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Gender Awareness in Language Education
Special Interest Group

Editorial Board for this Issue

Acknowledgments

From the Editors

It is our pleasure to introduce the second issue of the GALE Journal. These articles add important data and analysis to the growing body of gender related research in an Asian context and explore key themes in gender and education. The first is an article by Roslyn Appleby about the gender dynamics of teaching English within the militarized context of the international aid and development zone of East Timor. Excerpts from teachers' verbal and written accounts of their experience in the expat and local communities are used to argue that the relations of power between race and gender in such environments thwart the official development agency agenda of gender equity.

The next article by Robert O'Mochain analyses samples of student writing resulting from the study of a chapter in a topic-based text about whether same sex marriages should be legalized. He demonstrates how a teacher aim to promote self-reflective and open-ended student inquiry about the topic would produce deeper understanding of gender issues than a focused aim to achieve the recognition of homosexual rights. After pointing out the limitations of a closed ended aim, O'Mochain suggests exploring ways to help students "gain access to alternative discourses of identity and new narratives of self."

Fixed notions of gender roles are common in Japan which ranked 42nd among the 75 nations surveyed for the UN's Gender Empowerment Measure in 2006. In the light of such statistics, our third feature by Kaori Mori provides an excellent opportunity to learn how a Kawasaki City programme encourages parents of local school children to recognise and dispel gender bias and to foster equal educational opportunity for their sons and daughters. In the Perspectives section, Tamarah Cohen starts with a theoretical grounding in cognitive schema theory and proceeds to outline a meaningful and refreshing course syllabus built around students' cultural and personal backgrounds. Students learn to locate writer and story protagonists' presuppositions and implicit beliefs in relation to their own, and to analyse whose social interests these beliefs reflect or serve. Students go on to generate their own texts using interviews, which in turn stimulates further inquiry. Through this process students can begin to consciously identify and critically assess the values, attitudes and beliefs that they and others hold. For language teachers interested in promoting engaged and critical student inquiry this syllabus outline is an inspirational model.

Finally, if you are looking for some useful reading to enhance your professional development, two excellent book reviews are included in this issue. The first book, Women as Learners: The Significance of Gender in Adult Learning, reviewed by Kim Bradford-Watts, answers questions: How do women learn and in which respects, if any, do they learn differently from men? How can common teaching paradigms be adapted to accommodate these research implications? What research remains to be done about women's learning and learning needs? The second book, A Beginners' Guide to Language and Gender, reviewed by Michi Saki, is a comprehensive introduction intended as a text for the classroom study of gender issues.

We would like to thank the editorial board for donating their time and expertise to and contributing to make this Journal a professional success. We wish you enjoyable reading!

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Joanna Hosoya
Salem Kim Hicks

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Feature Articles

Unruly Others: Language Teachers and the Policing of Gender in International Development

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Abstract

This paper considers the policing of gender as a dimension of English language teachers' experiences in international development work. I argue that international development zones have tended to reproduce the patriarchal regimes of an earlier colonial era and provide a challenging context for a (mostly) feminised language teaching profession. Just as colonial space, away from the safety of home, was primarily constructed as a domain of masculine endeavour, so too contemporary development missions, particularly in areas designated as politically unstable, produce a masculine domain that marginalises 'unruly others' defined by gender and race.

要旨

本稿では、国際開発の現場における英語教師という経験の中で、ジェンダーがどのように取り扱われ、規制されるかを考察する。国際開発の現場では、植民地時代の男性優位の体制が再構築されがちであり、その多くは女性である語学教師という職にとって、困難な環境を構築している。植民地という領域は、安全な故郷から離れた主に男性の企ての領域として歴史的に構築されてきたが、現在でも、特に政治的に不安定とされる地域における開発使節団は、ジェンダーや人種により定義された「手に負えない他者」を排斥する男性支配の場を構築している。

Introduction

In this article I discuss the gendered construction of international development aid as a context for the work of English language teachers. Drawing on interview data, the paper explores the experiences of white Australian women working as English language teachers for international development projects in East Timor[1]. Despite the emphasis on gender equity in development rhetoric, the women's experiences suggest that the male dominated international development community, influenced in part by an international military presence, produced a neo-colonial space in which women were perceived as an anomaly. In this context, white women became objects of expatriate male desire and surveillance, their mobility constrained by the threat allegedly posed by indigenous male violence. The intertwined gender and racial relations established by these expatriate discourses testify to the persistence of colonial relations of power in contemporary enterprises of development and language education.

East Timor officially became the world's newest independent nation in 2002, after centuries of struggle against Portuguese colonial rule and a quarter century of Indonesian occupation. The withdrawal of Indonesian military forces and administration in 1999 was accompanied by a wave of violence that destroyed much of the country's infrastructure and resulted in loss of lives and mass dislocation of the Timorese population. Across the country, the burning of almost all school buildings and the disappearance of most teachers who fled back to Indonesia, meant the destruction of the entire education system almost overnight. In an effort to quell the violence, the United Nations authorised the deployment of a multinational peacekeeping force, and in subsequent years international agencies have channeled significant funding towards East Timor's reconstruction and development.

Australian interest in East Timor, which lies just 500 kilometres north of Darwin, has been motivated by historical allegiances, by the promise of access to rich oil and gas reserves that lie in the sea between the two nations, by a sense of solidarity with the Timorese struggle for independence, and by strategic concerns for stable relations with our northern neighbours. For almost a decade, East Timor has been an important component of Australia's international aid program, with a focus on assisting in key areas including governance, health and education. In recent years, Australian military forces have also been deployed in response to periodic violence, and in this climate East Timor has at times been seen as a danger zone for those working in Australian aid projects. English language teachers have been amongst the teams of Australian aid workers in East Timor, and their narratives, along with my own experiences, form the basis of this article.

Locating Development Projects in Context

> Elly: As a woman it was probably one of the freakiest experiences of my life … The whole bar scene, the pick up in the bars, like those World War II movies. And men, those truckloads of soldiers looking like predators, looking at us like predators. They'd drive past and … I'd think … thank god I'm not in one of the villages that you're liberating!

Elly was one of a dozen white, female, Australian aid workers I interviewed about their experiences of teaching English language in development projects in East Timor[2]. Like several others, including myself, Elly taught English language for academic and vocational purposes on a short term contract at a tertiary institution in Timor. Her observations of development as "one of the freakiest experiences of my life", raise some interesting questions about international development as a gendered context for English language teaching. These include questions about the influence of military intervention in a language teaching context, about the interplay of race and gender in the contact zone[3] of development, and about the importance of gender equality as a goal of international development. In this paper I touch on several of these points to address a central question: How can we understand international development as a gendered context for English language teaching?

To answer this question, we need to see Elly's experiences from the perspective of development as an historical descendant of an earlier colonial age, an age in which the economic and social conditions for present day development enterprises were established. The era of international development was born in the post-World War II phase of decolonisation and, as such, development can be seen as a modern outgrowth of asymmetrical colonial relations between wealthy so-called 'developed'[4] (and formerly colonial) nations and poorer, 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' (formerly colonised) nations.

Colonial expenditure that had been aimed at expanding the trade opportunities of colonial powers gave way to financial investments referred to as aid, and tended to be concentrated in countries where donors had strategic political or past colonial connections. Previously colonised countries have been viewed as lacking the means to modernise and develop, thus justifying the need for ongoing intervention by the 'First World' in 'less advanced' nations in the form of economic assistance, the transfer of modern scientific and technical knowledge (Escobar, 2004; Kingdon, 1999), and the embodiment of this knowledge in English as the international language of modernisation and progress. In these processes, modernisation and development are framed in terms of achieving economic and social change under the banner of progress towards a First World ideal. In many respects, however, international development became a means of maintaining the interests and hierarchies of colonialism.

Since the end of the Cold War era, the geopolitical interests of donor countries have been increasingly focused on development assistance in conflict and post-conflict environments such as East Timor, where there is a close association between aid and military intervention (Addison, 2000; Jeffreys, 2002). In particular, since September 11, critics have argued that development assistance, as "one thread in the 'war on terror'" (Kingsbury, 2004, p. 2), has been motivated by the West's will to govern in regions of the globe deemed to be politically unstable (Duffield, 2002). In these regions, development assistance provides a means whereby donors may work to win hearts and minds by sponsoring social welfare programs in areas such as health and education. English language teaching plays a key part in this process of persuasion (Karmani, 2005), and yet the privileging of English may serve to recreate forms of dependency on Anglophone donor nations. The contextual complexity of these situations reminds us of the continuing need for English language teachers to reflect on their positioning in regard to broader geopolitical agendas (Appleby, Copley, Sithirajvongsa & Pennycook, 2002).

Military co-location lends a particularly patriarchal flavour to development enterprises, promoting masculinisation through the "policing of bodies" (Rose, 1993, p. 37), and reproducing in development sites an image of the colonies as "a place of masculine endeavour where heroic individual males behave in adventurous ways, exploring undiscovered lands and subduing the inhabitants" (Mills, 1994, pp. 36-37). In such places, white female workers tend to be an anomaly: in colonial and postcolonial contexts, they are cast as unruly, unnecessary, or at the service of male desire that silences female desire through labeling and denigration (Ramazanoglu, 1993). Their anomalous positioning also rests on the contrast between, on the one hand, their privileged membership of an international elite and, on the other hand, their subordination to a patriarchal regime that operates within that elite community.

Gender Equality as a Goal of International Development

In recent decades, gender equality has been a key goal of international development programs. Gender equality in education is valued as a major contributor towards economic growth: it is accepted, at least rhetorically, by numerous government and international organisations, and is enshrined in international agreements and commitments including the Millennium Development Goals[6]. Initiatives to improve gender equality in development programs are channeled into the twin strategies of gender balance (aiming for the employment of equal numbers of men and women in development personnel), and gender mainstreaming (ensuring gender considerations are incorporated into the design and delivery of all development programs).

Apart from the underlying economic imperatives, promoting gender equality is broadly framed in terms of achieving social progress, on the assumption that economically developed donor nations present a more progressive model of gender equality than undeveloped or Third World nations. However, one of the many problems with this all-encompassing ideal of progress towards a social goal is that it classifies nations and societies along a normative scale that bears the legacy of a colonial era. At one end of the scale are the (formerly colonial) nations categorised as highly developed and socially advanced; at the other end are placed those (formerly colonised) nations that are seen as underdeveloped and socially backward. This sort of classification seeps into all areas of the national identity when seen from the viewpoint of the developed world. From this perspective, gender inequity is imagined as a problem that has been solved in the First World, and is now solely confined to communities in the so-called Third World, or non-Western nations. Critical feminist and postcolonial scholars have noted that this not only overestimates the conditions of gender equity in the West, but also fails to take into account the sexualised violence that accompanies international development, with its mission for the spread of global capitalism and its links to the "increasing militarization (and masculinization) of the globe" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 229).

Despite the emphasis on gender equity in development rhetoric, the close association between military intervention and international development projects can produce iniquitous effects in gender relations (Mazurana, Raven-Roberts, Parpart & Lautze, 2005). In some media representations of militarised development (see, for example, Forbes & Allard, 2006) we see the legacy of heroic colonial discourses of race and gender, so aptly summarized in Spivak's (1994, p. 10) critique of the colonial mission as "white men, seeking to save brown women from brown men". In contrast to these heroic images, the media also presents reports of peacekeepers and aid workers involved in sexual abuse of women and children in the very communities that they are charged with protecting and assisting (Bowcott, 2005; Gillan & Moszynski, 2002; Ward, 2000; Wax, 2005). These media representations suggest that a disjuncture has occurred between, on the one hand, development policies that promote women's empowerment through gender equality and, on the other hand, experience in the field, in devastated communities where poor women may suffer the consequences of patriarchal and sexist regimes that accompany development aid and military intervention. In these reports of abuse, "racial and sexual violence are yoked together [in an] abiding and recurrent metaphor for colonial relations" that too often persists in the practices of international development (Loomba, 1998, p. 164).

Contextual Conditions for Female English Language Teachers in East Timor

In this section, I consider English language teachers' experiences of the gender relations produced with the influx of international military and development missions in post-independence East Timor. Being in this hypermasculine context had a considerable impact on the women in my research, as they faced the challenges of negotiating their place in an international community where all were affected by the spirit of being in a war zone. I focus on the narratives of two white Australian teachers, Elly (from several transcribed interviews and casual conversations) and Helen (from transcribed interviews and letters sent from East Timor). All quotes and text in italics throughout the remainder of this article are from these two participants. Both Elly and Helen were qualified English language teachers with previous experience in teaching outside Australia and, while in East Timor, worked in English language programs for development agencies. Elly was in her late 20s, Helen in her 40s.

Reflecting on their accounts, and my own experiences of language teaching in East Timor, I argue that rather than the First World international community exemplifying a discourse of progress in gender relations, it seemed that the expatriate community had instead gone backwards in time, producing a seedy underworld of intensely dichotomised gender roles that reflected the colonial heritage of development.

Elly conservatively estimated the gender ratio amongst the expatriate community in Dili at the time as "nine men to one woman", and observed that the degree of active military presence seemed to establish a patriarchal mood, even influencing aid workers and journalists to don "little military outfits: there was something very 'war-games-y'", something "very male, about the whole scene". The emergency scenario and 'war games' atmosphere constructed a particular type of gendered space, and appeared to attract the sort of men who "would just never get jobs with that sort of authority or money or sense of importance at home, and they can do it all in these situations". Neither expatriate nor local women were obviously visible in the public domain, and the prevailing message to women seemed to be "watch out, it's males that operate here".

This situation had significant effects on some teachers' sense of being 'read' as female. Elly's strongest complaints concerned being identified by men as a "sex object" in a way that was reminiscent of Australia in earlier decades. In social situations, she felt some of the men she met "were able to acknowledge the value of the person they were speaking to", but her specific criticism concerned the reduction of interactions to a sexual exchange, and therefore the exclusion of other possible ways of interacting on the basis of professional or social interest and respect. Social behaviour in the expatriate leisure spaces was described as "sexist" and "predatory: people were out to score in a real kind of meat market".

> Why was it so bad? Because there was no attempt for people to make friends, people didn't even bother to have a conversation about who I really was, and then thought 'Oh, this woman's interesting', … that's not what it was. They bloody looked at the room, looked at women as bloody sex objects, and they came over with the intention of inviting you somewhere, I guess on the basis of looks or something. No, I don't even think it was on the basis of looks, I think it was on the basis of being a new female that had arrived. That you happened to be female, that's what I think it was. And I hated it, I just think it was so gross. I got so tired of expat type people.

Elly, like many of the women teachers, was offended by these reductive exchanges, and the consequent assumptions that seemed to arise regarding her sexual availability. She described the uncomfortable experience of being observed, discussed and reduced to a sexed body in one of the expatriate bars where development workers and military personnel mixed:

> There were a couple of UN guys there, at that army bar. Do you remember, there was a black UN guy and I was chatting to him, and I left and he came out and said, 'Oh well, I've got her in the bag!' And basically he had this running thing about how long it would take to get me into bed. And I just died.

This "incredibly sexist" regime was felt to be far more primitive than in Australia, and Elly reasoned that by travelling overseas, 'normal' social expectations were removed, allowing some expatriate men to "revert to that type of behaviour":

It was bizarre. I just felt I was kind of flipped back into some spy novel of the 1930s or 40s, I felt like I was in Biggles, 'cause there's no girls in Biggles, because it's like that old British foreign service stuff that has this overlay of politeness but has the seedy underworld, and it kind of felt like the old politeness has gone, it's just the seedy underworld in Timor.

With the veneer of politeness stripped away, the "incredibly archaic, double standard" operated as a means of surveillance and control. Elly observed expatriate men "having a wife at home and sleeping [their] way around the world as well", but believed such men judged the behaviour of women by a different standard:

I don't have any problems with casual sex for Christ's sake, but the parameters, the way it was set up, it was set up as a boy's game, not as a mutual kind of - put it this way, if [a woman] went off for casual sex, you'd get a reputation as being a slacker, a slut, and it would go round and you'd pay the price. Would [a man] pay the price? No, he'd be the hero because he's the king bonker and he's out there wheeling and dealing, it's kind of like they were entrepreneurs. It was bizarre.

The experience of a gendered social space presented by Helen was remarkably similar to that described above, and her letters indicated that she found the enforced company of certain groups of men to be tedious:

There are about six of us women at the [residential] hotel and we're sick of being patronised by men droning on at us as if we have never travelled in our lives, never asking us about ourselves … There are so many men here, some of whom have difficulty recognising boundaries or accepting that we might not be that desperate for their company.

Helen expressed ambivalent reactions of enjoyment, disgust and fear at being in a male domain where at times she felt relatively powerless. She described certain hotels frequented by expatriate men as places to "scoff at the trough, drink beer and watch violent, noisy videos night after night". These were hostile places for women, where some men would be "groping" and harassing:

The biggest threat came from predatory Australian men. There were some real sexist creeps who just couldn't seem to understand that we had not come to Timor to get laid. It was quite fun [at first] as this has not happened to me in years. But one man in particular started to harass me and I got really freaked by this. I am no supermodel, believe me. I think it was a case of anything in a skirt!

Helen recognised that her fear was partly a result of her sense of disorientation in a 'strange' place: "I had lost my sense of perspective, I mean, here I am this middle aged woman, I'm saying 'wah-wah-wah, he scares me'". Her unease was intensified when incidents of harassment would occur in places where members of the Timorese community were present. In these events, Helen's observation highlighted the behaviour of expatriate men as doubly inappropriate, both in terms of what would be acceptable in an Australian cultural domain, and perhaps even more so in Timorese cultural interactions:

> You know, touching me in the wrong way, and bothering me, winding me up in front of Timorese or, you know, grabbing me in the wrong, you know, if anything like that happens in front of the Timorese it's ten times worse. He did it to me at a party and I just nearly died. Awful.

In their accounts, both Elly and Helen articulated the feelings of many of the women teachers in East Timor. They saw expatriate men in the development context taking on the extreme masculine behaviours identified in feminist analyses of the colonial era (Mills, 1994), producing geosocial conditions that were hostile to women, and which depicted women as unruly bodies to be watched and controlled. Thus, despite the supposedly progressive discourses of social justice and gender equity espoused in development rhetoric, female teachers experienced expatriate communities as sites characterised by social discord and temporal regression that marginalised women and reinforced their anomalous positioning.

Gendered Interactions with East Timorese

Female teachers' interaction with the Timorese community were also affected by an air of impending danger, underscored by the ever-present military forces. Rumours circulated of imminent militia activity, political instability, and struggle amongst factions in the establishment of the new nation's political regime. Troops and armoured vehicles patrolled the streets, helicopters swooped over the beaches, and US and Indonesian warships appeared in the harbour. In the general atmosphere of alarm, teachers were warned to exercise caution wherever they went. On an everyday level, there were increasing reports of attacks on expatriates, particularly as frustration with the foreign aid and military 'occupation' wore on. While the relatively wealthy international workforce was fully employed (re)constructing the country, local levels of unemployment remained high, producing tensions around racial, economic and gendered divisions. Helen observed that the streets had become the domain of two groups: a male dominated "UN junket", and clusters of "bored and frustrated young men feeling like second class citizens":

> There were a lot of foreigners going running and stuff like that, with their wallets and what have you, early in the morning or at dusk, and making themselves vulnerable really, just not understanding that there would be that rather odd reaction to them. But there was also a lot of hostility on the street, the brutalised atmosphere and a lot of frustrated young people around. There's no money and that massive UN gravy train where people - the place was really, really full of foreigners living very affluent lifestyles, driving around and throwing money about.

In this environment, the threat to women aid workers' safety had the effect of maintaining masculine domination and control. Concern over security issues affected the attitude of aid organisations towards their staff, and was reflected in the warnings given to female teachers. Aid organisations conducted regular briefings for staff, where Helen recalled being advised about current threat levels, about unsafe areas – markets, beaches, in crowds and any political gatherings, about emergency evacuation procedures, and warnings for teachers "to keep our mobiles with us at all times". Increasing reports of street and beach attacks on white women meant that "the whole place was completely paranoid, absolutely paranoid". As in colonial times, these fears seemed at times to focus on the specific dangers to white women, who

appeared to be implicitly "mythologized as the desired objects of colonized men" (Stoler, 1995, p. 183). The call to "protect White womanhood (pure virtuous and 'civilizing')" (Jeffrey, 2002, p. xxiii) from the sexual threat of the colonised other – here in the form of menacing Timorese militia or unemployed youths – necessitated the redrawing of racial boundaries, and reaffirmed the need to monitor and confine women for their own safety:

> Oh my god! We weren't allowed to leave the hotel just about, we were told to stay away from any meeting, any gathering of people, you know, don't go out at night, don't go to the beach alone, be careful of people in the street.

Despite early feelings of alarm, over time teachers began to realise that many of the reputed dangers were inflated, with donor organisations making "the threat and the risk much worse than it actually is … [they] exaggerate the security issues, to suit their own purposes, and … to control our movements … Our every move was vetted and watched". The warnings not only restricted women's mobility, but also served to secure a patronising, protective role for men, who appeared pleased to be "hectoring us about how to keep safe. They all do it". As a result, Helen lamented, "I feel a bit marooned in the expatriate enclave and I miss [my] freedom of movement". In the complex patterns of gendered behaviour in this postcolonial environment, we see a reproduction of colonial relations in which "sexual desire [was] a crucial transfer point of power, tangled with racial exclusions in complicated ways" (Stoler, 1995, p. 190). A discourse of fear was produced, "defined by powerful others who control the view" where the masculinist claims to 'know' – what the dangers were, how to avoid them – were "experienced as a claim to space and territory" (Rose, 1993, p. 148).

Being the Teacher

In these volatile times there were real threats to physical safety; many of the women were discomforted by the amount of overt attention they received from Timorese men in public places, and were at times fearful for their security. But regardless of the harassment in the streets and on the beach, it never occurred in the grounds of the university, where the women appeared to be 'read' not as sexed bodies, but in terms of a professional identity tied to a specific place. Elly demonstrated this contrast succinctly: "you couldn't lie on the beach, you did get completely harassed there. And certainly I got followed around in town a fair bit too. But not on campus: I was 'the teacher' on campus". As they took on the role of teachers, the women's perceptions of their gendered selves changed. Whereas on the streets and beaches they were harassed with cat calls, whistles, and invitations for sex, once they entered the campus of the university, all that stopped and they became 'the teacher'.

If they were to take on the role assigned to development workers, the teachers in their professional capacities then had to reorient themselves from being subjects in a patriarchal regime to being agents of change in the development process (Savage, 1997). Given the social patterning within the international community, and the hierarchical relations between the international and Timorese communities, the expectation that they model and promote gender equity sits awkwardly with their contradictory positioning outside the classroom. If we take seriously the idea that the classroom doesn't exist in isolation from the world outside its walls, we can see that the context of development provides a complex, paradoxical, and at times unstable ground for the negotiation of gender in relation to English language teaching and to the English language speaking communities represented by international development. A discussion of the ways in which teachers negotiated the challenges of gender dynamics in

their classroom practice is beyond the scope of this article, but has been pursued in a different forum (see Appleby, 2007; Appleby, 2009).

Conclusion

Development programs designed to ameliorate conditions of gender inequality in developing communities implicitly suggest that representatives of wealthier, donor nations have a contribution to make in terms of modeling gender equality. In these assumptions we see the colonial legacy of civilising discourses that have shaped educational endeavours in contemporary international development. These discourses continue to position teachers in the role of enlightening the colonised subjects as the other of Western progress and culture (Jones & Ball, 1995), a role that historically has been at least as important as the transmission of disciplinary knowledge. However, the incidence of inequality and sexism appearing within the expatriate community in this particular development context suggests that donor nations could hardly be held as a shining example of progress in gender reforms.

If English language teachers are to take seriously the challenges of incorporating gender perspectives in language education, then recognition must be given to impact of First World intervention in development sites, and to the way gender relations are shaped by race, class, geography, and colonial tradition in specific locations (Pavlenko, 2004). In this contact zone, the reproduction of dichotomised gender and racial stereotypes testifies to the endurance of colonial relations of power in contemporary development enterprises. These complex connections have particular implications for language education, and for what we focus on as language teachers concerned with social justice and equality. Given the hierarchical relations that persist in militarised development sites, it seems that a useful place for teachers and students to interrogate these issues might not be solely within the host community, but rather at the very meeting point of the international and the local communities, where gender, race and economic status are salient and divisive categories, and where 'unruly others' are marked for exclusion.

Roslyn Appleby is senior lecturer in academic and professional language and literacy. Her research interests include postcolonial and feminist perspectives on language education and international development.

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Notes

1. For an extended account of the teachers' experiences see Appleby, R. (forthcoming) Time, Space and Gender: English Language Teaching in International Development, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

2. Elly and Helen are pseudonyms for two of twelve teachers I invited to participate in interviews about their experiences of teaching in East Timor. I taught on the same two month program as Elly (and three other interviewees), and Helen taught in a three month follow-up program in the same institution. All interviewees gave consent for publication of their interview data. All the interviewed participants in this research project were female; male teachers declined invitations to be interviewed. Nevertheless, both male and female views were noted in the process of the larger ethnographic study (referred to in footnote 1), and informed my analysis of data and understanding of emerging themes.

3. I have used the term 'contact zone' to evoke Pratt's notion of a context in which "disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt, 1992, p. 4).

4. I have used the words 'development', 'developed' and 'underdeveloped', 'Western', 'First World' and 'Third World' throughout this article, but acknowledge these are contested terms which have generated widespread disagreement and critique.

5. East Timor has some 16 national languages, with Tetum functioning as a lingua franca. Both Tetum and Portuguese, as the language of an earlier era of colonialism, were secret languages of resistance during the 25 years of Indonesian occupation and Indonesian language policy. In 2002, following vigorous language debates, the new East Timor constitution granted Portuguese and Tetum equal status as official languages, with Bahasa Indonesia and English identified as non-official utilities. Despite this policy, since 1999 the influx of international agencies using English as the common language of communication has generated a popular demand amongst local communities for English language training.

6. See United Nations Millennium Development Goal number 3: Promote gender equality and empower women.

Theoretical Approaches to Sexual Identity Issues: Reflections on Student Writing Samples

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Abstract

Lesbian and Gay issues in education are often framed in terms of gaining rights for a minority group with an essential homosexual identity, which Nelson (1999) refers to as a "Focus on Inclusion." The assumptions of this view of sexual identity have been problematized in recent years by authors who propose a more open-ended, non-essentialist perspective or "Focus on Inquiry." Many educators are still unfamiliar with the vocabularies of these critiques. This article is a reflective study that explores some of the key concepts involved in these two prominent theoretical foci for sexual identity issues. An example of how I apply my understanding of a focus on inquiry is provided by exploring written samples from eleven Japanese university students on the topic of legalizing same-sex unions. In spite of the fact that the lesson is a "success" within the terms set by a focus on inclusion perspective, some of the underlying assumptions involved should be called into question.

要旨

教育におけるレズビアンやゲイの問題はしばしば、本質化（グループが既に完成され、統一がとれた単一ものであるという考え）された同性愛アイデンティティをもつ少数グループの権利獲得という観点から捉えられ、Nelsonはこれを「受容重視」(Focus on Inclusion)と特徴づけた。これに対し、昨今このような単眼的な性アイデンティティの捉え方を問題視する動きが、非制限的、非本質主義的、あるいは「探究重視」(Focus on Inquiry)の姿勢を取る研究者から出てきている。しかしながら、こうした批評用語は、教育者にあまり知られておらず、本稿では性アイデンティティの問題についての2つの際立った観点に関する主な考え方を紹介する。また、著者の解釈するところの"Focus on Inquiry"を応用した例として、11人の日本人大学生が同姓婚合法化について論じた作文を分析する。「受容重視」の観点からはこの授業は成功であったものの、「受容重視」の根底にある先入観についてはさらなる批判検討がなされるべきである

Introduction

This article explores terms adopted by Nelson (1999) to designate two approaches for framing issues of gender and sexuality in educational contexts: a "focus of inclusion" and a "focus on inquiry". A "focus on inclusion" approach relies on an essentialist framework which sees sexual identity as an inherent, stable attribute, present from birth and shared by a particular (minority) group e.g., "gay men", "lesbians", "bisexuals" and so on. This focus is concerned with gaining full civil rights and social recognition for sexual minorities. When educators bring a focus on inclusion into the classroom most of the questions and answers have already been decided by the teacher. Political positions are clear and explicit, and one side hopes to convince the other side.

But, is this the most effective approach? Perhaps this leads to the hardening of positions on both sides and to lost opportunities for creative, self-generated thinking. If educators concerned about this issue can help learners focus on the assumptions that frame
our thinking and that determine which questions we form and think valuable, then we may be getting closer to ideal forms of education and lasting change.

A focus on inquiry, in contrast, is non-essentialist, seeks open-ended discussion, and affirms the fluid nature of human sexuality. Nelson (2006, 2008) is the leading exponent on sexual identity issues within EFL/ESL contexts, and she argues convincingly for the adoption of a focus on inquiry in diverse educational contexts. She has highlighted the importance of changing heteronormative school cultures not only as a task for general education, but as an important task for language education. She remarks (2006, p. 1): "In the vast majority of language education literature, it seems as if we have been collectively imagining a monosexual community of interlocutors." This point raises issues about classroom cultures, and about the links between the classroom and broader cultures in society. Sexuality issues are interwoven into contemporary cultural life in many locales; many major cities have their own "Castro District" or neighborhoods that are identified with lesbian and gay communities; many national and state parliaments are discussing marriage and civil unions that transcend traditional binary arrangements; many films, books, and television shows present LGBT characters; major European cities have elected mayors who self-identify as gay, not to mention the recent election of a self-identifying lesbian, Johanna Sigurdardottir, as prime minister of Iceland – all stories that were prominent on news reports worldwide.

In short, non-normative sexuality themes are part of contemporary culture. Teaching a language – at least teaching natural, contemporary, and motivating language – involves the teaching of culture. Once EFL learners engage with the cultural life of both Anglophone and other cultures, they will have questions and opinions about the wide array of expressions of queerness in cultural life. EFL lessons present an opportunity to work with these questions and opinions. Such engagement is especially important in view of the high levels of bullying and stigmatization of LGBT and/or gender atypical students in countless educational institutions (Epstein, 1994; Harbeck, 1992; Mac an Ghaill, 1994). No opportunity should be lost by language educators or educators of other fields to help transform school cultures that promote or tolerate homophobia. However, such transformation will not happen overnight as it involves engaging with raw and often irrational or contradictory emotions that are deeply felt. Very often, individuals may not even be consciously aware of the ways in which their own anger, fear, envy, aggression, and desire are interwoven when they are confronted with issues of sexuality (cf. Bracher, 1999; Britzman, 1995; Finke, 1997; Redman, 2000). Once again, the need for an approach that does not rely on rational argument alone becomes apparent.

The main body of this paper adopts a focus on inquiry approach. I exemplify how such a focus can guide an evaluation of the transformative power of a particular teaching activity. In particular, I examine a set of writing samples from EFL students in a university in western Japan produced as a result of a focus on inclusion approach, and demonstrate how an alternative focus upon inquiry could have done more to call into question learners' ways of thinking and feeling about issues of gender and sexuality.

A Focus on Inclusion

In his essay on the historical antecedents of contemporary activist homosexual movements in the United States, Seidman (1993, p. 117) adverts to a shift from early radical activism in the

early 1970's to a focus on inclusion that failed to challenge dominant assumptions regarding gender and sexuality. From a broadly conceived sexual and gender liberation movement, the dominant agenda of the male-dominated gay culture became focused on gaining civil rights and constructing new communities. This approach takes inspiration from the strategies of ethnic minority movements in the United States, such as those of African-Americans, Latino-Americans, and Asian-Americans. Lesbians and gays should begin to feel that "We are family" just as those ethnic groups are, and this sense of community will help lead to empowerment. This type of ethnic self-characterization clearly reflects the particular historical and social conditions of the United States.

A focus on inclusion is evident in the work of much research into sexual identity issues in educational contexts in North America (cf. Harbeck, 1992; Harris 1997; Jennings, 1994; Khyatt, 1997; Perrotti & Westheimer, 2001; Rofes, 1998; Sears, 1992; Woog 1995). The approach of these authors has the merit of allowing for a form of group organizing that is appropriate for the American experience, with its history of civil-rights struggles and ethnic-based, interest group competition. However, this approach may be culturally inappropriate in other contexts. For example, in Japanese sociocultural contexts, outspoken attempts by minority groups to achieve goals in the public sphere may be perceived as overly disruptive of social cohesion (cf. Lunsing, 2001, Roberson & Suzuki, 2003). Another example might concern demands for same-sex couples to be able to kiss and hold hands in public. This bid is complicated by the fact that all public demonstrations of affection by all couples are rare in some cultural contexts. A narrow focus on inclusion may assume a set of individualistic cultural values that only apply in particular cultural contexts.

A Focus on Inquiry

While acknowledging the possible strengths of a focus on inclusion approach, Pennycook (2001, p. 142) also points out the tendency within much of this literature to acknowledge difference only in terms of static and predefined identity categorizations. An alternative approach may be needed to more genuinely, "engage with the profundity of human difference" (p. 141) in a non-essentialist and more open-ended way. Such an approach calls gender and sexual identity labels into question.

Butler (1991, p. 14) writes of being permanently troubled by the use of identity categories. "[I] consider them to be invariable stumbling-blocks … sites of necessary trouble." She argues that the processes by which individuals are categorized need to be called into question if lasting social transformation is to be achieved. While foci of inclusion may reap benefits in certain contexts, they may also reinforce the self-limiting, essentialist discourses that also constitute a cause for concern. So, instead of starting the semester with a question such as, "How can we achieve women's rights?" a focus on inquiry might lay more groundwork by asking, "How do we decide that a body is male or female?" "Why do we choose these differences as a way to organize society?" "Could there be other ways to think about human bodies or to organize society?" For the topic of marriage, instead of simply asserting the (legitimate) claim that LGBT individuals have a right to this and any other civil benefits, one could ask questions like: "What is marriage?" "How does it differ across time and space?" "Is it necessary for every meaningful relationship?" "Why is it restricted to the number two?" "What does marriage signify in a particular culture?" "Whom does it privilege, and whom does it exclude?"

One example of a clear focus on inquiry is found in the problematizing practice of "queer theory" which underlines the necessity of a radical critique of essentialist thinking. Queer theory explores how categories of gender, sexuality, and sexed difference are produced in

discourse and how they function in regulatory ways within cultural contexts as effects of power. Many scholars have had recourse to queer theory approaches in their educational research in recent years (e.g. Filax, 2000; Letts & Sears, 1999, Malinowitz, 1995; Nelson, 1999, Rasmussen, 2001; Sumara & Davis, 1999, Talburt & Steinberg, 2000; Varney, 2002,) and this trend towards a focus on inquiry seems likely to continue. Such a focus may provide a welcome alternative in many classroom contexts. Nelson (1999, p. 377) also points out that a focus on inquiry gets away from the notion of "gay topics" that are confined to a narrow range of curricular areas and allows for exploration of a wider range of sexual identities than that allowed by a focus on inclusion.

Student Writing Samples

The preceding sections have argued that a shift from a focus on inclusion to a focus on inquiry has proved beneficial in a wide range of educational and language research contexts in recent years. The following sections adopt a more reflective stance to explore these issues in greater depth. My own personal decision to engage with a focus on inquiry as opposed to a focus on inclusion was not only based on familiarity with theoretical writings, but also on my own classroom experiences as well as conversations with work colleagues. One work colleague- Veronica (pseudonym, as are student names cited) - proved particularly helpful in helping me arrive at these understandings as she could provide samples of writing from her own students which emerged from an educational context that is typical of a focus on inclusion approach.

In early 2003, Veronica was working for a large language company in western Japan. In addition to working in the main conversation school of the company, Veronica was also required to teach an EFL writing/discussion class in a women's university. She was assigned an EFL/ESL textbook that deals with "major social problems." As an employee of a large language company her syllabus for university classes was assigned without her input. In this case she was provided with a textbook on social problems and told to cover each topic in the book. Her class was made up of eleven students. All were nineteen or twenty year olds in their second year at university. The average language-learning level was intermediate. One ninety-minute class was spent exploring the topic in discussion. Later in the week a ninety-minute class involved writing out draft essays on the topic. Topics as varied as, "Euthanasia", "Cloning", "Racial Discrimination", "The Declining Birth Rate in Japan" and, "The Need for Recycling" were covered over the semester (Fall 2000). The textbook often focused on legal changes; "Should gambling be banned?" "Should euthanasia be legalized?" "Should animal testing be banned?" and so on. One of the topics covered was gay marriage; "Should same-sex unions be made legal." Veronica believes that gay couples should have the right to get married and she had a positive attitude towards covering the topic in class. She brought in some newspaper articles that dealt with the legalization of gay marriages in the United States and in other parts of the world. She asked the students to find out more and to write about the topic of gay marriage and adoption rights. She explained that her friend –me- was researching these issues, and obtained the relevant permission to use written samples for educational purposes.

A focus on inquiry will argue that the most important questions to be asked regarding the samples of student writings are: "What were the taken-for-granted assumptions they were working with?" "How did they frame the topic?" and, "What social changes did they envisage as desirable with regard to the topic?"

Three assumptions can be identified in the sample writing of this study. One assumption was that homosexuals are a rare, easily identifiable species:

"I have seen homosexual people on TV but in reality I have never seen them, and I think that there are not such people around me" (Yuko)

"Generally, there are almost all heterosexuals around us. As a matter of fact, I have only heterosexual friends and family members. I can't imagine how I would attend to them and how to take the news about their homosexuality" (Chika)

A second assumption was that homosexuals referred to males; only two of the eleven (female) students made reference to lesbians. Otherwise, males, and the notion of a "male essence" or a "female essence" were taken as a given:

"That is, a gay man has been born to a man's body having had a woman's heart" (Kaori)

"So in loving the man of the opposite sex or the man of the same sex is a personal equation" (Azusa)

It could be argued that Azusa's comment undermines the notion of binary sex. She points out that a male lover is "the opposite sex" or "the same sex," depending on who refers to the relationship, thus inviting an interrogation of the validity of these categorizations, "opposite sex" and "same sex." However, it seems more likely, based on other comments by Azusa, that she simply adopts the perspective of a man in relation to a heterosexual female and a male homosexual. If a man is loved by a woman, he is the "opposite sex" for her. If he is loved by a man, he is the "same sex" for that man. The notion of binary sex goes unchallenged and there is nothing to indicate awareness or recognition of lesbian identities. A context of open-ended discussion would be required for reflection on the limitations of our own categorizations.

The third assumption that appears in the sample writing and that also requires closer examination was the notion that homosexuals form a homogeneous group which seeks the same rights of marriage and adoption as heterosexuals, when in fact, many LGBT individuals – and non-LGBT individuals – question the need for a civil or religious ceremony to validate intimate human relationships:

"At present, same sex marriage is not recognized by the law in many countries but there are many homosexual people in the world so I think that the government should recognize same sex marriage and make a law for homosexual people. In the past, I did not understand why homosexual people demand desperately the right to marry under the law. However, now I understand the reasons" (Azusa)

Most of the students in the writing group placed the topic in two broad polarities: "Inclusion vs. Exclusion" and "Natural vs. Unnatural." Most of the students contextualized the topic as a question of overcoming discrimination and granting equal rights to a particular stable social grouping:

"Heterosexual people feel abnormal about homosexual. Though, homosexual people don't feel ridiculous about themselves. Homosexual people don't hurt us. So I think same-sex marriages should be recognized as legal" (Yukako)

> "I think that we should recognize their marriages. This is the right of the individual. If we don't recognize it, this is discrimination. It's about time society recognized it" (Yukari)

Most of the students in this sample contextualized these topics in terms of what is natural, understood in terms of innate or biological forces. The possibility of contesting the attribution of "Natural" or "Unnatural" was not an issue. It was also assumed that once a phenomenon or practice has earned the attribution of "Natural," then recognition of its morality and "normalness" is assured:

> "Though I like men, I don't know the reason myself. Gay and lesbian couples also love naturally each other without their consciousness … So I think homosexuality is very natural and neither immoral nor abnormal" (Yukako)

> "Of course I think that homosexual marriage is unnatural. There are men and women in the world and it is natural that men and women love and marry. I do not think that homosexual marriage is immoral. The partner is only the same-sex by chance. I think that if they are the best for each other it is good. Of course, they will have a lot of troubles" (Yuko)

> "Homosexuals aren't crazy or sick. They were born with the wrong heart and body. That is a gay man has been born to a man's body having had a woman's heart … However, there is no change in the feeling of loving people. So in the future time Japan should become a society without the discrimination against homosexual (Kaori)

> "Homosexuality is native so it is not their fault. I mean, if the mother's mental condition is continuously bad or unstable during their pregnancy, the probability for them to give birth to "gays" becomes high … To be sure "gays" is not normal. However there is no difference in loving someone … I think love is a clean and pure world" (Hiroko)

Reflections on Student Writing Samples

Human beings are social agents embedded in particular cultural contexts. We can only deal with any given topic in terms of the frames of reference and conceptual categorizations provided by our language and culture. The binary logic of "man/woman" and "heterosexual/homosexual" permeates both Japanese and Western cultures, notwithstanding particular variations or nuances. Without access to an alternative logic, it is highly unlikely that individuals can develop alternative views. Reference to excerpts from written samples here may demonstrate some of the conceptual limitations involved with pedagogical applications of a focus on inclusion. The teacher in question, Veronica, had very limited options on how she could frame sexual identity issues. Her textbook-based curriculum was already assigned, and she was obliged to oversee its implementation. Unfortunately, this is a reality for many EFL/ESL teachers in diverse educational contexts.

On the face of it, many of the opinions expressed here seem encouraging. No overt hostility was expressed towards homosexuals. Expressions of approval for the legalization of same-sex unions was near universal in the study group, and no student expressed hatred or aggression towards queer people. The opinions expressed by Veronica's students could be an example, then, of a "success story" for a focus on inclusion approach. Indeed, their attitudes

are certainly preferable to the expressions of rage and hostility that have marred the educational experiences of countless queer students and teachers in other locales (e.g., Epstein, 1994; Harris, 1997; Redman, 2000; Sears, 2005).

However, if we go deeper in our engagement with these issues, then the need for a more theoretically sound and a more challenging approach may become apparent. The students who provided writing samples may well be expressing opinions they believe their teacher wants to hear. This was the case for Hammond's (2006) analysis of written reflections by Japanese EFL students. Hammond found that a simulated racial inequality exercise had not achieved success as definitively as the researchers had hoped. In fact, the students' reflections indicated a diversion from racism rather than a clear expression of engagement and increased levels of empathy. Hammond's conclusions suggest that we should not assume that ways of thinking or, more importantly, ways of feeling have changed simply because students articulate the opinion which their teachers had hoped they would express.

In addition, it should be noted that Veronica usually adopted a "devil's advocate" approach in classroom discussions. When I asked if she thought it possible she had influenced her students on this issue she replied, "Of course, I wanted them to be able to give arguments to back up their opinion." She admits though that on the topic of legalizing same-sex unions she was "strongly in favor … this would have come out more, probably." There is no guarantee, then, that the opinions expressed by students in the writing samples reflect their actual attitudes.

If we consider the assumptions being made by Veronica's students, there may be considerable cause for concern. In the first place, they are working with a seamless logic of classifications for homosexuality. "Love is natural. If it is natural it should be legal i.e., certified by the legal contract of marriage. If it is legal it will be normal." Again we are dealing with dominant discourses of the "normal" and we can see the need for "denaturalization" of essentializing concepts within dominant discourses of gender and sexuality. Within the terms of this logic, all human beings are either born with a male essence or female essence (Kaori's "heart"). This determines everything else: a corresponding male or female body, ongoing expressions of masculinity or femininity, and erotic desire for the opposite sex (cf. Butler, 1990 on the need to disrupt enforced links between "sex" "gender" and "desire."). As educators, we can either accept this sex-gender system as unassailable, or we can initiate alternative pedagogical strategies of inquiry, as Nelson (1999, 2006) suggests.

If we consider the pedagogical value of the focus on inclusion approach of Veronica's classroom, it seems that the learners lack sufficient exposure to a wide variety of challenging perspectives, which might allow them to relate the issues directly to themselves in any meaningful way. The possibilities for generating ideas are also quite limited. The student is either to follow the lead suggested by the textbook and teacher or adopt an overtly anti-gay stance. The unit is placed within a course plan that has a wide range of contemporary social issues – gun control, cloning, animal testing, racial harmony, etc. – and the textbook authors assume that providing accurate information will suffice to change the way readers feel about certain topics. Unfortunately, this is often not the case, and that is one of the reasons why diverse authors reject a narrow focus on inclusion in the classroom. When this focus is applied to issues of sexual minorities in the classroom it often leaves students with the impression that the central issue in question is the ability to recognize or tolerate diversity. Pennycook (2001, p. 159) critiques this state of affairs because it often employs a pedagogical approach in which, "Fundamental questions of identity get slotted into a framework of issues so that one week we may be dealing with "The Environment" or "Animal Rights" and another with issues of gender or sexuality." Pennycook rightly asks if

such a pedagogy connects issues of gender and sexuality to the context of the class, to the lives of the students, or even to the language they are learning.

The students may also be left with the impression that lesbians and gay men are eager to have their relationships sanctioned by the law. In fact, many homosexuals, and many heterosexuals, reject the notion that stable relationships require legal validation through marriage ceremonies (cf. Butler, 2004). People with such a perspective might promote an inquiry into the discourse of "marriage." Yes, the topic of marriage is being dealt with in the unit on legalizing same-sex unions, but what of people who are denied marriage because of their age, because of physical or mental disability, because of religious or racial taboos, or simply because of a lack of funds? What about people, of all sexualities, who provide arguments to support their belief that marriage is outdated, patriarchal, overly restrictive, or simply superfluous? Is it possible that intimate relationships can be organized in ways other than by a vow of lifetime monogamy by two – not three or four – individuals (cf. Butler, 2004)? Why is more social status accorded to married individuals in many cultural contexts and what are the consequences for unmarried people? Unfortunately, none of these questions or scenarios are explored within a focus on inclusion perspective, and so an alternative or at least supplementary approach is required. The relations of power associated with how marriage is constructed in particular contexts, differs historically and socially. If this unit engaged with the issues raised by these differences, it could be immensely more challenging and thought provoking for the students.

A final difficulty with the teaching unit is that it frames issues in the dualistic terms of binary logic and essential, core identities. The world remains nicely divided between men/women, heterosexual/homosexual, married/unmarried, tolerant/intolerant, and so on. A narrow focus on inclusion assumes that changes in the law will bring about changes in attitudes, but this is not always the case, and nor will legal rights terminate processes of stigmatization of the "Other" as strange, unusual, or abnormal. The "Other" is constructed in terms of gender and sexuality, but also in terms of ethnicity, class, age, belief systems, and many other inter-related factors.

Final Remarks

Reflections made in this paper make some response to questions from those who advocate a focus on inclusion: "Why give up a politics of identity that can help secure gay rights in education? Why make things more complex by introducing obscure notions in a way that could weaken a sense of activism for the sake of elitist academic intellectualizing?" (cf. Hawkesworth, 1989; Medhurst & Munt, 1997). All of these questions deserve serious consideration and are worth engaging with. It should be remembered, though, that classroom discussion in tertiary-level institutions may be students' only opportunity to gain access to alternative discourses of identity and new narratives of self. Pervasive discursive practices of gender and sexuality are one of the prime means by which individuals are made into subjects with a loss of personal autonomy. As educators we should ask ourselves if we want this situation to continue in our classes and in our schools. Will we perpetuate the binary logic of minoritizing views, or can we begin to engage in a politics of difference?

In a future set of reflections, I hope to propose pedagogical initiatives that are resonant with the transformative aspirations of a focus on inquiry, and that engage with the interests and desires of study participants. For the moment, it may be sufficient to focus on how powerful discourses normalize and essentialize notions of biological sex, gender, and sexuality, as expressed in the samples of writing reviewed here. Promotion of a more

complex understanding of sexualities and gender identities may help to foster social practices that are less bound by essentialized notions, self-limiting narratives, and power relations of inequality, practices that are more open to the richness of human beings in all our differences, complexities, and potentialities.

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Overcoming Gender Bias at Home: Kawagoe City's Gender Education Program for Adults

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Abstract

The importance of gender education has been recognized and included in school curricula in Japan. Yet, studying gender equality may not be sufficient to prevent confusion or forestall the development of gender biases if children encounter contradictory ideas or behaviors at home, despite the best efforts of their teachers to promote the ideal of gender equality. Teaching the significance of gender equality to both children and adults is therefore necessary if we are to realize a society without gender biases. This paper introduces Kawagoe City's gender education program for parents of school children, which teaches the importance of gender equality, showing its effectiveness in eradicating gender bias at home while pointing out the limits of the program.

要旨

日本の学校教育では男女平等の必要性を認め、ジェンダー教育がカリキュラムに取り入れられているが、学校で男女平等を学んだ子どもが家で、ジェンダーバイアスに満ちた言動を親がとっているのをみたら、子どもは混乱し、やがて親のジェンダーバイアスを吸収してしまう可能性がある。子どもにだけでなく、親にも男女平等の重要性を伝えることは、ジェンダーバイアスのない社会の実現のために必要である。本論は、川越市の小中学校の保護者向けに実施されている男女共同参画出前講座がどのように、男女平等の重要性を伝え、家庭における親のジェンダーバイアス克服に効果的であるか紹介するとともに、講座の問題等も議論する。

Introduction

In her research on school children, Miyazaki Ayumi reports that children under 10 already show gender bias as evidenced by such statements that women wear skirts and those women who do not wear skirts are gay (2000, p.68-69). Kameda Atsuko reports that a male junior high school student did not tell his friends that he practices the piano because playing the piano is thought to be feminine (2000, p.16). From these examples, we can see that children have fixed views on gender roles. Many scholars have therefore pointed out the significance of gender education for children before they are imbued with gender-biased norms that have proliferated in Japan (Ogawa and Mori, 1999, p. 3-5; Kameda and Tate, 2000, p.3-35; Amano and Kimura, 2005, p.7, 84, 104, 119).

The importance of gender education for children has, in fact, been recognized in Japan, and the national and municipal governments have recently been instructing schools to include

gender education in all subjects of their curricula from primary to higher education (Gender Equality Plan II, 男女共同参画基本計画第二次概要, 2006, and Kawagoe City Gender Equality Plan III, 川越男女共同参画プランIII, 2006 p.28).

Consequently, many schools have tried to incorporate gender education in all subjects from Japanese class to physical education class (See for example, Saitama Prefecture Gender Equality Promotion Plan, 埼玉県男女共同参画推進プラン, Plan 7, 2006). Books such as School Curriculum without Gender Bias* (学校をジェンダーフリーに) and Gender Free Education* (ジェンダーフリー教育) give examples of sample gender education lessons such as a gender education program in which the teacher has her/his 6 to 9 year-old students draw a picture of their mother with a necktie. By discussing their reactions, children come to question any fixed gender assumptions that mothers do housework at home and fathers work at companies (Tate, 2000, p. 346). Hence, gender education helps them to gain insight into concluding that they can do anything they want regardless of their gender. Gender education at school, therefore, has certain positive effects on children.

Yet, if children who study gender equality at school encounter contradictory gender expectations from their parents at home, despite the best efforts of their teachers to promote the ideal of gender equality at school, the result may be confusion that eventually leads to their being socialized with gender biases, the parental influence on children often being greater.

In fact, in the 2000 Preliminary Survey on the Life and Awareness of Youth* (青少年の生活と意識に関する基本調査), 52% of mothers and 67% of fathers who have children aged from 10 to 15-years old, answered that raising children in fixed gender roles is preferable. It is thus desirable to consider teaching the significance of gender equality not only to children but to adults as well, if we truly wish to realize a society without gender bias.

I have been involved with Kawagoe City's gender education program, which targets the parents of school children, for the past three years. I'd like to discuss the degree to which the program, which teaches the importance of gender equality, is effective in eliminating gender bias at home. At the same time, I would like to point out the limits of the program.

Kawagoe City's Gender Education Program for Parents of School Children

Kawagoe City, with a population of 330,000, is located in Western Saitama Prefecture in the Kanto region. Since the city is about 30 minutes by train from metropolitan Tokyo, many people commute to work. In 2006, the city made a 10-year plan called The Third Comprehensive Plan for Kawagoe City * (第三次川越市総合計画), in which they set about delineating a number of goals to be achieved over the next decade, one being to realize a gender equal society. Kawagoe City's Gender Equality Plan III* (川越市男女共同参画プランIII) defines a gender equal society as a society where there is no gender discrimination, and all citizens can develop their ability regardless of gender (Kawagoe City, 2006, p.14, translation by the author). Kawagoe City's gender education program for parents of school children, (hereafter called "the program"), was started in 2006 as a part of the plan to disseminate the concept of a gender equal society under the auspices of the city's Division of Gender Equality (hereafter called "the Division").

It should be noted that gender education for adults is not unique to Kawagoe City. It is now provided by many municipal governments, something that can be discovered on the Japanese Internet by entering "男女共同参画出前講座" (gender education program) into a search engine. For example, Toyohashi City in Aichi prefecture offers a Gender Education Program (男女共同参画出前講座) for companies. Kanazawa City in Ishikawa prefecture offers the

same program for all citizens interested in gender equality. Yet a program like Kawagoe City's, which is provided for parents of all public school children, is unique.

The Division realizes that gender bias is reproduced at home, being handed down from parents to children, and that parents of school children usually have few opportunities to learn about gender equality. The program flyer, which is distributed to schools, in outlining the goal of the program notes that "educating children at home is the core to developing children's humanity. If parents can educate their children from a gender equality perspective, their children will come to respect gender equality as well as human rights" (Kawagoe City's Division of Gender Equality, 2006, translation by the author). It is with this ideal in mind that the Division has offered the program.

The program's aim is to offer the program at all 55 of the city's public schools (33 elementary schools and 22 junior high schools) within five years. I have been involved as a facilitator since the start of the program, and have visited 20 schools so far in the past three years, with the total number of participants numbering 644.

The Division organizes a program if it receives an application from the school's parents' association. Open to all parents of school children in Kawagoe city, the program has so far been attended mostly by mothers and is usually offered as part of adult education classes at the respective school. It should be noted that many Japanese schools offer adult education classes for parents of school children. In Kawagoe City, for example, classes usually consist of five to six sessions (A Record of Adult Education in Kawagoe City*, 川越市教育学級集録, 2004, p9). The content of the sessions vary. One of the schools I visited, for example, offered Yoga and cooking classes. The school-run adult education classes seem to function both to give parents of school children the opportunity to study something new, and to socialize with other parents.

I give a session on gender. The parent's association can make a request on the content of the session theme as long as it is related to gender. For example, if they request me to talk about the poverty of Third World women, I am bound to do so, but most parents associations prefer focusing on issues relating to themselves and children. In practice, most of the content of my session is on how to raise children without gender bias. My focus is on consciousness raising, so that parents come to see their own internalized gender biases, how those biases may distort children's ways of thinking, and how they might overcome their internalized gender biases by being attentive to how their behavior affects their children's development. In the following paragraphs, a typical 90-minute session is outlined.

A Typical 90-Minute Session

For the first 20 minutes or so, I talk about the status quo of women in Japan, using data from the United Nations Development Plan's Gender Empowerment Measure. This data ranks women's status in 78 countries by estimating the degree of women's economic, social, and political involvement. In data from 2004, Japan was ranked 38th out of 78 countries, and almost at the bottom of advanced nations (Statistics on Low Birthrate and Gender Equality, 国際統計で見る少子化と男女共同参画). I point out that this data shows that Japanese women are still less active in the economic, social, and political arenas than their counterparts in other countries. I then show them data (Graph 1) indicating to what degree gender equality has been achieved in Japanese universities (Basic School Survey, 学校基本調査).

Graph 1

Percentage of Japanese Students Entering Higher Education (Year 2005)
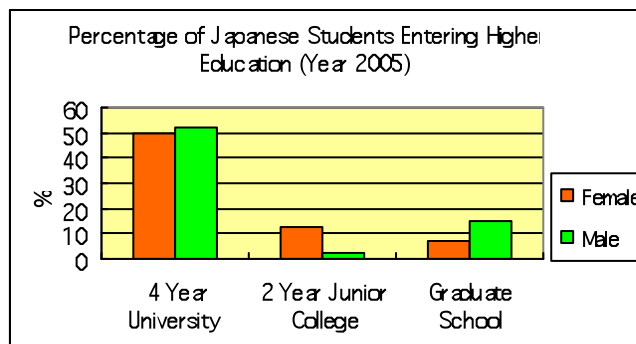
Participants express relief to look at Graph 1, above. because it shows that 50% of both girls and boys enter university. In other words, there is no notable difference in the percentage of boys and girls entering university. They assume from this that gender bias is, at least in education, not really an issue. Then, I show them the next set of data in Graph 2 (Basic School Survey, 学校基本調査) and ask them what kind of gender difference they can find.

Graph 2

University Major Trend in 200!
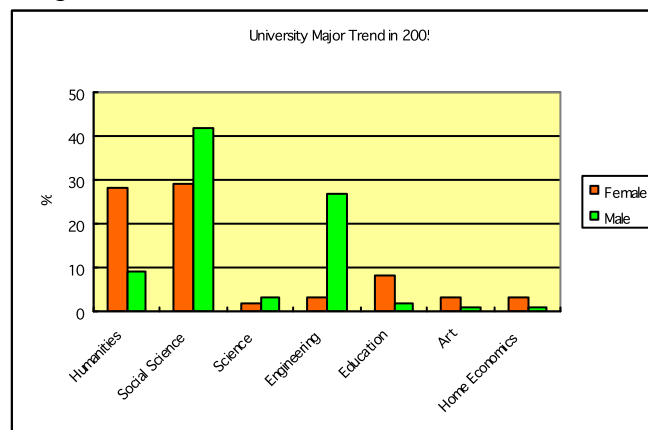
Many soon realize that girls tend to study humanities and boys engineering. I explain that the reason why this kind of gender difference exists is because parents tend to expect girls to major in the humanities and boys in engineering, and that many students follow their parents' expectations. It thus becomes clearer that while education seems to be free from gender bias, the reality is quite different. I then go on to point out that it is not only in education that gender bias is abundant, but in every layer of Japanese social life.

Together with the participants, we examine how gender bias is everywhere in our lives, be it in the media, the corporate world, the community, or the home. To illustrate how gender bias is embedded in the media such as TV, newspapers, the Internet, and comic books. I show participants the following pages of a comic book, Crayon Shin-Chan（クレヨンしんちゃん）(Figure 1). The comic book is popular among small children in Japan so most parents know it. I ask participants what kind of gender bias they can find. Participants note that while the mother does housework, the father does nothing. He and his son lie on the floor, and ask the mother to prepare lunch. The father's laziness at home is, in fact, accepted in many Japanese houses with the rationale that he works hard, but participants soon realize that that is gender

bias itself. Such bias, with the mother doing all the house chores and the father working hard outside but doing nothing at home, is seen time and again in the media. Children are exposed to it from reading comic books like this one.

(Figure 1, Usui, 1994, p.70-71)
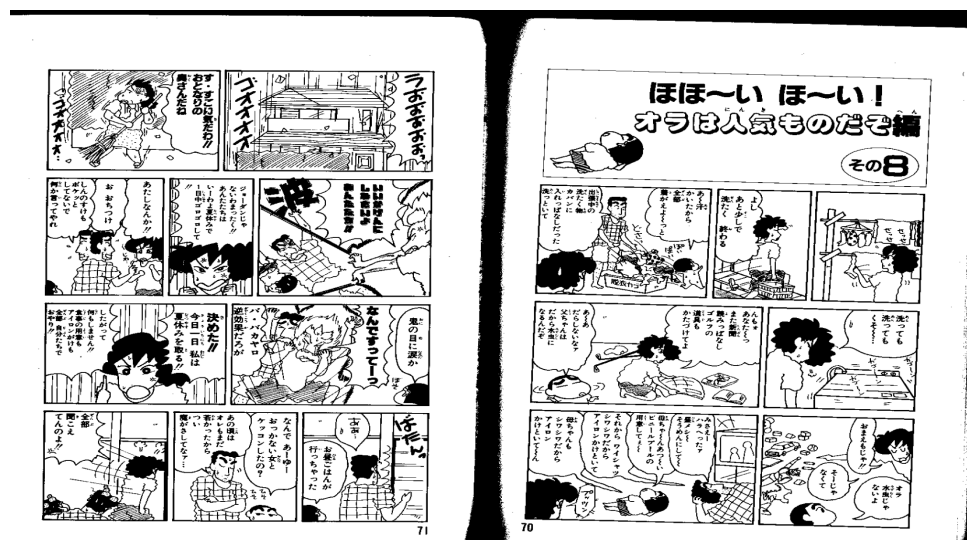
It is impossible to prevent children from reading comic books since they are so popular among Japanese of all ages. While children might continue to enjoy reading such comic books, the negative effects could be mitigated if, when reading Crayon Shin-chan（クレヨン しんちゃん）, for example, parents told their children that family life would be more ideal if the father helped the mother by doing housework, planting the seeds of gender equality.

I explain to participants that since the media have become an indispensable part of life, it is impossible to avoid being exposed to their messages. It is therefore necessary for participants to understand that the media deliver gender-biased ideas, and to guide their children in critically interacting with the media. They need to be conscious of what kind of words or expressions are used in the media that their children read and watch, and need to guide their children in developing healthier notions of gender roles.

In Japanese society, gender bias can be commonly seen. For example, I ask participants to look around at other participants in the classroom. Most participants are, as noted, mothers and it is quite rare for fathers to attend the program. Throughout Japan, most active participants of parent association-related activities are women. Nevertheless, most chairs of parent associations are men. I point out to participants that this is again gender bias, which gives leadership roles to men and subservient roles to women. In many schools, I have witnessed that the male chair of the parents association greets me and female members serve me tea. If adults docilely accept the fixed gender roles of men as leaders and women as subordinates in community life, children may reproduce these gender-biased roles, since children look at what their parents do, and they repeat it. I ask the participants to consider whether this vicious hierarchical order of men at the top and women at the bottom is something that should go unchallenged.

Next, we consider the working conditions of women and men in Japan. Japanese corporations are notorious for their small number of women employees in responsible positions such as managers and executives, with most women forced to take less responsible and marginalized positions. In 2008, only 4.1% of women held executive positions, and 87 % of women worked as part-timers (White Paper on Gender Equality 2009, 平成21年度版男女共同参画白書, 2009, p.24-25). In addition, many women have recently lost their full time job positions under the economic recession (White Paper on Gender Equality 2009, 平成21年度版男女共同参画白書, 2009, p.14). The Equal Employment Opportunity Law (男女雇用機会均等法) bans unequal treatment of women in the workplace but the gender imbalance and inequality is deep-rooted and still continues. Sociologist Karen Kelsky points out that "young [Japanese] women, in turn, accept this marginality because it exempts them from onerous duties within the workplace" (2001, p.92). It is not entirely clear if it is the small number of female executives and the large number of female part-timers that is more attributable to women's reluctance to take responsible positions, or the male-dominant structure of Japanese workplaces that marginalize women workers. However, I note that the social structure has been changing recently in ways that drastically challenge parents to confront their own gender bias.

The conflating of demographics and economics has by accident provided an opportunity to alter the status quo. As the population is decreasing and more and more women are therefore expected to continue to work, they sometimes assume responsible positions despite prevailing biased attitudes. If parents do not confront the gender bias that allows such assumptions as "women should quit their job right after marriage" or "it is the man's responsibility to work," they will discourage their daughters from establishing careers and, conversely, put too much pressure on their sons. We conclude that parents need to know the reality and future prospects of the job situation in Japan, and encourage their children, both male and female, to pursue their genuine interests and careers that reflect those interests regardless of gender. Gender bias is everywhere in Japanese society. If the fixed gender roles of women at home and men at work continue, educational investment in girls may be meaningless, as it really discourages young women from pursuing a career (White Paper on Gender Equality 2009, 平成21年度版男女共同参画白書, 2009, p.39).

Parental pressure is also detrimental to the development of their male children. A strong gender bias, both in the home and the larger society, forces men to take up the breadwinner role, and the percentage of men committing suicide that has been increasing every year may, at least in part, be a reflection of the intense pressure on them (Depressed Japanese Men*, 心折れる働き盛り, 2009, p.1). I ask participants the following questions: Must only men take up occupational responsibility and women domestic responsibility? Doesn't this kind of fixed way of life make our lives uncomfortable? Do you really want to give this kind of difficult life to your children? To these questions, many participants say "no". Towards the end of the session, most of the participants come to understand that gender bias limits the possibilities for their children's future.

The session is wrapped up by pointing out the gender bias depicted in Figure 2 (a picture provided by the Division). The leftmost picture shows gender bias in the workplace, in the middle - at home, and on the right - in the community. I ask each participant to look for the gender bias in the pictures, and to explain to other participants why she or he thinks it is gender bias. This activity confirms participants' understanding of gender bias and they go home with confidence in what they have learnt.

Figure 2
Work, Home and Community
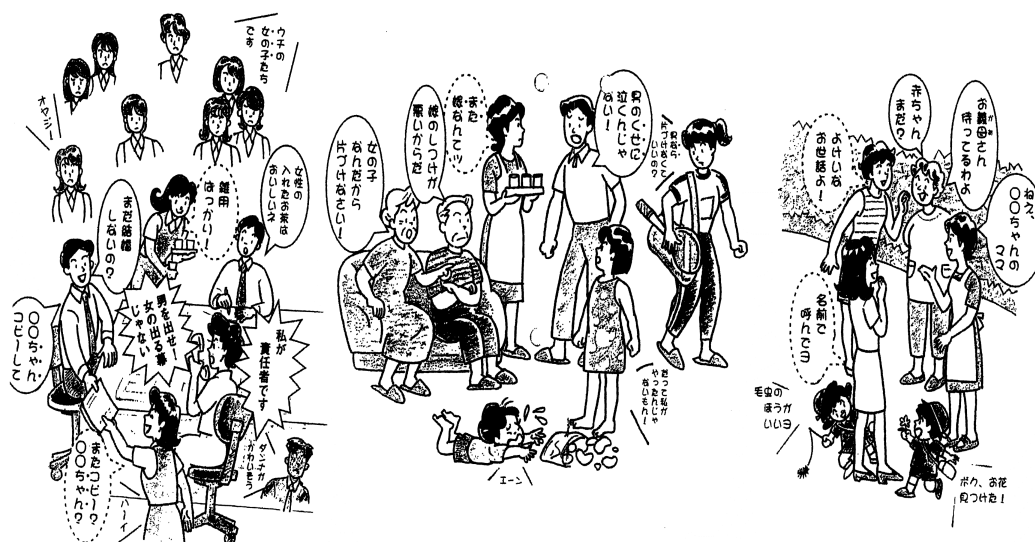
Analysis of Questionnaire and Participants Responses

Following the session, the Division distributes a questionnaire to participants, and surveys their gender and age. Other than these basic survey questions, the questionnaire asks participants' degree of understanding of the content of the session, if they liked the session, if they felt the time allotted was appropriate, and asks them to write a general response. The results of the questionnaire are as follows:

TABLE 1

TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS = 219						
Gender of participant	Female		Male		Unanswered	
	77.5%		0.5%		22%	
Age of participant	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	Unanswered
	0.5%	38.5%	52%	1.7%	0%	7.3%
Was the workshop easy or not?	Difficult		Not Difficult		Easy	
	17%		73%		8%	2%
Was the workshop long or short?	Long		Not Long		Short	Unanswered
	0.5%		88%		10%	1.5%
Was the facilitator good or bad?	Good		Neither good nor bad		Bad	Unanswered
	93%		6%		0%	1%
(2006 Questionnaire Results)						

TABLE 2

TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS = 125					
Gender of participant	Female		Male		Unanswered
	81%		3%		16%
Age of participant	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	Unanswered
	1%	38%	56%	3%	1%	1%
Was the workshop easy or not?	Difficult	Not Difficult		Easy	
	22%	71%		7%	0%
Was the workshop long or short?	Long	Not Long		Short	Unanswered
	23%	73%		3%	1%
Was the facilitator good or bad?	Good	Neither good nor bad		Bad	Unanswered
	75%	20%		0%	5%
(2007 Questionnaire Results)					

TABLE 3

TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS = 310					
Gender of participant	Female		Male		Unanswered
	90%		6%		4%
Age of participant	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	Unanswered
	1.5%	39%	52%	6%	0.5%	1%
Was the workshop easy or not?	Difficult	Not Difficult		Easy	
	12%	80%		8%	0%
Was the workshop long or short?	Long	Not Long		Short	Unanswered
	2%	92%		5%	1%
Was the facilitator good or bad?	Good	Neither good nor bad		Bad	Unanswered
	92%	7%		0%	1%
(2008 Questionnaire Results)					

From the three results above, we can see that most participants are females in their thirties and forties. More than 80% of participants found the session not so difficult, which may imply that they grasp what gender bias and gender equality means from the session. This could be confirmed from their written responses.

Participants' responses could be roughly divided into three categories; positive, ambivalent, and negative. On average, in the past three years most responses have been positive (92%), regardless of age or gender. Several participants write that they came to realize their internalized gender bias through attending the session, and would try to change it for their own sake as well as their children's. Some of the responses have been ambivalent (6%). Even though they recognize that gender equality is important for their children, they reported that they do not feel they can change their life styles, which are tied to fixed gender roles. This ambivalent attitude is understandable due to the reality that women who have been housewives cannot suddenly go to work fulltime, and husbands with busy jobs cannot share 50% of the housework chores. Others give negative comments (2%), for example, they are happy with their lives defined by fixed gender roles and have no intention to change.

Overall, there are no significant differences in their responses based on age and gender. This may be partly because the number of men who attend the lecture is quite small (just 20 men compared with 624 women), and those who are over 60 years old are also very few (only 3 out of 644 participants). For example, a female participant in her sixties wrote that she was quite conscious of gender bias in Japanese society and we should change it. A male participant in his sixties wrote that he enjoyed the session. There have been no negative

comments in male participants' responses although some have been ambivalent. It is difficult to generalize from the small amount of data but their responses seem to suggest that older people in general, or men specifically, do not necessarily have negative views towards gender equality. Environment, family background, experience, and education may play a greater role in deciding an individual's degree of gender bias. Since the data on male and older participants is small, their gender consciousness may need more investigation in future research.

In their responses, many participants commented that they have never heard of the word "gender bias," and some honestly confided that they speak to their children in ways that may worsen gender bias such as "you have to be quiet because you are girl" and "boys have to study harder than girls." Yet, their attitude in general seems to become quite positive after participating in the session. Many write that they should be careful not to promote gender bias at home, that they would like to talk with their family about gender equality and would like to change fixed gender roles. Many realize that their internalized gender bias may limit their children's possibilities for the future, and indicate they are trying to change. We can see how the program empowers participants so they can change not only their lives and consciousness but also their children's.

On the other hand, of the participants who are negative about gender equality, one participant, a woman in her forties, writes:
I do not want to work. My husband works and I do housework. When the children come home, I cook dinner in the kitchen and the house is filled with the delicious aroma of dinner. Everyone eats together and this is my ideal normal life (translation by the author).
She claimed that gender bias is normal, and said that she resists gender equality, which tries to balance the occupational and domestic duties between women and men. Some women share her view and insist that they do not want to work. Another woman in her thirties writes:
Women and men have different bodies, and the differences in thinking are natural and cannot be overcome. Gender roles are necessary and each should do her/his assigned roles. If there are no differences between women and men, society will be chaotic (translation by the author).

Despite the fact that only a small percentage of comments have been negative, this is a common negative view vis-à-vis gender equality. Since the notion of "gender" is complex, some misunderstand that overcoming gender bias means erasing sex differences. In Japan, feminist movements have faced a harsh backlash since the late 1990s until the present, and many anti-feminists use the same rhetoric - that gender equality attempts to destroy sex differences and family ties (Ito, 2002, p46). However, what I intend to convey in the session is neither to ignore sex differences nor to destroy family ties but to avoid gender bias at home, so that children's possibilities for the future are not limited by fixed gender roles.

Some resist the idea of gender equality but most participants understand the message, and are ready to talk to their children without gender bias. Thus, the session is worthwhile because, if nothing else, it helps participants generate new ideas about raising their children. In this next section of the paper, I will argue the significance and the limitations of the program.

The Significance and Limitations of the Program

In the questionnaire, many participants comment that they have not had an occasion to attend a program like this before. Kawagoe City does hold an annual symposium on gender equality at its civic center, but those parents busy with jobs and child raising may find it difficult to attend the symposium and the entrance fee may deter them.

On the other hand, this program has the advantage of being held for free at their children's school, and as their homes are nearby, many parents may find it easier to attend. Compared with the symposium, which can accommodate more than 1200 people, the smaller number of participants has the advantage of allowing active participation.

I show a great deal of data and pictures to the participants, and ask them to analyze them in terms of gender bias. The session usually has about 20 to 50 participants so it is possible for me to ask most of them about their ideas or opinions. In interacting with the data, participants can sharpen their consciousness and share their findings or opinions with other participants. The more personal workshop atmosphere helps to foster greater self awareness as regards gender bias, something perhaps less likely in the more passive learning environment of the symposium.

Results of the questionnaire show that through actively participating in the session, many participants do come to discover their internalized gender biases and are motivated to try to overcome them so they can more effectively encourage their own children's potential. One female participant in her thirties writes,

> I had never heard of the word "gender bias" before but I understand what it means now after attending the session. I am a housewife and have taken it for granted that housework is my job. I have a daughter and son, and tell my daughter "help me with housework because you are girl," and my son "don't cry because you are boy." I now realize that these comments are gender biases that I have imposed on my daughter and son. I really regret doing so, and hope to change my consciousness from now on (translation by the author).

She confessed that she was previously ignorant of the importance of gender equality in the home, and many participants are like her. This is another point in which the program is different from the symposium. While many participants in the symposium attend it because they are already conscious of the importance of gender equality, most participants in the program are not. Most just attend the program because it is held near their house and the admission is free of charge. They come to the program without having clear ideas about what gender equality means, especially because it can be defined in different ways. Thus, the program reaches people who have not been conscious of gender equality before. By attending the program, many participants realize their internalized gender bias, and try to change their consciousness. The extent of this realization is significant.

Fusako Fujiwara contends that many adults are used to "being taught" (2000, p.44, translation by the author) but not used to studying as active participants in adult education classes. The way adult education is conceived should be changed from the traditional model where the teacher is doing all the talking and the learners are listening quietly, to one where the teacher helps the learners to be active participants. Fujiwara writes that interactive adult education "empowers participants. Participants can find the gender bias within themselves as well as in tradition and society. They will be empowered enough to get involved in many social activities for social change" (Fujiwara, 2000, p.44, translation by the author).

The questionnaire results do suggest the session is successful with nearly 80% of participants indicating that it was not so difficult. We can infer that they grasp the content, and are confident in their understanding of the notion of gender equality. A participant in her forties writes, "I have felt uncomfortable with social norms that push women and men into fixed roles but did not know why I felt uncomfortable before. Now I understand that gender bias has made me feel uncomfortable. I'd like to raise my children without having gender

bias from now on." Many participants wrote similar comments. They wrote they would like to guide their children bearing in mind the ideal of gender equality.

On the other hand, there are problems and limitations that the program has to solve. As the results of the questionnaire show, the number of male participants is quite small. Since the program is usually held on weekdays, it is difficult for many male parents who work to attend the program. Gender equality cannot be achieved unless both women and men understand it and actively try to live their lives accordingly. To solve this problem, the Division suggests parents' associations arrange a session on weekends. In 2008, one school arranged a session on Sunday, and one third of the participants were male. Yet, this was an exceptional case. Most staff members of the parents' association are mothers and they hesitate to go out on weekends when their children and husbands are resting at home. It may be difficult to arrange weekend sessions, but to do so is still preferable since more male participants can be expected. It is my view that the Division and parents' associations need to negotiate the possibility of more weekend sessions.

A second problem, as many participants commented in the questionnaire, is that they have never heard of the expression "gender bias," the idea is not fully mainstreamed. Since the enactment of the Basic Law for Gender-Equal Society (男女共同参画社会基本法) in 1999, mainstreaming gender equality in every layer of Japanese society has being promoted by the government. Yet, participants' lack of understanding of gender equality suggests that the governmental policy has not reached many people. It is therefore necessary to continue the program, and reach out to as many people as possible.

While I pointed out earlier that the small number of participants in the session is an advantage, at the same time it means that many parents of school children do not have opportunities to attend. In addition, since the Division tells each school that it can apply for the program only once, gender education at school is not ongoing. The Division, as well as parent's associations, needs to contrive a way to offer sessions on gender as often as possible, and to as many people as possible, without changing the small class atmosphere of the session. For example, since the Division has a list of feminist scholars or activists living in the city, they could provide information about these people to schools, so that they can be invited as speakers on gender issues. By repeatedly offering opportunities to learn about gender equality, people's understanding of gender equality will be more solid and thorough.

The last problem is the difficulty of changing participants' consciousness. As the two comments I cited above show, some participants adamantly resist gender equality. It is also not certain how many participants who commented that they would like to change their internalized gender bias really practice child-raising without gender bias. The Division is now conducting the questionnaire right after the session, but there is no follow-up research so the effect of the program is unclear. If the Division followed up on participants through interviews or questionnaires and asked if the attitudes, beliefs, and life style of participants really changed, the degree of the program success could be assessed. This kind of follow-up research may be necessary for the development of the program and future research.

Conclusion

Kawagoe City's Gender Education Program for Parents of School Children has made certain achievements. It has limitations but has conveyed the importance of overcoming one's internalized gender bias and practicing gender equality at home. Many participants seem to be empowered enough to comment that they'd like to talk about gender equality at home with family members, and to pay more attention to their words when they talk to children. Since gender bias is intricately enmeshed with our everyday language, gestures, and ways of

thinking. If parents are conscious of what they say and do, it will greatly decrease gender bias at home. It is therefore necessary that programs like this, which give opportunities for adults to learn about gender equality and to realize their internalized gender bias, are continuously offered not only in Kawagoe City but in all municipal governments throughout Japan.

Disseminating the idea of gender equality to adults by municipal governments is not, however, enough for Japan to become a gender equal society. Opportunities to learn about gender equality should be offered at all levels of social life such as at home, in the workplace, at schools, in the community, and so on. Educators or researchers in the area of gender studies need to engage more with these activities. With these efforts, all residents in Japan could enjoy lives, unimpaired by gender bias.

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Note

Some Japanese articles, official documents, papers and books do not have an official English translation. An asterisk marks where the author has made an English translation.

Perspectives

Our Richest Resource[1]

Tamarah Cohen

Abstract

The socio-political implications of schema theory, with its affirmation of the innate meaning-making powers of readers, could – and the author of this paper argues, should – have great bearing on EFL praxis. Instead, learner-directed re-orientation in the form of remediation by teacher-directed text selection remains the basis of instruction in most second language classrooms still today. This paper begins with a brief theoretical overview, then examines the interconnectedness of schema theory, student motivation and the politics of text selection. It concludes with a framework for performing collaborative critical analysis of Japan-oriented English-medium texts in a Japan-based EFL university classroom.

要旨

スキーマ理論の持つ社会的・政治的含意は、読み手に内在する意味を作り出す力の肯定ゆえ、EFLの実践に大きく関係する可能性があるし、そうであるべきだと筆者は考えている。しかしながら、学習者自身による再方向づけを目指した改善という名の下で、実際には教師がテキストを選択するというのが、今日でも大多数の第二言語教育の場における教育の基礎となっている。本論文は、まずこの理論を概観することから始め、続いてスキーマ理論、学生の動機、テキスト選択の際に働く政治の関連性を考察する。最後に、日本の大学のEFLの授業において、英語を媒体とする日本人志向のテキストを協同的・批判的に分析していくための枠組みを提示する。

Schema Theory: Overview and Implications

Schema theory posits that meaning is to be found not in text itself but in the efficient interaction between text and readers' background knowledge, or schemata. Accordingly, a well-chosen (i.e., accessible) text in schema theoretic terms is one that is a "full enough representation of the meaning to suit the needs, background, schemata, and interests of the readers" (Goodman and Goodman, 1983: p. 1104). The implicit values presupposed by such a text match those of its readers, and because they do, the text is relatively easy – easier than syntactically and rhetorically equivalent texts based on less familiar content (Carrell and Eisterhold, 1983). As Silberstein and Clarke (1979: p. 52) put it, "a student with the requisite amount of knowledge and interest in a subject is more likely to force [herself/himself] through a difficult passage than through a relatively easy selection in which [she/he] has no interest." In other words, genuine interest develops in tandem with a perceptual-contextual framework (Wilson and Anderson, 1986; Bransford, 1994; Anderson, 1994; Tierney and Pearson, 1994; Singer and Donlan, 1994; Bower, Black and Turner, 1994; Hull and Rose, 1994).

A poorly-chosen (i.e., inaccessible) text, in contrast, is one that results in a mismatch in content knowledge between writer and reader. Such mismatches are an experience common to an array of people, including: non-native English speakers, who, as a rule, are not members of the intended audience of "authentic" English-medium text (Fairclough, 1992); (The overlapping category of) students-of-color, who are far less likely than their white[2] counterparts to enjoy the privilege of using educational (or any other) materials that are oriented to them, i.e., that feature of-color lead characters, encode of-color priorities, problems and perspectives, and/or resonate of-color (versus so-called universal) experiences and; (the overlapping category of) female students, who are far less likely than their male counterparts to enjoy the privilege of using educational materials that are oriented to them, i.e., that feature female lead characters, encode female priorities, problems and perspectives, and/or resonate female (versus so-called universal) experiences, (Lamb and Brown, 2006; Spender, 1998, 1992, 1989, 1981). These mismatches bring about cognitive dissonance that compounds the problems inherent in processing text.

Traditional teaching methodologies center on cognitive re-orientation of students. The rationale is that by forcing students to work within instructor-oriented schemata, they will eventually come to appreciate the significance of content that would otherwise remain irrelevant for reasons that ironically point back to schema theory itself (i.e., text-based assumptions, values, concepts and experiences – and the schemata built of them – do not coincide with those of the readers). Commonly deployed therapeutic strategies include elaborations that clarify the relevance of facts, questions that build prerequisite knowledge that cannot be presupposed, and developing external criteria of importance in students. For students-of-color, the re-orientation process is more involved, as it typically requires the framing of experience in terms of white (typically North American or Anglo) experience and the concomitant neglect of their own; in other words, learning to partake in white-is-norm ideology. For female students, the re-orientation process is likewise compounded, as it typically requires the framing of experience in terms of male experience and the concomitant neglect of their own (Gibbon, 1999); in other words, learning to partake in male-is-norm ideology.

I argue that learners are better served when teachers broaden the scope of their attention to include a critical examination of the specificity of their own background knowledge. This teacher-directed re-orientation is especially fruitful for those with syllabi organized around the notion of essential sameness, albeit on Eurocentric male terms[3]. By teaching from a culturally and/or sexually homogenized canon, or worse, tokenizing "identity issues" by featuring them in special focus units or chapters rather than as naturally occurring parts of more general life issues (Byrns, 1994), educators are promoting a specious form of universalizing that effectively renders all but the dominant politically, economically, historically and socially insignificant (Wang, A., 2009; Pennycook, 2007; Ivanic, 2005). While this 'universal' (white/male) framework may pose no problem for those whose priorities, problems and/or perspectives it encapsulates, for all others, it results in a mismatch between personal and encoded experience, a mismatch that keeps the underrepresented working overtime, be it conscious or not, struggling to understand and express themselves on another's terms. This routine is robbing all but a select few of a wide range of resources and the basic claim to public existence (Cohen, 2002). It is also cheating the dominant of the opportunity to identify with any but their own, thereby reinforcing an oppressive form of self-affirmation that depends upon the denigration and stigmatization of an Other.

Japan is an Asian country and one populated by females and males alike. In fact, females constitute a majority, as is true wherever we "get roughly similar treatment in matters of life

and death"[4] (Sen, 1990). This simple fact should be reflected in EFL course materials and the syllabi to which they give substance. In this paper, I propose a shift in focus toward culturally self-referential and student-generated academic text. My aim is three fold: to reconceptualize 'relevance' such that it is interactively and dialectically determined; to give students an opportunity to develop critical distance on academic literacy, such that elements from their native discourse community can be granted legitimacy in the new "internationalized" community and; to role-model the critical self-examination process that I am encouraging students to engage in (Auerbach and Burgess, 1985).

The Mikiso Hane Project

The following two-part, year-long project, required of all of my students[5] at Kansai Gaidai University, revolves around Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition, a non-EFL-specific university-level history book that explores modern Japanese history through Americanized Japanese male eyes. Its author, Mikiso Hane, is a US-born, Japan-raised, US government internment camp survivor and internationally renowned historian, who revolutionized Japanese historical scholarship by going beyond "the elites and famous intellectuals... to those ground beneath the wheels of so-called progress. [He revealed this] in the most simple and eloquent way possible – by letting the Japanese speak in their own numerous and varied voices" via personal narratives (Dower, as cited in Knox College Obituary, 2003). My aim in choosing such a text – a text that explores a domain familiar to students but that is overtly marked by a culturally mixed frame of reference and a distinct gender bias[6] – is to problematize the reading/writing process, i.e., to make plain that all knowledge is comprised of institutionalized constraints within which students must learn to negotiate meaning. It is also to encourage students to assert themselves against the power of text and to see themselves as both receivers and producers of discourse. Against the text, students exercise their interpretative skills, including reconstructing text-based presuppositions and drawing text-based inferences. To the extent that comprehension depends upon readers' ability to relate information from the text to pre-existing background knowledge, they are encouraged to consciously explore their own individual schemata, as well as to critically analyze and contest Hane's. In the process, they can learn that the rules of accuracy, standards of comprehension and proscriptions of appropriacy (all ideological categories in themselves) are not fixed, but subject to social forces (Fairclough, 1992).

Each student is also expected to engage in Hane-style research, in other words, to collect and analyze personal narratives as a means to unpacking the unmarked cultural narratives of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and national identity (Wallace, 1992), and in the process to harvest knowledge from their own lives. They are then to write two multi-drafted expositions, one per semester, and prepare formal presentations, the theme of which should relate, however indirectly, to the Hane text (see **Appendix Text A** and **B**).

I transform select essays into exercises that are designed to be collaboratively completed (see **Appendix Text C**: "Killers – And a Tiny Happiness!" and **Text D**: "Jobs Brighten Our Lives"). These materials are designed to facilitate dialogic engagement with written/aural/visual text via strategic employment of such features as "Before-," "While-," and "After-Reading (Discussion/Viewing) Questions" related to rhetorical purpose and context, and a range of qualitatively graded text-embedded writing discussion prompts. Some of these prompts (oftentimes student-generated) are fairly standard in design in that they focus on assisting students in identifying 'significant' textual propositions (as determined by the author and/or instructor); most, however, are interpretive in nature and therefore more cognitively challenging. With respect to this latter category, few if any aim to elicit fixed or

singularly 'correct' answers. Instead they invite a multiplicity of defensible interpretations, focusing as they do on buried ideological investment and competing schemata, and how both affect meaning.

I also videotape and edit (in a sense, co-create) final presentations, the results of which circulate widely on and beyond campus and in cyberspace (see, for example: "Killers – And a Tiny Happiness!" at **http://snipurl.com/peasant**, which corresponds with the student-text in **Appendix Text C**; and "Jobs Brighten Our Lives" at **http://snipurl.com/jobsbrighten**, which corresponds with the student-text in **Appendix Text D**. For more, go to **http://ameblo.jp/labrys/**). Finally, I myself participate in the Hane project along with my students, producing one "chapter" of the imaginary Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes – Volume II (explained in **Appendix Text A**) during the first semester and one "Hidden/Unknown/Underside of ~ " (explained in **Appendix Text B**) during the second semester (for examples, see "Weaponstown," a gender-sensitive local history piece about Hirakata at **http://snipurl.com/wtown** [accompanying handouts available at **http://snipurl.com/weaponstownho** and **http://snipurl.com/weaponstownhoanswers**]. For more, go to **Appendix Text E**). It is this continually growing body of work – repackaged student presentations and essays and my own thematically related video projects – that, paired with and off-set by Hane, comprise the substance of my teaching.

Conclusion

What most distinguishes the course described in this paper from many others is that instead of prioritizing the reproduction of normative cultural values and knowledge that promises closure, mine is designed to privilege the development of interpretive skills: the skills required to negotiate the intersecting cultural narratives of identity. Such a methodology has as its primary goal learner awareness of and appreciation for 'positionality' – where one stands in relation to what one says – and 'multivocality' – the reality "formed by the interaction of several consciousnesses, none of which entirely becomes an object for the other" (Bakhtin, 1984: p. 18). When exploited, these two interrelated concepts can emancipate students, prompting them to think critically: to de- and re-construct the ground rules of knowledge production and the ideological premises on which they are based.

Though not inherently revolutionary, schema theory has transformational potential that can be realized "when we ask that it do so, and […] direct our theorizing towards this end" (hooks, 1994: p. 61). To make efficient use of schema theory, we teachers need to acknowledge our own inevitable subjectivity, as reflected in our value-laden choices concerning curriculum and pedagogy.

All text and its interpretation are invested with political and ideological processes, emerging as it does from individuals' positions in time and culture. It is placed, positioned and situated. This phenomenon can be used to engage and empower students by exploiting the richest and most abundant resource teachers have access to, namely, student-generated text.

Tamarah Cohen is involved in work that attempts to integrate critical pedagogy, cultural criticism and gender studies, making videos that tap a wide range of topics and materials drawn from daily life. Her main objective is to equip her students with the skills needed to de- and re-construct the ground rules of behavior and the ideological premises on which they are based.

Acknowledgements

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APPENDIX

TEXT A

Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan – Vol. II

Imagine you are writing a chapter for Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes — Volume II, an imaginary sequel to Hane's Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition. The chapter should have a specific theme (see book "Contents") and focus on someone who exemplifies it. Your task is to find that person and interview her/him. The person can be your age, younger or older – a family member, a parent or grandparent or sibling's friend, a neighbor, a store clerk, a janitor, a cafeteria cook, the owner of a small business in your neighborhood – anyone whose life experiences you think will help your audience to rethink "the ordinary." Interview this person; then place her/him in a social/political/historical context. For example (note: these are merely examples; ask your own questions):

a. What was happening at the national/international level at the time of this person's birth/childhood/adolescence?

b. What financial condition was her/his family in? Did both parents have salaried jobs? (Of course, families can be headed by just one parent or more than two.)

c. How was her/his education affected by her/his sex, socio-economic class, birth order (etc.), for example:

> Was s/he started off in an academic/technical school?
> Sent to juku/bridal training?
> Encouraged to be athletic?
> Encouraged to attend a junior college/university?
> Encouraged to envision/plan for a career?

d. What hobbies/pleasures did s/he have as a kid/young adult? What hobbies/pleasures does s/he have now?

e. What were this person's dreams (if s/he had dreams) as a child/teenager/adult? What are they now?

f. How/Why did this person choose the work s/he now performs (of course, 'work' includes housework and homemaking)?

g. Did this person aspire to a different life (style) than the one s/he has? If so, what happened?

h. How does this person define 'satisfaction' and 'happiness' (etc.), and have her/his definitions changed over the years?

i. How does this person view contemporary Japanese society? Does s/he think things are better or worse (or both) than they used to be?

j. Does this person feel that her/his efforts and accomplishments in life have been acknowledged and appreciated, and if so, most especially by whom?

Text B

The Hidden/Unknown/Underside of ~ (a Person, Place or Thing)

Your task is to select a topic (animate or inanimate) that is familiar to most of us, and to find something generally unfamiliar – surprising or shocking – about it, i.e., to uncover the "hidden, unknown or underside of [a person, place, or thing]." Note: That which is unfamiliar need not be negative (e.g., Adolph Hitler, murderer of millions and master of destruction, practiced a form of vegetarianism, which he believed could spiritually regenerate the human species).

Examples:

Coming-of-Age Day	Cosmetic surgery	100-yen stores
Children's Day	Your hometown	Vending machines
Ladies' Days	Femininity/Masculinity	Naijo no ko (housework)
"Ladies' first"	Marriage	Studying abroad
Fukuzawa Yukichi	Motherhood	English (as "lingua franca")
Martin Luther King, Jr.	"The Eco-movement"	Education
Cosmetics	High heel shoes	Milk (production)
Dieting	"Health centers"	Meat production
Cinderella	Pet stores	The declining birth rate
	Tourism	

TEXT C   One student's essay transformed into an exercise in collaborative critical analysis. Format adapted for non-use owing to space constraints.

"Killers – And a Tiny Happiness!" By Eriko Nishizawa, Kansai Gaidai University 2006

INSTRUCTIONS

- Below you will find an essay written by a second-year Kansai Gaidai IES student (level G). The essay is bracketed by and interspersed with (30) questions. In small groups, answer these questions as thoughtfully as you can. Be aware that there are many kinds of questions being asked: some are simply grammar-based and require singularly "correct" answers, but many invite a multiplicity of defensible interpretations.

PRE-READING – PREDICTION

A. Look at the title of the piece (above), the name of its author. Can you predict what the text is likely to cover? What it could cover but probably won't?

B. Be aware that underlined words in the passage signal areas worthy of special attention and critical analysis[7]. See if you can figure out why.

WHILE-READING – QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF

A. Who is the piece intended for? Am I a member of the intended audience?

B. How does the author establish her own authority or credibility? How does she locate her argument in current debates? Does she use quotations, summaries, citations, paraphrase?

C. What does the author's choice of examples tell me? What do they tell me about her attitude towards her message?

D. Does the author overtly present her point-of-view? Does her choice of words – especially nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs – tell me something about her attitude? Am I comfortable with her choices?

E. How does the author use personal pronouns (e.g., we versus they)? How does this affect me as a reader?

ESSAY BEGINS: "Killers – And a Tiny Happiness!" by Eriko Nishizawa

What do you expect from the government when many people are in trouble or **[1. suffer / suffering]**? Who helps whom? I think that <u>we tend to think someone who is in a stronger position helps someone who is in the opposite</u> **[2. "We" = those in positions of strength / those in positions of weakness / both? Do you think both groups think similarly? And what about people who occupy positions of strength and weakness simultaneously (e.g., wives of powerful men)?]**; however, if <u>we</u> pay attention to the old days in Japan, what we can see is different.

[3. Hane Mikiso in <u>PEASANTS, REBELS, WOMEN, AND OUTCASTS</u> (2003) says / **In Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes, Hane (2003) writes]** that Japan was a very poor county over a period of many years. The majority of people faced harsh lives and struggled for survival. My 81-year-old grandmother, Yoki, who lives in Niigata prefecture, told me "What I remember well is that I worked insanely hard and **[4. spent the poor life / lived in poverty]** which you can't imagine now." Niigata has been famous as a source of rice since the old days, and most peasant people who lived in Niigata had rice to eat until WWII. **[5. However, that life didn't last for long, and / However, with that war]** the situation turned bad. Rice disappeared, and nothing was left. The government took the food, which they worked hard to produce, away and claimed it for the <u>nation, the military</u> **[6. "the nation, the military" = ? In other words, specifically who ate and who did not?]**. How did they feel when all **[7. the fruit of their labor was / farm products were]** taken away? They worked and worked endlessly to live, to survive; however, the government robbed them and spoiled their efforts. What the government did was to invade other countries, and that brought the <u>majority of people</u> **[8. "the majority of people" = ?]** living hell. It told people to be patient for the nation and demanded a lot of support. However, it didn't support their lives in return; therefore, the majority of people became "<u>victims</u>" **[9. 'Victims' belongs / does not belong in quotations, because____...]**. They devoted and sacrificed themselves to the "<u>nation</u>." **[10. 'Nation' belongs / does not belong in quotations, because____...]**. **[11. I think that the government in the old days should have considered lower-class people, who after all were the majority, and how what the government was doing negatively affected their lives. / The government should have considered the common people, who after all were the majority, and cared about how it was negatively affecting their lives]**.

Here, I raise two examples of what my grandmother experienced and felt.

When she was a child, her family ate food which they produced **[12. by themselves / themselves]**. It was not enough but they could appease their hunger. At the time, the harder they worked, the more they could appease their hunger. Their effort to produce crops was reflected in the products which they got in their hands; therefore, she said it was not hard to work such long hours. However, when WWII began, the situation changed a lot. **[13. Clothing factories, for example, turned into military factories, and people were forced to work in them to make a huge amount of military goods / The factories which were making clothes turned into military factories. A lot of laborers were forced to work hard to make a huge amount of military goods]**; however, to force them to keep working endlessly, the government had to give them food. Where did the food come from? It came from hardworking peasants. Therefore, the government issued Kyoken Hatsudou

(強権発動), which entitled it to break into peasant homes and steal **[14. rice bags / bags of rice]**. She said "How sad and scary it was! The fruit of our labor was stolen from us. How miserable we were. What I was looking forward to was eating a bowl of white rice. I sweated blood to eat it." Kyoken Hatsudo was issued twice in the fall term when rice was harvested. The peasants tried to hide rice bags in the bushes or **[15. beneath / at the bottom of]** trees covered in leaves; however, their efforts didn't pay off, and all of the bags were **[16. robbed / stolen / taken / confiscated]** by five to seven policemen. The police took them away **[17. "for the nation" / for the nation],** but what was left for the peasants was nothing, and after that starvation started. So, it's obvious that what the government did was a huge burden on the peasants.

During the war, a rationing system (配給制度) that limited the amount of food, fuel and electricity people <u>were allowed</u> to have <u>was enforced</u>. **[18. "Were allowed" and "was enforced" are passive verb phrases. Recast the sentence in the active voice, so that the agent(s) is identified. In other words, make clear who is doing what to whom.]** My grandmother said "I agreed with this for the nation, but what the government gave us was not food; it was working goods like washcloths and arm covers to hold sleeves of kimono" and added "my understanding of it was that we had to work harder. I felt miserable, but we did our best for harvesting, and it was not only for the government; we also had our lives." According to an eighteen-century Bakufu official quoted in Hane's book, "Sesame seeds and peasants are very much alike. The more you squeeze them, the more you can extract from them" (p. 8). Was it true that if the government squeezed and squeezed, the peasants would be more productive? No. To be "squeezed" by the government was the same as compelling the peasants to sacrifice themselves, so they had only two choices: **[19. survive / endure]** or die. All of the peasants' lives were **[20. owned / controlled]** by the government, and there was no choice to run away from the lives they had.

Although **[21. my grandmother / she]** lived in a harsh time, she had a tiny happiness. **[22. Sometimes in a year / A few times a year],** Goze (瞽女), blind girls and women who sang songs while playing the shamisen (三味線) or kokyuu (胡弓), visited her hamlet. Each group consisted of four or five Goze, and traveled around Japan. When they came to the hamlet in the evening, the villagers let them stay in their homes and tried to welcome them as much as they could even if the villagers had nothing. The reason why they were happy to welcome Goze in such harsh times was **[23. that, according to my grandmother, they "had nothing to be happy for, but to listen to their beautiful songs / that "we had nothing to be happy for" she said "but to listen to their beautiful songs]**, so all the villagers gathered in one place and shared time without feeling any suffering and misery." Listening to their songs, she asserted, was more helpful than waiting for aid from the government, and she wondered why she was working so hard for the "killers of the peasants." **[24. Analyze the above paragraph. The first sentence is important to the essay because___...; the following three sentences are important, because___...; the last two sentences support the author's point that_... What does the paragraph reveal about Nishizawa's attitude towards her message? Support your answer with details from the paragraph.___...]**

In conclusion, **[25. the majority was poor peasants who comprised the base of Japan / poor peasants comprised the base of Japan]**. The reason why Japan could survive was by the power of devoted peasants. However, in fact, even though the government grasped the severe situation which the majority faced, it closed its eyes and pretended to be blind.

[26. The situation must not have been ignored / The situation should not have been ignored]. **[27. What "situation" was ignored by whom?]** If the government had taken different action on behalf of the peasants, what would have been waiting for them wouldn't have been extreme poverty, but instead, a <u>completely different future</u>. **[28. What "completely different future" do you think Nishizawa is imagining? Remember: Aim for specificity!]**

Special thanks to Nishizawa Yoki and Tamarah Cohen

Works Cited

Echigo Goze (26/06/2006) http://web.nou.ne.jp/~gozeyado/etigogoze.html

Goze (27/12/2003) http://www10.ocn.ne.jp/~saikaku/yobansshi/goze.htm

Hane Mikiso (2003) Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition. New York, Roman & Littlefield. **[29. Hane is the only published source cited in Nishizawa's paper. This is a problem / This is not a problem, because___...]**

Masakazu Nagae (2006) The Problem of the Issue to Wield Authority in Niigata after WWII (translation mine) http://www.senshu-u.ac.jp/~off1009/PDF/211-228.pdf

Wikipedia (28/12/2006) http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%9E%BD%E5%A5%B3 **[30. Wikipedia is a reliable / unreliable source, because___...]**

POST-READING – QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF
A. How did my nationality/sex/age/socio-economic class affect how I responded to the text?

B. What are some other ways of writing about the topic?

C. What questions would I like to ask the author?

Text D   Another student essay. Note: instructions, pre-, while-, post-reading questions and works cited have been omitted owing to space constraints.
ESSAY BEGINS: "Jobs Brighten Our Lives" by Michiko Futaki , KGU 2007

What is a <u>job</u> to you? What do you want to be in the future? Now, <u>we all</u> can have dreams and strive to achieve them **[1. Can "we all"? Who in Japan might this "we" not include?]** After the war, even if children had dreams, many of them had to **[2. give up / give them up]** or they **[3. couldn't work hard to make their dreams come true / had no opportunity to pursue them.]**

My [great] aunt, Toyoko, devoted her life to her job. She is 75 years old and my grandfather's younger sister. She experienced WWII when she was a student. During the war, instead of going to school, she had to work at a factory to make clothes and sew buttons on shirts for soldiers. In this period, she lost her mother because of tuberculosis and she decided to become a nurse. After the war, she went to nursing school while working at a dispensary. She lived at the dispensary and worked until late after school and earned money to continue her education. Her older sisters also wanted to become nurses, but they couldn't go to school because they were too poor. Her family was large, so some of her brothers had to give up their <u>career</u> aspirations **[4. Compare the use of the terms 'career' and 'job' throughout this essay.].** According to her, at the time, nurses were considered as <u>people dealing with unsanitary things such as human waste</u> **[5. Doctors also deal with "human waste," so why do you think they weren't disparaged along with**

nurses?] and there weren't enough supplies or food. The situation was different from today **[6. Are nurses held in high regard today?]**, and it was a severe situation for nurses **[7. Is there not a critical nursing shortage in Japan today, and if so, doesn't that make their situation "severe"?]**. After the war, western medicine began to come to Japan. Also, the medicine 'Penicillin' that would have treated her mother's disease arrived. She watched the progress of medical science, and finally, she retired when she was 65 years old **[8. Futaki seems to be equating 'western' with 'progress'. How else could she have made her perfectly valid point without suggesting such a logical fallacy?].**

I respect her because she had a strong desire to become a nurse and she never gave up although life was financially very difficult. Also, she devoted her life to her job. She said "I don't want people to repeat war. Soldiers, including my brothers, fought in the war and killed people, but they weren't respectable **[9. "Respectable" in this context means ___...]**. The war destroyed not only life, but also the hopes and dreams of many people." Hane (2003) says, "Because the farm woman had her hands full, peasants usually frowned upon any woman interested in culture or "book reading." Such activities, especially for women and girls **[10. Why "especially for women and girls"? Didn't men and boys also have their "hands full" after the war?]**, were regarded **[11. Regarded by whom?]** as time wasters, that led to unrealistic aspirations and discontent" **[12. "Unrealistic" as defined by whom? "Discontent" for whom?]** (p. 81). In the past, many people in rural areas couldn't receive even minimal education or have hope. Toyoko truly appreciates that she could work as a nurse and she is proud of her job and life. When I think of my future, I want to be like her.

Today, many students go to university and technical college after they graduate from high school. We can have many more choices about our own lives than people did in the past. We all can have dreams about any job and try to realize them **[13. Are all jobs (and careers) in actuality open to everyone in Japan?]**. Jobs concern life. They are one of the ways to brighten our lives and make them unique **[14. Do you think most job-holders in Japan – including homemakers – would agree with this assertion?]** We should find direction **[15. of / in]** our own lives and make decisions by ourselves.

TEXT E

Tamarah Projects Titles and blurbs	URL
"On Be-Coming a Wo/Man" About coming-of-age in Japan (mainstream)	http://snipurl.com/comingofage
"Song Umi Comes of Age" About coming-of-age in Japan (Zainichi Korean)	http://sn.im/seijinshiki
"People and Women I-III" About everyday signs used in public facilities	snipurl.com/peoplewomen1 snipurl.com/peoplewomen2 snipurl.com/peoplewomen3
"Learning to Behave Naturally I-IX" About the construction of gender identity in childhood	http://www.vimeo.com/3880890 http://www.vimeo.com/3881130 http://www.vimeo.com/3881266
"We Japanese" About the (heavily gendered) collective notion of Japanese identity	www.snipurl.com/wejapanese1 www.snipurl.com/wejapanese2 www.snipurl.com/wejapanese3 www.snipurl.com/wejapanese4567 www.snipurl.com/wejapanese8

	http://www.snipurl.com/wejapanese910 http://www.snipurl.com/wejapanese11

Notes

[1] Reprinted, albeit in modified form, with permission from Journal of Inquiry and Research, No. 88 (Hirakata, Japan: Kansai Gaidai University, 2008).

[2] Owing to the limited scope of this paper, I will simply say that I am using 'white' to refer to the unmarked social collective that sees itself as primarily, or wholly, of European ancestry – not to a biological category.

[3] Note that male identification is not exclusive to males, nor is white identification exclusive to whites. Consider, for example, the preponderance of male characters in J.K Rowling's Harry Potter. As Lamb and Brown (2006) note, "Male characters are so plentiful that they comprise all variation of moods and qualities. They represent the height of pure goodness, the depth of pure evil, and everything in between" (p. 174).

[4] In most of Asia and North Africa, the number of "missing women" in relation to the number that could be expected if women and men received comparable food and social services is enormous. "A great many more than a hundred million women are simply not there," writes Sen (1990) "because women are neglected compared with men."

[5] I teach a wide range of levels that includes first- and second-year junior college and university students.

[6] Hane's masculine bias can best be summed up by comparing the titles to sequential editions of his Peasants book: Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan versus Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition. Note the explicit reference to women in the second edition, and how it underscores the fundamentally anomalous position females occupy vis-à-vis the male standard. Discursive formations of this kind encode females according to sex(ual status) and males as genderless 'universal' beings.

[7] The underlined words that "signal areas worthy of special attention" are worthy of whose attention? According to whom? Remember, critical analysis is an inherent part of every act of reading. Question everything you read!

Reviews

Women as learners: The significance of gender in adult learning.
Elizabeth Hayes and Daniele D. Flannery, with Ann K. Brooks, Elizabeth J. Tisdell, and Jane M. Hugo. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002. 280 pp.

Reviewed by
Kim Bradford-Watts
Kyoto Women's University

Women as learners: The significance of gender in adult learning, according to the authors, was written "to address the prevailing lack of information and understanding about adult women's learning and education" (p. xi). Without dismissing research about men's learning and similarities or differences that may exist within or between genders, the authors state, "the purpose of research on women's learning is to explore women's learning as important in its own right" (p. 218). With an eye toward both theoretical approaches and practice, this book provides an overview of research into adult women's learning to date, discusses implications for learning and teaching, and identifies areas that require further investigation.

The authors write from the position of being white, educated women (a demographic that I share), and caution that much of the research in this field has been conducted by, and also refers to, this demographic. A great deal more research is needed by and about women of color and women in, and of, a wider range of cultures and sites of learning in order to balance and extend our understandings of women as learners. Sites of learning include the workplace, home and family, and community. Notwithstanding these caveats, this volume is a valuable addition to scholarship regarding women as learners.

The volume is organized into nine chapters in addition to the preface, introduction of authors, and postscript. One of the strengths of the book is that it first discusses issues important in conceptualizing the field of women's learning. The first chapters, "Women's learning: A kaleidoscope" and "Social contexts" discuss the roles of different sites of women's learning—formal educational contexts, as well as the "home, workplace, and community," (p. 24)—since gender "play[s] a role in the opportunities … for learning in these environments, in what [is] learned, and in the consequences of [this] learning" (p. 25). This includes the "learning, or relearning, [of] gender-related identities and roles" through hidden messages conveyed by "the organization of social relationships, the value placed on certain kinds of knowledge, and so on" (p. 25).

Women do not constitute a homogenous group. In addition to gender, other social structures, including race and class, influence the way in which any particular woman will experience and choose to react to learning in any given complex context. Such contexts may be liberating and/or oppressive. Furthermore, the "learn[ing] in one setting [may] challenge the knowledge, roles, and identities they have learned in other settings" (p. 46).

Across learning contexts, major influences on learning include demands of time and the opportunity or necessity to incorporate learning from one site with, or separate it from, other contexts. Conflicts may result from the attempts to incorporate or separate learning contexts. Site-specific influences, such as curricula and institutional culture in formal learning contexts, gender bias in training and career counseling for the workplace, types of family structure in the home context, and the extent of emancipatory learning opportunities in community learning sites are also important influences on women's learning. In all contexts,

women learn subject matter and skill sets as well as "implicit and explicit lessons about themselves as women and, more specifically, about themselves as women of a particular race, class, and culture" (p. 51).

The next two chapters are entitled "Identity and self-esteem" and "Voice." Identity and self-esteem change according to context and influences including "families, histories, cultures, varying contexts, life situations, and the positions women hold" (p. 54). Some sites of learning, such as early schooling or a traditionally patriarchal home setting may challenge women's positive self image of themselves as learners, but participation in multiple "different contexts may give women opportunities not only to learn new skills but also to recognize the abilities they already possess as learners" (p. 76). Although sites of learning influence women's identities as learners, women actively reconstruct their identities in learner roles, as they do in all other aspects of their lives. The authors suggest that "[i]t may be important for educators to help all women become more aware of the learning they accomplish outside formal educational settings, to validate this learning and connect it to classroom learning experiences" (p. 77).

Women have "multiple voices as reflective of multiple aspects of identity, voices as constituted by social factors as well as personal experience, and voices as constantly in process" (p. 98). This statement acknowledges the range of our responses to experiences of power and authority and socially and culturally determined influences on our evolving identities, while "the metaphor of voice as power draws our attention to how relationships of power and authority shape and are shaped by women's voices" (p. 101). Voice can be considered as a representation of identity, with three sub-metaphors of "giving voice," "developing a voice," and "reclaiming a voice," in addition to representing power. The metaphor of voice representing power can be applied to the analysis of individual or collective learning situations. One aspect that is not discussed in this volume, however, is the development of voice in a second or other language, something with which we, as language educators, need to be concerned.

Chapters 5 and 6 are entitled "Connection" and "Transformation." Connection can be seen as being both "with/in the self, and connection with others" (p. 114). Connection with/in the self "emphasize[s] the importance of and the validation of personal experiences" (p. 123). Numerous studies have documented women's preference for learning with others in a connected relationship of "mutual support and caring" (p. 124). Explanations for women's preferences for connected learning are based in physiological, psychological, sociological and social-psychological, anthropological, and political research. However, the authors suggest that, "this considerable body of work is based on assumptions about gender differences that are still in question … the association may itself be socially constructed to a great extent, the product of a certain mode of social organization and of certain beliefs about human nature" (p. 135). The authors point out that women utilize all forms of cognition, as do men, and "educators and researchers alike should avoid dichotomizing ways of knowing and learning" (p. 136).

Transformative learning is defined as learning "lead[ing] to some type of fundamental change in the learners' sense of themselves, their worldviews, their understanding of their pasts, and their orientation to the future" (p. 141). Narrative is important in this context as it can be a "link between individual and social transformation" (p. 145), "account[ing] for the differences in people's behavior, the contextual and temporal variables, and the … interactions that make any one situation unique … [by] … select[ing] diverse parts of a specific action and work[ing] them into a coherent whole" (p. 151).

The next two chapters are concerned with "Feminist pedagogies" and "Perspectives on practice", and are the most directly linked to the classroom. Feminist pedagogies are

primarily focused on the educational needs of women and attempt to create relevant curricula and materials that will assist the learner in terms of "increasing self-esteem, knowledge, capacity for voice, and status in society" (p. 156), and are applicable across sites of learning. The authors identify three approaches. Psychological models, grounded in "women's psychological development as learners" (p. 157) "focus on the needs of women as individuals" (p. 163). Structural models "[confront] social structures of gender, race, class privilege, and oppression" (p. 157), and are "influenced by both structural feminist theorists and critical educators" (p. 168). Post-structural models investigate "how social structures of gender, race, and class inform our individual identity and development and how these can be analyzed and reframed in educational settings to facilitate working for social change" (p. 157).

The taxonomy of teaching perspectives (Pratt & Associates, 1998), upon which the authors base their discussion of practice, outlines five perspectives. These appear in Table 1 below, along with questions to guide practitioners in integrating women-centered approaches into their perspective, and some suggestions compiled from Chapter 8 (pp. 195-210):

Table 1: Perspectives of practice and suggestions for implementing women-centered approaches

Perspective	Questions for instructors integrating women-centered approaches	Suggestions
Transmission * Engaged with and wishing to convey content in an interesting manner to students	*What motivates women to learn? *What are the barriers to women's learning? *What are women's experiences in specific content areas? *How can multiple avenues be provided for women to voice understanding and uncertainty?	*Consider a strategic use of student talk to facilitate successful transmission of content to female learners. *Introduce all-female work teams, presentations, debates, conferencing, application problems grounded in women's experiences. *Set ground rules for discussion to mitigate negative stereotypes re gender race and class.
Apprenticeship *Modeling of ways of being *Student novices expected to learn both content and tacit knowledge held by members of community of practice	*How is women's identity formed? *How is the target community of practice gendered? *How will female novice practitioners move from collaborative learning environment to autonomy in the community of practice?	*Analyze barriers women face in target community of practice, discuss with learners, focusing on developing strategies to address these barriers and creating support systems within and beyond the community of practice. *Introduce conceptual frameworks and language for female novice practitioners to name and face issues encountered as they adjust to the unique demands of their practice, and encourage their developing autonomy.
Developmental *Assisting students to develop "increasingly complex and sophisticated forms of thought related to one's content, discipline, or practice" (Pratt, 1998, in Hayes & Flanner, et al, 2002, p. 200).	*How will new knowledge be used? *How to assist women learners to transfer new knowledge to a new context? *How to ensure that women learners develop autonomy vis-à-vis the teacher? What questions will be effective in building bridges between past experiences and new knowledge?	*Value the knowledge women learners bring to learning context and build bridges to new knowledge areas *Make women's talk central in all learning from the beginning of the course *Attend to women's affective learning through connected teaching and learning, foregrounding of women's experience, confirmation of women as knowers in learning communities, emphasis on women recognizing their

*Based on role of prior knowledge, building new learning from that knowledge, woman's active role in constructing meaning, & role of motivation.		role in the construction of knowledge.
Nurturing * A critical relationship between learner's self-concept and learning	*How to design instruction in ways that build and support female learners' trust and self-confidence? *How to design instruction to develop sense of personal growth stemming from achievements? *What is a woman's "self"? What shapes it? *What are the power and potential differences among women? *What is teacher's role in the formal educational setting? *How does the teacher draw on privileged sources of authority in society?	*Discuss how each person's attitudes are shaped by race, gender, class, and acknowledge that all viewpoints are valuable normalized frames of reference and terms of "otherness" *Classroom example: Use reflection, portfolios, peer and self-evaluation to enable sense of personal growth.
Social reform *A social, political, or moral philosophy toward creating a better society *A need to advocate for ideals *Content is presented in the context of these ideals	*How can instructors make space for women learners' narratives and life experiences in order to distill themes and tensions forming the heart of the problem-posing methodology? *From what position (in terms of gender/race/ class, etc) can instructors and learners interpret each other's narratives, and collective identities?	*Use knowledge about women learners to create new codes about women's voice, power, authority, and relationships with others *Research classroom and community applications of feminist pedagogy *Lobby professional associations to support more research on women's learning and make race, class, and gender power analyses a core element of professional and volunteer development *Ensure students develop the ability to function in the dominant discourses in their respective areas of practice.

As stated in the introduction to the book, there is not yet near sufficient research about women as learners. The authors recommend increasing the visibility of women as learners, putting our knowledge of women's learning into practice, providing staff development on women as learners, and broadening contributions to the knowledge base. All are necessary steps that will lead to re-conceptualizing adult learning theory, developing theoretical frameworks for understanding diversity, and developing new concepts of women's learning, as discussed in the final chapter of the book.

As language educators in Japan, we are in a unique position to add to the body of knowledge regarding women as learners, including our own experiences of living and learning in the Japanese context, as well as teaching women learners in a wide range of learning contexts. Sharing, through documenting and reporting about our experiences, research, and observations is of the highest priority so that women's learning becomes more visible within the foreign language teaching context in Japan.

A Beginner's Guide to Language and Gender
Allyson Jules. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 2008. vii +104 pp.

Reviewed by
Michi Saki
Ryukoku University

A Beginner's Guide to Language and Gender is a book that provides an all-comprehensive and engaging introduction to the study of gender and language. Jules introduces different theories and perspectives, as well as relevant frameworks used to help explain how language is intimately connected with gender in places in society such as in schools, businesses, religion, media and within our personal lives.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I is composed of Chapters 1 and 2, which provide an introduction into the topic of language and gender. Chapter 1 begins by explaining the important distinctions between the terms of sex and gender with introductions on the history of feminism and sexist language. It then continues to discuss the historical background of gender and language by exploring various theories and ideas of past and present. Chapter 2 explores the relationship of gender and language use and its complexities by discussing topics such as women's language and the language of power, gendered identities, and social constructionism. Women and Men's speech, and its relationship with critical discourse analysis are also discussed in this chapter.

Part II of this book, which is comprised of Chapters 3 through 8, discusses how gender and language are used in various contexts in society. A wide-range of aspects on a multitude of social settings such as media, education, the workplace, the Western Church, personal relationships and globalization are explored in these chapters.

The book provides a glossary of vocabulary, terms, theories and processes mentioned throughout the book -- a great help indeed for readers who are new to the subject of gender, language and feminism.

The book has been designed to be easily used in the classroom both by teacher and student. Each chapter is introduced with an outline and key questions to keep in mind prior to reading, a concluding summary at the end, several references for further reading on the chapter topic, along with chapter discussion questions, which can be used to promote group discussion in the classroom. I believe that this book can definitely be used as a general textbook for university courses that focus on introducing women's studies, gender studies, and western culture and ideas.

Not only by reading this book for my own personal interest, but in using this book as supplementary material for my university classes has made both my students and myself more aware of the role that gender plays in language learning. We were especially intrigued with Jule's comments on "what we say and what is said to us are greatly affected by our gender" (p.16), and in what ways our own language use seems to be parallel with our gender identity. Allyson Jule's book on gender and language use is both fascinating and provoking to anyone interested in the relationship between gender and language use and the different ways feminism has, and still is influencing the study of sociolinguistics.