



Journal and Proceedings of the
Gender Awareness in
Language Education
Special Interest Group
of the
Japan Association for Language Teaching

Volume 13 ♦ January 2021

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

Volume 13 ♦ January 2021

Journal Editorial Board

Editor

Gwyn Helverson

Associate Editor

Susan Laura Sullivan

Special Japanese Editor

Kazumi Kato

Layout Editor

Tyler Kinkade

Readers & Advisors

Ma. Wilma Capati *Herb L. Fondevilla*

Kristie Collins *Aaron Hahn*

Melodie Cook *Anna Walker*

Proofreaders

Jhana Bach *Quenby Hoffman Aoki*

Ma. Wilma Capati *Brent Simmonds*

Eucharía Donnery *Anna Walker*

Carey Finn *Gerry Yokota*

Abdi Hassan

All Research Papers in this Journal are double-blind peer-reviewed. Any papers authored by an editorial board member are subject to the same rigorous double-blind peer-review and editing process that all other papers undergo. Reviews and other such articles by or about an existing editorial board member are under the editorial supervision of other board members and editors.

Disclaimer

The opinions, beliefs and viewpoints expressed by the various authors in this journal are solely the personal statements of respective authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the editors or the GALE board. Authors are responsible for all contents in their article(s) including accuracy, statements, citing resources, and so on.

Acknowledgments

Copyright © 2021 by the Japan Association for Language Teaching Gender Awareness in Language Education Special Interest Group (JALT GALE-SIG) and the individual authors. All rights reserved. Printed in Japan. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form without prior permission by the author, except in scholarly articles and reviews.

For further information, contact:

GALE c/o JALT Central Office, Urban Edge Building, 5th Floor, 1-37-9 Taito, Taito-ku, Tokyo
110-0016, Japan, Tel: (+81) 03-3837-1630, Fax: (+81) 03-3837-1631, Email: jco@jalt.org

Citation

Journal and Proceedings of the Gender Awareness in Language Education (GALE) Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching. January 2021, Volume 13. 93 pp.

Publisher: Japan Association for Language Teaching Gender Awareness in Language Education Special Interest Group, Tokyo, Japan.

ISSN: 1884-152X

Date of Publication: January 2021

Registered with the Japanese National Centre for ISSN, National Diet Library, 1-10-1, Nagata-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, 100-8924 JAPAN.

Journal archives can be found at: <https://gale-sig.org/gale-journal>

Editorial Foreword..... 3

Gwyn Helverson

Research Papers

LGBT Who? Crosslinguistic Influence in Sociosexual and Gender Literacy 6

Tyler Kinkade and Shunpei Endo

Joining the Boys' Club: Voices of Female Students at a Top University in Japan 29

Sara L. Schipper

Additional Papers

Working Women in Japan and the Complications of Hiring Household Help..... 49

Suzanne Kamata and Yoko Kita

Reviews

The Truth Will Set You Free, but First It Will Piss You Off! Gloria Steinem 66

Reviewed by Antonija Cavcic

Buddhist Feminisms and Femininities, Karma Lekshe Tsomo (Ed.)..... 69

Reviewed by Carey Finn

Foreign Female English Teachers in Japanese Higher Education: Narratives from our Quarter, Diane Hawley Nagatomo, Kathleen A. Brown, and Melodie Lorie Cook (Eds.)..... 71

Reviewed by Herb L. Fondevilla

Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men, Caroline Criado Perez... 74

Reviewed by Amanda Gillis-Furutaka

Plan B Audio, Jane Joritz-Nakagawa..... 78

Reviewed by Greg Goodmacher

Know My Name: A Memoir, Chanel Miller 81

Reviewd by Winifred Lewis Shiraishi

The Testaments, Margaret Atwood..... 84

Reviewed by Rachelle R. Meilleur

Dear Ijeawele, or a Feminist Manifesto in Fifteen Suggestions, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie ... 87

Reviewed by Lucinda Okuyama and Yusuke Okuyama

Feminizumu no Genzai [Feminism Today]..... 91

Reviewed by Reiko Yoshihara

Editorial Foreword

“At my age, in this still hierarchical time, people often ask me if I’m ‘passing the torch.’ I explain that I’m keeping my torch, thank you very much—and I’m using it to light the torches of others. Because only if each of us has a torch will there be enough light.”

— Gloria Steinem, *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions*, 1983

Despite inspirational quotes from feminist icons such as Gloria Steinem, light seemed to dim around the world in 2020. Some of us saw incomes decrease dramatically due to the global pandemic. Others still put on their masks and went to battle face to face with the virus every day at work. Tragically, some have lost their lives. Many buckle under debilitating stresses in attempting to stay on course in these extraordinary times. We protect ourselves and others while holding out for the vaccines soon to be distributed and which, it is hoped, will bring a return to normalcy for all of us.

Yet that so-called “normalcy” must change. While some gains have been made, Japan has dropped (again) in rank in the latest *Global Gender Gap Report* to 121 out of 153 countries. Not only here in Japan, but globally, one of the fallouts from the pandemic is that poverty has been further feminized with women often first to lose their lower-paid, precarious positions. The UN predicts that a projected decrease in female poverty for 2021 will in fact become a 9.1 percent increase.

Nonetheless, around the world, we persist. BLM activists continued to march for justice. Firefighters ran straight towards peril in a struggle to contain the fires that burned wildly this year. Alice Nkom, Cameroon’s first female lawyer, stood up for the rights of LGBTQIA+ persons to exist free of criminal persecution in their own country. A “Rainbow Wave” swept the US elections, Kamala Harris will be that country’s first female, Black, South Asian vice president, and New Zealand’s prime minister Jacinda Ardern is receiving accolades for her compassionate, triumphant handling of the pandemic in her country.

In this sometimes insular world of academia, GALE has also attempted to do its part in the battle for diversity and human rights by, for example, participating in regional and national conferences (including a seminar on harassment, co-hosted with Kyoto JALT), and publishing the GALE Newsletter and the GALE Journal. Here in Volume 13 of the journal, we offer three full-length papers and nine book reviews which we hope will help to light your way forward.

In the first paper, *LGBT Who? Crosslinguistic Influence in Sociosexual and Gender Literacy*, authors Tyler Kinkade and Shunpei Endo astutely analyze the interface of language, culture and media in regards to how LGBTQIA+ persons are referred to by Japanese university students. This groundbreaking work is an important contribution to the field of QAL in its examination of whether the

language adopted from L1 to L2 is dehumanizing or if it contests hegemony. For her powerful paper entitled *Joining the Boys' Club: Voices of Female Students at a Top University in Japan*, Sara L. Schipper has interviewed four female students who represent the minority of girls and women persevering despite a system not even remotely designed to include them. Schipper remarks upon the potential of these young women to transform their fields, and ultimately, Japan, as they go forth into the world to shine their light upon heretofore deliberately ignored or simply unnoticed subjects. In *Working Women in Japan and the Complications of Hiring Household help*, Suzanne Kamata and Yoko Kita note that women have had to realize firsthand that, despite years of consciousness-raising activism, spouses still do not take on their fair share of duties in the home. The authors discuss if it is possible to create a system of household help which does *not* perpetuate exploitation of women from less privileged classes with underpaid labor. They propose an intriguing stop-gap measure which could potentially help women right now, and in a mutually beneficial way.

Academic book reviews in this volume include the highly anticipated *Foreign Female English Teachers in Japanese Higher Education: Narratives from Our Quarter* (edited by Diane Hawley Nagatomo, Kathleen A. Brown, and Melodie Lorie Cook). Herb L. Fondevilla applauds this collection of essays for its “adroitly written prose and discerning analysis” which give voice to the experiences of that certain female 25% of the academe in Japan. Reiko Yoshihara deftly examines the weighty Japanese-language *Feminizumu no Genzai* [Feminism Today], commending the range of its articles and round-table discussions on intersectionality. Carey Finn expresses high regard for *Buddhist Feminisms and Femininities*, edited by the well-known scholar Karma Lekshe Tsomo, as “a rallying call for the empowerment of women” with its dense, academic studies of the roles of women in Buddhism “across the ages” in cultures around the world. Amanda Gillis-Furutaka lauds *Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men* by Caroline Criado Perez as “a clarion call for change.” Filled with shocking data, the book reveals the extent to which women have been ignored in many vital fields. Particularly during this pandemic, addressing the inherent gender bias in the concept of GDP is necessary. As Schipper and Kamata & Kita have noted, if women could operate at full capacity, and be financially compensated in a fair manner, how could they change the world for the better? The mind boggles.

Other reviews represent the intersection of literature and memoir. *Plan B Audio* by long-term GALE member Jane Joritz-Nakagawa has received an elegant review by Greg Goodmacher: It is described as a beautiful, poignant, sometimes jarring collection of poems about the author’s experience of life-threatening illness. In her insightful review, Winifred Lewis Shiraishi champions the impactful *Know My Name: A Memoir* by Chanel Miller. By relinquishing her anonymity as victim “Emily Doe,” Miller reclaims her name and her identity, essentially putting an end to the all-too-common narrative of the privileged white male athlete getting away with sexual assault because of *his* potential. Many of the journal’s readers will remember being mesmerized and horrified by the dystopian world depicted in *The Handmaid’s Tale* by Margaret Atwood. Rachelle R. Meilleur succeeds admirably at the daunting task of reviewing its masterpiece sequel, *The Testaments*. No spoilers here, yet as both

supposed heroes and villains give testimony in this novel, the metaphor of “voice as torchlight in the darkness” is evident once again. Lucinda Okuyama and Yusuke Okuyama skillfully locate *Dear Ijeawele, or a Feminist Manifesto in Fifteen Suggestions* by the renowned Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie within the canon of feminist writing. This book of “amusing anecdotes and relatable stories” on the universality of feminism within the multiplicity of world cultures is accessible: the reviewers have used it successfully in EFL classrooms here in Japan. After long years of struggle, the American feminist Gloria Steinem still has the power to ignite inspiration in feminists with her humor and wisdom, as Antonija Cavcic notes in her buoyant yet contemplative review of the pop-y *The Truth Will Set You Free, but First It Will Piss You Off!* Steinem is playing the long game: “Don’t think about making women fit the world—think about making the world fit women,” she has stated (1987). Adichie concurs when she notes that while “many societies condition women to think of themselves as just slightly below men,” we should adopt the premise of full equality to actually achieve full equality.

Steinem recently returned to this familiar emblem: “Everybody needs a torch” (2020). The metaphor may be somewhat cliched, but the *light* is not: the research and writing of these contributors shines. Moreover, for any person attempting to exist outside of the rigid restrictions of the gender hegemony, holding a lit torch is in and of itself an act of profound transformation.

Acknowledgements

The editors would like to express our gratitude to the many contributors to this volume of the journal. Numerous volunteer reviewers and proofreaders, listed in full on page two, contributed as faithfully as ever despite the pandemic. Tyler Kinkade has stepped up as Layout Editor, and we thank him for his expertise. We are also grateful to Kazumi Kato for reviewing the Japanese-language abstracts. Susan Laura Sullivan devoted many hours towards the editing of this volume in her role as Associate Editor. Both her care with and her gift for language are evident herein. Many thanks, Sue!

Gwyn Helverson is currently a specially appointed associate professor at Osaka University. Her areas of research include feminist art history and gender studies in EFL.

LGBT Who? Crosslinguistic Influence in Sociosexual and Gender Literacy

Tyler Kinkade

Kanagawa University

Shunpei Endo

Abstract

Crosslinguistic influence on nine Japanese intermediate L2 English learners' academic written sociosexual and gender literacy was investigated in this mixed methods pilot study. The usage of the acronym "LGBT" to label and discuss sexual and gender minorities in the learners' English essays and in published Japanese and English articles was compared by means of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics within a queer applied linguistics framework (Sauntson, 2018). Chi-squared tests revealed significant differences ($\phi_c = .58$) in the usage of "LGBT" in the published Japanese and English articles and that the usage in the learners' English essays was similar to the Japanese articles but differed significantly ($\phi_c = .77$) from published English articles. Pedagogical implications include the need to consider potential L1 influence on learners' L2 sociosexual and gender literacy.

概要

この混合研究法の予備研究では、日本人の9人の中級英語学習者の学術的な執筆の社会的性的リテラシーに対する言語移転を調査した。クィア応用言語学の理論構成 (Sauntson, 2018) の中の批判的言説分析とコーパス言語学により、学習者の英語の論文と出版された日本語や英語の記事において性的少数者を指し示したり議論したりするための頭字語の「LGBT」の使用法を比較した。カイ二乗検定では、出版された日本語と英語の記事の「LGBT」の使用法には、有意差が認められ ($\phi_c = .58$)、学習者の英語の論文の使用法は日本語の記事と似ていたが、出版された英語の記事とでは有意差がある ($\phi_c = .77$)。教育学的な意味においては、学習者の第二言語の社会的性的リテラシーに対する潜在的な母語の影響を考慮する必要がある。

In her groundbreaking book-length research on sexual diversity in English as a second language (L2) education, Cynthia Nelson (2009) argued that educators must acknowledge "that sexual literacy is part of linguistic/cultural fluency" (p. 206). Certainly within the context of writing, the ability to write for an audience of diverse sexual and gender identities and with diverse cultural expectations without causing offense is essential for any writer hoping to impress a customer or supervisor, publish an article, or gain acceptance within an international online community. Yet, sociosexual and gender literacy is seldom addressed in L2 classrooms and textbooks (Gray, 2013; Kaiser, 2017; Moore, 2016, 2019; Paiz, 2015, 2019; Rhodes & Coda, 2017; Yoshihara, 2013). While sexism, heterosexism (i.e., discrimination which favors heterosexuality), and cisgenderism (i.e., discrimination which favors non-transgender people) are mainly to blame for this gap, Nelson (2009) found that even teachers who wished to teach sociosexual and gender literacy lacked confidence and were unsure of how to begin.

To date, queer L2 education research has mostly focused on documenting heterosexism and, to a lesser extent, cisgenderism in the L2 classroom, curricula, and teaching materials. While this research has been vital in highlighting the need for change, from a practical standpoint, teachers must also understand what their students already know, what they are aiming for, how best to achieve those goals, and how to know when they have been achieved. Thus, queer L2 education research needs to begin contributing towards answering these pedagogical questions. When it comes to sociosexual and gender literacy, what do L2 learners already know both in their first language (L1) and the L2? Can their preexisting L1 and L2 knowledge and skills aid their L2 sociosexual and gender literacy development? Are there differences between the L1 and L2 that learners should be aware of?

The impetus for the exploratory pilot study presented in this paper began with asking these types of questions about Japanese L2 English learners' academic writing on LGBTQ topics. Specifically, we wondered why the learners chose wording which dehumanized and stigmatized LGBTQ people. Was it intentional, or was the learners' L1 Japanese influencing their L2 language choices? This in turn raised the question: How do Japanese people generally write about LGBTQ people? Although there were many issues with the learners' writing, given space limitations, we have chosen to focus narrowly on the dehumanizing, and often misapplied, use of the acronym "LGBT" in place of "LGBTQ people," as this was the most common issue in the learners' writing. Narrowing the focus in this way allowed us to investigate and compare the learners' formal writing with published Japanese and English articles from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective within a queer applied linguistics framework. Before presenting the study, we first discuss key terms and review relevant literature on queer applied linguistics, crosslinguistic influence, and sociosexual and gender literacy.

Literature Review

Queer Applied Linguistics

Queer applied linguistics (QAL) has been used to investigate the discursive construction of gay male identities (Baker, 2005; Milani, 2013), sexual identities in L2 education (Nelson, 2009), same-sex relationship discourses in UK parliament (Bachmann, 2011), heterosexism in L2 teaching materials (Paiz, 2015), and heterosexism in UK and US secondary schools (Sauntson, 2018). QAL combines critical applied linguistics and queer linguistics to address social inequities related to gender and sexuality. Critical applied linguistics is the application of linguistics to understand and solve issues of inequality (Pennycook, 2001). Queer linguistics builds upon queer theory (Jagose, 1996) to critically investigate and challenge the ways in which language is used to construct heteronormativity (i.e., the normalization of heterosexuality) and binary gender normativity (Motschenbacher & Stegu, 2013).

A pluralistic, eclectic methodological approach is used in QAL to provide multiple perspectives, apply analyses appropriate to the type of available data, and improve validity (Sauntson, 2018). For example, in their respective studies on sexual identity discourses, Baker (2005), Bachmann (2011), Milani (2013), and Sauntson (2018) combined critical discourse analysis (CDA, Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1984) with corpus linguistics (Hunston, 2002). CDA is a qualitative approach which seeks to

uncover unjust social practices produced by and reflected in texts. However, CDA researchers have also acknowledged the need to integrate quantitative analysis to support intertextual claims (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2000; van Dijk, 1984) and reduce bias (Wodak, 2014). Corpus linguistics is used to reveal patterns of language use within corpora of particular text types or by groups of people. Corpus linguistics analyses are generally viewed as quantitative, but Baker (2005) argued that qualitative interpretation is also required. Although corpora can be quite large in some studies, it is also recognized that small, specialized corpora of only a few thousand words can provide more qualitative, fine-tuned analysis of specific linguistic behaviors which might go unnoticed in larger-scale analyses (Flowerdew, 2012). Examples of such specialized corpora include Baker's (2005) 31,788-word corpus of gay-male-personals advertisements, his 51,180-word corpus of 12 gay-male-sexual-health documents, and Sauntson's (2018) 19,352 and 47,926-word corpora built from three UK and three US curricular documents respectively.

Used in combination, corpus linguistics and CDA can mutually overcome the limitations of the other, providing a broader context with which to compare a single text and contributing a critical, nuanced analysis. In so doing, it becomes possible to determine, for example, whether a particular text is either hegemonic or contesting hegemony in relation to other texts (Baker, 2005). As Baker (2005) explained, "While the concept of discourse is likely to presume a qualitative means of analysis, it is difficult to conceptualise discourse without considering difference and frequency—two concepts which are well-suited to quantitative approaches" (p. 16). Thus, in studying differences and frequencies, patterns can emerge to reveal how phrasing might signal cultural stereotypes (Stubbs, 2001), for example.

Ideologies signaled by lexical and grammatical choices are among the patterns that can be revealed through a combined CDA-corpus linguistics analysis. Word choices, such as "gay" as compared to the more clinical "homosexual," the euphemistic "that way inclined," or derogatory terms, can convey different ideological positions (Baker, 2005, p. 24). Similarly, grammatical choices, such as using "gay" as a noun (e.g., "the gays") instead of as an attributive adjective (e.g., "gay people"), can have the effect of reducing people to a single dimension (Baker, 2005). Thus, quantifying the frequency of lexical and grammatical choices in combination with the qualitative analysis of the ideological implications of these choices can permit researchers to understand patterns in the construction of ideologies within particular genres or communities.

Crosslinguistic Influence, Loanwords, and "LGBT"

Crosslinguistic influence (CLI) research has advanced far beyond the old paradigm of negative L1 phono-lexico-grammatical transfer (i.e., influence) as the primary obstacle to L2 acquisition (Jarvis, 2017). Researchers now recognize that positive L1 transfer can aid L2 acquisition, reverse transfer can influence L2 learners' L1, and transfer can occur laterally from L2 to L3. Recognition of what can be transferred has also expanded to include pragmatics and conceptual CLI.

The influence of loanwords (i.e., L2, or other, words that have become part of the L1) on L2 acquisition exemplifies the complex positive and negative bidirectional nature of CLI. When adopted into the L1, loanwords can remain similar or vary in form, meaning, pronunciation, and grammatical usage in comparison to the L2 from which they were taken (Kay, 1995). The degree of similarity between a loanword and its L2 counterpart can have a direct impact on whether knowledge of the loanword helps or hinders L2 acquisition. Cognates (i.e., words which are similar in meaning and pronunciation) are easier to learn than non-cognates, and false cognates (i.e., words with similar pronunciation but different meanings) are the most difficult to acquire (Otwinska & Szewczyk, 2017).

In Japan, the number of loanwords nearly doubled in the last half of the 20th century to 45,000 in 2000 with English loanwords making up 90% of all loanwords (Rebuck, 2000). Loanwords are often used to fill a lexical gap when a native Japanese word does not exist for a particular concept, but loanwords can also be used to appear sophisticated or even euphemistically to gloss over fraught topics (Kay, 1995; Rebuck, 2000). As an example of euphemistic use, Rebuck (2000) noted “*shinguru maza* (シングル・マザー a single mother) being used instead of the harsher sounding Japanese *mikon no haba* (未婚の母 an unmarried mother)” (p. 61).

In the case of the Japanese loanword “LGBT” (エルジービーティー *erujībīti*), there is evidence suggesting that it is used in all three of these ways (i.e., to fill a gap, to appear sophisticated, and euphemistically). Although it is possible to express the four individual component words that “LGBT” is derived from in native Japanese, *joseidōseiaisha* (女性同性愛者 lesbians), *danseidōseiaisha* (男性同性愛者 gay males), *ryōseiaisha* (両性愛者 bisexual people), and *seibetsuekkyōsha* (性別越境者 transgender people), no equivalent single Japanese abbreviation has yet been coined. The closest single native Japanese word to “LGBT” is probably *seitekishōsūsha* (性的少数者) meaning “sexual and gender minorities,”¹ but some Japanese LGBTQ people reject it because of its ambiguity and emphasis on their minority status (Higashi, 2016). In addition, from 2015 to 2017, there was a large increase in the use of “LGBT” in Japanese media which has been dubbed the *erujībīti būmu* (LGBT ブーム) meaning “LGBT fad,” but some Japanese LGBTQ individuals felt that the coverage had been negative overall and that the term was often used by people who did not seem to understand what it actually meant (Wallace, 2018). More recently, a Japanese reporter noted that “LGBT” can be perceived in Japanese society as having a “pop culture ring” (ポップな響き *poppuna hibiki*) to it (Japan Alliance for LGBT Legislation, 2019). Thus, it appears that “LGBT” is used in Japanese to fill a lexical gap, to appear trendy, and to gloss over concepts the speaker or writer does not wish to examine closely.

Sociosexual and Gender Literacy

Sociosexual and gender literacy is a facet of sociolinguistic competence. According to Nelson (2009), sociosexual literacy is “being able to communicate about sexual diversity matters, and with sexually diverse interlocutors” (p. 206). In this paper, we expand upon Nelson’s definition by defining sociosexual and gender literacy as the ability to communicate effectively both about sexual and gender

diversity and with interlocutors and readers of diverse sexual and gender identities. Importantly, much like fostering any other aspect of sociolinguistic competence, L2 sociosexual and gender literacy development does not mean imposing views, but rather, equipping learners with the language and skills needed to interact effectively with people with different views and identities.

Formal English Writing on Sexual and Gender Minorities

To the best of our knowledge, linguistics research examining the usage of “LGBT” for discussing sexual and gender minorities in formal English writing has not previously been published. In fact, only two instances of “LGBT” appear in concordance data from the 6.5-million-word British Academic Written English Corpus (Alsop & Nesi, 2009). However, reference sources and writing style guides can provide some insight on sanctioned practices for discussing sexual and gender minorities in formal English writing. Beginning with the most basic of references, but one which L2 learners can easily consult, Cambridge University Press’ (n.d.) *Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* states that “LGBT” is an adjective and provides the example of “LGBT rights.” Despite this classification, it is important to note that adjectives can be nominalized in English with the addition of a determiner (Glass, 2014), such as in “the wealthy.” In addition, Weblio’s (n.d.) online *English–Japanese Dictionary*, which the Japanese L2 English learners in this study consulted frequently, classifies “LGBT” as a noun.

The 10th edition of the “GLAAD Media Guide”² (GLAAD, 2016), which is intended to guide journalists in fairly reporting on sexual and gender minorities, does not state the part of speech for “LGBT,” but it does state that “gay” and “transgender” are adjectives, as does the *New York Times Manual of Style and Usage* (Siegal & Connolly, 2015). “Lesbian” is classified as a noun or adjective, and no classification is given for “bisexual.” GLAAD also explicitly cautions against nominalizing “transgender” as in “a transgender” or “transgenders.” Logically, this would imply that “LGBT” should also be used as an adjective, as it includes both “gay” and “transgender.” Reinforcing this hypothesis, both GLAAD’s and the *New York Times’* manuals consistently use “LGBT” as an adjective, when not discussing it as terminology.

The *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (APA, 2019) is widely used as the writing style guidelines for the behavioral and social sciences. Both the sixth and seventh editions of the manual (APA, 2009, 2019), include guidance for reducing bias by being careful not to erase people’s humanity equating them with labels such as “the gays.” The seventh edition advises: “Acknowledge people’s humanity. Choose labels with sensitivity, ensuring that the individuality and humanity of people are respected. Avoid using adjectives as nouns to label people (e.g., ‘the gays,’ ‘the poor’)... Instead, use adjectival forms (e.g., gay men, older adults)” (APA, 2019, p. 133). It also recommends using “sexual and gender minorities,” “LGBTQ,” “LGBTQ+,” or “LGBTQIA” but states that “LGBT” is outdated and writers should also be careful not to use such umbrella terms when only a specific subgroup (e.g., only transgender people) is concerned. In contrast to both the APA and GLAAD, the *New York Times* manual discourages adding additional categories to “LGBT,” although it does encourage writers to seek alternatives.

Formal Japanese Writing on Sexual and Gender Minorities

Linguistics research analyzing the usage of “LGBT” or other terms for describing sexual and gender minorities in formal Japanese writing has also not been published to our knowledge. “LGBT” does not even appear once in the 100-million-word Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (Maekawa et al., 2014). Therefore, it is necessary to turn to Japanese reference sources and writing guides. Shōgakukan’s (n.d.) *Digital Daijisen* Japanese dictionary classifies “LGBT” as a noun and defines it as a general term meaning *resubian* (レスビアン lesbian), *gei* (ゲイ gay), *baisekushuaru* (バイセクシュアル bisexual), and *toransujendā* (トランスジェンダー transgender) *seitekishōsūsha* (sexual and gender minorities). Both this and the definitions for each of the component words of “LGBT” include the suffix *-sha* (者) or *hito* (人) meaning people. For example, *gei* is defined as a same-sex-loving person (同性愛者 *douseiaisha*) and *toransujendā* is defined, albeit problematically, as “a person whose physical sex does not match their mind’s sex but does not want surgery” (Shōgakukan, n.d.). This might mean that these loanwords implicitly represent a person or persons from a Japanese speaker’s perspective. This hypothesis seems to be supported by human rights researcher Hiroyuki Taniguchi’s explanation in Japanese of “LGBT” being “the principal actors” or “who” in contrast with “SOGI” (i.e., sexual orientation and gender identity), which he described as “characteristics and attributes” or “what” (Hayashi, Kaneko, Taniguchi, Naito, & Hara, 2018). This suggests that some Japanese speakers might view “LGBT” as inherently meaning “LGBT people” rather than only characteristics or attributes of some people.

Similar to GLAAD’s English media guide, the Japan Alliance for LGBT Legislation (JALL, 2019) published “LGBT Press Guidelines” to advise both Japanese journalists and LGBT interviewees. It contains a similar definition for “LGBT” to the *Digital Daijisen* dictionary. The guidelines also do not explain how “LGBT” should be used, but throughout the guide, “LGBT” is used both as a modifier (i.e., attributive adjective) of people-related nouns and as a stand-alone noun denoting “LGBT people.”

Lastly, in contrast with the APA’s publication manual, the Japanese Psychological Association’s (JPA, 2015) manual makes no mention of sexuality or gender. However, it does caution writers to avoid discriminatory terms and biased language. It also recommends that researchers writing in English follow the APA’s publication manual.

Research Questions

With the aim of gaining insights of practical use to developing Japanese L2 English learners’ socio-sexual and gender literacy, the present study utilized queer applied linguistics to investigate the following two research questions (RQ):

- RQ1: How does usage of the acronym “LGBT” to describe people in Japanese published articles compare with English usage?
- RQ2: Is the manner in which Japanese intermediate English learners use the acronym “LGBT” to describe people in academic writing more similar to published Japanese or English writing?

Methods

Participants

The nine participants were social science students in a required, one-semester, first-year, CEFR B1-level, English academic writing and reading course taught by one of the researchers at a private university in the Kantō region. The participants were selected because they had used the acronym “LGBT” in the first drafts that they had written for summary-response essays about Yuko Tanaka’s (2017b) article “Using ‘Tradition’ as an Excuse Against Things One Disagrees With” published in the *Mainichi Shimbun* newspaper. All students in the course completed the same curriculum and were evaluated equitably without regard to their voluntary, informed consent to take part in the study, and all data was completely anonymized.

Corpora

Three sets of texts on LGBT-related topics were analyzed in this pilot study: participants’ essay drafts with a combined total of 1,452 words, published Japanese articles totaling 35,673 words,³ and published English articles comprising 28,794 words. The participants’ first drafts were chosen for analysis, instead of subsequent drafts, because the first drafts were thought to provide the most accurate depiction of their L2 sociosexual literacy as the participants had not yet received any feedback from the instructor at the time of submission.

In the absence of a corpus of contemporary formal published Japanese articles containing concordances for “LGBT,” it was necessary to assemble a small, specialized Japanese corpus and, in order to make justifiable comparisons, a parallel English corpus, both on a similar scale to the specialized corpora used in Baker’s (2005) and Sauntson’s (2018) studies to facilitate qualitative analysis. We prioritized contemporaneous articles on LGBTQ topics which the students were either known to or likely to have read in preparing their essays, as these potentially might have influenced the students’ writing. To improve the corpora’s representativeness of published formal writing, contemporaneous academic journal articles were also included.

The Japanese and English published article corpora are summarized in Tables 1 and 2 respectively. The English corpus included articles which were provided to the participants for reference and cited by them in their essays (E1–4 in Table 2), and the Japanese corpus included articles (J1, J3 in Table 1) directly referenced by those English articles, an article (J2) cited by a student, a relevant contemporaneous article (J4) for symmetry, the aforementioned news media guidelines (J5, E5), and academic journal articles (J6–8, E6–8). With the exception of the Japanese media guidelines (J5), all of the articles were published in edited periodicals before the participants wrote their essays.

Analysis

Following Baker (2005) and Sauntson (2018), critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics were used within a queer applied linguistics pluralistic methodological framework to analyze the texts qualitatively and quantitatively. The open-source corpus-analysis software AntConc (Anthony, 2019) was used to identify concordances with “LGBT” in the corpora for analysis. Our qualitative

analysis was guided by the APA's (2019) guidelines on the usage of "LGBT(Q)" and focused on the ideological implications of the writers' grammatical use of "LGBT" to label sexual and gender minorities within and between the three corpora.

Table 1. Summary of Published Japanese Articles Analyzed

Text	Translated English Title ^a (Author, Year)	Genre	LGBTQ Stance	Author Background
J1	"The 'Tradition' Excuse" (Tanaka, 2017a)	Newspaper op-ed	Pro	University president
J2	"Partnership System: LGBTs Understanding Not Progressing, Local Reality" (NHK Heartnet, 2018)	News article	Pro	Public broadcaster
J3	"'LGBT' Support Has Gone Too Far" (Sugita, 2018)	Magazine op-ed	Anti	Municipal lawmaker
J4	"Why 'SOGI' Instead of LGBT? From a Human Rights View, Regaining the Naturalness of Seeing Humans as Humans" (Matsuoka, 2018)	News article	Pro	LGBT NPO spokesperson
J5	"LGBT Press Guidelines: From a Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Perspective" (JALL, 2019)	Media guidelines	Pro	LGBT NPO
J6	"An Analysis on Factors Influencing the Implementation of Diversity Management in Japanese Corporations" (Hayashi, 2017)	Journal article	Pro	Research fellow
J7	"The Survey on 'Diversity Education' in Japanese Elementary Schools" (Watanabe, Ohkubo, Takeshita, & Fukada, 2017)	Journal article	Pro	Professors
J8	"Sexual Minorities in Elementary, Junior High, and High Schools: Exploring the Current Situation Through Interdisciplinary Research in Literature" (Tsunoda, 2018)	Journal article	Pro	Professor

Note. ^aThe English titles for J1–5 are our translations. J6–J8 titles are the official published English titles. See the References section for complete bibliographic details.

To quantitatively compare "LGBT" usage between the Japanese and English articles and the participant essays, likelihood-ratio chi-squared tests of independence were used to test whether any differences in usage were unlikely to have occurred randomly. Likelihood-ratio chi-squared tests are used with independent categorical data when subcategory sizes for expected random distributions are less than five (Field, Miles, & Field, 2012), as was the case in the present study. Three likelihood-ratio chi-squared tests were performed using the open-source statistical software R (R Foundation for Statistical Computing, 2019) Basic Functions for Power Analysis package (Champely, 2018). To control for false positive errors resulting from the three comparisons performed in this study, the

threshold for significance was adjusted with a Bonferroni correction ($\alpha = .05/3 = .017$). Cramér's ϕ (ϕ_c , also called V) was used to evaluate the effect size (i.e., the magnitude of a phenomenon). Based on Cohen (1992), thresholds of $\phi_c = .1, .3, \text{ and } .5$ were set for small, medium, and large effect sizes respectively.

Table 2. Summary of Published English Articles Analyzed

Text	Title (Author, Year)	Genre	LGBTQ Stance	Author Background
E1	"Using 'Tradition' as an Excuse Against Things One Disagrees With" (Tanaka, 2017b)	Newspaper op-ed	Pro	University president
E2	"Bullying of LGBT Students at 'Epidemic' Levels in Japan: Human Rights Watch" (Osaki, 2016)	News article	Pro	Journalist
E3	"Japan's Courts Don't Share Mio Sugita's Views on Supporting LGBT People, Precedents Show" (Okunuki, 2018)	Newspaper op-ed	Pro	Professor
E4	"Taiwan's Top Court Rules in Favor of Same-Sex Marriage" (Haas, 2017)	News article	Pro	Journalist
E5	"GLAAD Media Reference Guide" (GLAAD, 2016)	Media guidelines	Pro	LGBTQ NPO
E6	"Inclusion and Exclusion: A Case Study of an English Class for LGBT Learners" (Moore, 2016)	Journal article	Pro	Professor
E7	"LGBTQ+ Voices from the Classroom Insights for ESOL Teachers" (Kaiser, 2017)	Journal article	Pro	Professor
E8	"How LGBT-Supportive Workplace Policies Shape the Experience of Lesbian, Gay Men, and Bisexual Employees" (Lloren & Parini, 2017)	Journal article	Pro	Researcher, Professor

Note. See the References section for complete bibliographic details.

Results

RQ: Comparison of "LGBT" Usage in Japanese and English Publications

The first research question asked how the usage of the acronym "LGBT" to describe people in Japanese published articles compared with English usage. The results suggest that there are notable qualitative and significant quantitative differences in the way that "LGBT" is used in Japanese and English publications. The results of our qualitative and quantitative analyses are presented together in this section beginning with the Japanese articles, followed by the English articles, and lastly, the comparison of the two.

Turning first to the Japanese published articles, examples of the usage of "LGBT" from the selected Japanese texts are listed in Tables 3 and 4. We have included both the original Japanese and English translations to permit fluent Japanese readers to evaluate our analysis. In all but two of the

eight texts, “LGBT” is used both as a modifier of nouns that denote people or groups of people and as a noun denoting a group of LGBT people.⁴

Table 3. Japanese Examples of “LGBT” as Noun Modifier Describing People

Text	Genre	Japanese Example	English Translation ^a
J1	Newspaper op-ed	LGBT など性的少数者 (Tanaka, 2017a, para. 5)	LGBT+ sexual/gender minorities
J2	News article	LGBT のコミュニティ (NHK Heartnet, 2018, para. 20)	LGBT community
J3	Magazine op-ed	LGBT のカップル (Sugita, 2018, p. 59)	LGBT couples
J4	News article	LGBT と LGBT ではない人 (Matsuoka, 2018, para. 4)	LGBT and non-LGBT people
J5	Media guidelines	LGBT であると明かしている人 (JALL, 2019, p. 2)	have-revealed-they-are-LGBT people
J6	Journal article	–	–
J7	Journal article	LGBT 層に該当する人 (Watanabe et al., 2017, p. 32)	LGBT-segment-corresponding people
J8	Journal article	LGBT 当事者 (Tsunoda, 2018, p. 93)	LGBT persons concerned

Note. ^aDirect translations approximating the “LGBT”-as-modifier structure of the Japanese phrasing were given preference over more “natural” English translations.

As the examples in Table 3 show, “LGBT” was used as a modifier to distinguish particular groups of people, minorities, communities, couples, persons or parties concerned, and population segments. Generally, this grammatical choice appears to be in order to designate specific subsets or aspects of LGBT people, rather than to emphasize that “LGBT” is only one of many attributes of LGBT people.

As seen in the examples in Table 4, “LGBT” was also used by the same writers as an independent noun subject or object in contexts which indicated that LGBT people were being discussed but without modifying a subsequent people-related noun, as in the example from Text J5: “LGBT are ‘pitiful people’ or ‘outstanding’” (JALL, 2019, p. 5). This grammatical choice suggests that, to these writers, “LGBT” can imply “LGBT people” and that even writers sympathetic to LGBTQ rights were not concerned by the possibility that this might obscure other facets of LGBTQ peoples’ lives and identities beyond their sexual orientation and gender identity.

Table 4. Japanese Examples of “LGBT” as Independent Noun Denoting “LGBT People”

Text	Genre	Japanese Example	English Translation
J1	Newspaper op-ed	–	–
J2	News article	LGBT への理解 (NHK Heartnet, 2018, para. 2)	understanding LGBT [people]
J3	Magazine op-ed	LGBT 向けに (Sugita, 2018, p. 60)	intended for LGBT [people]
J4	News article	LGBT を市場として (Matsuoka, 2018, para. 20)	LGBT [people] as a market
J5	Media guidelines	LGBT は「かわいそうな人たち」 あるいは「優秀」 (JALL, 2019, p. 5)	LGBT [people] are “pitiful people” or “outstanding”
J6	Journal article	LGBT に対する対応方針 (Hayashi, 2017, p. 47)	policy regarding LGBT [people]
J7	Journal article	LGBT に関する研修会 (Watanabe et al., 2017, p. 30)	training about LGBT [people]
J8	Journal article	LGBT への理解 (Tsunoda, 2018, p. 92)	understanding LGBT [people]

The total number of cases of “LGBT” as a noun modifier describing people and as an independent noun denoting “LGBT people” as well as the percentages of the total number of these cases in each Japanese text are presented in Table 5. Although there are differences between the individual texts, these two ways of using “LGBT” occur almost equally overall. In total, “LGBT” was used as a noun modifier in 51% of the cases and as an independent noun in 49%.

Turning to the English published articles, examples of the use of “LGBT” to describe people are listed in Table 6 and the number of cases and percentages of each usage type are presented in Table 7. In stark contrast with the Japanese texts, only one (E₃) of the eight selected English texts used “LGBT” as a stand-alone noun denoting LGBT people, and even then, this usage accounted for only 25% of the uses of “LGBT” to denote people within this text. Although Texts E_{1–3} and E₈ were all written by L₂ English speakers and E_{1–3} were published in Japan, only E₃ differs in this usage of “LGBT” from the texts written by L₁ English speakers published outside of Japan. All of the other texts only used “LGBT,” “LGBTQ,” or “LGBTQ+” as a modifier of people-related nouns. (All three variations were included in the analysis as they all include “LGBT.”) Altogether, 98% of the cases of “LGBT” to describe people were as a noun modifier of terms denoting people, such as individuals, community, students, learners, and employees. This suggests that using “LGBT” as an attribute of people and acknowledging their humanity is a deliberate choice for most of these writers.

Table 5. Summary of “LGBT” Usage Describing People in Japanese Published Articles

Text	Genre	“LGBT” as Noun Modifier		“LGBT” as Independent Noun	
		Cases	%	Cases	%
J1	Newspaper op-ed	1	100	0	0
J2	News article	2	33	4	67
J3	Magazine op-ed	3	38	5	63
J4	News article	2	67	1	33
J5	Media guidelines	4	80	1	20
J6	Journal article	0	0	3	100
J7	Journal article	6	86	1	14
J8	Journal article	3	38	5	63
Total		21	51	20	49

The inclusion of “Q” with “LGBT” in two of the articles and a plus sign (+) in one of those two is a notable difference compared with the Japanese texts. In the media guidelines (E5), the authors noted that “Q” most often represents “queer” and less often “questioning” (GLAAD, 2019). The author of Text E8 stated that “Q” stood for “queer” and that the purpose of the plus sign was to include other sexual and gender minorities, such as intersex, asexual, and genderqueer, and to indicate fluidity (Kaiser, 2017). In contrast, none of the Japanese articles used the term “LGBTQ,” and only the author of Text J3, who argued against LGBT rights and protections, acknowledged others’ use of “Q” but defined it only as “questioning.”

When the existence of other sexual minorities and, less often, gender minorities was acknowledged in the Japanese texts, it was mainly through the use of the suffix *nado* (等), which is frequently translated to English as “etc.” or “and so on.” One example is found in the redundant use of “LGBT *nado*” (LGBT+), which presumably already signifies sexual and gender minorities, as a modifier of “sexual and gender minorities” in Text J1. Notably, the publisher translated the phrase as “LGBT individuals” (Tanaka, 2017b, para. 7) in the English version (E1), defeating the author’s attempt to include other sexual and gender minorities. Another approach to including other sexual and gender minorities in Japanese can be seen in Text J2: In the title and article category tags, “LGBT” was pluralized to “LGBTs,” which, on a separate web page, the publisher dubiously claimed indicated “that all sexual minorities are included” (NHK Heartnet, n.d., para. 2). The lack of a grammatical plural noun inflection in Japanese might provide one explanation for the publisher’s unusual interpretation of plurality, but it is questionable whether most Japanese readers would interpret “LGBTs” to mean anything beyond multiple LGBT people.

Table 6. English Examples of “LGBT” Used to Describe or Denote People

Text	Genre	“LGBT” as a Noun Modifier	“LGBT” as Independent Noun
E1	Newspaper op-ed	As LGBT individuals become (Tanaka, 2017b, para. 7)	–
E2	News article	bullying of LGBT students (Osaki, 2016, para. 12)	–
E3	Newspaper op-ed	the LGBT community (Okunuki, 2016, para. 7)	against LGBT, although (Okunuki, 2016, para. 11)
E4	News article	to LGBT individuals (Haas, 2017, para. 10)	–
E5	Media guidelines	understanding of LGBTQ people (GLAAD, 2019, p. 4)	–
E6	Journal article	LGBT students’ needs (Moore, 2016, p. 86)	–
E7	Journal article	understand LGBTQ+ learners’ perceptions (Kaiser, 2017, p. 3)	–
E8	Journal article	protecting LGBT employees (Lloren & Parini, 2017, p. 289)	–

Table 7. Summary of “LGBT” Usage Describing People in English Published Articles

Text	Genre	“LGBT” as Noun Modifier		“LGBT” as Independent Noun	
		Cases	%	Cases	%
E1	Newspaper op-ed	1	100	0	100
E2	News article	11	100	0	100
E3	Newspaper op-ed	9	75	3	25
E4	News article	1	100	0	100
E5	Media guidelines	35 ^a	100	0	100
E6	Journal article	26	100	0	100
E7	Journal article	37	100	0	100
E8	Journal article	8	100	0	100
Total		128	98	3	2

Note. ^aOnly the introduction and glossary sections, pp. 4–14, of E₅ were included to maintain symmetry with the 10-page Japanese media guidelines (J₅).⁵

Quantitative comparison of “LGBT” usage in the Japanese and English texts confirms the differences between these two sets of texts. A likelihood-ratio chi-squared test revealed a significant difference between the published Japanese and English texts in the usage of “LGBT” for describing people, $L\chi^2(1, N = 172) = 49.9, p < .0001$, and a large effect size with a relatively narrow 95% confidence interval, $\phi_c = .58$ [.47, .67]. These results suggest that the language of published articles, Japanese or English, has a large influence on the way “LGBT” is used to describe people, with English writers significantly less likely to use “LGBT” as an independent noun denoting “LGBT people” and more likely to use it as a modifier preceding a noun signifying people.

RQ2: Similarity of Japanese English Learners’ “LGBT” Usage to Japanese or English

The second research question asked whether Japanese intermediate English learners’ use of the acronym “LGBT” to describe people in academic writing was more similar to published Japanese or English writing. The results suggest that the learners’ usage of “LGBT” is statistically indistinguishable from published Japanese writing but significantly different from published English writing.

Examples of the use of “LGBT” to describe people found in the participants’ summary-response essay drafts and the number of cases and percentages of each usage type are presented in Table 8. Due to space limitations, only short phrases or clauses are presented in Table 8, but to provide some examples with more context, the sentence using “LGBT” as a modifier in Text P1 is: “Tanaka stated that universities should offer surroundings which students can learn diversity including LGBT individuals,” which uses the same “LGBT individuals” phrase used in the article the students were summarizing. A sentential example of using “LGBT” as an independent noun denoting “LGBT people” in Text P3 is: “... they should not decide to agree or disagree with something because it is traditional and respect LGBT as well as general people.” The contrast with “general people” makes it clear that the participant was using “LGBT” to denote “LGBT people” who the participant apparently viewed as separate from “general” people—a heteronormative perspective.

Only four participants used “LGBT” in combination with a noun denoting people, such as individuals or students, accounting for only 22% of the cases of “LGBT” describing people. Notably, one of these participants used “LGBTQ” as a modifier (P5) but also used “LGBT” without “Q” as a stand-alone noun denoting LGBT people. The majority of the participants used “LGBT” as independent nouns implying “LGBT people,” accounting for 78% of the total uses of “LGBT” to describe people.

The fact that the participants used “LGBT” at all is remarkable when considering that the main focus of Tanaka’s (2017b) translated English article (E1), which the participants were summarizing and responding to, was primarily a critique of Japanese individuals who use appeals to tradition in order to justify denying same-sex couples’ rights and the rights of women who do not want to adopt their husband’s family name. In fact, Tanaka used the term “LGBT” only once, and only tangentially, near the end of her article. This raises the question of whether the participants think that “LGBT” can simply be substituted for same-sex couples and are thereby conflating gender with sexuality. In fact, even though Tanaka did not conflate gender and sexuality in the English translation of her

article, two of the participants clearly made this error twice each by using “LGBT” when discussing same-sex marriage or partnerships.

Table 8. Summary of “LGBT” Usage Describing People in Participant Essays

Text	“LGBT” as Noun Modifier			“LGBT” as Independent Noun		
	<i>n</i>	%	Example	<i>n</i>	%	Example
P1	1	100	LGBT individuals	0	0	–
P2	0	0	–	2	100	for LGBT in Hokkaido
P3	1	17	LGBT students	5	83	respect LGBT as well
P4	0	0	–	2	100	tolerant to LGBT and
P5	1	50	LGBTQ students	1	50	LGBT now becomes
P6	0	0	–	1	100	LGBT should receive
P7	1	100	The LGBT people	0	0	–
P8	0	0	–	1	100	mention about LGBT.
P9	0	0	–	2	100	blamed LGBT for
Total	4	22		14	78	

Note. *n* = number of cases

In addition to the use of “LGBT” as a noun denoting LGBT people and the conflation of gender and sexuality, other problematic language included two instances of drawing comparisons between LGBT people and “normal” people (e.g., “The LGBT people get the human rights and protected by it same us ordinary people,” Text P7) and the phrase “LGBT problem”—which is likely a direct translation from *LGBT no mondai* (LGBT の問題) and would be better translated as “issues” in this context. Despite this problematic language in the participants’ essay drafts, none of the participants took a stance opposing same-sex marriage or LGBT rights in their responses. Thus, it is unlikely that they intended to be disrespectful toward LGBT people in their choice of phrasing.

To confirm quantitatively whether the participants’ use of “LGBT” in their English writing was more similar to formal Japanese or English writing, two likelihood-ratio chi-squared tests were performed. The results of these two tests as well as the test from RQ1 are summarized in Table 9. No significant difference in the usage of “LGBT” for describing people was found between the participants’ English essays and the Japanese published articles, $L\chi^2(1, N = 59) = 4.5, p = .03$. There was a small effect size, $\phi_c = .27 [.02, .49]$, but the 95% confidence interval was almost twice as wide as the magnitude of the effect and nearly spanned zero, so the effect of whether one is a Japanese intermediate English learner or a professional Japanese writer on “LGBT” usage might be negligible. In contrast, there is a significant difference in the usage of “LGBT” for describing people between the published English articles and the participants’ English essays, $L\chi^2(1, N = 149) = 58.1, p < .0001$, and a large

effect size with a relatively narrow 95% confidence interval, $\phi_c = .77$ [.70, .83]. These results suggest that the participants' written "LGBT" usage is more similar to published Japanese articles than to English writing, and whether one is a professional writing in English or a Japanese intermediate English learner has a large influence on this usage.

Table 9. Comparison of Written "LGBT" Usage Describing People

Texts Compared	<i>N</i>	<i>df</i>	$L\chi^2$	<i>p</i>	ϕ_c [CI]
Japanese vs. English published articles	172	1	49.9	< .0001	.58 [.47, .67]
Participant essays vs. Japanese articles	59	1	4.5	.03	.27 [.02, .49]
Participant essays vs. English articles	149	1	58.1	< .0001	.77 [.70, .83]

Note. $L\chi^2$ = likelihood-ratio chi-squared value; ϕ_c = Cramér's *phi* effect size coefficient; CI = 95% confidence interval.

Discussion

The results indicate that there are significant differences in the way the acronym "LGBT" is used to discuss LGBTQ people in the published Japanese and English articles and that the Japanese intermediate English learners' usage of "LGBT" in their academic writing is closer to Japanese published articles. With few exceptions, the professionals writing in English consistently made grammatical choices not to reduce LGBTQ people to only their sexual orientation or gender identity. In contrast, the Japanese professionals' grammatical choices conveyed ambivalence about whether it is acceptable to refer to LGBTQ people only as "LGBTs" or whether "LGBT" should instead be used as an attribute of people. The Japanese L2 English learners appear to have taken their cues from Japanese usage in this regard despite reading and explicitly citing English articles which overwhelmingly modeled the use of "LGBT" as an attributive adjective.

Previous applied linguistics research has not examined the use of "LGBT" in formal writing; however, the differences between published Japanese and English writing correspond with the guidance, or lack thereof, in media and research publication guidelines for Japanese (JALL, 2019; JPA, 2015) and English (APA, 2009, 2019; GLAAD, 2015; Siegal & Connolly, 2015). The fact that English publication guidelines explicitly advise not to use labels such as "gay" as nouns indicates that such usage does occur in English. However, it appears that almost all of the writers or editors of the published English articles have taken note of these guidelines. Thus, the lack of such recommendations in Japanese publication guidelines might explain the inconsistent use of "LGBT" in Japanese, even by writers taking an LGBTQ rights advocacy position.

In addition, the status of "LGBT" as a loanword in Japanese may further explain this difference in usage. As a loanword, the meaning of "LGBT" is inherently ambiguous and changeable, a characteristic which allows it to be used euphemistically, as with other loanwords (Kay, 1995; Rebuck, 2000). This ambiguity may contribute to ambivalence in its usage in comparison to native Japanese

compound words which must include the Japanese suffix for person (者 *-sha*) in order to refer to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. As “LGBT” was used in Japanese as an attributive modifier of people-related nouns in half of the instances, there certainly appears to be no grammatical barrier to using it in this way.

Whether as a result of Japanese writers’ examples or the recent Japanese media “LGBT fad,” the learners’ L1 Japanese appears to have influenced their lexical and grammatical choices in labeling and discussing sexual and gender minorities. The learners predominately used “LGBT” as a noun, over-used it in their summaries and responses to an article which was not focused primarily on LGBTQ people, and conflated sexuality and gender. They appear to have been unable to notice the difference in usage in published English articles and implement it in their own writing, despite their desire to write in support of LGBTQ people. Pedagogically, this suggests that teachers must raise learners’ awareness of these linguistic features and their ideological implications in acknowledging LGBTQ people’s humanity and accurately distinguishing sexual identity and gender identity.

The limitations of this exploratory pilot study must be acknowledged. The size of the professional published Japanese and English corpora meet Flowerdew’s (2012) threshold of a few thousand words for a specialized corpus and are comparable in size with those used in Baker’s (2005) and Sauntson’s (2018) studies. The large effect sizes also indicate the analysis was not underpowered. Nonetheless, the research design and statistical analysis do not permit generalizing beyond the small learners corpus of less than 1,500 words and the nonrandom selection of texts in all three corpora used in this study. In addition, the results do not confirm causality; it is possible that other influences have caused the similarities and differences between the three sets of texts. A broader selection of texts and comparison with other L2 learners and L1 student-writers could provide greater insights. Future research could also expand beyond the usage of “LGBT” to other indicators of written sociosexual and gender literacy as well as the effectiveness of explicit awareness-raising instruction.

Conclusion

The aim of this pilot study was to identify potential influences on the development of Japanese L2 English learners’ sociosexual and gender literacy by comparing their academic writing with published Japanese and English articles. The results tentatively indicate that published Japanese and English articles differ in the way LGBTQ people are labeled and discussed and that the learners’ writing was more similar to Japanese articles than English ones. This suggests the possibility of L1 crosslinguistic influence on Japanese L2 learners’ sociosexual and gender literacy, but further investigation is required to test such a hypothesis. Despite its limitations, this study makes a small contribution toward addressing a gap in understanding L2 sociosexual and gender literacy development for the purposes of improved pedagogical guidance.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Gwyn Helverson, Susan Laura Sullivan, and the three anonymous reviewers for their invaluable comments on earlier versions of this paper.

Tyler Kinkade is an assistant professor in the Kanagawa University Faculty of Foreign Languages. His research interests include the discursive construction of sexual and gender identities and L2 sociosexual-gender literacy development.

Shunpei Endo is a Japanese as a second language teacher. His research interests include Japanese L2 pedagogy and applied linguistics.

Notes

1. *Seiteki* (性的) can be translated to English as both “sexual” and “gender-related” as in the examples *seitekikankei* (性的關係 sexual relationship) and *seitekibenken* (性的偏見 gender bias).
2. As of March 2013, GLAAD is the primary name of the organization (not an acronym) in order to be inclusive of bisexual and transgender people (Peeples, 2013).
3. There is no broad consensus on word segmentation rules in the Japanese language, which is agglutinative and written without spaces. The “short unit word” (SUW) count reported in this paper was calculated by following the word segmentation procedure used for the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (Maekawa et al., 2014) with the Mecab software program (Kudō, 2013) and UniDic dictionary (UniDic Consortium, 2018).
4. Instances of “LGBT” used to modify inanimate nouns such as “policy” or “suitability” as well as instances in which the context indicated that the term itself, rather than LGBT people, was being discussed were not included in the analysis of any of the texts as only the usage of “LGBT” to describe groups of people is at question in this study.
5. The full 40-page English media guidelines (E5) included 74 cases of “LGBTQ” being used as a modifier of nouns describing people. Thus, in order to maintain symmetry with the 10-page Japanese media guidelines and avoid skewing the data, only the first 10 pages were included in the analysis. This brought the number of cases in this text to 35, nearer the counts in E6 and E7.

References

- Alsop, S., & Nesi, H. (2009). Issues in the development of the British Academic Written English (BAWE) corpus. *Corpora*, 4(1), 71–83. <https://doi.org/10.3366/E1749503209000227>
- American Psychological Association (APA). (2009). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- American Psychological Association (APA). (2019). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (7th ed.). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

- Anthony, L. (2019). AntConc (Version 3.5.8) [Computer software]. Retrieved from <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>
- Bachmann, I. (2011). Civil partnership—“gay marriage in all but name”: A corpus-driven analysis of discourses of same-sex relationships in the UK Parliament. *Corpora*, 6(1), 77–105. <https://doi.org/10.3366/cor.2011.0005>
- Baker, P. (2005). *Public discourses of gay men*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Cambridge University Press (n.d.). *Cambridge advanced learner's dictionary*. Retrieved March 15, 2020, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/learner-english>
- Champely, S. (2018). Basic Functions for Power Analysis (Version 1.2-2) [R software package]. Retrieved from <https://cran.r-project.org/package=pwr>
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.
- Cohen, J. (1992). A power primer. *Psychological Bulletin*, 112(1), 155–159. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.112.1.155>
- GLAAD (2016, October). *GLAAD media reference guide* (10th ed.). Retrieved from <https://www.glaad.org/reference>
- Glass, L. (2014). Deriving the two readings of English determiner+adjective. *Proceedings of Sinn Und Bedeutung*, 18, 164–181. <https://ojs.ub.uni-konstanz.de/sub/index.php/sub/article/view/310>
- Gray, J. (2013). LGBT invisibility and heteronormativity in ELT materials. In J. Gray (Ed.), *Critical perspectives on language teaching materials* (pp. 40–63). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137384263>
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London, UK: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour, new language*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Field, A., Miles, J., & Field, Z. (2012). *Discovering statistics using R*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Flowerdew, L. (2012). *Corpora and language education*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Haas, B. (2017, May 24). Taiwan's top court rules in favor of same-sex marriage. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/24/taiwans-top-court-rules-in-favour-of-same-sex-marriage>

- Hayashi, J. (2017). Daibāshiti no taiō ni sekigyokutekina nihon kigyō no zokusei bunseki [An analysis on factors influencing the implementation of diversity management in Japanese corporations]. *Journal of Japan Society for Business Ethics Study*, 24, 43–56. https://doi.org/10.20664/jabes.24.0_43
- Hayashi, N., Kaneko, A., Taniguchi, H., Naito, S., & Hara, M. (2018, April). Rekishi to kokusai kara miru kongo no SOGI dōkō: 2020-go no tenkai wa [SOGI trends from now viewed from historical and international perspectives: On progress after 2020]. In H. Ikeda (Chair), *Rekishi to kokusai kara miru kongo ~ [SOGI now? Future from historical and international perspectives]*. Symposium conducted at Meiji University, Tokyo, Japan. <https://www.meiji.ac.jp/koho/news/2018/6t5h7p00000rg8h0.html>
- Higashi, Y. (2016). Kazoku no tayōka wo meguru kachikan no tairitsu [Conflicting values over family diversification]. *Osaka Prefecture University Women's Studies Lecture*. 19(1), 1–12. <http://hdl.handle.net/10466/14975>
- Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Jagose, A. (1996). *Queer theory: An introduction*. New York, US: New York University Press.
- Japan Alliance for LGBT Legislation (JALL). (2019, March). *LGBT hōdō gaidorain—seitekishikō seijinjin no shiten kara* [LGBT press guidelines: From a sexual orientation and gender identity perspective]. Retrieved from <http://lgbtetc.jp/news/1354>
- Japanese Psychological Association (JPA). (2015). *Shippitsu tōkō no tebiki [Writing and submission guide]*. Retrieved from <https://psych.or.jp/manual>
- Jarvis S. (2017). Transfer: An overview with an expanded scope. In A. Golden, S. Jarvis, & K. Tenfjord (Eds.), *Crosslinguistic influence and distinctive patterns of language learning: Findings and insights from a learner corpus* (pp. 12–28). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Kaiser, E. (2017). LGBTQ+ Voices from the classroom: Insights for ESOL teachers. *CATESOL Journal*, 29(1), 1–21. <http://www.catesoljournal.org/volume-29-1>
- Kay, G. (1995). English loanwords in Japanese. *World Englishes*, 14(1), 67–76. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1995.tb00340.x>
- Kudō, T. (2013). Mecab (Version 0.996) [Computer software]. Retrieved from <http://taku910.github.io>
- Lloren, A., & Parini, L. (2017). How LGBT-supportive workplace policies shape the experience of lesbian, gay men, and bisexual employees. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 14(3), 289–299. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-016-0253-x>

- Maekawa, K., Yamazaki, M., Ogiso, T., Maruyama, T., Ogura, H., Kashino, W., ... Den, Y. (2014). Balanced corpus of contemporary written Japanese. *Language Resources and Evaluation*, 48, 345–371. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10579-013-9261-0>
- Matsuoka, S. (2018, May 2). LGBT de wa naku, naze “SOGI” na no ka? Jinken to iu shiten kara, ningen wo ningen to shite miru to iu “atarimae” wo torimodosu: LGBT wa “dare,” SOGI wa “nani” wo arawasu [Why “SOGI” instead of LGBT? From a human rights view, regaining the naturalness of seeing humans as humans: LGBT signifies “who,” SOGI signifies “what”]. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.huffingtonpost.jp/soushi-matsuoka/sogi-20180502_a_23424250
- Milani, T. M. (2013). Are ‘queers’ really ‘queer’? Language, identity and same-sex desire in a South African online community. *Discourse & Society*, 24(5), 615–633. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926513486168>
- Moore, A. R. (2016). Inclusion and exclusion: A case study of an English class for LGBT learners. *TESOL Quarterly*, 50(1), 86–108. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43893804>
- Moore, A. R. (2019). Interpersonal factors affecting queer second or foreign language learners’ identity management in class. *The Modern Language Journal*, 103(2), 428–442. <https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12558>
- Nelson, C. D. (2009). *Sexual identities in English language education: Classroom conversations*. New York, US: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203891544>
- Motschenbacher, H., & Stegu, M. (2013). Queer linguistic approaches to discourse: Introduction. *Discourse & Society*, 24(5), 519–535. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926513486069>
- NHK Heartnet. (2018, May 15). Pātonāshipu seido: Susumanai LGBT’s rikai chihō no genjitsu [Partnership system: LGBT’s understanding not progressing, local reality]. *NHK*. Retrieved from <https://www.nhk.or.jp/heart-net/article/43>
- Okunuki, H. (2018, July 30). Japan’s courts don’t share Mio Sugita’s views on supporting LGBT people, precedents show. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2018/07/30/issues/japans-courts-dont-share-mio-sugitas-views-supporting-lgbt-people-precedents-show>
- Osaki, T. (2016, May 6). Bullying of LGBT students at ‘epidemic’ levels in Japan: Human Rights Watch. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/05/06/national/social-issues/bullying-of-lgbt-students-at-epidemic-levels-in-japan-human-rights-watch>

- Otwinowska, A., & Szewczyk, J. M. (2017). The more similar the better? Factors in learning cognates, false cognates and non-cognate words. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 22(8), 974–991. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1325834>
- Paiz, J. M. (2015). Over the monochrome rainbow: Heteronormativity in ESL reading texts and textbooks. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 4(1), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.4.1.03pai>
- Paiz, J. M. (2019). Queering practice: LGBTQ+ diversity and inclusion in English language teaching. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 18(4), 266–275. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2019.1629933>
- Peeples, J. (2013, March 24). GLAAD affirms commitment to trans and bi people, alters name. *The Advocate*. Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20130327032957/http://www.advocate.com/politics/2013/03/24/glaad-affirms-commitment-trans-and-bi-people-alters-name>
- Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction*. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- R Foundation for Statistical Computing. (2019). R (Version 3.6.1) [Computer software]. Retrieved from <https://www.r-project.org>
- Rebuck, R. (2002). The function of English loanwords in Japanese. *Nagoya University of Commerce and Business Administration Journal of Language, Culture and Communication*, 4(1), 53–76. https://www.nucba.ac.jp/themes/s_cic@cic@nucba/pdf/njlcc041/06REBUCK.PDF
- Rhodes, C. M., & Coda, J. (2017). It's not in the curriculum: Adult English language teachers and LGBTQ topics. *Adult Learning*, 28(3), 99–106. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1045159517712483>
- Sauntson, H. (2018). *Language, sexuality, and education*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316411353>
- Shōgakukan. (n.d.) *Dejitaru daijisen* [Digital daijisen] (Japanese dictionary). Retrieved March 15, 2020, from <https://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/jn>
- Siegal, A. M., & Connolly, W. (2015). *The New York Times manual of style and usage*. New York, US: Three Rivers Press.
- Stubbs, M. (2001). *Words and phrases: Corpus studies of lexical semantics*. London, UK: Blackwell.
- Sugita, M. (2018, August). “LGBT” shien no do ga sugiru [“LGBT” support has gone too far]. *Shinbō 45*. Tokyo, Japan: Shinchōsha. <https://www.shinchosha.co.jp/shincho45/backnumber/20180718>

- Tanaka, Y. (2017a, December 13). “Dentō” to iu iiwake [The “tradition” excuse]. *Mainichi Shimbun*. Retrieved from <https://mainichi.jp/articles/20171213/dde/012/070/012000c>
- Tanaka, Y. (2017b, December 22). Using ‘tradition’ as an excuse against things one disagrees with. *Mainichi Shimbun*. Retrieved from <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20171222/p2a/00m/0na/032000c>
- Tsunoda, K. (2018). Shō-chū-kōtō gakkō no sekusharu mainoriti: Bunken no gakusai-teki kenkyū kara genjō wo saguru [Sexual minorities in elementary, junior high, and high schools: Exploring the current situation through interdisciplinary research in literature]. *Japan Women’s College of Physical Education Bulletin*, 48, 89–99. <http://ir.jwcpe.ac.jp/dspace/handle/123456789/1094>
- UniDic Consortium. (2018). UniDic (Version 2.3.0) [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://unidic.ninjal.ac.jp>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1984). *Prejudice in discourse: An analysis of ethnic prejudice in cognition and conversation*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Wallace, J. E. (2018). *Being LGBT in Japan: An ethnographic study of the politics of identity and belonging* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Leeds). Retrieved from <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/22094>
- Watanabe, K., Ohkubo, K., Takeshita, Y., & Fukada, M. (2017). Nihon no shōgakkō ni okeru “daibāshiti kyōiku” ni kansuru chōsa [The survey on “diversity education” in Japanese elementary schools]. *Bulletin of Kio University*, 14(2), 25–40. <https://doi.org/10.24482/00000016>
- Weblio. (n.d.). *Weblio eiwajiten-waejiten* [Weblio English–Japanese/Japanese–English dictionary]. Retrieved March 15, 2020, from <https://ejje.weblio.jp>
- Wodak, R. (2014). Critical discourse analysis. In C. Leung & B. V. Street (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to English studies* (pp. 302–316). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Yoshihara, R. (2013). Learning and teaching gender and sexuality issues in the EFL classroom: Where students and teachers stand. *Language Teacher*, 37(4), 8–11. https://jalt-publications.org/files/pdf-article/37.5tlt_art02.pdf

Joining the Boys' Club: Voices of Female Students at a Top University in Japan

Sara L. Schipper
Kyoto University

Abstract

Women are severely outnumbered at Japan's top national universities. This study investigates the individual experiences of five second-year female students at an overwhelmingly male-dominated top-tier national university in western Japan. In-depth interviews were conducted with each student to gain insight into the experiences and challenges they have faced both at the university and on their journeys to get there. A few common themes emerged: separation of the sexes in the classroom, societal expectations for girls to fill traditional gender roles, and a lack of female professors and mentors. This paper explores these themes, along with ways for educators to encourage more girls to apply to top-tier schools and to facilitate their success once they enroll.

概要

日本の上位難関大学では女子学生の数は男子学生に比べはるかに少ない。本研究では、西日本にある数的に極めて男性優位な難関大学で学ぶ2年の女子生徒5名に関する個々の体験を検証する。在学中、また入学に至るまでに彼女たちが経験した苦境についての洞察を得るため、各々と生徒と深層面接を実施した。そして、この面接を通して共通するいくつかのテーマが確認された。それらは、教室内で見られた性別間での分別、女性が感じる伝統的性役割への期待、そして女性教員やメンター教員の絶対的な不足であった。本論ではこれらのテーマに加え、教育に携わる方々に必要な上位難関大を志望する女子中高生の数を増やす方策、また、彼女たちの学生生活を成功に導くために必要な手立てについて議論する。

On the surface, it may appear that education is one area in which Japan has achieved relative gender parity. In fact, a slightly larger percentage of women aged 25–54 had obtained degrees from tertiary institutions (52.9%) than men (48.6%) in 2018 (World Economic Forum, 2018). Looking only at enrollment at four-year universities, however, the situation is not quite as optimistic. According to a 2019 report by Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), although the percentage of women enrolled in universities was the highest it had ever been, it was still only 50.7%—about six points lower than the percentage of men (as cited in Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2020). At Japan's 86 national universities, the situation is even more grim, with women composing only 34% of the total student body (MEXT, 2020). Moreover, choices of undergraduate majors for female students indicate that women are still opting out of traditionally male-dominated STEM fields. The majors with the highest proportions of women in 2019 were Home Economics (90.2%), Humanities (65.3%), Pharmacy and other Health Sciences (62.3%), and Education (59.2%), while the proportion of women in Science (27.9%) and Engineering (15.4%)

remained low (MEXT, 2019). One of the reasons for this may be expectations of parents and society as a whole. A 2019 study on attitudes toward the STEM fields revealed that Japanese parents of female students were most agreeable to women studying Pharmacy (about 80% chose “somewhat agree” or “strongly agree”), and least agreeable to women studying Civic and Nuclear Engineering (less than half chose “somewhat agree” or “strongly agree” for each of these fields; Kavli Institute for the Physics and Mathematics of the Universe [Kavli IPMU], 2019). Many of the parents who disagreed with women studying engineering claimed that it was not a “suitable” profession for women (Kavli IPMU, 2019).

Societal expectations in Japan have also resulted in cases of outright discrimination at higher education institutions. In 2018, it was discovered that nine Japanese medical schools had been manipulating scores based on gender (BBC News, 2018). One of them, Tokyo Medical University, had been padding the scores of almost all the male applicants for at least 10 years (Fukushima, Sakai, Kusakabe, Izawa, & Kim, 2018). It was reported that concern over female doctors causing labor shortages by taking maternity and childcare leave was the main reason for the discriminatory policies (Izawa, 2018). Since the abolishment of such policies, female applicants at Tokyo Medical University and at least one of the other nine schools (Juntendo University) have been outperforming male applicants on entrance exams (McCurry, 2019). Hence, the implication is that if women are actually allowed to participate in the sciences, they will excel.

Female Representation at Top-Tier Universities

While there has been no evidence of discriminatory admissions policies at top-ranked national universities in Japan, there is a pronounced imbalance of male to female students. The ratio of male-to-female undergraduate students at the University of Tokyo as of Spring 2019 was about 4:1 (University of Tokyo), at Kyoto University, it was 3.5:1 (Kyoto University, 2019a), and at Osaka University, it was about 2:1 (Osaka University, 2019a). These three universities are frequently listed among the top three universities in Japan (Center for World University Rankings, 2019; Megraoui, 2018). One of the factors contributing to these low numbers may be the fact that top schools in Japan often accept students from the same high schools every year. In fact, in 2019, 25% of the students who enrolled at the University of Tokyo “came from just 10 high schools, seven of which are all male” (Rich, 2019, para. 30). Of the 10 high schools Kyoto University accepted the most students from, three were all male, including the school with the second highest number of students accepted (Kōkō Juken Study, 2019).

It is not only the female students who are underrepresented at top-level universities. As of May 2018, the percentage of female full professors at the University of Tokyo was a mere 7.8% (University of Tokyo, 2018). At Kyoto University, the percentage of female full professors for 2019 was 8.3% (Kyoto University, 2019b), and at Osaka University for the same year, it was 10% (Osaka University, 2019b). This may again be due to societal expectations and outright discrimination, but it is surely also the result of the low number of women who continue on to graduate school. MEXT reported

that only 5.9% of women were enrolled in graduate school in 2019, which was less than half the percentage of men (14.5%) (as cited in Gender Bureau Cabinet Office, 2020).

Misogyny and Sexual Assault

The male-dominated environment at top schools, coupled with Japan's firmly established attitudes of misogyny, could be a major deterrent for potential female applicants. At Japan's top universities, deep-seated misogyny is evident both in cases of sexual assault and in the subsequent comments made by perpetrators and government officials. In 2016, at least two male students from the University of Tokyo were given suspended prison sentences for their part in the "gang-style sexual assault" of a female student (Murai, 2016). One of the perpetrators said in court that he and the other members of the "Birthday Research Club," a club established for the purpose of molesting female students, looked down on women from other universities as stupid (Murai, 2016). In 2006, three members of the Kyoto University American football team were convicted for planning and executing the gang rape of two female students (The Japan Times, 2006; The Japan Times, 2009). In 2003, members of a "rape club" called Super Free, led by a former student of Waseda University (one of Japan's top private schools), were found guilty of gang raping multiple women (Murai, 2016). Stronger penalties against sex crimes were established in Japan after arrests were made in connection with Super Free (Murai, 2016), but comments by government officials at the time reflect a clear attitude of misogyny. One male lawmaker claimed that gang rapists were "energetic" and at least "close to normal," and then Chief Cabinet Secretary Yasuo Fukuda (who would later become Prime Minister) asserted that women who dress a certain way are basically asking to be raped (BBC News, 2003). Japan's misogyny, including this type of victim blaming, has hardly improved in recent years. In response to the arrests of a number of its male students for sexual crimes, officials at Keio University (another of Japan's top private schools) released a statement saying the assaults were "very regrettable," while showing no signs that they were seeking a concrete solution (The Japan Times, 2019).

Researcher Class Data

Data gathered over two years of teaching one of the two required English courses for first-year students reveal how imbalanced the actual classes at one such top-tier university are. In a total of 30 unlevelled one-semester classes taught in the 2016–2017 and 2017–2018 school years, with an average of 19.7 students per class, the average number of female students was just 3.5. When considering only the Faculty of Engineering, which is the largest faculty at the university, although the average number of students was nearly the same at 19.5, the number of female students averaged only 1.5 per class. This reflects the lack of female students particularly in the STEM disciplines. Among all faculties taught (10 in total), only once did the number of female students narrowly outnumber that of males in one of the 30 classes (Pharmacy, which had an overall average of 7.25 female students per class).

Observing the female students in classes where they were so dramatically outnumbered led to some important questions: How do the students feel about being such a small minority of the

population in this university? Have they faced any serious difficulties here or in their journeys to get here? What are their hopes and dreams for the future?

These questions led to a qualitative study involving in-depth interviews with five female students of the university.

Methodology

Five female students from a top-level university in western Japan were individually interviewed for this study. No comparison was made between the experiences of female and male students. The participants were told that they would be interviewed on their experiences as female students at this university, and a general title, “Gender in Higher Education,” was given to the project. As a result, it is possible that some of the students volunteered because they had hoped to share stories of what they perceived as sexism, which limits the generalizations that can be drawn from these interviews. Nevertheless, many of the views presented by the participants are consistent with available data on female students in male-dominated fields, and with the trends of Japanese society in general.

At the time of the interviews (from June 2018 to February 2019), all of the students were in their second year at the university. They represented three faculties: Agriculture (3), Education (1), and Engineering (Industrial Chemistry, 1). Each participant had at least three interviews with the researcher for 50–80 minutes each, which were mainly conducted in English, though participants were told that Japanese was permitted anytime. Aside from the Chinese student, who came to Japan in 2016, the other participants all had at least short-term study abroad experiences in English-speaking countries. This was not a requirement for participation, but the fact that interviews were conducted mainly in English was probably the reason these particular students did not hesitate to volunteer. Three of the participants had been in the researcher’s Advanced English course the previous year. During the 2017–2018 school year, Advanced English classes were introduced at the request of both students and teachers, due to the existence of a handful of outstanding students who were obviously misplaced in the regular classes. Enrollment in the researcher’s two advanced classes in the 2017–2018 school year had completely the opposite trend of the regular classes: the female students far outnumbered the males. In a class with an average number of 13.5 students, an average of 10 were female. However, the advanced classes were the only required English classes in which students of different departments were gathered together. Therefore, the advanced students’ other required classes would typically show ratios similar to those of the regular required English classes, as reported above. One participant had been in the researcher’s regular English course the previous spring. The fifth participant was introduced by one of the others. They were all volunteers and were free to withdraw their participation at any time. Table 1 below provides background information about the five participants. It also gives the ratios of male to female students in each participant’s department, according to the university’s website.

Table 1. Summary of Participants

Name ^a	Nationality	Study Abroad Experience Where, When, How long	Department (Ratio of males to females) ^b
Ami	Japanese	Australia, high school, three weeks New Zealand, high school, three months	Agriculture (2:1)
Ayano	Japanese	Canada, university, three weeks	Agriculture (2:1)
Kana	Japanese	UK, university, one month	Agriculture (2:1)
Lifen	Chinese	Japan, university, two years at the time of the interviews	Engineering (9:1)
Nanako	Japanese	US, Grades 4 to 8, four years	Education (3:2)

Note. ^aPseudonyms were assigned to the participants in order to protect their identities. ^bApproximation, as provided by university website.

The interviews were divided into three main parts:

- ♦ Interview 1: Current life at university (classes, hobbies, friends, teachers)
- ♦ Interview 2: Background (elementary and secondary school experiences, extracurricular activities, family)
- ♦ Interview 3: Future (dreams, expectations)

The three-interview format was adapted from Seidman (2013) in order to allow “the interviewer and participant to explore the participant’s experience, place it in context, and reflect on its meaning,” (p. 20). Understanding the experiences and circumstances that led up to the students enrolling in the university were often vital to understanding their positions and feelings at the time of the interviews. The interviews were spaced a week apart whenever possible to “allow time for the participant to mull over the preceding interview but not enough time to lose the connection between the two” (Seidman, 2013, p. 24). Three of the five participants had a fourth follow-up interview to clarify information. Some of the participants contributed additional comments by email.

All interviews were conducted individually, recorded, transcribed, and then classified. For the classification process, the transcripts were first labeled with categories such as “female professors,” “female family members,” and “education at home” and then common themes were highlighted. Four of those themes are reported in the pages that follow: (1) separation of the sexes, (2) traditional gender roles and expectations, (3) a lack of female professors and mentors, and (4) a desire to fill the gap. This paper also explores the implications these findings may have for educators.

Separation of the Sexes

The self-division into same-sex groups described by most of these women will not come as a surprise to anyone who has spent much time in Japan. All but one of the students (Nanako, Education) brought up this issue when discussing the ratio of male to female students in their classes. Two of the participants even claimed that it was expected of them to stick together with their same-sex

classmates. Kana (Agriculture) described her experience as one of only eight girls in a class of 45 at her competitive high school. She expressed feelings of exclusion and pressure to speak with the other girls in the class, despite having a desire to discuss class contents with the boys. Lifen, the Engineering student, described her university classes and her fear of taking part in discussions with the male students:

I always see boys get together in a group and discuss the calculus problem and do the homework together and I want to be a member, too, but a little shy[ness] and [fear] stopped me... the girls [are] afraid of taking part in the circle of the boys. And the boys have no purpose to talk with the girls. When a girl joins the group, all the boys may keep silent.

By saying that male students “have no purpose” to engage with female students, Lifen implies that (perhaps both female and) male students may have a stereotype that girls and women are not as good at math. Lifen asserted that it would not help even if teachers gave students more opportunities to talk in mixed groups because both male and female students would hesitate to participate. She expressed her own dislike of mixed sex discussions for the reason that “boys tend to be silent,” and that it is “embarrass[ing]” because students rarely engage in conversation with the opposite sex.

Through these two participants’ responses, we can see that when the female students are greatly outnumbered, the division of the sexes may lead to more serious consequences, such as the difficulty of participating in group work or class discussions with the opposite sex. In their study of female students in the School of Technology at Purdue University in the US, Wasburn and Miller (2006) also found that female students who were greatly outnumbered by males felt isolation, intimidation, and difficulty when working in mixed sex groups. In a study on why women leave the field of engineering by Silbey, Seron, Cech, and Rubineau (as cited in Silbey, 2016), women engineers reported negative experiences when working with male classmates, such as being cast into stereotypical roles. Female students at the University of Tokyo, who make up only 20% of the student body, also report feeling isolated and singled out (Rich, 2019). For students in certain majors, this may be a particular disadvantage. The Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE, 2020) says team-building skills, as well as the ability and confidence to share one’s ideas, are essential for the success of engineers. Students who are not able to practice these skills in the classroom due to conventions of gender self-segregation could be at a disadvantage. Indeed, Kana and Lifen may lose out on opportunities for growth or success by not participating in mixed sex discussions. It is not difficult to imagine that this lack of participation could lead to them lagging behind their classmates at the very least. Moreover, on the 2015 PISA test, Japan ranked second in collaborative problem solving (OECD, 2016), indicating that collaboration is a major part of the Japanese education system. Lack of collaboration among students who have clearly become accustomed to it creates an extra obstacle for female students that the male students would not have to overcome.

Although Nanako (Education) did not mention separation of the sexes in her department at university, she did reveal that it was her negative experience of being outnumbered 4:1 by boys in high school that directly led to her choosing the Faculty of Education in the first place. On her high school experience:

I didn't really enjoy that. If you look at each *gakubu* (department of the university), then I think the Education Department might have the most [female students]. It's a bit less than half. About 40%. It's sort of the reason why I chose this department.

Considering that “the choice of a college major can be one of the most important decisions a student can make” (Porter & Umbach, 2006, p. 429), and that this decision “can hold serious ramifications for individuals” (Soria & Stebleton, 2013, p. 29) such as salary, job security, and job satisfaction, this is also a very grave issue. Perhaps the Faculty of Education was the best choice for Nanako, but if other girls are choosing majors based on the representation of females in them, the enormous imbalance of males to females in elite universities, particularly in the STEM fields, will not end.

Like Nanako, the other participants in majors with more women (Ami, Ayano, and Kana, all in the Faculty of Agriculture) expressed their ideas about same-sex division in the university more positively. Although they reported that women do tend to stick together, they did not seem to feel it was disadvantageous. This is presumably because there is a larger number of them, which enables them to maintain same-sex groups when discussing class contents or collaborating on group projects.

Traditional Gender Roles and Expectations

All of the participants in this study brought up cultural expectations at various points during our interviews. Most of them pointed to it as the main reason for the low number of women at the university. Some of them cited it as the reason for low numbers of women in STEM faculties in particular. More specifically, they listed ideas about traditional gender roles and lack of encouragement from parents and teachers as major obstacles for female students.

Ayano and Kana (both Agriculture) claimed that the deeply embedded expectations for men to be breadwinners and women to be housewives is what prevents women from pursuing higher education at top universities. Kana went on to say that women are not encouraged to continue their studies because many people believe “there's a limit to [the time you can] give birth . . . , so for women, there isn't a lot of time to [get] absorbed in something like research in the university.” Kana's comment includes the assumption that there is pressure on women to have children and to be the primary caregivers once a child is born, leaving little time for advancing their education or pursuing research. According to a 2018 article, only 15.3% of researchers in Japan were women (Osumi, 2018), which is most certainly due in large part to cultural expectations, as Kana asserted.

The long-held belief in Japan that women are the primary caregivers surely influences the different expectations for boys and girls when it comes to education. Nanako (Education) described her

experience with this at her very competitive high school in Tokyo. Despite the fact that many of the male students at Nanako's high school went on to the University of Tokyo and other national universities, some of the parents of her female classmates expressed satisfaction at their daughters' attending slightly "lower level" universities. "Their parents and their relatives are happy with a [private school]. What's the point of trying for Todai or Kyodai?" she explained. Although there are also quite prestigious private universities in Japan, they may not hold the status of the national universities Nanako referenced. The extra preparation required to enter Todai (University of Tokyo) or Kyodai (Kyoto University) may have seemed an unnecessary burden for these parents to place on their daughters.

Statistics on work in Japan lend support to the ideas on traditional gender roles given by the participants. Although Japan's female employment rate in 2018 was the highest it had been in 50 years (Okuda, 2019), the proportion of women who work part-time (44.1% of the total in 2015), has remained fairly consistent since 2000 (The Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training, 2017, p. 35), suggesting that housework and childcare are the top priority for many women (by choice or necessity). Additionally, women mainly work in service jobs like nursing, food service, and hospitality, which generally have lower pay (Okuda, 2019), indicating that they are not typically the breadwinners in a household. Besides, the Global Gender Gap Report for 2020 listed the proportion of unpaid work for Japanese females per day at over four times that of males (World Economic Forum, 2020). This also implies that women are taking on the role of housekeeper and caregiver far more often than men are, making it difficult for them to work in full-time or permanent positions. All this means that spending the extra time and money it takes to enter a top-level university in Japan may not seem necessary or practical to the parents (and occasionally even the teachers) of girls.

Ami (Agriculture) brought up the possible effects such attitudes from parents and teachers may have:

I think there are still many parents or teachers who say, um, naturally that, um, say things like girls are not very good at math, or there may be parents or teachers [who] think that girls don't need to go to university. They, teachers, say such things in elementary school or high school, so girls believe they're not good at math, so that will make them not to choose the math or science course.

This is what Schmuck (2017) refers to as the "stereotype threat" (p. 61) and it does take a toll on girls, at least in terms of their confidence levels. Despite the fact that girls in the East Asia and Pacific region perform far above the OECD average in both math and science (particularly in China, Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea), there is a "small gender gap" in boys' and girls' confidence levels in math, and a "high gender gap" in confidence levels in science (Schmuck, 2017, p. 20). This strongly suggests that the biases expressed by parents and teachers do have an impact, particularly if repeated over time. Ayano (Agriculture) also told me that girls either do not like math and science or are not good at it.

When asked whether this was her personal opinion, she answered, “Mm . . . But I think every Japanese has the same opinion as me.”

Nanako (Education) and Lifen (Engineering) also referred to the numerous STEM faculties at the university as a possible deterrent to female students. Lifen specifically talked about her own department, suggesting that parents may think girls are not suited to studying engineering. In offering a reason for this, she circled back to the topic of traditional gender roles and fulfilling the role of the “good wife”:

Because engineering is a very hard, very difficult, very tiring department, and [parents] want their girls to be happy, because they think girls don’t need to be so tired. They need to marry, and if you can find a good husband, your life is perfect. Nothing is more important than finding a good husband.

Lifen said that this particular idea was probably similar between Japan and her home country of China, though she feels the gender gap is noticeably worse in Japan. According to Shinzo Araragi, a professor at Sophia University, conservative parents are mainly to blame for the lack of female students at top-tier universities in Japan, partly because they worry about women with high educations being able to find partners (Mishima, Yamashita, & Takahashi, 2018). Ayano (Agriculture) echoed this claim in one of our interviews: “I barely tell [people] I go to [this] university because especially men don’t tend to choose a girl who is going to [this] university. In Japan, men are not likely to choose smart or clever girls, I think.” Ayano continued on to say that she thinks even about half the male students attending this university would prefer women from other universities because, “women students of [this] university may be too logical. If a girl student thinks too logically, they may disagree with what the man students say.”

If society is instilling the idea that “nothing is more important than finding a good husband,” as Lifen told me, and that men avoid clever women in order to maintain a superior position in the relationship, as Ayano asserted, then it is no wonder that many girls avoid going to top-level schools, and that their parents often actively discourage them from doing so.

Lack of Female Professors and Mentors

The lack of female faculty members and mentors was another recurring theme throughout the interviews. As mentioned previously, the underrepresentation of women as professors in top-tier schools is evident, yet some of the participants in this study were still shocked at the reality they encountered. Lifen (Engineering) described her memory of being surprised when checking the Industrial Chemistry Department’s website and finding not a single female professor on the list of faculty. She also said that none of the classes she had taken in her major up to that point had been taught by women. Ami (Agriculture) also expressed disbelief that despite there being about 30% female enrollment in the Faculty of Agriculture, she had also had no female professors for her major classes.

Some of the participants remarked on the important role these faculty members do or could potentially fill.

One of these roles is simply to introduce a different perspective to classroom subjects and research. Nanako (Education) related a time when she was listening to a female professor discuss her research on “female students and how they’re reflected in society,” and how she was struck by the realization that only a female professor could have had that point of view. “The ratio of male and female professors might impact a lot on [students’] research,” she concluded. What subjects students choose to take and what topics they choose to research may indeed be influenced by the gender of their professors. In a study on the effects of a professor’s gender on female students, Bettinger and Long (2005) concluded that having a professor of the same sex may positively influence a student’s interest in a subject. Although their results were somewhat mixed, the study did find that female students’ interest in subjects like mathematics and statistics increased when they had a female professor (p. 156). A study of female English majors at one Japanese university found that female secondary school and cram school teachers had a strong influence on students’ choice of major, suggesting that an increase in female professors at the university level could also encourage women to thrive in various fields (Haye-Matsui, 2018).

Another important role female professors could potentially fill is as inspiring role models for young girls. Ami (Agriculture) addressed this idea when describing her experience participating in an orientation that was aimed at recruiting more girls to the university. She expressed profound disappointment in the event, mainly due to the lack of female faculty members present. After describing a speech made by an older male professor with an “oppressing attitude,” she concluded, “If a female, um, cool professor did the same explanation, like some girls might [have] thought, ‘Oh I want to be like her.’ No one thinks they want to be like that man.” Her observations on the orientation proceedings show how important the role of female professors is in inspiring a young generation of girls to pursue education at top universities. Seeing women in higher positions affects attitudes girls and women have about themselves. A study in the *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004) found that female university students who were exposed to women leaders in a laboratory setting developed positive feelings about women leaders in general. In contrast, both male and female students who were not exposed to women in leadership roles at university displayed much stronger stereotypical beliefs about them (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004). A recent study in the US found that among female university students in classes that received visits from two successful women in the field of economics (a department at the university in which less than 25% of graduates are women), enrollment in future economics classes nearly doubled (Lancaster University Management School, 2020). The lack of female professors and role models at top schools in Japan, then, may cause both prospective and enrolled female students to feel limited in their choices.

The need for more female faculty and mentors is perhaps most apparent in a story of sexual harassment that Ami (Agriculture) shared. As one of the four student representatives of her

university swimming club (the only female), Ami took a four-day trip whose main objective was to solicit donations from university alumni. She said most of the alumni present at the events were older men. On the last day, she attended a party, and was “forced” to go to an after party by the “top man.” It was at the after party, in the presence of her three male peers, that she was harassed by that man. She described the reaction of her male peers: “I’m pretty sure that they felt something bad but they couldn’t do anything because you can’t say no or [make] any objection to that top man. I think they should protect me, but I know they can’t.” The resignation with which Ami expressed this idea shows how powerful the Japanese hierarchy and necessity to show respect to one’s *senpai* (people in senior positions) is. Had there been some senior women present at the alumni party, or an accompanying female chaperone, the incident may have been preventable. What makes the need for more female representation at the university more clear, however, is what occurred when Ami returned from her trip. In her words:

I brought [up] the topic to my same grade swimmers. And they listened to my story, but not at the whole club meetings. [We] don’t need to report it because everyone knows it. Well, they don’t know the whole exact story, but they know that some alumni would do something bad. I think I’m kind of a person who feels sensitively about that kind of problem. But some of the members, even female members, think it’s natural and we have to get over it. But I don’t think so. There is a *senpai* who is in that position [to report the problem to the alumni association]. It is a student, and he was with me when I was harassed, but he didn’t do anything, so what can I say? What can I do?

The powerlessness she felt both during and after the incident reveal severe problems in the support system for female students. In fact, there are counseling services on campus where Ami could have reported the harassment, but she explained that she decided not to because she wanted to distance herself from the incident. Although there are many factors that led to the harassment of Ami and her subsequent failure to report it, perhaps the most disturbing factor is the attitude that it is “natural” for men to harass women and nothing can (or should) be done about it. The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (2018) stated that the two factors most linked to a higher risk of sexual harassment are an attitude of tolerance toward harassment and a male-dominated environment (p. 171). Therefore, the lack of female faculty (and alumni, in this case) at high level universities create an environment where female students are at a greater risk of being sexually harassed, and the attitude of tolerance toward harassment is more likely to prevail. Increasing the number of both female faculty and female students can help to protect women from suffering such abuses.

A Desire to Fill the Gap

In the face of obstacles like separation of the sexes, traditional gender roles and expectations, and a severe lack of female professors and mentors, the women in this study have shown great perseverance

and ambition. They have the potential to help shift the tide of men dominating women in top universities by being role models and mentors for young girls.

From their responses to my questions about future plans, it is clear that the participants in this study could help to fill the gap, to become the role models and mentors (and in some cases, professors) that the next generation of girls needs. All of them described dreams that challenge the traditional ideas of women's roles in Japan. Ami, Kana, Ayano (all Agriculture), and Lifan (Engineering) expressed a desire to attend graduate school. Kana and Ayano intend to study abroad, and Lifan would like to remain in Japan as an international student. Nanako (Education) hopes to use her English ability and knowledge from her undergraduate studies to work in International Relations.

After considering the aforementioned statistics on the proportion of unpaid work women do in Japan, it is clear that women do (and to a great extent, are expected to do) housework and childcare, and men work (or are expected to work) long hours on tasks like research. These traditional ideas and roles are at risk, however, with Japan's aging population problem. To quote Ami (Agriculture) from one of our interviews, "if [women] don't work, who will work?" Indeed, the women in this study seem to be prepared for the task.

Implications for Educators

Several factors make high-level universities in Japan, particularly those with large science and engineering departments, a chilly climate for women. The isolation women may feel, the pressure to adhere to strict gender roles, and the shortage of female professors as role models are among those mentioned by the participants in this study. In a male-dominated environment, women are also at greater risk of harassment and abuse. These participants also revealed the arduous paths they had to take before being accepted at the university, which consisted of many of the same challenges.

Though these harsh challenges became apparent in my interviews with the five women in this study, Nanako (Education), Ayano (Agriculture), and Kana (Agriculture), in particular, who are in departments with comparatively higher ratios of female students, seem to have had largely positive experiences at the university. This appears to indicate that one very important goal for increasing women's satisfaction at top universities is to raise their numbers. The role of educators in raising the number of female students and ensuring that girls and women thrive at the top is an important one. The suggestions that follow are based on the information gathered from women in top-tier schools, but they are certainly not limited to this group alone.

As some of the participants in this study pointed out, the ingrained idea that separating by sex is "natural" may prevent students from participating at all in mixed groups, particularly if one of the groups is severely underrepresented. Thus, getting students accustomed to sitting, discussing, and collaborating in mixed-sex groups as early as possible may be one way to prevent them from segregating or isolating themselves later in life. In fact, students' self-separation may be more of a cultural formality than a desire. A study by Helverson (2016) on students at a reputable private university in

Japan found that although the students separated themselves into same-sex groups upon entering the classroom each day, most of them preferred to be divided into mixed-sex groups by instructors. Students noted that the mixed groups gave them access to different views and helped them learn to “get along” with the opposite sex (Helverson, 2016). Encouraging students to “get along” with those different from themselves early and consistently could prevent some of the problems reported by the participants in this study. Therefore, teachers at all levels should consider implementing mixed-sex groups on a regular basis.

It is also important for educators to provide individual support for students if it becomes clear that they are isolated, or that they may not have the opportunity to discuss class contents with other students outside of class. This can be done by encouraging more communication between teacher and student. In fact, most of the participants in this study said students rarely communicate with teachers outside of class time. Although face-to-face communication is ideal, even allowing students to write questions anonymously may be a way to give timid students the opportunity to confirm information and raise important issues related to the class. A university professor in the US found that the number of questions per semester in his class increased by at least six times when he allowed students to ask questions anonymously through an online forum (Burke, 2019). If online forums are not available, students can even write their questions anonymously on slips of paper, and in smaller classes, teachers can then read out and answer questions without the students feeling humiliated or judged.

Support from teachers is also necessary for eliminating the “stereotype threat” and promoting girls to strive to enter top-tier schools and fields with fewer women in them. In order to combat this threat, educators at all levels should be aware of their own biases and make a conscious effort to encourage girls in subjects like math, where it has been confirmed that girls lack confidence (OECD, 2015). A study by Carlana (2019) on the impact of instructors’ implicit gender biases on students found that eighth grade girls performed better in math when they were instructed by teachers who made a stronger association between girls and math. On the contrary, female students with teachers who strongly associated boys with math performed worse while boys’ performances were unaffected by teacher bias (Carlana, 2019). Therefore, becoming aware of one’s implicit biases and making an effort to change them is essential for ensuring the success of female students. It is also important to use language and choose materials that do not explicitly divide men and women into gendered roles. Students’ views of themselves and understanding of their roles in society are partly determined by their experiences at school and their representation in texts and other materials (Global Education Monitoring Report Team, 2018). Therefore, choosing materials carefully and addressing any gender biases directly is of the utmost importance for teachers. In the article “Supporting Diversity in the Classroom Community,” Grote (2020) recommends small adjustments such as using non-traditional images when teaching vocabulary (e.g., an image of a man crying for “tears”). Becoming aware of biases and taking small steps to eliminate them is one way educators can help diminish the stereotype threat.

Although some special events for recruiting high school girls do exist at the university level (like the one Ami [Agriculture] described), they will not be successful if they do not include female leaders that those girls can aspire to become. All three of the previously mentioned national universities (Osaka University, Kyoto University, and the University of Tokyo) have gender equality promotion centers on campus. Finding out about and becoming involved in offices that promote gender equality and the recruitment of female students is something many educators are capable of doing. Educators at junior and senior high schools can also encourage their institutions to contact organizations such as Kansai Kagaku Juku, which is a group of female university students and other women in science who offer short workshops especially to encourage girls in science (2019). Educators at the university level can encourage their female students to volunteer at such organizations to become role models for younger girls. As the previously mentioned study by Lancaster University Management School (2020) shows, simple campus visits by inspiring women at the secondary or tertiary levels have the power to change the outcome of a student's life by influencing her choice of university, field of study, or career. It is very important, then, to get female students and faculty involved in such events, both to be role models for young girls, and to help create a less male-centered environment.

Finally, educators can encourage their institutions to take advantage of initiatives aimed at increasing the number of girls and women in STEM. The government-funded *Joshi Chukosei no Rikei Shinro Sentaku Shien Puroguramu* provides money to universities that conduct activities to bolster the interest of junior and senior high school girls in STEM fields and lists these universities on their website (Japan Science and Technology Agency, 2020). Educators at the secondary level can encourage their institutions to participate in the events and workshops that are provided by these universities, and educators at the tertiary level can encourage their institutions to apply for funding to host such events. Extracurricular programs are also available and easily searchable on the Internet. For example, the nonprofit organization "STEM Career Path Project for Girls" has information on its website about a summer school program specifically for junior and senior high school girls interested in STEM (2019). By researching the current programs and initiatives available, educators can ensure that their students are given a wide variety of opportunities for their futures.

Conclusion

In sum, when there is greater representation of women at top schools, girls and women benefit immensely. The probability of being isolated or missing out on opportunities for fruitful discussions with classmates diminishes. With greater representation, there is less of a threat of being stereotyped as "unfeminine" or "unmarriageable" because of a woman's intelligence or interest in certain subjects. Moreover, a move away from an overwhelmingly male-dominated environment means there is less risk of being singled out, harassed, or sexually assaulted. If harassment should occur, support from female classmates and mentors can help women feel empowered to take action against it. Finally, female students can also envision themselves in a wider variety of roles when they see successful female role models, and they themselves can become role models for the coming generations.

Indeed, when women are given opportunities to thrive, it is beneficial for everyone. In a study of PISA test results from 33 countries, van Hek, Kraaykamp, and Pelzer (2018) found that boys performed better when the school was made up of at least 60% girls even when variables such as socioeconomic status or teacher qualifications were accounted for. The researchers asserted that it may have been the result of girls setting "a more successful learning climate in schools and classrooms" (van Hek, Kraaykamp, & Pelzer, 2018, p. 13). At the university level, exposure to diverse perspectives has been shown to lead to improvement of competencies such as problem-solving skills, meaning the male students also benefit when there are more women present (Weaver, 2020). The International Labour Organization (ILO) found in their 2018 enterprise survey that two thirds of companies reported improved business outcomes as a result of steps they took to increase diversity (as cited in ILO, 2019). In fact, gender diversity reportedly led to increases of 5–20% in profits (ILO, 2019). On a larger scale, a 2018 article by the World Economic Forum claimed that Japan's GDP could be improved by \$550 billion if gender parity, particularly economic parity, were achieved (Eda, 2018). These benefits demonstrate why it is crucial to create an environment where women can excel and achieve their full potential.

The findings presented in this study are preliminary and require further study. In fact, this research is ongoing. Even though the study size is small and the experiences of each woman unique, there are issues they share as an underrepresented group at a top university in Japan. Considering these women's voices, educators can take steps to facilitate the success of their female students, not only at top universities, but at all stages and all levels of education. This in turn, can lead to benefits not only for the students themselves, but also for Japanese society as a whole.

Sara L. Schipper has over 20 years of English language teaching experience, mostly in universities in Japan. She is currently a senior lecturer in the International Academic Research and Resource Center for Language Education (i-ARRC) at Kyoto University. Her research interests lie in gender, social science, and theoretical linguistics.

References

- BBC News. (2003, July 3). Japan rape victims 'asking for it.' Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3042316.stm>
- BBC News. (2018, December 14). Japan medical schools 'rigged women's results.' Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-46568975>
- Bettinger, E. P., & Long, B. T. (2005). Do faculty serve as role models? The impact of instructor gender on female students. *Understanding Teacher Quality*, 95(2), 152–157. Retrieved from <https://cepa.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/000282805774670149.pdf>

- Burke, L. (2019). Behind the back channel: Can giving students anonymity help them engage in class? *Inside Higher Ed*. Retrieved from <https://www.insidehighered.com/digital-learning/article/2019/12/06/students-may-benefit-anonymous-back-channel-communications>
- Carlana, M. (2019). Implicit stereotypes: Evidence from teachers' gender bias. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(3), 1163–1224. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjz008>
- Center for World University Rankings. (2019). *Japan-CWUR world university rankings 2018–2019*. Retrieved from <https://cwur.org/2018-19/japan.php>
- Dasgupta, N., & Asgari, S. (2004). Seeing is believing: Exposure to counterstereotypic women leaders and its effect on the malleability of automatic stereotyping. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40(5), 642–658. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2004.02.003>
- Eda, M. (2018). *What will it take for the world's third largest economy to empower women?* World Economic Forum. Retrieved from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/11/japan-needs-women-to-remain-the-worlds-third-largest-economy>
- Fukushima, S., Sakai, Y., Kusakabe, M., Izawa, T., & Kim, S. (2018, August 8). Investigators blast Tokyo Medical University for betraying applicants' trust. *The Mainichi*. Retrieved from <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20180808/p2a/00m/0na/025000c>
- Gender Bureau Cabinet Office. (2020). *Education and research fields*. Retrieved from http://www.gender.go.jp/english_contents/pr_act/pub/pamphlet/women-and-men20/pdf/1-5.pdf
- Global Education Monitoring Report Team. (2018). *Global education monitoring report gender review 2018: Meeting our commitments to gender equality in education*. UNESDOC Digital Library. Retrieved from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000261593/PDF/261593eng.pdf.multi>
- Grote, Y. (2020). Supporting diversity in the classroom community. *The Language Teacher*, 44(6), 7–8. <https://jalt-publications.org/tlt>
- Haye-Matsui, A. (2018). They were women and I had a cool image about them: Female role models and female English language majors. *The Language Teacher*, 42(2), 3–7. <https://jalt-publications.org/tlt>
- Helverson, G. (2016). Heroic guppies, happy piranhas? Student perceptions of mixed seating in the EFL classroom at a private Japanese university and implications in regards to Japan's 'different-but-equal' gender system. *The Journal and Proceedings of the Gender Awareness in Language Education Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching*, 9, 7–23. Retrieved from <https://gale-sig.org/website/gale-journal-2016-vol-9.pdf>

- The Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE). (2020). Why communications skills are critical to engineers. *Spectrum*. Retrieved from <https://spectrum.ieee.org/the-institute/ieee-member-news/why-communications-skills-are-critical-to-engineers>
- The International Labour Organization (ILO). (2019). *Beyond the glass ceiling: Why businesses need women at the top*. Retrieved from <https://www.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/Employment/beyond-the-glass-ceiling#introduction>
- Izawa, T. (2018, September 4). Most med schools had more successful male applicants than female in the past 6 yrs: Gov't. *The Mainichi*. Retrieved from <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20180904/p2a/00m/0na/025000c>
- The Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training. (2017). *Japanese working life profile 2016/2017: Labor statistics*. Retrieved from <https://www.jil.go.jp/english/jwl/2016-2017/all.pdf>
- Japan Science and Technology Agency. (2020). *Joshi chū-kōsei no rikei shinro sentaku shien puroguramu* [Science course selection support for middle and high school females]. Retrieved from <https://www.jst.go.jp/cpse/jyoshi>
- The Japan Times. (2006, January 27). Kyoto University trio held in suspected gang rapes. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2006/01/27/national/kyoto-university-trio-held-in-suspected-gang-rapes>
- The Japan Times. (2009, June 2). Students held in gang rape. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2009/06/02/national/students-held-in-gang-rape>
- The Japan Times. (2019, August 7). Students take stand against rising number of sexual violence cases at Japan's universities. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/08/07/national/social-issues/students-take-stand-rising-number-sexual-violence-cases-japans-universities>
- Kansai Kagaku Juku. (2019). *Autorīchi katsudō nado* [Outreach and other activities]. Retrieved from <http://www.kansai-kj.org/outreach.html>
- Kavli Institute for the Physics and Mathematics of the Universe (Kavli IPMU). (2019). *Parental gender attitudes associated with Japanese girls' reduced university participation*. Retrieved from <https://www.ipmu.jp/en/20191017-STEMGirls>
- Kōkō Juken Study. (2019). *Kyōto daigaku no gōkakushasū ga ōi kōkō* [High schools with the highest number of successful applicants to Kyoto University]. Retrieved from https://www.studyh.jp/kanto/special/rank_univ/rank_kyodai.html
- Kyoto University. (2019a, April–May). *Facts and figures covering our 122-year history*. Retrieved from <http://www.kyoto-u.ac.jp/explore/en/data>

- Kyoto University. (2019b, May 1). *Shokuinsū* [Number of faculty]. Retrieved from https://www.kyoto-u.ac.jp/sites/default/files/embed/jaaboutpublicissueku_profile_documents201911.pdf
- Lancaster University Management School. (2020). *Role models have major influence on female university choices*. Lancaster University. Retrieved from <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/lums/news/role-models-have-major-influence-on-female-university-choices>
- McCurry, J. (2019, June 19). Women outperform men after Japan medical school stops rigging exam scores. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/19/women-outperform-men-after-japan-medical-school-stops-rigging-exam-scores>
- Megraoui, B. (2018, October 23). Top universities in Japan 2019. *QS Top Universities*. Retrieved from <https://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings-articles/asian-university-rankings/top-universities-japan-2019>
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). (2019). *Gakkō kihon chōsa: Kekka gaiyō* [School basic survey: Summary of results]. Retrieved from https://www.mext.go.jp/content/20191220-mxt_chousa01-000003400_1.pdf
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). (2020). *Gakkō kihon chōsa: Daigaku no todōfukubetsu gakkō gakuseisū* [School basic survey: Number of universities and their students by prefecture] [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://www.e-stat.go.jp/stat-search>
- Mishima, A., Yamashita, T., & Takahashi, M. (2018, Oct. 10). “Onna ga daigaku nante” shingaku sasenu fūchō, haikei ni aru keizai kakusa [Gender bias in Japanese society adds up to fewer women in college]. *Asahi Shimbun Digital*. Retrieved from <https://digital.asahi.com/articles/ASLB35RCXLB3UTIL04C.html>
- Murai, S. (2016, September 20). University of Tokyo student who co-founded club for molesting women given suspended sentence. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/09/20/national/crime-legal/university-tokyo-student-co-founded-club-molesting-women-given-suspended-sentence>
- The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2018). *Sexual harassment of women: Climate, culture, and consequences in academic sciences, engineering, and medicine*. Washington, DC, US: The National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/24994>
- OECD. (2015). *The ABC of gender quality in education: Aptitude, behavior, confidence*. Paris, France: OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264229945-6-en>
- OECD. (2016). *PISA 2015 results (Volume V): Collaborative problem solving*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/education/pisa-2015-results-volume-v-9789264285521-en.htm>

- Okuda, K. (2019, February 2). Japan's female employment tops 50% for 1st time in half-century. *Nikkei Asian Review*. Retrieved from <https://asia.nikkei.com/Economy/Japan-s-female-employment-tops-50-for-1st-time-in-half-century>
- Osaka University. (2019a, May 1). *Gakuseisū (gakubu gakusei, daigakuinsei, hiseikisei)* [Student numbers (undergraduate students, graduate students, non-regular students)]. Retrieved from <https://www.osaka-u.ac.jp/ja/guide/about/data/students.html>
- Osaka University. (2019b, May 1). *Kyōin ni kansuru kiso dēta*. [Faculty data]. Retrieved from https://www.osaka-u.ac.jp/ja/guide/about/data/teacher_data
- Osumi, N. (2018, March 8). Japan's woman problem [Web log comment]. <https://www.natureindex.com/news-blog/japans-woman-problem>
- Porter, S. R., & Umbach, P. D. (2006). College major choice: An analysis of person-environment fit. *Research in Higher Education*, 47, 429–449. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-005-9002-3>
- Rich, M. (2019, December 8). At Japan's most elite university, just 1 in 5 students is a woman. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/08/world/asia/tokyo-university-women-japan.html>
- Schmuck, C. (2017). *Women in STEM disciplines*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Seidman, I. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (4th ed.). New York, US: Teacher's College Press, Columbia University.
- Silbey, S. (2016, August 23). Why do so many women who study engineering leave the field? *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved from <https://hbr.org/2016/08/why-do-so-many-women-who-study-engineering-leave-the-field>
- Soria, K. M., & Stebleton, M. (2013). Major decisions: Motivations for selecting a major, satisfaction, and belonging. *NACADA Journal*, 33(2), 29–43. <https://doi.org/10.12930/NACADA-13-018>
- STEM Career Path Project for Girls. (2019). *The natsugaku* [The summer school]. Retrieved from <https://www.gstem-cpp.or.jp/english>
- University of Tokyo. (2018, May 1). *Shokuinsū* [Number of faculty]. Retrieved from https://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ja/about/overview/b02_03.html
- University of Tokyo (2019, May 1). Gakubu gakusei [Undergraduate students]. Retrieved from <https://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/content/400116894.pdf>

- van Hek, M., Kraaykamp, G., & Pelzer, B. (2018). Do schools affect girls' and boys' reading performance differently? A multilevel study on the gendered effects of school resources and school practices. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 29(1), 1–21. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/09243453.2017.1382540>
- Wasburn, M. H., & Miller, S. G. (2006). Still a chilly climate for women students in technology: A case study. In M. F. Fox, D. G. Johnson, & S. V. Rosser (Eds.), *Women, gender, and technology* (pp. 60–79). Urbana, US: University of Illinois Press.
- Weaver, J. (2020). *Diversity can benefit teamwork in STEM*. Berkeley Center for Teaching and Learning. Retrieved from <https://teaching.berkeley.edu/diversity-can-benefit-teamwork-stem>
- World Economic Forum. (2018). *The global gender gap report 2018*. Retrieved from http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf
- World Economic Forum. (2020). *The global gender gap report 2020*. Retrieved from http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf

Working Women in Japan and the Complications of Hiring Household Help

Suzanne Kamata
Naruto University

Yoko Kita
Naruto Board of Education

Abstract

Since former Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo announced his “Womenomics” initiative to increase the number of Japanese women in the workplace, the number of married working women aged 25–54 has risen from 58% in 2000 to 71% in 2016. However, most of these women are not engaged in career-track jobs; the number of women in executive or managerial positions, as well as high level government jobs, lags well behind that of other industrialized nations. This is partly attributed to the fact that Japanese working women who are married with children still bear the brunt of childcare, housekeeping, and caring for elderly relatives. Japanese teachers, especially, work long hours, and have little time for career development activities which might lead to advancement. Although outsourcing at least some domestic tasks might improve Japanese women teacher’s lives, few do so. In this paper, we examine the results of a survey on attitudes toward hiring help to better understand why female educators in Japan tend to not outsource domestic work and suggest the development of an app which might help those who are seeking to find and employ domestic workers.

概要

日本の安倍晋三総理大臣が、女性活躍社会「ウーマノミクス」を提唱してから、結婚後も働き続ける 25～54 歳の女性労働人口が、2000 年の 58%から 2016 年には 72%に増加した。しかしながら、先進国諸国と比較すると、企業における管理・経営職や政府の要職に占める女性の割合は極めて少ないと言える。これは、日本では、多くの女性が結婚後は育児や家事に主に従事するとともに、高齢化した家族や親族の介護をしている現状を反映していると考えられる。特に、教員の長時間勤務は問題視されており、キャリアアップを目指した自己研鑽に費やす時間を十分確保できない懸念がある。日本においても、女性教員の家事を軽減する多様な外部人材活用システムが改善されつつあるが、未だ十分とは言い難い。本論文では、日本における女性教員の家事従事の実態を調査し、外部人材活用が進まない原因を探ることを主たる目的とする。さらに、家事代行外部人材の活用推進をめざし、派遣会社の雇用者の就労状況に透明性を持たせるためのアプリの開発をも提案するものである。

Introduction

A few years ago, the first researcher of this paper attended a meeting of the women’s support/gender interest group at the Japanese public university where she was teaching at the time. The guest speaker was a renowned researcher from a prestigious Canadian university. She was a single woman in her

sixties with no children and a very impressive career. During the question-and-answer period which followed the talk, a young, female medical doctor and university instructor who had small children at home, raised her hand. “When do you do your housework?” she asked. The visiting researcher looked slightly taken aback, as if she had not expected such a question. Then she replied, “I don’t. I hire someone.”

For some, this may seem like an obvious answer. In Singapore, for example, it is reported that one in five families employs a maid (Awang & Ting, 2019). Although hiring help can be problematic, it is becoming more and more common among middle class families in the West. In the United States, for example, a 2016 study revealed that there are two million domestic employers in California alone, 42% of whom have a household income of \$50,000 or less (UCLA Labor Center, 2016). Furthermore, as of 2016, in the United Kingdom, one in three families outsourced domestic work (Livingston, 2016). As American author and mother Megan K. Stack has written:

Hiring domestic help is a stopgap and an evasion. The entire model does nothing for the middle class since only women wealthy enough to pay for domestic help, or women poor enough to regard these jobs in terms of social mobility or survival, are affected. But for those who can afford it, paid domestic help takes the pressure off parents and marriage; off employers and society at large (2019, p. *x*).

Stack hired help to look after her children and perform housekeeping tasks while she was writing a book in another room at home. Even Western women who work only part-time hire people to do such work in order to free themselves to pursue their own interests and passions. As has been noted by intersectional feminists, women who are actually hired still have to perform their own childcare and housework and therefore may *not* have time to pursue their own interests and passions.

In Japan, mid-career teachers who work full time earn above-average salaries, but they work long hours. A 2019 survey conducted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development found that Japanese junior high school teachers spent an average of 56 hours per week at work. This far exceeds the total average of 38.3 hours among the 14 other countries and regions which participated in the survey. Furthermore, elementary school teachers in Japan spend on average 54.4 hours at work. The survey also found that, among those surveyed, Japan ranked last in “total hours spent a week on professional development activities to improve individual skills, knowledge, expertise and other characteristics as teachers” (Yajima, 2019), with less than an hour on average for both elementary and junior high school teachers. These career-enhancing activities might include language lessons, writing and publishing papers, engaging in networking events, and studying for exams to become vice principal or principal—all of which must be completed during a teacher’s “free time.” As many teachers, especially those who are female, are expected to also take on domestic labor at home, hiring outside help seems like an obvious potential solution for generating free time and reducing stress. Even so, few do.

This paper will attempt to begin to answer the question, “Why don’t female teachers in Japan outsource housework and/or childcare?” and suggest a possible app-based solution to address concerns about security and abuse.

Positionality

Discussions on domestic help have centered upon negative issues such as disparities of economic and social status between household employer and employee, issues of white privilege (De Matos, 2009; Land, 2019; Livingston, 2016; Stack, 2019), exploitation and/or abuse (Austin, 2017; Haynes, 2014; Sarkar 2020; Suryomenggolo, 2019), and the ethics of hiring someone to do one’s housework (Bromwich, 2014; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). Legal issues concerning foreign domestic workers such as illegal immigration (Moy & Yip, 2006; Menjívar & Kanstroom, 2013; Nyíri & Saveliev, 2018) and worker protection (Henderson, 2020; Sarkar, 2020) have also received attention.

In spite of the above, we hold the position that hiring household help is not implicitly bad. In fact, domestic work is frequently essential for those who perform it, providing income and opportunities (Killias, 2018; Suryomenggolo, 2019; Ueno, 2013) and beneficial to many who pay for it. Hired help for household tasks is often crucial for those with disabilities living independently (Heumann, Poo, & Brown-Booker, 2020).

Although historically, engaging in domestic work for others has been seen as dirty and demeaning in a Western context (Ashforth & Blake, 1999; Sarkar, 2020), cleaning does not seem to have carried the same stigma in Japan. Pre–World War II, young women of middle-class Japanese families often served aristocratic families as maids or “etiquette apprentices” in order to improve their marriage prospects (Lebra, 1990). In the present day, as the Western press often marvels, Japanese school children clean their own schools and serve each other lunch as part of their education. A local newspaper published an essay by a student on life lessons learned from cleaning the school toilet (Kamata, 2013). Additionally, *senjyō shufu*, or “full-time housewife,” has long been considered a respectable and desirable role for Japanese women. In pre-modern Japan, housewives were often considered heads of their households, and controlled the distribution of the staple food, rice, and in many middle-class families, women continue to be in charge of family finances (Ueno, 1987). As Ueno writes, “Women’s power in the domestic sphere is not negligible and sometimes compensates for their low status in the public sphere” (1987). Even as government policies seek to encourage more women to enter the workplace, “charisma housewives” such as Harumi Kurihara—and more recently Marie Kondo—continue to promote the idea that housework is fun and satisfying (Goldstein-Gidoni, 2018; Kondo, 2014)—while being fully employed themselves.

Background

Since former Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo announced his “Womenomics” initiative to get more Japanese women into the workplace, the number of working married women aged 25–54 increased from 58% in 2000 to 71% in 2016 (Shambaugh, Nunn, & Portman, 2017). However, most of

those women are not engaged in career-track jobs, and the number of women in executive or managerial positions, as well as high level government jobs, lags well behind that of other industrialized nations (Shim, 2018). This is partly attributed to the fact that Japanese working women who are married with children still bear that brunt of childcare, housekeeping, and caring for elderly relatives. According to a report by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Japanese men spend less time on household chores than men in other wealthy nations including Australia, Belgium, France, and Finland. Additionally, Rich reports that “according to an analysis of government data by Noriko O. Tsuya, an economics professor at Keio University in Tokyo, women who work more than 49 hours a week typically do close to 25 hours of housework a week. Their husbands do an average of less than five.”

The lack of Japanese women in leadership positions is partly blamed on Japanese men for not helping out around the house more (Rich, 2019; Rich, 2020; Zimmerman, 2020). In fact, even in North America, “although the research over the last few decades points to a decreasing gap in division of labor in the home, it doesn’t necessarily translate to more equitable labor in the home” (Craig, 2020, para. 6). As Canadian feminist motherhood scholar Andrea O’Reilly points out, “mothers are taking on less by ‘outsourcing’ some of their load. Instead of cooking every night, they might get takeout, or they may hire help with domestic duties like cleaning the house or tutoring the children” (Craig, 2020, para. 7).

Japanese workplace expectations may also discourage women from pursuing positions with greater responsibilities. Japanese employees work on average 2,000 hours per year (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2015). According to Ono, these long working hours make it difficult to balance work and private life and impede diversity in the workforce (2018). Persistent cultural norms such as Japan’s input-oriented society, emphasizing quantity over quality; group awareness and hierarchical relationships, which discourage workers leaving before their superiors; ambiguous job descriptions, and gender division of labor contribute to this trend. Furthermore, Ono writes:

Nemoto (2013) gives a detailed portrayal of the context of Japanese male-centered workplaces, based on interview surveys. Long working hours are seen as a sacrifice to the company, and women are criticized as disloyal if their time commitments are not on par with the men’s. Many women drop out because they cannot keep up with the time demands of the male-centered work culture. From interviews with female employees, on the other hand, Nemoto points out that the Japanese work culture offers women a way to “opt out.” Some female employees explain that, if anything, men’s careers are more constrained because men cannot opt out, and that they sympathize with men because most continue to work long hours until they retire (2018).

On top of long working hours, those professional women who opt in are expected to do most of the housework. Not only are Japanese women expected to do most of the domestic work, but

these expectations go above and beyond those of the average North American woman. Whereas the popular American magazine *Good Housekeeping*, a source of recipes and cleaning tips which dates back to 1885, later encouraged readers to strive for good *enough* housekeeping, Japanese women in the 21st century are still pressured to make elaborate *bentos* for their children (Nakanishi, 2015; Stephens, 2015), sew aprons and shoe bags, prepare multiple dish meals—no casseroles!—for their families (Nakanishi, 2015; Rich, 2019), and keep a tidy house (Goldstein-Gidoni, 2018, Kondo, 2014). Japanese women typically shop daily for groceries, buying only what is needed to make that evening’s and the next day’s meals. After the meals are eaten, many Japanese women wash the dirty dishes by hand (Brasor & Tsukubu, 2012; Rich, 2019). Even in Tokyo, washed laundry can be seen hanging outdoors to dry on balconies. Here, in the land of robots, it seems that much domestic labor is still done by hand—by women.

While interviewing harried Japanese mothers, Rosenberger remarked, “I thought of my Hong Kong and Thai friends who worked full-time and came home to neat homes, warm dinners, and children cared for by maids from rural Thailand or the Philippines.” Japanese women, she points out, don’t have that option. Beyond ideological considerations, Rosenberger (2013) suggests that this is partly due to a lack of immigrant labor. Stereotypically, Indonesian or Filipina nannies take care of children and household chores for clients abroad, and wealthy New York women hire staff from less affluent countries such as Mexico and Jamaica. It should be noted, however, that such arrangements in these and other countries, such as Singapore, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia, have sometimes led to human rights violations (AlTaHER, 2019; Carvalho, 2019; Henderson, 2019; Henderson, 2020; O’Neill, 2001; Sarkar, 2020; Tsujigami, 2019).

Japan, meanwhile, has long imposed limits on immigration. Recently immigration laws have changed, allowing foreign health care professionals to train to become eldercare workers. The rigorous licensing process involves two years of training, followed by a national board exam. If they pass, these workers can live and work indefinitely in Japan caring for the elderly and disabled. At present, however, immigrant workers have yet to fulfill the need for eldercare workers; there is a severe shortage of help available in Japan for those who require long-term care (NHK, 2020), let alone for women who work. Concerns have also been raised about the abuse of short-term immigrant laborers in Japan (Kyodo, 2018; Slodkowski, 2014; Tabuchi, 2010). However, although it is true that there are not enough immigrant workers in Japan to keep up with the demand for domestic labor, the theory discounts the possibility that Japanese women—or men—such as university students (not to mention permanent residents of other nationalities) might perform domestic work for other Japanese. Not all domestic workers are immigrants. In fact, local Japanese governments oversee Silver Human Resource Centers (Roberts, 1996), at which citizens can employ registered retired workers and other senior citizens for part-time house cleaning, babysitting, gardening, and other services at reasonable rates. Additionally, more and more affordable professional cleaning services such as Benry (at an average rate of 1500 yen per hour) are emerging.

Methodology

A qualitative approach was used in this study. The participants were a convenience sample of 91 women (47 Japanese, 38 Western) who were located through a university inter-office email system, as well as through the researchers' personal Facebook pages, Line and email contacts. We especially targeted working women who live in Japan; however, a few respondents were non-Japanese women who had previously lived in Japan and who were married to Japanese men. Because both researchers are language teachers, a high proportion of our respondents were language teachers, or former language teachers in Japan.

The survey questions were written both in English and Japanese, in the form of a Google document. Participants were sent a QR code linking to the questions, which enabled them to reply anonymously. Initially, questions about age, nationality, country of residence, household income, and number of occupants per household were included. Others were: "How many hours per week do you spend on housework?" "Do you hire someone to help with housework? If yes, which tasks do they perform?" "Would you consider hiring someone to help with housework? If no, why not?" The responses to the survey were gathered between June 2019 and August 2020.

Demographics

The majority of the participants were forty years old and above. (See Table 1 below.)

Table 1. *What Is Your Age?*

Age	<i>n</i>	%
20–29	3	3.3
30–39	18	19.8
40–49	43	47.3
50–59	18	19.8
60–	9	9.9
<i>N</i> = 91		

Over half (51.6%) of the participants were Japanese. The remaining participants' nationalities varied, with Americans living in Japan making up the greatest percentage (23.1%). (See Table 2 below.)

Table 2. *What Is Your Nationality?*

Nationality	<i>n</i>	%
American	21	23.1
Australia/Italian	1	1.1
Australian	5	5.5
British	7	7.7
Canadian	6	6.6
German	1	1.1
Ireland	1	1.1
Japanese	47	51.6
New Zealand	1	1.1
Romanian	1	1.1
<i>N</i> = 91		

The country of residence of participants was mainly Japan with 86 (94.5%). (See Table 3 below.)

Table 3. *What Is Your Country of Residence?*

Residency	<i>n</i>	%
Japan	86	94.5
Australia	2	2.2
Canada	1	1.1
Spain	1	1.1
United States	1	1.1
<i>N</i> = 91		

Table 4 indicates the number of members per household. (See Table 4 below.)

Table 4. *How Many People Live in Your Household?*

Persons	<i>n</i>	%
1	11	12.1
2	23	25.3
3	13	14.3
4	28	30.8
5	13	14.3
6	2	2.2
7 or more	1	1.1
<i>N</i> = 91		

Out of all 91 respondents, 47 were employed in the educational sector, accounting for 51.6%. This number includes elementary, junior and high school teachers, lecturers, university instructors, English teachers, ALTs, and part-time teachers. Other occupations included office workers: 6 (6.6%); housewife: 5 (5.5%); and civil servant: 5 (5.5%). The household income ranges of the participants are indicated in Table 5. The majority earned a middle-class income of 500 million yen or more per year.

Table 5. *What Is Your Household Income?*

Income	<i>n</i>	%
Less than 3 million yen	14	15.4
300–399 million yen	8	8.8
400–499 million yen	4	4.4
500–599 million yen	12	13.2
600–699 million yen	16	17.6
700–999 million yen	20	22.0
1,000 million yen or more	17	18.7
<i>N</i> = 91		

In response to the question “How many hours per week do you spend on housework?” only one person (1.1%) spends less than thirty minutes; 24 (26.4%) spend ten or more than 10 hours. (See Table 6 below.)

Table 6. *How Many Hours per Week Do You Spend on Housework?*

Time	<i>n</i>	%
0–½ hour	1	1.1
½–1 hour	8	8.8
1–2 hours	9	9.9
2–3 hours	13	14.3
3–4 hours	11	12.1
4–7 hours	14	15.4
7–10 hours	11	12.1
10 or more hours	24	26.4
<i>N</i> = 91		

Discussion

Out of all 91 respondents, only ten (10.9%) hired someone to help with housework or had done so in the past. Of the ten, nine were Western women living in Japan, whereas the remaining one was a German woman married to a Japanese man living in Spain. However, 39 respondents (42.9%), a number comprising both Western and Japanese women, replied that they would consider hiring someone to do their housework. Of those who had engaged domestic workers, all said that they had hired someone because they didn’t have enough time to do it themselves, and they wanted to have time to do other things. Five replied that they didn’t like doing housework. Among the tasks completed by hired help were vacuuming, cleaning the toilet, cleaning the bathtub, dusting, mopping floors, hanging out laundry, making beds, ironing, and replacing screens.

Several respondents hired help through their local Silver Human Resource Centers:

I have a silver helper that comes twice a month (I want to increase to 4x a month). She comes during soccer time for the kids on Fridays, so I meet and

let her in and then do the soccer run (watch for two hours!) and get home to a cleaner house than I left.

Some respondents were interested in hiring someone from Silver Human Resource Centers, but were unable to due to demand:

I tried to find one where I live but was told nobody wanted to do house-work. People looked mainly for office work. I may try again.

An associate professor, who had initially hired someone from the Silver Center, later hired a neighbor through private arrangements:

I used Silver Service, but the local one here is crap. I hired the time of a neighbor. *K-san* comes twice a week for cleaning and every day for letting the dogs out to pee at lunchtime. *K-san* helps us because I am always at work, so she has her own key.

Another associate professor hired students for various tasks:

I hired 3 students regularly. I'll call them A, B and C. A was a male 2nd year student who lived next door and supervised both children for an hour after school until I got home. His main task was to help [my son] with his homework (R. was in 3rd and 4th grade). A also sometimes babysat when I had to work weekends. B and C were two female students I selected from the ESS club after we moved house. I hired them mostly on weekends when I had to work at events such as Open Campus or EIKEN interviews (usually around 5–6 hours). They played with the kids and made their lunch. I paid 1,000 yen per hour.

One woman hired a cleaner in spite of opposition from her Japanese parents-in-law:

Our cleaner originally came twice a month and now comes every week. MIL and DH had an absolute cow when they found out I planned to give this stranger a key to our house and let her clean alone here, but now they're 1,000,000% on board.

Some respondents indicated that they worked alongside their hired helpers:

When my kids were small, I hired Silver help in the house and garden. I also worked with them and had a snack with them at 10 A.M. and 3 P.M. It motivated me to get more done (my work was essentially tripled) but I never felt comfortable just watching them work so we always did it side by side.

Of those who had never hired someone to help with domestic tasks, 54.7% replied “I can do it by myself,” while 17% answered that they enjoy doing housework. (Multiple responses were accepted.)

Regarding the more negative responses, 25 respondents (47.2%) cited privacy and not wanting a stranger in their house as a reason for not hiring domestic help. This response is expected, since even inviting friends into one’s home may not be as common in Japan as it is in the United States and other Western countries.

Nine, including seven Japanese, worried about theft, in spite of Japan’s low crime rate, perhaps reflecting an aversion to risk and uncertainty. It is worth reiterating that among those who did hire household help, some remained at home and cleaned alongside their helpers. If a householder and helper were working together, or if the householder was at home, theft would be unlikely.

Twenty-two (41.5%) felt that it would be too expensive:

When my kids were small, I hired Silver help in the house and garden. I tried to hire them again a few years ago, btw, but could not get them. The waiting list is really long. What a pity. Duskin and Merry Maids are WAY too expensive.

Although many Americans find babysitters, house cleaners, and other workers through word of mouth, often hiring a neighboring teenager (UCLA Labor Center, 2016), there is no such custom in Japan. Therefore, it is possible that Japanese respondents, especially, may have assumed that “hiring help” means employing a professional cleaner through an agency such as Duskin or Merry Maids, as mentioned above. To be sure, these services can be expensive. According to a recent brochure for a professional house cleaning service in Shikoku, the rate for toilet-cleaning starts at 7,500 yen. The cost for having a kitchen range cleaned is 13,500 yen or more. Depending on location, there are cheaper alternatives such as Benriya-san and Pinay Housekeeping Service in the Tokyo area, which offers three hours of cleaning bimonthly for 19,800 yen. However, a local luxury hotel which employed foreign post-graduate students at the first researcher’s university pays its housekeeping staff 800 yen per hour. Also, the going rate for home tutors, who are typically high school or university students hired privately through word-of-mouth, is about 1,500 yen per hour. If cost is the main factor preventing professional women from hiring a cleaner, it seems as if they could consider more affordable options.

While concerns about cost, theft, and privacy are not particularly surprising, it is interesting to note that nine responded that they were deterred from hiring someone by disapproval from a partner, in-laws, or neighbors. One replied, “I’d love [to hire someone to help with housework] and could afford it, but my husband would never go for it.” Of those who had hired someone, at least two had done so secretly: “It is a secret from my husband that I hire help, although he knows that I did in the past.”

Other reasons given for not hiring help are as follows:

“When I was single, I had a cleaner. If I didn’t have a DH who loves cleaning, I would again.”

“I’d have to tidy up the house before help came.”

“Home too small!”

“Embarrassing.”

For the record, although it was not an explicit option, no one cited ethical considerations as a reason for not hiring help.

Limitations and Areas for Further Study

There are some limitations to this study. For example, we failed to distinguish between urban and rural dwellers. Considering anecdotal evidence, it is likely that women living in urban areas are more likely and willing to hire household help, and have greater access to it, than those in rural areas. Additionally, although both researchers know of Japanese women who have hired help while living abroad, no such women responded to the survey. Women who have lived for an extended period of time in a culture which has normalized outsourcing domestic tasks would more likely have a different attitude than those who have not. Further research might also consider what, exactly, householders consider to be essential tasks, and how often they should be performed. Finally, questions about the division of labor in multi-generational households were not asked. It is possible that in-laws, who are retired and living in the same household, or nearby, help to ease the burden of household labor, and that children help with cooking and cleaning. These factors may have affected the results of our preliminary survey. A wider, more comprehensive study would yield more detailed data.

Conclusion

Although more than a third of the respondents are willing to consider hiring household help, none of the Japanese women surveyed have done so. The most prevalent reason for not hiring someone was cost, but it can also be inferred from replies that there is a shortage of Silver workers willing to perform domestic tasks, and that it may be difficult for householders to locate someone to hire in some areas of Japan. This may represent opportunity.

A database of younger workers willing to clean on a flexible part-time basis would be one possible solution. High school and university students may be eager to work at part-time jobs, and would probably be willing to clean, cook, hang out laundry, and do other household chores at a reasonable rate. We can also envision a service similar to Uber or Airbnb enabling householders and domestic workers to rate each other’s conditions and competence. This system would be a safeguard against employee abuse, and also ensure accountability, and might be one way to set the minds of those concerned about theft at ease. It would also enable householders to easily locate willing domestic workers.

Unsurprisingly, among survey respondents, only Western women had hired household help. Foreign women in Japan, who are already considered atypical, may be less susceptible to bullying or ostracization for not following cultural norms. They tend to be resourceful when seeking help, asking each other in person and via social networks about hiring options.

A more complicated barrier to hiring household help in Japan is disapproval from family members or neighbors. However, perhaps this will change as an aging population necessitates an increase in home health care workers, both foreign and Japanese, to care for the elderly. As people become more accustomed to care-workers in theirs and their neighbors' homes, it is possible that they will be more open to having non-family members perform other helpful tasks. This practice might also be normalized through positive representations of domestic workers in media and entertainment. For example, perhaps a Japanese version of the popular American Netflix production of *The Babysitters Club* would introduce young Japanese people to the appeal and possibility of child care work. Public discussions and forums might also have an impact and would help raise awareness of the potential for abuse, as well as guidelines and legislation needed to protect domestic workers from abroad.

In short, in conditions that are mutually beneficial, hiring domestic workers could ease the burdens of female language teachers in Japan. With more free time, instructors would be able to pursue career advancement, if they so desire, or have more time to spend on personal interests. Until male partners and Japanese work culture adapt, and/or until the perfect affordable robot maid/butler/nanny/husband/partner is developed, getting help from others may be the best solution.

Suzanne Kamata is an associate professor in Global Studies at Naruto University in Tokushima, Japan. Her articles have been previously published in *Critical Perspectives on Wives: Roles, Representations, Identities Work* (Demeter Press, 2019) and *Foreign Female English Teachers in Japanese Higher Education: Narratives From our Quarter* (Candlin and Mynard, 2020).

Yoko Kita is a teacher trainer at the Naruto Board of Education. Her articles include an essay on Ruth Bader Ginsburg. A former Fulbright Scholar, Kita earned an MA in TESOL from Seattle Pacific University. Her research interests include the use of ICT in language teaching and learning gaps.

References

- AlTaher, B. B. (2019). Ethnocentric and class barriers: Discrimination against domestic workers in the Middle East. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 25(3), 396–416. <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2019.1646519>
- Ashforth, B. E., & Kreiner, G. E. (1999). "How can you do it?": Dirty work and the challenge of constructing a positive identity. *Academy of Management Review*, 24(3), 413–434. <https://doi.org/10.5465/AMR.1999.2202129>

- Austin, M. (2017). Defending Indonesia's migrant domestic workers. In W. Berenschot, N. H. Schulte, & B. Laurens (Eds.), *Citizenship and democratization in Southeast Asia* (pp. 265–288). Boston, US: Brill.
- Awang, N., & Ting, W. P. (2019). The big read: As maids become a necessity for many families, festering societal issues could come to the fore. *CNA*. Retrieved from <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/maids-foreign-domestic-workers-singapore-necessity-families-12059068>
- Brasor, P., & Tsukubu, M. (2012, Feb. 10). Automatic dishwashers: The square peg in the round hole of Japanese kitchens. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/column/yen-for-living/automatic-dishwashers-the-square-peg-in-the-round-hole-of-japanese-kitchens/dishdryer>
- Bromwich, R. J. (2014). “But she has a nanny”... with accompanying eye roll: Considering mother work with a live-in caregiver. In E. R. Boyd & G. Letherby (Eds.), *Stay-at-home mothers: Dialogues and debates* (pp. 217–222). Bradford, Ontario, Canada: Demeter Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1rrd80z.21>
- Carvalho, R. (2019, August 4). Exploitation of Filipino domestic workers ‘widespread’ in the US, new report shows. *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/society/article/3021312/exploitation-filipino-domestic-workers-widespread-us-new-report>
- Craig, A. G. (2020). Mothering through a pandemic: COVID-19 and the evolving role of mothers. *York University Y File*. Retrieved from <https://yfile.news.yorku.ca/2020/04/08/mothering-through-a-pandemic-covid-19-and-the-evolving-role-of-mothers>
- De Matos, C. (2009). Living the colonial lifestyle: Australian women and domestic labor in occupied Japan 1945–1952. In J. Hagerdal (Ed.), *Responding to the West: Essays on colonial domination and Asian agency* (pp. 137–149). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.
- Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. (2003). *Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy*. New York, US: Metropolitan Books.
- Haynes, J. M. (2014). Mothering from a Caribbean perspective: Challenges, determination and survival. In E. R. Boyd & G. Letherby (Eds.), *Stay at home mothers: Dialogues and debates* (pp. 113–127). Bradford, Ontario, Canada: Demeter Press.
- Heumann, J., Poo, A. J., & Brown-Booker, N. (2019, July 2). Crip Camp: The Fight for Disability and Domestic Worker Rights [Video]. *Hand in Hand: The Domestic Employers Network*. Retrieved from https://domesticworkers.zoom.us/rec/play/6ZY0Ier9_z83HNWStgSDVqR6W9S6JqKshiIW8_oJxR7gWiEHYwDyY7USZuRb-RlcYXxfIibFb4yzWRl3

- Goldstein-Gidoni, O. (2018). Consuming domesticity in post-bubble Japan. In K. Cwiertka & E. Machotka (Eds.), *Consuming life in post-bubble Japan: A transdisciplinary perspective* (pp. 107–128). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.
- Henderson, S. (2019). State-sanctioned structural violence: Women migrant domestic workers in the Philippines and Sri Lanka. *Violence Against Women*, 26(12–13), 1598–1615.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219880969>
- Henderson, S. (2020). The legal protection of women migrant domestic workers from the Philippines and Sri Lanka: an intersectional rights-based approach. *International Journal of Care and Caring*. <https://doi.org/10.1332/239788220X15976836167721>
- Kamata, J. (2013, Sept. 15). Jibun no kokoro mo migakareru [My heart and mind are also polished]. *Tokushima Shimbun*, p. 19.
- Killias, O. (2018). *Follow the maid: Domestic worker migration in and from Indonesia*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press.
- Kondo, M. (2014). *The life-changing magic of tidying up: The Japanese art of decluttering and organizing*. New York, US: Ten Speed Press.
- Kyodo News Service. (2018, Jan. 21). Abused foreign trainees in Japan pressured to leave labor union by technical intern program's supervising body AHM. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/01/21/national/social-issues/abused-foreign-trainees-pressured-leave-labor-union-technical-intern-programs-supervising-body-ahm>
- Land, S. (2019). *Maid: Hard work, low pay, and a mother's will to survive*. New York, US: Hachette.
- Lebra, T. S. (1990). The socialization of aristocratic children by commoners: Recalled experiences of the hereditary elite in modern Japan. *Cultural Anthropology*, 5(1) 78–79.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/656505>
- Livingston, E. (2016, April 1). Middle-class feminism has a blind spot over female cleaners. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/01/middle-class-feminism-female-cleaners-domestic-low-paid>
- Menjívar, C., & Kanstroom, D. (2013). Introduction—immigrant “illegality.” In C. Menjívar & D. Kanstroom (Eds.), *Constructing immigrant ‘illegality’: Critiques, experiences, and responses* (pp. 1–34). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107300408.001>
- Moy, H. M., & Yip, C. K. (2006). The simple analytics of optimal growth with illegal migrants: A clarification. *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 30(12), 2469–2475.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jedc.2005.09.001>

- Nakanishi, W. J. (2015). Wa and wa-shoku: Mothering and food as an American in Japan. In T. M. Cassidy & F. P. Guignard (Eds.), *What's cooking, Mom? Narratives about food and family* (pp. 151–161). Bradford, Ontario, Canada: Demeter Press.
- NHK News Web. (2020, Jan. 10). *Hōmon kaigoshoku no yūkō kyūjin bairitsu 13-bai ni jōshō jinzai kakubo no taisaku kyūmu ni* [Job to applicant ratio for visiting care workers has increased by 13 times: An urgent need for a policy that would secure additional working forces]. <https://www.nhk.or.jp/politics/articles/lastweek/28636.html>
- Nyíri, P., & Saveliev, I. (2018). *Globalizing Chinese migration: Trends in Europe and Asia*. London, UK: Routledge.
- O'Neill, T. (2001). "Selling girls in Kuwait": Domestic labour migration and trafficking discourse in Nepal. *Anthropologica*, 43(2), 153–164. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25606031>
- Ono, H. (2018). Why do Japanese work long hours? Sociological perspectives on long working hours in Japan. *Japan Labor Issues*, 2(5), 35–49. <https://www.jil.go.jp/english/jli/documents/2018/005-03.pdf>
- Rich, M. (2019, Feb. 2). Japan's working mothers: Record responsibilities, little help from dads. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/02/world/asia/japan-working-mothers.html>
- Rich, M. (2020, May 16). Stuck at home, men in Japan learn to help. Will it last? *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://nytimes.com/2020/05/16/world/asia/coronavirus-japan-household-work.html>
- Roberts, G. S. (1996). Between policy and practice: Japan's silver human resource centers as viewed from the inside. *Journal of Aging and Social Policy*, 8(2–3), 115–132. https://doi.org/10.1300/J031v08n02_08
- Rosenberger, N. (2013). *Dilemmas of adulthood: Japanese women and the nuances of long-term resistance*. Honolulu, US: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Sarkar, S. (2020). The new legal world of domestic work. *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, 32(1) 1–44. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/yjfem32&i=5>
- Shambaugh, J., Nunn R., & Portman B. (2017). *Lessons from the rise of women's labor force participation in Japan*. The Hamilton Project. Retrieved from https://www.hamiltonproject.org/papers/lessons_from_the_rise_of_womens_labor_force_participation_in_japan
- Shim, J. (2018). *Mind the gap! Comparing gender politics in Japan and Taiwan*. German Institute of Global and Area Studies. Retrieved from <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-60540-9>

- Slodkowski, A. (2014, June 12). Interns abused as labor crisis grows. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/06/12/national/social-issues/interns-abused-labor-crisis-grows>
- Stack, M. K. (2019). *Women's work: A reckoning with work and home*. New York, US: Doubleday.
- Stephens, M. (2015). The reluctant bento box: Slapdash Western mothering in perfectionist Japan. In T. M. Cassidy & F. P. Guignard (Eds.), *What's cooking, Mom? Narratives about food and family* (pp. 162–172). Bradford, Ontario, Canada: Demeter Press.
- Suryomenggolo, J. (2019). The significance of the stories. In J. Suryomenggolo (Ed.), *At a moment's notice: Indonesian maids write on their lives abroad* (pp. 204–216). Copenhagen, Denmark: NIAS Press.
- Tabuchi, H. (2010, July 21). Japanese training program is said to exploit workers. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/21/business/global/21apprentice.html>
- Tsujigami, N. (2019). Gender and “tradition”: Power negotiation between employers and domestic workers in Saudi Arabia. In M. Ishii, N. Hosoda, M. Matsuo, & K. Horinuki (Eds.), *Asian migrant workers in the Arab Gulf states* (pp. 83–102). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
- UCLA Labor Center. (2016). *Profile, practices and needs of California's domestic employers*. Retrieved from https://www.labor.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/UCLA_domesticworkers_report_final.pdf
- Ueno, C. (1987). The position of Japanese women reconsidered. *Current Anthropology*, 1(4), 75–84. <https://doi.org/10.1086/203592>
- Ueno, K. (2013). Love gain: The transformation of intimacy among foreign domestic workers in Singapore. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 28(1), 36–63. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43186946>
- Yajima, D. (2019, June 20). Japan's teachers work longest hours, but lag in time teaching. *The Asahi Shimbun*. Retrieved from <http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201906200065.html>
- Zimmerman, M. (2020, January 23). For some Japanese dads on paternity leave, no housework required. *Bloomberg Business*. Retrieved from <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-01-23/for-some-japanese-dads-on-paternity-leave-no-housework-required>

Appendix

Questions on Hiring Help for Housework

1. What is your age?
2. What is your nationality?
3. What is your country of residence?
4. What is your occupation?
5. What is your household income?
6. How many people live in your household?
7. How many hours per week do you spend on housework?
8. Do you hire someone to help with housework, or have you hired someone in the past?
If yes, which tasks do they perform?
9. If yes to question 8, why did you hire someone to help with housework?
 - a. I don't have time to do it myself.
 - b. I want to have time to do other things.
 - c. I dislike housework.
 - d. I am physically incapable of doing housework due to illness, injury, disability, etc.
 - e. Having a housekeeper is a status symbol.
 - f. I believe housework should be paid work.
 - g. Other
10. Would you consider hiring someone to help with housework? If no, why not?
 - a. I can do it by myself.
 - b. I enjoy housework.
 - c. Privacy./I don't want a stranger in my house.
 - d. I would be worried about theft.
 - e. It's too expensive./I don't want to spend money on a housekeeper.
 - f. My partner would disapprove.
 - g. My in-laws would disapprove.
 - h. I would be worried about what my neighbors would think.
 - i. Other

Would you be willing to answer further questions?

If yes, please submit your email address.

Book Reviews

The Truth Will Set You Free, but First It Will Piss You Off! Gloria Steinem.
New York, US: Random House, 2019. 192 pp.

Reviewed by Antonija Cavcic
Teikyo University of Science

With so much uncertainty surrounding COVID-19, the global economy, and as of this writing, the upcoming US elections, the title of writer, activist, and feminist Gloria Steinem's latest release—*The Truth Will Set You Free, But First It Will Piss You Off!*—was released in an uncannily timely fashion. With the intention of sharing her hand-picked collection of inspiring, thought-provoking, and witty quotes, which could simply entertain or even instigate social change, Steinem's work provides solace in times of chaos. This review highlights some of the book's strengths and shortcomings, not only as a leisurely read or stand-alone text, but as a source of hope.

With women's rights and democracy as its central themes, the book is divided into six chapters covering topics such as family, work, humour, ageing, and so forth. Unfortunately, this division of chapters (or at least the way they were ordered) is one of the major flaws of the book. While the chapters appear to be logically organised content-wise, the book is relatively disorganised. Although there are some logical connections and flow between chapters, it reads more like a stream-of-consciousness compilation of thoughts and quotes that has been slightly reshuffled to provide a sense of continuity. That said, perhaps these sporadic shifts function to steer the reader into different trajectories and remind them that rigid categorisation and free-flowing thought patterns do not go hand-in-hand.

Chapter 1, for instance, focuses on family. Although Steinem contrasts subjects such as birth families and chosen families, motherhood and mothering, raising daughters or raising sons, arguably extraneous subjects such as racism, patriarchy, notions of femininity, migration, escapism, and even sexual assault find their way into the chapter. Granted, any of the latter topics can undoubtedly be associated with family, but expanding more on the former dichotomies would have been more fruitful.

Chapter 2, in contrast, is dedicated primarily to the subject of ageing: ageing as a woman, age segregation, and gender expectations. Even though the subject matter possibly lends itself to a relatively long chapter, the prediscussion and complementary quotes are concise and thoughtful, reminding us that age is arbitrary and need not be a shackle.

To follow, in Chapter 3, Steinem brings the ever-relatable subject of work to the fore. In a context of growing unemployment rates and changing workstyles due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I thought this chapter could potentially be a source of inspiration or consolation for readers. Aside from the usual "do work you love" type of adages (p. 62), Steinem reminds us that work can and

should be a “source of belonging, growth, and pleasure” (p. 56). Indeed, this idea is nothing new, but sometimes people actually need to be reminded. She further details the various part-time jobs she had as a teenager and what she learned from each position, and then proceeds to explain how she found her feet with a full-time post in the first national feminist monthly magazine, *Ms.* It made me think about the jobs I had and what I actually learned from them. Steinem is right—you learn a lot more from your part-time jobs than in college classes sometimes. For instance, as the only white member of staff at a swimming pool in a black neighbourhood, Steinem’s coworkers taught her how to survive prejudiced insults with humour (p. 58). One quote that readers should walk away with from this chapter, especially in this time of uncertainty, is “don’t worry about what you should do, just do whatever you can” (p. 63). The effects of sudden social distancing on mental health during the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic have varied in different cultures, but one may need to be reminded that pushing oneself to perform obligatory tasks or reach outcomes under pressure can be harmful. Unless one consciously searches for similar quotes online, casually flipping through this book and randomly discovering a quote of such nature on a splash page can be incredibly effective. Such words often find their readers when they are most vulnerable.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 cover co-conspirators and adversaries; humour and social or political commentary; and talking circles, movements, and activism. In Chapter 4, Steinem stresses the importance of having both allies and adversaries and being a good listener. She contextualises this by describing her personal interactions with her feminist counterparts and adversaries. In contrast, Chapter 5 is light yet philosophical. While it is littered with political gags and several witty quotes, Steinem also discusses the lack of female comics and the idea that because “the power to say things that create laughter really is a power, women are not supposed to have it” (p. 122). Considering the recent success of non-binary stand-up comedian Hannah Gadsby, hopefully Steinem’s claim will be outdated in the foreseeable future. To close the book, Chapter 6 looks at street quotes; that is, political slogans or mottos found in graffiti, on placards during demonstrations, or shared in talking circles. For anyone who has attended or witnessed a protest, in this chapter Steinem reminds us of the power of the written word to mobilise the masses and incite change.

All things considered (but ignoring the content), everything from the layout of the pages, paragraph breaks, the quality of the paper, and the size of the book lends it a warm, light and welcoming image. With sections such as quotes from friends and the blank pages at the end for readers to write original quotes or quotes they love, one could easily assume this is a book to cuddle up with on a rough day or savour as a bathtub companion. However, the old adage “Don’t judge a book by its cover” certainly applies here. There is depth in its simplicity and purpose in its inconsistencies and randomness. At times when one needs hope, the search for answers may seem futile. But then, one often discovers a glimmer of hope by accident. Fortunately, for those of us seeking the increasingly unattainable truth, this compilation conveniently packs one brief jab of hope after the other.

Originally from Western Australia, home to the happiest animal on earth (the quokka), **Antonija Cavcic** is currently a senior lecturer at Teikyo University of Science. Her research interests include study abroad trends and gender representation in manga and print media. Generally, though, she is involved in research concerning both Japanese popular culture and English language education in Japan.

Buddhist Feminisms and Femininities. Karma Lekshe Tsomo (Ed.).
Albany, US: State University of New York Press, 2019. 343 pp.

Reviewed by Carey Finn
Tokai University

Described in its back-cover blurb as groundbreaking, this book shines a light on the experiences and perspectives of women in a wide variety of Buddhist communities and societies around the world and across the centuries. In doing so, *Buddhist Feminisms and Femininities* seeks to expand the reader's understanding of feminism—and indeed, what it means to be female.

In the introduction, editor Tsomo explains how the volume came about from a “propitious accident” (p. 1). An intended call for papers on the topic of Buddhist feminisms was unintentionally put forth as one for Buddhist femininities; though Tsomo “corrected” it, she was flooded with proposals on both—and thus this book was born.

With a total of 11 chapters, penned by a range of scholars from diverse academic backgrounds and disciplines including philosophy, history, anthropology and cultural studies, *Buddhist Feminisms and Femininities* explores differing understandings—and treatments—of femininity and gender in Buddhist contexts. It looks at the articulation of Buddhist feminisms as well as what femininity means in different socio-political settings (p. 13).

The reader is taken on a journey across the ages, from India to Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand and Tibet, with a final stop in modern-day North America. The first explorations, in Karen Lang's chapter titled “Reimagining Buddhist Women in India” (pp. 27–65), set the tone for the rest of the book, with a critical dive into the images of women in canonical texts, keeping front and center the powerful role of male monks in their creation and preservation.

Other chapters tackle subjects such as gender identity among Chan Buddhist nuns in today's Taiwan, the gendered framing of a female visionary in Tibet, and Buddhist influences in 20th-century feminist movements in Asia.

The work concludes with a consideration of the commodification of the practice of mindfulness in the construction of feminine identity in North America—this chapter is one that is likely to resonate among many Western readers, its ideas percolating as one sips their daily kombucha or does downward dog in a yoga class.

Chapters that may be of particular interest to readers in Japan, where Buddhism has a long history (Saunders, 1964), include Christine A. James' contribution titled “Raicho Hiratsuka and Socially Engaged Buddhism” (2019, pp. 85–106), which looks at the life and influences of one of Japan's most important feminist figures, and perhaps also “Conflicts and Compromises: The

Relationship between the Nuns of Daihongan and the Monks of Daikanjin within the Zenkoji Temple Complex” by Matthew Mitchell (2019, pp. 219–235).

However, the book in its entirety holds appeal for anyone interested in gender studies, and/or Buddhist history and thought. It is both critical and inspiring to the end; a valuable resource which can be drawn on to expand and deepen global conversations on feminism(s) and female identities. It concludes with a rallying call for the empowerment of women—in myriad ways—so that we can do more to help fix a very broken world—or, in Buddhist terms, better relieve its sufferings (p. 304) and transform it into a better (less patriarchal) place.

The book scooped silver in the Independent Publisher Book Award for Religion (Eastern/Western) in 2020, with the extensive career and publication history of editor Tsomo lending further credibility to the title. Professor of Buddhist Studies at the University of San Diego, Tsomo is a well-known name in the field; other works of hers that the reader may have come across include *Eminent Buddhist Women* (2014) and *Buddhist Women Across Cultures: Realizations* (1999).

Though by no means a quick or easy read—it is quite dense, very academic, and presupposes a degree of understanding of Buddhist texts and gender discussions—*Buddhist Feminisms and Femininities* provides food for thought in the classroom as well as at the coffee table. It will call the reader back again and again, with the bibliography happily offering much in the way of further reading.

Carey Finn is an EFL and media educator as well as a writer and editor, passionate about communication in all its forms. She has spent a total of eight years in Japan, with a few years back in her home country of South Africa in between her first and second chapters here. Email: carey.finn1@gmail.com

References

Saunders, E. (1964). *Buddhism in Japan: With an outline of its origins in India*. Philadelphia, US: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Tsomo, K.L. (1999). *Buddhist women across cultures: Realizations*. Albany, US: State University of New York Press.

Tsomo, K.L. (2014). *Eminent Buddhist women*. Albany, US: State University of New York Press.

Foreign Female English Teachers in Japanese Higher Education: Narratives from our Quarter. Diane Hawley Nagatomo, Kathleen A. Brown, and Melodie Lorie Cook (Eds.). Hong Kong, China: Candlin and Mynard ePublishing, 2020. 338 pp.

Reviewed by Herb L. Fondevilla
Meiji University

In what the editors, Diane Hawley Nagatomo, Kathleen A. Brown and Melodie Lorie Cook, describe as a “girlfriend’s guide to teaching at a Japanese university,” *Foreign Female English Teachers in Japanese Higher Education: Narratives from Our Quarter* includes insightful, sometimes shocking, often frustrating, yet nonetheless inspiring narratives from 26 female academics who have built their careers in Japan. Each of the authors composed their articles around their lived experiences in a candidly refreshing manner that veers away from a prescribed writing style or research methodology. Moreover, each narrative details not only career experiences, it also describes how the authors rose up to the challenges affecting their personal and social lives. Thus, this volume is an integral addition to the libraries of those interested in the fields of gender studies, identity politics, higher education, linguistics, and Japanese studies.

The book is divided into seven themes: career building, teaching, professional development, merging the personal and professional, gendered and racialized identity, workplace harassment, and leadership, encompassed in 22 brilliantly written essays. The foreword by Andrea Simon-Maeda and introduction by the three editors galvanizes the discussion, as they emphasize the power and importance of personal narratives in the academe. In addition, Diane Hawley Nagatomo’s essay on identity construction sheds light on the facts and figures on the role of foreign nationals in Japan’s higher educational system, providing a solid background on the issue. One such example is the rise of the number of women in Japanese research and academic institutions from 9.4% in 1992 to 17.4% in 1997. This was prompted by government initiatives to encourage more women to join the workforce through more lenient maternity leaves, grants, and other incentives. With Japanese universities pushing towards ideals of internationalization and globalization since the 1990s in an effort to attract prospective students, the number of foreign professors in Japan has increased as well, with full-time foreign faculty increasing from 1% in 1980 to 4% in 2015 (Huang, 2018). The question still remains, however, as to whether Japan and its universities were and ever will be ready for this growth. I was fascinated by Amanda Yoshida and Adrienne Verla Uchida’s collaborative ethnography. Both started their teaching careers in Japan at the same time, and the ethnography charts and compares their careers at different points in their lives. Their essay delineates the struggles and level of commitment needed to juggle obligations to family, personal life, work, and academia, especially in their twin goals of obtaining a graduate degree to better their careers. Kristie Collins’ essay on her journey to achieving tenure will also touch a nerve in many readers, as her struggles mirror not only the academic and

professional demands of academic life, but also the emotional labor required to work in this challenging and precarious field. The changes, challenges, and advances women face in the Japanese academic setting are brought to attention by Gerry Yokota and Wendy Jones Nakanishi, who have both been teaching in Japan for more than thirty years. Their essays are interesting glimpses into how research and teaching methodologies can be adapted to reflect the ever-changing world and its values. These narratives are also windows into the prevailing and slow-changing attitudes on female, foreign academics in Japan.

I was equally fascinated by the essays written by Yoshi Grote and Cynthia Smith, who are forging paths in making LGBTQIA+ voices in Japan heard and known by using their own personal stories as members of the community themselves, and as educators. They are paving the way towards a more inclusive society as role models, confidantes, and allies of their students. The topic of native-speakerism and the struggles of being a BIPOC in a sea of white, mostly male, academics in Japan also struck a chord with me, as Avril Haye-Matsui, Richa Ohri, Tricia Okada, and Donna Fujimoto expressed their struggles and concerns about not possessing the ideal phenotype of an English teacher in Japan. Their essays highlight the stereotyping and Othering that permeate many societies, including Japan where it seems that the “idealized native-English teacher with blonde hair and blue eyes” (Fujimoto, 2020) is still preferred. While some may dismiss this as a marketing decision to sell foreign exoticness in English teaching, it spells out discrimination, especially when BIPOC educators receive lower salaries and limited job opportunities. Although the book mainly centers on the experiences of Caucasian women from Western countries, in her essay, Jennifer Yphantides maintains a positive outlook as she observes that more women and people of color are being accepted into higher education in Japan, and that diversity and inclusion is now being celebrated.

The additional challenges of being a female academic and raising a family are highlighted by Fiona Creaser, Quenby Aoki, and Phoebe Lyon as they navigate their careers between raising children, making lesson plans, and researching and teaching at the university level. For some professors, such as Louise Ohashi, Kathleen Brown, and Jo Mynard, all the hard work and anxiety has paid off, and they now share their experiences, thereby becoming mentors to others by, for example, volunteering for JALT or advocating for women in the academe. The road may be long, winding, and full of bumps, but reading their essays gives assurance that women do help other women and that, despite the challenges, it is possible to achieve success in the Japanese academic sphere as a foreign woman.

This book covers a wide variety of personal experiences and perspectives regarding teaching in a Japanese university from women. As a female academic in Japan struggling to gain footing in my career, I found it a relatable and invaluable source of practical information. The narratives are compellingly written, frank, and even humorous, and would be ideal reading for fellow academics, male and female alike, as well as students interested in developing their English proficiency skills. Furthermore, this book belongs on every university administrator’s bookshelf, as it reveals issues that dominate Japanese universities’ aims for diversity and inclusion. With adroitly written prose and

discerning analysis, even the casual reader will enjoy these articles, which will hopefully help pave the way towards more inclusivity and gender equality in Japan.

Herb L. Fonddevilla, PhD, is a Visiting Researcher at Meiji University where she does research on the benefits of the Arts on persons living with dementia. She also teaches part-time at Mejiro University and Yokohama National University. Her other research interests include Japanese visual culture and art history.

References

- Fujimoto, D. (2020). The lens of native-speakerism: Understanding the lived experiences of a Japanese-American English teacher. In D. H. Nagatomo, K. A. Brown, & M. L. Cook (Eds.), *Foreign female English teachers in Japanese higher education: Narratives from our quarter* (pp. 253–264). Hong Kong, China: Candlin and Mynard ePublishing.
- Huang, F. (2018). Foreign faculty at Japanese universities: Profiles and motivations. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 72(3), 237–249. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hequ.12167>

Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men.

Caroline Criado Perez. London, UK: Vintage, 2019. 391 pp.

Reviewed by Amanda Gillis-Furutaka
Kyoto Sangyo University

This book is a clarion call for change and a rich educational resource. Criado Perez demonstrates that our world is literally “a man’s world” by providing multiple examples of the way gaps in data impact six major aspects of society: daily life, the workplace, product design, medical issues, political representation, and disaster relief. She exposes the horrifying consequences of the systemic disregard for the needs of women and the reasons why this happens. The main message, however, is that the problems highlighted are not simply women’s problems: they impact the whole of humanity. But until there is greater recognition that our political and economic structures have built-in male bias, nothing will change. Gathering sex-disaggregated data is a fundamental first step towards making the world a better place for all and a safer place for women.

Although not intended as a textbook, there are sections that can be adapted for use with a wide range of students. Aspects that would be relevant to the fields of language and culture, economics, medicine, design, and town and transport planning are highlighted below. Other topics, such as NGO work, disaster relief, and political representation could be used in a similar way.

Language and Culture

Criado Perez explains that women have been “invisible” since Aristotle asserted that males are the human default and females an aberration, which has led to the assumption within the western tradition that all human activities and artifacts are male unless otherwise indicated. Such thinking is reinforced by language through the use of the generic masculine in both gender-inflected and non-gender-inflected languages. From a cultural perspective, Criado Perez demonstrates how men are more visible in daily life than women because they are seen in far greater numbers on screens and banknotes, in statues, in the news media and textbooks, and on internet searches, to name a few. Her investigations in the United Kingdom show how and why the male experience and perspective is seen as universal, “while the female experience—that of half the global population, after all—is seen as, well, niche” (p. 12).

Economics

Criado Perez argues that the process of calculating a country’s gross domestic product (GDP) is “inherently subjective” (p. 239) and leaves major gaps in the data. Economics majors will know that GDP is a measure of a country’s economy based on data that represents the total value of goods produced and services performed by that country. It includes how much the population was paid and how much it spent. The resulting value may appear neutral and scientific, but Criado Perez’s research shows that this is not so. She claims that the most significant contribution to a country’s economy is unpaid household work. Although there is clearly economic value in such work, it is generally not

counted as part of a nation's economy because collecting this data is seen as too complicated. However, the omission of the contribution of women to a nation's economy distorts the true picture. For example, in the UK, it appeared that productivity increased during the postwar years to the mid-1970s, whereas in reality women started to work outside the home and to use products and services to do the unpaid cooking, cleaning, and sewing work they had done in the past. Productivity had not increased; it had simply become visible in the market economy.

When unpaid domestic work is measured, it could account for as much as 50% of GDP in high-income countries and up to 80% in low-income countries. However, these percentages are currently only estimates because no country systematically collects the necessary data, despite Criado Perez's assurance that such collection is easy to undertake with time-use surveys.

With no data, women's unpaid work is seen as a costless resource to be exploited. Consequently, when governments cut spending on public services, such as children's centres and social care allowance, these costs are not saved, they are simply shifted from the public sector onto women because they have to do this work. However, governments that do not analyse their budgets by gender are unaware of this injustice. Criado Perez argues that such cuts are counterproductive because they reduce the participation rate of women in the paid labour force by increasing the amount of unpaid work women have to do and lowering their level of income. If governments encourage higher female participation in the paid workforce by providing more public care services, this creates more paid work opportunities for women, boosts a country's GDP, and increases its tax revenue.

Medicine

This book contains an abundance of medical information about the female body and diseases unique to women that are not commonly known because they are under-researched, under-publicized and, perhaps most shocking of all, not to be found in current medical textbooks and curricula. This data gap is a serious issue because there are substantial differences between males and females in every tissue and organ system in their bodies and in the prevalence and course of the common major human diseases. Sex differences are even present in our cells, and the data gaps in our knowledge of these are vast. Although there is clearly a great need for knowledge, women are routinely excluded from medical trials on the grounds that sex differences do not exist, or that female bodies are too complex, variable, and costly to be tested on.

Criado Perez alerts readers to an additional phenomenon whereby women are commonly misdiagnosed and mistreated unless their symptoms and diseases conform to those of men. This happens because the male body has mistakenly been viewed as the default human, which can be fatal. Lack of sex-specific information also means that women who have serious medical conditions unique to women are frequently disbelieved and are told that their pain is imagined when the source of it cannot be detected through standard tests. Another alarming fact is that women are more likely to be prescribed antidepressants than men when they complain of physical pain and not depression, and

they are less likely to be prescribed painkillers. Sex differences in pain, however, remains an under-researched area because funding review panels are male dominated.

Design

In the field of design, a universal assumption exists that one size fits all, whereas, in truth, one size fits men. The traditional standard size piano keyboard has too wide a span for most women to play comfortably and with the same level of skill as their male counterparts, and smartphones are designed for males to use one-handed, but not females. It is not just the male-biased design of daily-use objects that negatively affects the lives of women; nonmaterial systems, such as voice recognition software work better on male voices than female because of male bias in the databases that its algorithms are derived from.

Women's wellbeing has been overlooked in car design. Women are more likely to be seriously injured and to die in crashes than men because cars have been designed using crash-test dummies based on the average male (1.77 m tall and weighing 76 kg). Some countries have started using female crash test dummies, but they are not really 'female'—they are scaled down male dummies. Women are not scaled-down men: their muscle-mass distribution, bone density, and the spacing of vertebrae are different. These differences are all important in relation to injury rates in car accidents. Use of these so-called 'female' test dummies has nevertheless revealed that cars are far less safe for female passengers than male, but there is no data on female drivers because only male dummies are used in the driver seat.

Town and Transport Planning

Within town and transport planning, Criado Perez provides numerous examples of data gaps that are not intentional; they exist because the men who drew up the designs did not think about whether the needs of women and men differ. Among the examples discussed are the universal problem of long queues for female toilets and the ubiquitous problem of the safety of women on public transport. To counter this, Criado Perez details how snow clearing in Sweden became more effective, reducing accidents and overall costs, when women's needs were taken into account.

In conclusion, Criado Perez writes clear and accessible prose, selections of which could be assigned to students as a basis for class activities, such as exploring gender bias in daily life, developing time-use surveys to gauge the economic value of unpaid work undertaken by women, or raising awareness of lack of female representation in medical research and practice. Students could be challenged to campaign for safer vehicles for all and to identify and find solutions for many of the everyday difficulties faced by women in the fields of design, town planning, and transport due to their input not being sought and their needs not being met. Raising student awareness could result in changing this "man's world" into a universal "our world."

Amanda Gillis-Furutaka is a Professor in the Faculty of Foreign Languages at Kyoto Sangyo University and a long-standing member of JALT. Her research interests range from neuroscience and psychology to intercultural understanding, popular culture, and teaching methodology, together with an abiding interest in the welfare and equal rights of women.

Plan B Audio. Jane Joritz-Nakagawa. Tokyo, Japan: Isobar Press, 2020. 98 pp.
Photographs by Susan Laura Sullivan.

Reviewed by Greg Goodmacher
Keiwa College

As a pandemic rages across the world and all of our lives could be suddenly and irrevocably altered, *Plan B Audio* is timely. This book immerses readers in the intellectual, physical, and emotional dimensions of a poet struggling with the misfortunes wrought by a debilitating illness.

The carefully chosen words of Jane Joritz-Nakagawa are lampposts on a journey into a shared naked human condition that most of us, cocooned within layers of contemporary conveniences and materialism, often forget, ignore, or never face. This book is a face-to-face discussion of illness and life. The poetry is dark but illuminating, and always thought-provoking. Joritz-Nakagawa's poems could be described as birthed with trauma, nourished with intelligence and alternatively nuanced with love, pity, sarcasm and hope

Joritz-Nakagawa shapes and creates images and impressions like a surgeon cuts through flesh and reconnects tissue. Readers who have been hospitalized because of cancer or other serious illnesses will connect with the poet because of her razor-sharp word choice. The poems vary in format, but many of them, perhaps influenced by their writer's long residency in Japan, flow with haiku-like imagery and power.

heavy rain
plum blossoms on concrete
bar code on my wrist

Other poems, seemingly rejecting traditional formatting and punctuation, appear like writing as stream of consciousness:

[...]. each
breath savored for its effort. every
awkward step. for the sake of.
discussion. dissolving into
beams of frenzied impossible
yearning, through wickets
of doldrum and bureaucratic
spoils. seaweed-like
in small pieces.

Award-winning poet Nancy Gaffield describes *Plan B Audio* as “a powerful feminine epic that gives voice to the intensity of living in a dissonant state.” Some readers may find themselves uncomfortable with the honesty of the book’s author, faced with reproductive cancers that no one wishes to experience. Still, we should be grateful for the significant insight she gives us into the painful realities of dealing with such afflictions.

Although the content, structure, and high-level vocabulary of this poetry book will pose a challenge to many EFL/ESL students, creative teachers can choose short poems and sections of larger poems for content and language instruction. The emotive poetry will motivate many students. Three suggestions for language exercises are below.

1. Students read the sections below and write words from this list: winds, café, sky, flow, words, nothing. Students then share their answers in pairs and discuss their reasons for their choices. Finally, the students listen to the teacher read the sections from the book.

at the _____

saying _____

cup of _____

a crack in the _____

through which spirits _____

heartless _____

2. Teachers write discussion questions based on phrases within the poetry or entire poems. Example questions: What does “superficial smile” mean? Can you tell us about a time when you experienced superficial smiles? What are other ways to describe smiles? What is hopeful or depressing about this poem? Which words or phrases lead you to think that way?
3. The teacher could choose certain poems or sections and ask students to translate the words into imagery through drawing, painting, or creating collages. This would make a good homework assignment. During the following class, students would read aloud their choices and display their artworks.

The accomplished Japan-based writer and photographer Susan Laura Sullivan took the photographs that Nakagawa chose to illustrate her poetry. Except for the cover, all are mood-evoking black and white images. The cover photograph shows birds rising from a freshly cut and harvested rice field. The birds appear agitated, which is fitting for a poetry book examining disturbing changes in life, and which uses vocabulary that may startle readers.

Plan B Audio is highly recommended for all long-term residents of Japan. Foreign language teachers in Japan, in particular, are not moving in and out of Japan as often as they did decades ago. Many will yield to disease or age and unexpectedly find themselves facing mortality and world-altering decisions in Japanese hospitals.

This revelatory poetry book concludes with the following words: “what is this world,” imploring you, like the writer apparently did, to attempt to make sense of one’s fragile humanity. The question is likely to echo in your mind long after closing the pages of *Plan B Audio*.

Greg Goodmacher teaches global and social issues content-based courses at Keiwa College. His main interests in language education are integrating content with English instruction and materials development. He also writes EFL/ESL textbooks for Japanese college students. You can read his column on materials development in the Materials Writers SIG newsletter.

Know My Name: A Memoir. Chanel Miller.

New York, US: Viking, 2019. 357 pp.

Reviewed by Winifred Lewis Shiraishi

Nihon University

College of International Relations

Mishima Campus

Know My Name is a memoir by Chanel Miller, the woman whom Brock Turner sexually assaulted, identified during his trial as “Emily Doe.” Her victim impact statement, first published anonymously by BuzzFeed in 2016, launched a wider conversation about sexual assault, the treatment of victims, and the workings of the criminal justice system. In this book, Chanel Miller recounts the affects the assault and the legal case had on her life and her self-perception.

The first few pages begin with the events of the day leading up to Miller’s assault outside the Stanford fraternity house and end with her waking up in the hospital, frightened, confused, and traumatized. Miller gives us a vivid account of the procedures involved in collecting evidence in a sexual assault case and the emotional turmoil she endured. We can viscerally feel her anxiety as she is questioned by the police and struggles to recount details. At this point, Miller sees herself as two people: one who has to continue her own life trajectory and another who is now forever altered and defined by what has been done to her. “The moment I was violently dragged into his story, my story stopped,” Miller writes (p. 67). Aside from help from those directly involved in the case and her immediate family, Miller largely had to carry the emotional burden alone. Victims often have little support. They also have to shoulder the financial impact of the assault—hospital bills and various fees: As Miller writes, “I learned it was expensive to be assaulted” (p. 68). She has to juggle her work and life around every change in hearings and legal proceedings, which is a daunting task. This pressure affects not only Miller, but also her sister who must put her own studies on hold to serve as a witness.

Despite the trauma and fear, Miller makes the decision to reclaim her own life and decides to continue her art studies. She moves from California to Rhode Island to enroll in a printmaking workshop (Chapter 4). This was one of the most powerful parts of the book because it fleshes out Miller as a writer, artist, and intellectual, not just a victim. Her personal struggles to control her fear in everyday interactions with strangers, particularly men, leave a deep impression on the reader. She forges tentative bonds with classmates and slowly begins the process of rebuilding her relationship with her partner. This glimpse inside the life of someone who lived through sexual assault provides the background we need as the memoir moves closer towards the trial.

The latter half of the book covers the pre-trial and trial proceedings and it is emotionally wrenching: Turner’s legal team attempts to rewrite Miller’s account of her life and events to create

a new narrative in which the perpetrator is the victim. Miller was unprepared for the intrusions, cross examinations, and manipulations of every word she said. As a reader, I felt myself growing increasingly angry as she recounts the invasive questioning by Turner's defense team. The fact that I felt these emotions so powerfully shows Miller's adept writing skills. Her case generated widespread coverage in across media platforms and Miller spends some time discussing having her life reframed as public discourse. Miller does not shy away from the issues of class and race and how they intersect in the defense of white, privileged, star athlete Brock Turner. He is viewed in terms of his future and potential; little regard is given to how his actions impacted his victim's (p. 282). Miller recounts how Brock Turner's father was given the floor—she was hopeful that she was to get an apology on behalf of his son. Instead, Mr. Turner attempts to redeem Brock by explaining away his behavior as resulting from social adjustment anxieties and over-drinking. The judge's light sentencing reveals this strategy effectively placed Brock Turner at the center of the case and relegated Miller to the periphery (p. 234).

Miller makes it clear that her memoir gives voice to victims: "When society questions a victim's reluctance to report, I will be here to remind you that you ask us to sacrifice our sanity to fight outdated structures that were designed to keep us down. The average adult can barely find time to renew their license at the DMV. It is not reasonable to casually demand that victims put aside their lives to spend more time pursuing something they never asked for in the first place" (p. 288). The way in which the judicial process traumatizes victims is telling. Miller gives a heart-breaking account of another case: an immigrant Chinese woman with limited English abilities struggling to explain and seek justice for her assault only to have the perpetrator sentenced to a brief stint of weekend jail (p. 229). Miller expands on her personal feelings about the allegations against Harvey Weinstein, Bill Cosby, and Trump's sexual assault allegations, and the wider culture's dismissive treatment of sexual assault victims. For readers unfamiliar with current US events, this section may require further discussion for context.

The reflections on the trial overlap with the release of Miller's victim impact statement on BuzzFeed in June of 2016. "Emily Doe's Victim Impact Statement" quickly went viral (this is reprinted in the appendix). I prefer to focus on this section because it brings us back to the heart of the memoir: Chanel Miller reclaiming her personhood and later becoming an inspiration for other survivors of sexual assault to reclaim theirs. Furthermore, Miller's statement pushes for legislation on sentencing standards for sexual assault, calls for redefining the parameters of rape and sexual assault, and demands the recall of Turner's biased, lenient judge.

In the context of education in Japan, memoir can be used to foster wider discussion about social issues, such as rape and sexual assault. Memoirs have an emotional impact which stimulates reflective thinking. This can encourage students to express their own thoughts and emotions through writing as they process an experience, in the form of memoir, to which they can relate (Hollander, 2001, p. 2). The fact that this book does not contain academic jargon works in its favor, though it is still probably best for intermediate level students of English or above. This book may be

more accessible and useful in a seminar setting in which students can discuss the issue presented. There is also an audio version available. An instructor would first have to confirm students' willingness to tackle such challenging subject matter. Then, using this text, perhaps with resources on sexual assault in Japan, could help students understand the ways to tackle this issue and provide a good opportunity to compare attitudes and laws in both countries regarding sexual assault.

A question often posed to sexual assault survivors is "Why didn't you report it?" The thinking seems to be that the reluctance to report a sexual assault is an admission of culpability. What is seldom understood is the impact of the crime and the lengthy legal proceedings upon a survivor's life. Chanel Miller's skillful prose conveys the emotional turmoil and uprooting that she experienced as a result of the assault. A few years after her victim impact statement was released and covered widely in the press, Miller decided to relinquish her anonymity to publish this autobiography and become the face of the many still-anonymous victims of sexual assault. Ultimately, this is a well-written, engaging memoir in which Miller compellingly explains the psychological effects of assault and the media attacks through which she was rendered a non-person. She succeeds in giving full voice to her story beyond that of "Emily Doe" to once again become herself.

Winifred Lewis Shiraishi is a lecturer at Nihon University College of International Studies, Mishima Campus. She teaches classes on English reading, writing, listening and speaking skills. Her current research focuses on developing writing skills for ESL students in an effort to engage in issues based discussions.

Reference

Hollander, S. A. (2001). Taking it personally: The role of memoirs in teacher education. *Electronic Journal for Inclusive Education*, 1(5), 1–7. <https://corescholar.libraries.wright.edu/ejie/vol1/iss4/5/>

Further Reading

Yatagawa, T. & Nakano, M. (2008, October 21). Sexual violence and the Japanese criminal justice system. *Women's Asia 21: Voice from Japan*, 21, 4–13. <http://www.ajwrc.org/english/sub/voice/21-1-2.pdf>

The Testaments. Margaret Atwood.
London, UK: Chatto & Windus, 2019. 415 pp.

Reviewed by Rachelle R. Meilleur
Kyoto University of Foreign Studies

Like many Canadian students of my generation, I remember reading *The Handmaid's Tale* in high school, a few years after it was released in 1985. The novel tells the tale of the handmaid Offred, a young woman living in the Republic of Gilead, which is ruled by a totalitarian patriarchal theocracy that replaced what had been left of the United States. Readers have anticipated the sequel to the original, wondering what happened to Offred as she headed into the unknown. In 2016, Hulu released a TV adaptation which introduced Offred's story to a new audience. The following year, the #metoo and #timesup movements gained real traction worldwide as people began to push back against the injustices women have faced regarding politics, the workplace, and reproductive rights. Whether it be coincidence, karma, or just the cyclical nature of history, the current era in which Atwood wrote *The Testaments* is an echo to the time she first wrote *The Handmaid's Tale*. The early 1980s, with Ronald Reagan as President, saw the rise of the Moral Majority and the pushback to the gains feminists had made in the 1970s, such as Roe v. Wade and other advancements. The emergence of Trump and an even more powerful conservative agenda, backed by the religious right, is a very direct backlash against similar types of gains (LGBTQ+ rights, the first African-American President, etc.) achieved in the 21st-century.

Definition of *testament* (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.):

1a: a tangible proof or tribute

b: an expression of conviction: creed

2a: an act by which a person determines the disposition of his or her property after death

b: will

Definition of *testimony* (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.):

1a: a solemn declaration usually made orally by a witness under oath in response to interrogation by a lawyer or authorized public official

b: firsthand authentication of a fact: evidence

2a: an open acknowledgment

A quick look at the definitions of “testament” and “testimony” in the dictionary will make it easier to understand what Margaret Atwood's novel, *The Testaments*, is really about. The book follows the story of three protagonists: Daisy, the independent-minded teenager living in Toronto; Agnes Jemima, whom we meet as a young teen trying to navigate her role as a Commander's Daughter in Gilead; and Aunt Lydia, one of Gilead's most powerful women and a familiar character from the first novel. Their lives are recounted through a selection of testaments—for the younger girls it is in the form of witness testimonies, for Aunt Lydia, it is in the form of handwritten memoir, labelled the “Ardua

Hall Holograph.” It is no coincidence that a holograph invokes the imagery of a hologram, a way of making a 2D image appear three-dimensional, which in this case, allows us to see a more fleshed-out version of Aunt Lydia. Her authoritarian nature and strict adherence to the laws of Gilead make her quite unsympathetic, especially through the eyes of Offred in the first novel. With Aunt Lydia’s testimony in this one, the reader is able to understand the how and why of who she was, and perhaps view her with more sympathy than when we first met her.

Through these three characters’ testimonies, we are also introduced to a variety of timelines that jump back and forth from pre-Gilead days to the present day, which in this timeline is about 15 years after the events of the first novel. The youngest character we meet is Daisy, whose life is fully immersed in the present. She is a headstrong character who pushes back against the restrictions her parents place on her by, for example, joining in protests against Gilead. Meanwhile, in Gilead, we get to know Agnes through a series of flashbacks leading to her rejection of the role of Wife and her decision to become one of the Aunts instead. Becoming an Aunt, the most powerful position a woman can obtain in Gilead, is seen overtly as a calling, but covertly as a way for Daughters to have some kind of choice over their position in life. The Aunt with most power in Gilead is Aunt Lydia, and her story is mostly told in the form of non-sequential flashbacks, such as when Gilead was first formed, and how she went from being a successful judge to becoming the most feared Aunt in the Republic. Over the course of her story it appears that she had two personality traits that allowed her to survive and succeed in Gilead when many other women did not. When the Republic of Gilead was established she did exactly what she needed to do to survive, pushing all emotion and personal feelings into a place that could not harm her. In addition, her training as a lawyer and judge impacted the way she conducted herself in the decades following the rise of the Republic, as her memoirs make it clear that she had been meticulously collecting evidence during that time. Over the years she used a variety of sources to amass the information she needed, whether it be through confidants, spies, secret microphones, or cameras. The reader comes to understand the complicated history of Lydia’s duplicity, from being a successful judge to training women to be subservient to men in Gilead. It helps shed light on how women have aided men in their oppression of other women in other societies.

The novel’s disparate timelines, characters and shifts in time can be somewhat bewildering, especially for those who have not read the first novel in quite a while, nor have seen the recent TV series. However, as the story progresses, it becomes easier to see the connections between the characters, and how their stories relate, as if the past is rushing to catch up with the present. Like a good mystery, once the reader clues into who everyone is, they want to see the consequences of all the actions/pieces that have been put into play. However, I found it quite disappointing that once the stories finally cohere, they finish quite abruptly. In a way it echoes the end of *The Handmaid’s Tale* when Offred gets into an unmarked van on a journey to some unknown location—we do not know what really happened to her. Similarly, although there are transcripts of a Gilead Studies conference as an epilogue, it is mostly to confirm what we already know. For readers hoping to understand the fates of all of the characters in this novel, like the first, Atwood leaves tantalizing fragments that will

draw a great deal of speculation but will likely not be satisfying to all. Nonetheless, the themes of subversion and resistance, which are exemplified by all three protagonists and many of the secondary characters, leave the reader with a sense of optimism and hope, especially given how relevant the issues in the book are to what is happening in the world around us today.

Rachelle R. Meilleur has taught English in four different countries since 1999 and is currently an associate professor at Kyoto University of Foreign Studies. Her research interests include the use of ICT and self-directed learning in ELT, gender and intercultural issues, as well as studies in dissonant heritage and dark tourism.

References

Testament. (n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. Retrieved March 31, 2020, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/testament>

Testimony. (n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. Retrieved March 31, 2020, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/testimony>

Dear Ijeawele, or a Feminist Manifesto in Fifteen Suggestions.
Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. New York, US: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017. 80 pp.

Reviewed by **Lucinda Okuyama**
Keio University &
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
Yusuke Okuyama
National Defense Medical University, Japan

The substantial gender gap in Japan curbs women's ambition and offers them limited opportunities in positions of power (OECD, 2017). Despite the Japanese government's efforts to close the gender gap, sharp divisions in labour remain, as women are still doing more unpaid work and being excluded from many management positions (OECD, 2017). The government is trying to rectify this by encouraging women into both the labour market and leadership positions. The active engagement of women in society and normalizing shared responsibility of work, household chores and child rearing is also being promoted (UN Women, 2016; Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2017). However, these attempts appear to be falling short, as Japan has recently been ranked 121 out of 153 countries in the *Global Gender Equality Rankings*, slipping from 110 in 2018 (Osaki, 2019). It is clear that there is a need for education regarding gender inequalities in Japan. Accordingly, perhaps Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's book, *Dear Ijeawele, or a Feminist Manifesto in Fifteen Suggestions*, has something to offer to help shift emphasis from traditional gender roles to more gender-neutral roles and thereby advance the empowerment of women.

The author, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, was born to Igbo parents in Nigeria in 1977 (Tunca, n.d.-b). Her TED talks "The Danger of a Single Story" and "We Should All be Feminists" brought her fame between 2012 and 2014 (Adichie, n.d.; Tunca, n.d.-b). Her books have been published to critical acclaim and have received prestigious awards (Tunca, n.d.-a). She is married with a daughter and divides her time between the US and Nigeria (Adichie, n.d.).

The award-winning *Dear Ijeawele, or a Feminist Manifesto in Fifteen Suggestions* was published in March 2017 (Penguin Random House, n.d.). The book was inspired by a message to the author from a childhood friend, asking how to raise her baby daughter to be a feminist. This resulted in 15 succinct sub-sections on the topic, as opposed to chapters, which read as an extended letter to this friend. It is a quick read, with only 80 pages. Although it is not a parenting book per se, it aims to provide parents with some of the tools needed to raise daughters in a society of gender inequality. The suggestions touch on key feminist issues of our times, such as the division of domestic duties, the use of gendered language, and even gendered toys and baby clothes. The key themes are gender roles, beauty standards, body politics, diversity, identity, education, child rearing, sex, equal opportunities and oppression. Among others, the book includes suggestions such as: "Teach her that

‘Gender Roles’ is Absolute Nonsense,” “Teach her to Question Language,” “Never Speak of Marriage as an Achievement,” “Give Chizalum a Sense of Identity” and “Teach Her about Difference” (p. 14, p. 26, p. 30, p. 39, p. 61).

Adichie’s perspective on feminism includes her personal experiences of being a woman in both a Nigerian and American context. It is therefore a refreshing and much-needed change from the Western feminist literature that often dominates mainstream media and academia. The book is warm, friendly and frequently humorous. Everyday stories of women around the world reflect similar experiences and help explain the different concepts of the 15 suggestions.

Those who are new to feminism and who wish to have a clear, concise and pragmatic overview of the ideology have much to gain from *Dear Ijeawele*. The text does not overuse feminist jargon to the point of reader bewilderment. Due to its contemporary style and simplicity, it speaks to younger women and has the potential to educate young girls and women about gender inequalities by introducing them to feminism (Goyal, 2018).

However, a major critique of the book is the lack of evidence or academic rigor. It does not provide a historical context of feminism, nor does it distinguish between the different types of feminist thought. What is more, the author does not clearly identify her particular feminist positioning and the audience is left wondering what school of feminism she ascribes to. Furthermore, in the spirit of intersectionality, a clear inclusion within the text of LGBTQIA issues and of different abilities would have strengthened its overall message. Moreover, the book exclusively deals with raising feminist daughters and does not address raising feminist sons, nor does it mention non-binary or trans people. This could be unsatisfactory to the LGBTQIA community and parents who are seeking guidance in raising feminist boys (Goodreads, n.d.).

The most distinctive aspect of this book is that it manages to discuss complex concepts in accessible terms. As the Guardian states, “Some of the suggestions feel like mountains of difficulty made simple” (Hadley, 2017, para 2). However, some context is sacrificed to achieve this simplicity, and valuable in-depth teachings are lost. Readers should not expect ground-breaking inquests, nor in-depth analyses or critiques. In the spirit of streamlining such concepts, a glossary to explain some of the feminist terminology such as “misandry,” “misogyny,” and Igbo references used would enhance the reading experience. Perhaps it could be further enriched if the author included her views on the future of feminism. Likewise, the inclusion of a reference list and notes would provide readers with the opportunity to further investigate important ideas imbedded in each suggestion.

In conclusion, Adichie succeeds in engaging her audience with amusing anecdotes and relatable stories. Her warm, friendly and humorous approach breaks down some stereotypes of feminists. The book offers an introduction to feminism as each chapter welcomes readers to adjust the content to their specific context. Adichie points out that the book offers guidelines, not rules set in stone. However, those who are well versed in feminist ideology may feel frustrated as the book is short and lacks

academic rigor and substance. *Dear Ijeawe* sits in its own category apart from iconic academic feminist texts such as *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Freidan, *The Female Eunuch* by Germaine Greer, or *Feminism is for Everybody* by bell hooks. *Dear Ijeawe* reaches a wider audience and is for a new generation of feminists. It provides a fresh outlook drawing from everyday experiences. Educating girls sooner regarding gender equality buffers them from the influence of gendered stereotypes (Goyal, 2018).

Considering the gender gap in Japan, it is recommended that *Dear Ijeawe* be used as a course-book in a content-based English class at university level. In fact, it has been used for an “Introduction to Feminism” course taken by students with intermediate to advanced English at such an institution by the authors of this paper.

A course evaluation survey of 14 Japanese English-major university students revealed that students found the book easy to understand and that it awakened them to disparities around them (Okuyama & Okuyama, 2020). One student expressed the following: “I didn’t know much about feminism before... But now, I tend to look at the inequalities that I didn’t notice before.” Another student noted that “feminist opinions like Chimamanda’s are still rare in Japan. More traditional types of gender roles are more common here. So it was good to learn something different.” Helping students identify such imbalances can also help bring about social change.

Lucinda Okuyama is a lecturer at The University of Tokyo, Keio University and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Her research interests include gender studies, English for specific purposes, and teaching with technology. Correspondence should be sent to Lucinda Okuyama, email: lucinda.okuyama@keio.jp

Yusuke Okuyama is a lecturer at the National Defense Medical College, Japan. He is a registered community psychologist and registered liaison interpreter. His research interest includes intercultural communication. Correspondence should be sent to Yusuke Okuyama, email: y-okuyama@ndmc.ac.jp

References

Adichie, C. N. (n.d.). *About the author*. Retrieved July 24, 2020, from <https://www.chimamanda.com/about-chimamanda>

Adichie, C. N. (2017). *Dear Ijeawe, or a feminist manifesto in fifteen suggestions*. New York, US: Alfred A. Knopf.

Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office. (2017). *Gender equality policy in Japan*. Government of Japan. Retrieved from http://www.gender.go.jp/international/int_kaigi/int_acw3/pdf/contry_presentation_japan_09.pdf

- Goodreads. (n.d.). Dear Ijeawele, or a feminist manifesto in fifteen suggestions [Community reviews]. Retrieved July 24, 2020, from <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/33585392-dear-ijeawele-or-a-feminist-manifesto-in-fifteen-suggestions>
- Goyal, S. (2018). Review of dear Ijeawele, or a feminist manifesto in fifteen suggestions. *Brief Encounters*, 2(1), 137–139. <https://doi.org/10.24134/be.v2i1.114>
- Hadley, T. (2017). Dear Ijeawele by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie review—a feminist manifesto. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/may/04/dear-ijeawele-or-a-feminist-manifesto-in-fifteen-suggestions>
- OECD. (2017). *In pursuit of gender equality. An uphill battle. How does Japan compare?* Retrieved from <https://www.oecd.org/japan/Gender2017-JPN-en.pdf>
- Okuyama, L., & Okuyama, Y. (2020). [Introduction to gender issues: Course evaluation]. Unpublished raw data.
- Osaki, T. (2019). From bad to worse: Japan slides 11 places to 121st in global gender equality ranking. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/12/17/national/social-issues/japan-121st-global-gender-equality-ranking>
- Penguin Random House. (n.d.). Dear Ijeawele, or a feminist manifesto in fifteen suggestions [Online store]. Retrieved July 24, 2020, from <https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/557086/dear-ijeawele-or-a-feminist-manifesto-in-fifteen-suggestions-by-chimamanda-ngozi-adichie>
- Tunca, D. (n.d.-a). *Awards & nominations*. The Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie Website. Retrieved July 24, 2020, from <http://www.cerep.ulg.ac.be/adichie/cnaawards.html>
- Tunca, D. (n.d.-b). *Biography*. The Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie Website. Retrieved July 24, 2020, from <http://www.cerep.ulg.ac.be/adichie/cnabio.html>
- UN Women. (2016). *Japan vows to boost women's leadership and development assistance for gender equality*. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/get-involved/step-it-up/commitments/japan>

Feminizumu no Genzai [Feminism Today].*Gendai Shisō* [Modern Thought], 48(4). Tokyo, Japan: Seidosha, 2020. 334 pp.

Reviewed by Reiko Yoshihara
Nihon University, College of Commerce

This book is a collection of articles and round-table talks contributed by Japanese feminist scholars and activists. As the title shows, all articles and discussions explore feminism after the second wave. There are seven sections covering topics from LGBTQ issues to representation in manga to invisible gender concerns, among many others, and all are worthy of mention. This review endeavours to highlight some of them.

The first section, “The Past, Present and Future,” includes a round-table talk and three articles. It overviews the second wave in Japan, and focuses upon postfeminism, the third wave, and the fourth wave in Japan by arguing well-known feminist discourses. It intelligibly explains the differences between postfeminism, the third wave, and the fourth wave. In particular, I find Kitamura’s article, “Reading the Waves: The Fourth Wave and Popular Culture,” interesting because she discusses how the fourth wave is developing with intersectionality, social media, and celebrities’ feminist activities. As she notes, #activism such as #MeToo and #KuToo are movements against sexual harassment and sexual abuse where people utilize SNS to publicize allegations of sex crimes committed by powerful and prominent men. In addition, celebrities have contributed to feminist activism and discourse. While these forms of feminism open the door for young people, it is criticized in the book as being commercialized and market-based neoliberal. However, Kitamura seems to have hope in it creating new trends.

In the second section, “Feminism and Culture,” five authors focus on pop culture and feminism. Sekine’s article “Gal Culture, Justice and Empowerment” analyzes Japanese gal (ギャル) culture from a feminist perspective and regards “gals” as women questioning justice and the status quo. While “gals” usually evoke negative images such as antisocial groups, delinquent girls, and paid dates, Sekine explores the diversity of “gals” and discusses women’s empowerment among “gals.” “Gals” power might be reminiscent of “girl power” (the third wave in the United States in the 1990s) in that “gals” question norms and promote diverse values through social network media.

Section 3, “Feminism and Politics: At the Grass Roots,” focuses on Japanese current feminist activism, and is composed of one round-table discussion and five articles. Ogawa’s “Sexual Crimes in Japanese Law that Lack Victims’ Perspectives” refers to the Shiori Itoh incident and examines sexual crimes in Japanese Law. Shiori Itoh alleged that Noriyuki Yamaguchi raped her in 2015 while she was unconscious. She has become a symbol of the #MeToo movement in Japan. Ogawa criticizes laws in existence to investigate sexual crimes in Japan that are male-centered and ignore the victims (usually

female) in favor of the alleged or proven perpetrators (usually male). Sadly, victim-blaming continues seemingly in all ages and in every country.

Section 4, “Theories of the Third Wave,” introduces two essays translated from English to Japanese: Budgeon’s “The Contradictions of Successful Femininity: Third-Wave Feminism, Postfeminism and ‘New’ Femininities” and McRobbie’s “The Gender of Post-Fordism: ‘Passionate Work’, ‘Risk Class’ and ‘A Life of One’s Own.’” Budgeon overviews postfeminism and critically examines women’s success in neoliberalism and their lifestyle in materialism. While she posits the third wave in opposition to postfeminism, she also looks at overlaps between postfeminism and the third wave. For her, the third wave represents a problematic depoliticization and individualization of feminism with its attempts to embrace difference and reclaim femininity. McRobbie argues that the nature of work in a post-Fordist economy favored the flexibility of a female workforce, which led to a growth in female workers within the creative industries marked by precarity and immateriality, such as fashion.

Section 5, “Against the Divides,” illustrates how each writer perceives feminist antagonism in their field, such as cultural studies, media studies, and sociology. Iida’s article “Politics of Emotion” addresses how emotion is perceived in feminist discourses. She takes up “emotion” as a new category of feminist analysis as well as gender, race, and sexuality. We might feel angry and sad because of pain, share that anger and sadness, speak up, and finally feel confident in ourselves. She concludes that as emotion is the source of fear and hope, emotional discourses of feminism should be reconsidered. In Senda’s article “Redrawing the Borderline of ‘Woman’” she discusses a confrontation between transgender women and TERFs (trans-exclusionary radical feminists). She reviews a history of “gender identity” from structuralism to poststructuralism and postfeminism and reveals that it is difficult to define “woman” as sex. She illustrates the complex relationship between transgender women and TERFs and attempts to alleviate their misunderstandings. She questions violent discourses and actions toward TERFs and hopes to create an ideal society based on diversity without violence to counter this.

The sixth section, “Feminism and Philosophy,” is the most difficult to read and understand for this reviewer. Readers need background knowledge, in particular, of deconstruction as argued by Derrida, phenomenology by Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, and de Beauvoir, social construction by Haslanger, and fetishism by Deleuze, among others. However, it is an interesting inclusion for readers with a deeper knowledge of these movements.

Section 8, “Talking About Our Bodies,” discusses women’s bodies in relation to sex workers, adult video actresses, #BoPo (Body Positive), fashion, and cosmetic surgery. Fujishima’s article “Accepting Our Bodies, Letting Go of Our Bodies” critically argues the #BoPo movement in appreciation of the diversity of the female form. She criticizes #BoPo for accelerating the divide between women who are overweight but perceived as cute and women who are overweight and perceived as unattractive. She also condemns commercialism that regards our bodies as commodities made for consumption. She addresses her own experience and concludes that we should have a choice to let go

of beauty standards. Tanimoto's article, "Aspects of Cosmetic Surgery," is an empirical study about cosmetic surgery in Japan surveying 8,867 men and women who have experienced cosmetic surgery, and 37 cosmetic surgeons. One interesting aspect is that more men than women had plastic surgery because they wanted "to be popular among people of the opposite sex" (p. 311). Through interviews with female participants in their twenties, Tanimoto points out that women tend to have plastic surgery hoping to attain a sense of self-satisfaction, not because they want to be popular among men. She also indicates that female participants are influenced by female friends, mothers, and sisters. She finally concludes that, for women, cosmetic surgery opens up a possibility of women bonding while beauty standards still remain pervasive in our society.

This book covers a wide variety of topics to shine a light upon the current trend of feminism, particularly since 2000. Some of the articles can perhaps only be understood by those who are specialists in feminist, gender and queer studies. Readers sometimes need background knowledge of philosophy, sociology, and cultural studies. However, the articles and round-table talks in this book are a rich resource of current feminist theories such as postfeminism, the third and fourth wave, celebrities' feminism and activism, and other movements. As feminist and civil rights activist Audre Lorde (2007) reminds us, "there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives" (p. 138). All of the writers in this book analyze various gender issues through an intersectional lens. Alongside the feminist activists and theorists found therein, I hope that historical and contemporary injustices can be recognized, analyzed, protested, and ultimately overcome.

Reiko Yoshihara is a Professor at Nihon University, College of Commerce. She holds two master's degree in Women's Studies and TESOL and a doctoral degree in TESOL. Her research interests include theories and activism in the second wave in the US and feminist pedagogy in TESOL.

Reference

Lorde, A. (2007). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Trumansburg, NY, US: Crossing Press.