lays out many of the intersections and overlaps that occur through the remainder of the volume. The second section, "Home, Family, and the 'Private Sphere'" brings new perspectives to gendered studies of the private sphere, with David Chapman looking at the heteronormativity of the *koseki* system and problems with this standardization, and authors such as Ekaterina Kertog, Aya Ezawa, and Allison Alexy looking at changing attitudes toward intimacy, what marriage should be, childbirth, and work-life balance. Anna Vainio, Manami Yasui, and Yumi Murayama and Erica Baffelli highlight less-discussed "private" gender identities in their essays on rural depopulation, folk cultures of childbearing, and religion, constituting an important series of contributions to this volume.

The third section, "Work, Politics, and the 'Public Sphere'" opens with Stephanie Assmann's thorough explanation of existent gender-related labor laws and a brief but critical look at the current gender equality policies of "womenomics," and Helen Macnaughton's discussion of the gendered nature of Japanese corporate structures. This section also features a chapter from Toru Takeoka on sex work, an important contribution on a topic that is often marginalized in discussions of gendered labor. Contributions by Helena Hof and Gracia Liu-Farrer on gender and migration and by Emma Dalton on women in politics highlight barriers, stereotypes, and impacts that are part of gender and work in Japan. Finally, Chelsea Szendi Schieder looks at the history of gendered activism, and Jane Wallace provides a fascinating look at lesbian and queer public spaces.

"Cultures of Play: Leisure, Music, and Performance," the fourth section, features articles on music by Rosemary Overell and on digital culture by Jennifer Coates and Laura Haapio-Kirk. Keiko Ikeda and Oleg Benesch look at physical culture and martial arts, and Masafumi Monden has an important piece on male beauty. The section closes out with Emerald King's discussion of cosplay and gender performance.

Literature, film, and visual cultures are the subject of the fifth part of the book, "Culture Production: Literature, Cinema, and Popular Culture." Laura Clark and Lucy Fraser offer a broad look at literary genres and gender across Japanese literature after the Meiji period, and Andrew Campana provides a brilliant chapter on gender and contemporary poetry. Grace En-Yi Ting argues for the necessity of multiple and varied frameworks in the study of anime and manga, while Gunhild Borggreen looks at visual culture and gender more broadly, and Kate Taylor-Jones and Georgia Thomas-Parr offer an analysis of the representation of girls, or *shōjo*, in film and the meaning of their

liminality. Joshua Paul Dale revisits “*kawaii*” in Japan and the way in which “*kawaii*” both creates social expectations for women while also pushing back against them. Sally McLaren provides a fascinating look at gender and misogyny in Japanese media, with the inclusion of several high-profile examples such as Ito Shiori as case studies. Finally, Alexandra Hambleton takes up the topic of pornography and porn studies through a feminist lens.

The final section is labelled “Texts and Contexts: Case Studies,” and the essays here collectively provide more in-depth analyses of gender and cultural production, in what the editors describe as a “how-to” for “close readings of text and genre from the perspective of gender and its related issues” (p. 5). Fusaki Innami takes up dance in Kawabata Yasunari’s literature, Isolde Standish gives of reading of homosociality in gangster movies, and Akiko Sugawa-Shimada provides a fascinating look at women, weapons and war in anime. The section is rounded out with Lynne Nakano’s research on singledom in Japan, and Thomas Baudinette’s exploration of Japanese gay experiences within the heteronormative constraints of Japanese society.

Collectively, this book provides a balance of theory and practice, of broad overview and detailed exploration. The volume is incredibly useful in that it revisits topics that have long been the subject of scholarly attention in gender studies in Japan, such as the figure of the *shōjo* or unequal labor, and provides a thorough orientation to previous research while also offering new ideas and avenues for further exploration. It is also incredibly useful in that it includes topics that have often been marginalized or even taboo subjects in gender studies, such as sex work or pornography. The volume also, as it states in the introduction, works hard “to avoid conflating ‘gender’ with ‘women,’ ‘minority,’ or ‘disempowered’” (p. 3). Instead, it aims to draw attention to the ways in which power and gender manifest in different social, political, economic, and cultural forms and impact everyday life.

One thing many of the essays do is connect directly to gender issues that are rampant in Japanese media today. Whether it be references to Japan’s dismal Global Gender Gap ranking, Ito Shiori, or the #MeToo movement, the book casts its net wide and delivers a volume that is of interest to scholars of gender as well as students. It breaks new ground for researchers in the field while at the same time providing a solid introduction that makes it a text that can be easily used in gender studies, but its breadth will also make it useful to scholars in almost any area. Students and teachers of literature, law, anthropology, sociology, film, labor, art, history, media, cultural studies, folklore, religion, and much more will find this volume useful for their work.

This interdisciplinary approach means the text is broadly adaptable for use in any classroom, and the essays are in general very accessible. Each essay can be read or assigned as a stand-alone piece, or it can be read or assigned together with other pieces in the book. In fact, the editors have included suggestions at the end of each essay for other chapters in the book connected to each piece. In addition to their suggestions, however, many of the pieces are in dialogue with each other in different ways and the lists provided are certainly not the only pairings possible. Every essay covers so much ground and raises important issues that can easily lead to fruitful classroom discussions.

This volume is an important overview of the history the field, significant ideas that have shaped study, and new currents in interdisciplinary research into gender and culture. The ideas and intersections highlighted in this volume will continue to shape the study of gender and culture moving forward. The introduction closes with a request that readers “will join us in challenging existing conceptions of gender and imagining new futures for the study of gender and culture in Japan and beyond” (p. 6). Certainly, the volume provides important groundwork to allow those who engage with the text to do just that.

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