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Editorial Foreword

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Editorial Foreword

Efforts to achieve gender equality are highlighted in this year's volume, which presents work from four authors from diverse educational and research backgrounds. Powerful signifiers of gender equality and social justice can be found in the present volume and we feel confident that they constitute some very original academic work and most stimulating reading.

In their separate analyses of conditions in tertiary level educational institutions, both Blake Hayes and Fiona Creaser report on a lamentable lack of change in two very important areas: the removal of unfair hiring practices that promote male advancement at the expense of female colleagues and the eradication of all forms of harassment (especially sexual harassment) from educational workplaces. In her analysis of unjust gender ideologies and skewed recruitment patterns, Hayes expresses the frustrations of those who seek radical change for gender equality in academia in Japan. The author makes a strong case for affirmative action quotas and for a comprehensive reshaping of the ways in which hiring committees evaluate expertise. Her account of a cottage industry in Central America helps to illustrate how discursive practices of masculinism often distort the ways in which social subjects conceptualize relevant qualifications and expertise, whether in an artisans' workplace along coastal Honduras or on a hiring committee in present-day Japan. If hegemonic masculinity operates through male displays of power over women, then the present volume indicates how the operation of this discourse is never absolute in its effects because innumerable women forcefully reject the self-limiting narratives threatening imposition on them in workplaces, in social life, in popular culture and elsewhere.

Creaser details the setting up of a harassment prevention committee in a small, private university in east Japan. Her account of the complications and lack of effectiveness of the committee suggest that the setting up of committees does not offer a comprehensive answer to issues of harassment and that a great deal more policy work remains to be done.

Coming from farthest afield, Sulastri Yahya presents data from editorials of Malaysian newspapers and from the work of the Muslim Women's Group in that country. Contrary to popular perception (or misperception?) it is possible to speak of Islamic feminism as a dynamic contemporary reality. Yahya's analysis shows that discourses of the 'proud citizen' and of 'female solidarity' are resources that can be utilized by all, including Muslim women so as to represent, promote and sustain egalitarian identities.

As well as taking place in newspaper editorials, representations of gendered identities are made in movie screenplays and in their translations. Through a detailed analysis of one film script, *The War of the Roses* from 1989, Michi Saki shows that the old Italian adage 'Traddutore traditore—The translator is a traitor' seems particularly apt when considering some movie script translations from English to Japanese. For example, women with a bold and assertive persona in the former may change perceptibly in the latter with the use of a highly polite, *softening* gendered register. Further research by the author on more contemporary cultural products will allow for an evaluation of the extent to which things have (or have not) changed in recent years.

And finally, we would like to extend our gratitude to the editorial board for donating their time and expertise to ensure this Journal is a professional success. This volume is a wonderful testament to the power of collaboration, dedication and support of our research and professional community.

<div style="text-align: right;">
Robert Ó'Móchain
Salem Kim Hicks
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Robert O'Mochain is an Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Language & Culture at Osaka University. He has been a member of GALE for the past decade and served as Program Chair for two years. His book on gender and sexuality issues in education in Japan was published last year.

Salem Kim Hicks is an Associate Professor in the College of Policy Science at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Japan. Her research areas include education, citizenship, self-governance, and group rights versus individual rights from a gender perspective. She is the co-founder of this Journal and is presently the Publications Chair of GALE.

Institutional change in gendered recruitment patterns in Japanese academia: Tempered radical or subversive?

Blake E. Hayes
Ritsumeikan University

Abstract

This paper uses an institutional analysis to examine demand-side recruitment factors that contribute to gender discrimination in Japanese universities. While supply-side factors such as women's choices may account for some of the gender gap, institutional structures and non-conscious discrimination have received little attention in the Japanese context. There is an unsupported assumption that the pipeline from education to employment in Japanese academia generally functions in a non-discriminatory manner. Examining specifically how expertise is constructed and interpreted in the recruitment process as well as understanding the importance of re-conceptualizing and re-evaluating expertise opens up the possibility of conceiving the role one can take regarding change in the institutional process. To increase the number of women in universities, it is necessary to re-evaluate what skills a faculty position actually entails versus dependence on non-conscious gender biases and inaccurate proxies such as degrees and the quantity of publications. Those from within who are committed to gender equality, the "tempered radicals" or "subversives," can influence the recruitment process.

要旨

本稿では制度分析を用い，日本の大学におけるジェンダー差別の一因である需要側の採用要因を調査する。ジェンダーギャップには，女性自身の選択のような供給側の要因によって説明できるものもあるかもしれないが，日本では制度的構造や無意識の差別が注目されることはほとんどなかった。日本の学術界における教育から雇用へのパイプラインは，概して非差別的な方法で機能しているという根拠のない前提があるからである。採用のプロセスにおいて，専門的知識・技術がどのように構成され解釈されているのかを具体的に調査すること，また，専門的知識・技術の再概念化と再評価の重要性を理解することによって，制度上のプロセスの変化のために担いうる役割創出の可能性を開くことができる。大学の女性教員数を増やすためには，不正確な尺度（たとえば学位や出版物）や無意識の偏見に基づく従来の評価方法に頼るよりも，むしろ，学部のそのポジションがどのような技能を必要としているのか，また，それらの技能がどのように再概念化されうるのかを再評価する必要がある。ジェンダー平等の実現に専心している者のうち，「穏健な急進論者」か「破壊活動分子」が採用プロセスに影響を及ぼす可能性があるのである。

Introduction

Consider the following: A prominent university has just issued a report documenting chronic under-participation of women and people of color on its faculty. In response to the faculty's collective call for action, the university's president appoints a respected professor to lead a faculty diversity initiative. The diversity leader convenes a meeting of deans and department chairs to get their reactions to the report and to plan a course of action. The ensuing discussion is fraught with tension. Every speaker expresses support for the goal of diversifying the faculty, but when faced with the question of how to reach that goal, many throw up their hands in frustration. Some chairs say that they have been trying for years to hire women and people of color, and they do not know what else to do. Their search processes have not produced a diverse pool of candidates. … Others question the level of diversity commitment at the top, as well as their own department's willingness to take the necessary steps…to fully integrate incumbent women and people of color…[others focus on how] diversity initiatives will inevitably operate at the expense of high academic standards… [all of which] in turn prompt a heated discussion about the adequacy of current selection processes and criteria. (Sturm, 2006, p. 288)

The above scenario is playing out in academic institutions around the world. In Japan, attitudes towards women's representation run the gambit from denial that something needs to be changed to resignation that change is unlikely, despite how desperately it is needed. Those who hold legitimacy within an organization can be catalysts in interrogating and challenging institutional practices to facilitate change in institutions. Meyerson and Tompkins (2007) called these change agents "tempered radicals" and their success comes from their embeddedness as insiders as well as their outsider status that arises from other affiliations and loyalties. Mahoney and Thelen (2010) categorized change agents as "insurrectionaries", "symbionts", "subversives" and "opportunists" (p. 23), depending on the intersection of veto power and levels of discretion.

Sturm (2006) argued that there was a key moment in their university when men realized that they needed to consider their role in gender discrimination. She wrote that this moment occurred when a prominent male scientist and gender equality advocate described the "overwhelming evidence of gender bias in the evaluation of job candidates…people walked out of that meeting like they'd been thunderstruck" (Sturm, 2006). Sturm argued that the many factors that led to the institution's (University of Michigan) gender initiatives were underpinned by extensive scientific documentation. While research on gender discrimination in Japan has not been as extensive (Mori, 2005, cited in Koushi, 2005), similarities in practices (isomorphism) permeate many aspects of academia worldwide, and comparable change initiatives may also be appropriate in the Japanese context.

Thelen (2007), in examining skill formation in Japan during the Meiji era stated, "recruitment by firms…was facilitated by the 'referencing networks' [so that] firms could minimize the costs associated with finding appropriate skills and overcome the problem of imperfect information [for example, about a worker's skill level] in the absence of any kind of formal certification or standard" (p. 155). Through historical processes of industrialization, "traditional elements and modern innovations were blended together" (Thelen, 2007, p. 164), and skill acquisition and diffusion of recruitment practices based on more formalized standards of expertise were adopted. Mahoney and Thelen (2010) argued that this layering of change over existing practices—the continuous long-term adjustments from within an institution, in other words, endogenous change—is a more accurate way to view how change

happens in institutions than the traditional proposition that change comes from external shocks.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that in Japan there is an ongoing trend in recruitment to layer the use of meritocratic recruitment alongside recruitment through informal networks and the former has long-term *potential* to crowd out the latter. Meritocracy may improve women's chances of being recruited as women are generally left out of or marginalized in networking. In order for change that targets gender equality to diffuse, there is a need to document context-specific nuances in segregating forces so that change actors can be effective in educating and implementing institutional initiatives to combat structural and non-conscious discrimination. This creates a space for those interested in gender equality to layer more equitable practices in recruitment and hiring while keeping within the law and spirit of accepted practices of academe.

This paper explores discriminatory praxis by first describing inequality in Japanese academia. Next, the changing contours of hiring praxis will be described. An anecdote outlining the development of conceptions of expertise in a non-academic field will elucidate the social construction of expertise that underpins recruitment, and parallels will be drawn from this anecdote to academic recruitment. The social construction of expertise in academia and connections to gender discrimination will follow. Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) model of institutional change will be used to conceptualize possible roles and strategies for working toward equality in the institution.

Inequality and Japanese academia

Japan's initial articulations of complying with international treaties regarding women's employment, for example, the 1985 Equal Employment Opportunity Laws (EEOL) (updated 1997) and the Basic Law on Gender Equality (2006) that aimed to eliminate all sex-based discrimination, may be somewhat progressive in nature, yet they are known to have no strength of enforcement behind them (Nakano, 2011). The closing of the gap between policy and practice has been slow, with continuing low representation of women in full-time university employment—10.1% in 1999 rising to a mere 13% in 2008 (Cabinet Office, 2009), despite women generally earning more than a third of postgraduate degrees (MA, PhD, & Doc) (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009). At this rate it will take close to 100 years to reach equal representation. These numbers indicate that the "stronger propensity to seek employment" (Kawaguchi, 2009, p. 79) due to women's increased educational attainment has not been successful. Women "today realize they can no longer depend on their husbands to be the breadwinners. Thus they are keen to hold careers" (Nakano, n.d., para 10). The Cabinet Office (2009) documented the large gap between women's expectations for employment and the reality, which is especially pronounced after childrearing (p. 29).

Change initiatives have generally focused on achieving a balanced lifestyle consistent with the prevailing ideology of "male as breadwinner" and women as sole caregiver in the family that positions women in ghettoized, low-paid, part-time work. Nakano (2002) stated, "reform must revolve around the caring of human labor through the guarantee of human rights and the equitable redistribution of work and income" (p. 20). A lawyer specializing in women's employment, Nakano (2011) outlines further areas of the Japanese employment system that need improvement, including: the gap between regular and non-regular employment; alleviating discrimination; securing equal treatment; and access to the labor market (p. 266).

While there is some discursive support for increasing the numbers of women academics in universities, such as statements in public documents and on the web (see, for example,

Tokyo University's and Nagoya University's gender initiatives), the focus tends to be on improving work/life balance. If those who have power to hire academics reject the goal of 'equality in representation' and instead embracing a liberal egalitarian conception of 'equality of opportunity', conceptions of fairness rest on the unbiased functioning of the pipeline from education to jobs. Nakano's (2011) expertise in gender and labour laws takes this further and suggests that policies are needed to:

> first, expose and add on the numerous existing forms of indirect discrimination that are not included in the current Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare ordinances; second, apply the 'equal pay for equivalent work' principle to eliminate gender-based discrimination clad as differential treatment for different types of work or employment patterns: third, eliminate gender discriminatory evaluation criteria from the new wage system; and fourth, institutionalize positive action through specialized education and training. (p. 266)

Supply-side factors, such as women's "choices" to exit the labour market, to "not" acquire advanced degrees (PhDs), or to choose specializations where they are segregated into female-dominated areas may partially explain the lower numbers of women faculty. Women still dominate education and humanities faculties, and they also hold more than a third of social science PhDs (Gender Equality Bureau, 2009). Traditionalists and neoliberals have proposed that institutions are isomorphic with diffuse practices that can only change through exogenous shocks (i.e., sudden economic pressure to change from outside) (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). They have argued that change will happen as markets demand change and this has been used to justify not taking responsibility or action towards fairness and equality (cf. Nussbaum, 2011). Rather that focusing on these supply-side factors, this paper, using an institutional analysis focuses on demand-side factors of recruitment and hiring, positing that endogenous change and change agents' effectiveness is contextually shaped by power (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010).

Changing contours of Japanese academia
Institutional recruitment and hiring practices shed light on mechanisms that contribute to employment discrimination. The low numbers of women in full-time university employment in Japan are lower than all other developed countries (Cabinet Office, 2009)—13% according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in 2008. This cannot be argued to be simply a pipeline-to-jobs problem, given that about a quarter of PhDs are pursued by women. The two to one ratio for post-graduate degrees (MAs and PhDs) has remained virtually unchanged for decades (1967—males 5.2% to females 2.4%; 2002—males 13.5% to females 6.9%) (Kihata, 2002, p. 31). While the limited number of specializations women choose may be a partial explanation, there have been large shifts of women students into male-dominated fields in the 1980's, but these increases have not been reflected in comparable changes in the numbers of women faculty in male-dominated specializations. According to a survey by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), 36% of 860 research facilities have recently expressed overt reluctance in hiring women researchers (Ishiwataku, 2006, p. 22).

The impact of discrimination in recruitment may be more pronounced in higher-status institutions, with women being shut out, ostensibly because they have not graduated from prestigious universities. However, Strober and Kaneko-Chan (2001) found that women from elite universities also reported discrimination. In Japan, the status of the organization

determines one's salary to a large extent, and while choice may be a factor in which organization one works at, discrimination certainly seems to play a role (Strober & Kaneko-Chan 2001, p. 70). For example, for Tokyo University graduates in full-time work, the gender wage difference was 57%, and 42% of the wage difference was due to type of organization (Strober & Kaneko-Chan, 2001, p. 70).

The intersection of gender with race, ethnicity and nationality adds another element of complexity that is particularly relevant in Japanese universities, where those who teach content in a language other than Japanese are often conflated as language teachers (Hayes, in Press). Those not from the dominant culture—in this context non-Japanese[1] academics—pursue varying strategies to adapt to the Japanese institutional culture, including how to deal with gender discrimination. This is especially pertinent for foreign women and feminist women and men who attempt to balance respecting the culture with striving for gender justice. Some aspects of the taken-for-grantedness of recruitment and hiring processes that contribute to gender discrimination may be noticed more easily by those who are outside the norms—those who do not benefit the most from current legitimate praxis. Hellsten (1999) argued that it:

> is apparent that most people go through life with a whole world of beliefs and adapt to practices that lack *rational* justification. Thus, the only way for a society to evolve and strive for the better is to question the justification of the existing practices and traditions. As even the communitarian forefather Aristotle noted, the old customs might sometimes be too simplistic … and thus they should be rejected. (p. 81)

The acceptability of demanding change in biased practices in societies that may be considered individualistic (e.g., the US and the UK) need not be different than in those that are more collectivist (e.g. Japan). Hellsten, analyzing gender discrimination, argued that the:

> reasoned critical rejection of old values and practices on the basis of new facts or new knowledge, or new understanding of old facts, is important for the good of the community as well as for the good of an individual. This chance for internal criticism is demanded by both the liberals and the communitarians. This criticism is based on a person's ability to separate the empirical reasons from the justifications of the tradition, and one's moral identity from one's cultural identity. This separation can only be made in a society which encourages reflective and critical thinking as an essential part of human flourishing … [and] that both individual rights and communal values are to be seen as a means to attain autonomy. (p. 80)

Identifying strategies for change is further impacted by complexities such as one's status, or lack thereof, in the institution. However, one's status as an outsider within the institution does not necessarily preclude the possibility of working towards institutional change. Institutions affect the ways we behave and interact, and we are, *ipso facto*, "institutional citizens" (Sturm, 2006), with the resultant citizenship obligations. If we understand the responsibility this entails—the effects of our institutional society—the credibility of 'pleas of ignorance' are diminished, as is the condoning of institutional processes that perpetuate discrimination.

In their survey of organizational processes that hamper gender equality in U.S. universities, Meyerson and Tompkins (2007) argued that there is:

> widespread agreement that these processes persist because they are embedded in and reinforced by everyday codes of behavior, knowledge structures, and belief systems that

are taken for granted and therefore not held up to scrutiny…[and they] come to be taken for granted as legitimate and unassailable. (p. 303)

Challenges to inequality in employment in institutions such as universities may be possible by demanding compliance with the 'spirit' of equality laws. Civil society does this through lobbying and activism, for example, by women's groups, and groups such as NGOs or NPOs that are concerned with human rights. Chan-Tiberghien (2004) showed that international conventions and policies, such as the Convention Against All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) have given Japanese civil society a vehicle to push for gender reform in Japan. Pekkanen (2006) argued, however, that Japan's political institutions have structured civil society so that its effectiveness is limited. Nevertheless, change from below can also come from inside institutions (Krook & Mackay, 2011; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). The catch-22 has been that the number of change agents may be minimal in Japanese academia, partly due to institutional practices that limit the number of women who are hired or promoted to positions of power. Sturm (2006) argued that in the Western context, women "face cognitive biases in evaluation, exclusion from informal networks, and under-inclusive definitions of success" (p. 251), and this appears to be the case in the Japanese context as well (Hayes, in press; Hicks, in press).

Constructing expertise/skills: An anecdote from a 'cottage industry'
Not only those on hiring committees but also teachers who are in the job market for university teaching positions find it difficult to make sense of why some people are hired over others. Very qualified people get passed over for seemingly less qualified people, leading to labour market tensions. The hiring process is often fraught with subjectivities and discrimination cannot be ruled out in all instances. Underpinning this is the reality that what is considered to be a skill, qualification, or work experience is socially constructed. These criteria differ across regions and organizations, as well as departments and faculties within universities. While proxies are useful in our profession for judging expertise, it is important to be mindful of conflation and undervaluation.

An anecdote from my experience working in development in Central America clearly elucidates conceptions of expertise and structures that have become legitimized but may no longer be logical nor useful.[3] The small 'typica' (local fabric products—weavings with embroidery) shops were gender segregated, with men on the sewing machines and women doing the needlework. The men got paid more because the sewing machines produced bigger swaths of material than the slow, intricate stitching done by the women, who produced fewer items per hour and were, therefore, paid a lower wage. However, because each item required both inputs, sewing machine and embroidery work, the men were often sitting idle, drinking coffee and chatting while waiting for the women to 'catch up' in the production.

The men were considered to be skilled workers; maleness was a proxy for expertise. They were hired based on their 'technical' skills to repair and maintain their sewing machines, and for those who had no prior experience with sewing machines, other mechanical work, such as repairing and maintaining scooters, was deemed relevant. The hand embroidery, however, was considered unskilled work, as any woman, even those with no prior experience seemed to be able to pick it up on the job. However, the success of the products came from the beauty of the embroidery, which gave the products their unique cultural signature, and without the embroidery there would have been little need for the swaths of sewing machine stitched products.

The shop was structured so that a man with mechanical skill was deemed necessary for each sewing machine even though it would have been quite possible to utilize only one or two skilled mechanics per shop or outsource maintenance. In other regions, women generally are the ones who use the sewing machine for mending at home, yet in this region where 'typica' created a relatively lucrative industry, it was assumed that men were naturally 'good at' this higher-paid work and naturally drawn to this 'technology'. The segregation and pay differentials seemed immutable even though many of the women expressed dissatisfaction with a structure they considered unfair and unnecessary.

Revisiting the region a number of years later, things had evolved so that there seemed to be equal *opportunity* to apply for both jobs but no *substantive* equality of actually obtaining the jobs that crossed gender expectations. It was also clear that the downtime of the sewing machine operators created tensions in the workplace. Their payments were mitigated by how fast the embroiderers could do the embroidery, and the machine operators would hover over the embroiderers, monitoring their work which created a status differential. While some of the machine operators spent the down time organizing stock, calculating materials, and doing other tasks on the floor, a few took to 'managing' the embroiderers and began organizing outsourcing. The embroiderers were very unhappy with these developments, but said they hoped that some women would soon be hired as machine operators so that they could move up to managing the shop floor, or that some men would become embroiderers so that they could experience the inequality and help the women make changes. The likelihood of women having the appropriate background or men desiring the lower-paid stitching jobs was minimal given the strong social stigmas of crossing gender lines in their culture.

This anecdote highlights how the construction of expertise: was initially structured to privilege the male as breadwinner segregated economic structure; resulted in the overvaluation of men's work and the undervaluation of women's work; included past work experience of marginally related work that was traditionally male; defined work that was traditionally female as a non-skill and as something women did naturally or could just pick up on the job; and resulted in the status, attitudes and work conditions that privileged males contributing to workplace tensions and further gender segregation. In many ways the construction of academic expertise is similar. Parallels between this 'cottage industry' anecdote and academia will be explicated below.

Some parallels can be made between the structuring of the 'cottage industry' and academic faculty recruitment and hiring in universities generally, and also specifically in Japanese universities. Most importantly, parallels can be found in: the development of poorly related proxies for expertise that were gendered; the resistance to changes in structures that had become legitimized over time despite their shortcomings and; how the justifications for status differentials, segregation and discrimination had become legitimized. Perhaps the use of gender as a proxy in defining expertise is the strongest parallel, echoing what the economist Waring's (Nash, 1995) seminal work *Who's Counting?* problematized by interrogating the gendering of expertise and its worth, finding that it generally led to women being uncounted and disadvantaged.

The social construction of expertise and gender discrimination in academic institutions

I have argued that so-called merit standards often normalize attributes, comportments, and or attainments associated with particular social groups, and thus do not serve the impartial purpose they claim. (Young, 2007)

The fact that gender discrimination persists despite all the laws, policies, and research indicates that problematizing institutional practices may provide much needed answers. Institutional gender discrimination in hiring can be categorized as intentional or unintentional. Intentional discrimination is when the purpose is to treat women differently so that they are disadvantaged. Unintentional discrimination comes from policies and actions that result in women being disadvantaged, even though the unequal impact was not intended. The first becomes less common as equality diffuses as a social goal. For example, very few academics, nowadays, would describe themselves or their behaviour as gender-biased or sexist, at least not openly. The second, unintentional discrimination, comes in the form of institutional and individually practiced non-conscious discrimination, and it is argued that beyond intentionality, negligence in attending to discriminatory impact must be addressed (Anderson, 2008).

Japanese university hiring policies that are based on providing equal opportunities to apply for jobs, yet lead to uneven outcomes, are an example of institutional discrimination in that they continue to contribute to unequal gender representation. Research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) that "explicitly identified institutional practices and culture as a significant cause of persistent inequality…concluded that it would be difficult to enable women to advance without changing the institutional environments that shaped their interests and opportunities" (Sturm, 2006, p. 276). The Harvard Journal of Law and Gender report on university gender discrimination argued that the:

> persistence of structures and beliefs that result in gender inequities in higher education, as well as other workplaces, can be partly attributed to institutional processes that uphold the legitimacy and assumed neutrality of these arrangements. It is often only when women begin to occupy, in greater numbers, jobs traditionally held by men that practices that were previously taken for granted as neutral are exposed as gendered in their effects. For example, the (tenure system) around which universities are structured requires aspiring academics to maximize their productivity during the same few years most will want to start families. (Meyerson and Tompkins, 2007, p. 306)

Age-normative hiring, until recently, put the ideal age for hiring for tenured positions at 39 and under. At first sight this may have been viewed as not gender-specific discrimination as it applied to both women and men; however, as in many other countries, this disproportionately disadvantaged women whose careers were interrupted due to family responsibilities during the 'appropriate' hiring age, and by the time women wanted to return to the labour market they were considered to be far behind the age-normative expectations. While this may be an unintentional outcome of the structure of the university that evolved at a time when the majority of professors were male, the effect continues to be highly gendered. Furthermore, research shows that male professionals may be hired based on potential, but women are hired based on their past record (Beck, 2011, p. 19). This is extremely problematic in age-normative hiring because, by the time many women have a strong record, they are considered to be too old. There is a legal duty to provide equal opportunity in recruitment and hiring by age under the 2007 Japanese Employment Measures Act (Sakuraba, 2000), though Hayes (in press) has found that age-normative expectations in university recruitment are still practiced.

Proxies conflate researching and teaching skills

Expertise in Japanese universities is legitimized through formal qualifications, publications, conference presentations and grants. Non-academics are also hired as faculty if they hold positions of power outside academia, such as in industry or government (Poole, 2010). Maldonado-Maldonado (2011) claimed that Japan has one of the highest rates of researchers (p. 324), and faculty are amongst the most research-oriented in terms of numbers of publications (Arimoto, 2008, p. 14). The social construction of qualifications in the 'cottage industry' anecdote help to illuminate the social construction of qualifications in academia, specifically in relation to the gendered construction of expertise.

Japanese faculty positions in universities generally have a teaching component, yet teaching, like the embroidery in the previously mentioned 'cottage industry' anecdote, is often assumed to be acquired with experience, not assessed and given value, but simply acquired 'naturally' on the job. The 'skilled' work of the men, who got paid more for their skills using sewing machines, was privileged over the main 'product' of the factories, the beautiful intricate stitch-work created by the women. Similarly, the main 'product', arguably the essence of the university, is teaching, a skill that is, for the most part, assumed to be automatically acquired with experience and requires little assessment in the hiring process, though, undoubtedly, Ed.D. holders may strongly disagree. This undervalues the importance of teaching experience, which may be a more commonly held skill among women faculty. Women are the majority of part-time teachers and in a multi-country analysis, Poole, Bornholt and Summers (1997), found that women in all countries rated teaching as "a more important aspect of professional work than did their male counterparts…[and had] a more positive orientation" toward teaching (p. 387). The fact that one of the main 'products' of universities is rarely assessed in interviews beyond a model lesson, if indeed that is even requested in the hiring process, renders it, to a certain extent, as a non-skill undeserving of specific compensation.

Arikawa (2007) argued that Japanese universities historically gave "research higher priority than teaching, in comparison to Western counterparts that better balance the two" (cited in Kudo & Hashimoto, 2011, p. 345). It is unlikely that the number of publications and formal (paper) qualifications are accurate proxies for all aspects of all faculty positions (teaching, research and administrative duties), so this conflates researchers with teachers and administrators. It is worthwhile to question whether it is wise to continue this strategy, especially as it underemphasizes the teaching component with its ensuing gendered impact. However, Arimoto (2007), in writing about the current trajectory of Japanese universities stated that the university "emphasizes the teaching and learning process and the teaching ability of the academic community which is considered to be a key profession" (p. 30).

In the 'cottage industry' anecdote, being able to maintain and repair a scooter had long been a recruitment proxy; however, the actual need for this kind of expertise was but a minor part of the sewing job, and the weight given to this during hiring was disproportionate. Indeed, why should *each* sewing-machine operator be skilled, as one technically competent person would suffice? Yet questioning the structure that legitimized recruitment based on the loose link between scooters and sewing machines and it being a requirement for all machine operators was unthinkable and the rationalizations seemed to be unassailable. Of course women had equal opportunity to apply for these positions, but societal segregation precluded most women from tinkering with scooters, as did societal conceptions of appropriate maleness preclude men from doing the intricate embroidery.

In academia, publications similarly have an established legitimacy acquired through long-term practice. The institutional logic may not hold up for many teaching positions, nor does the conflation of researching and teaching, and its weighting is disproportionate to the

execution of many faculty positions. The social construction of qualifications may be somewhat immutable given their diffusion internationally in academia; however, it is a norm in academia that may be as 'irrational' for some faculty positions as requiring mechanical skills in the 'cottage industry' anecdote is. Overemphasizing publishing, which is dependent on time availability that the majority of women don't have due to gendered societal pressures of the double burden of balancing home and work, privileges those without this double burden, generally males. Change agents may be able to shift the balance, when assessing candidates, away from publications and towards teaching experience to some extent, particularly in fields where teaching experience for certain faculty positions may benefit students more than research skills.

The 'cottage industry' anecdote highlights another parallel point: volume being favoured over quality. In the anecdote productivity privileges volume over quality, benefitting the machine operators. In academia, requiring constant publishing is known to produce fragmented publications, yet long lists of publications are often accepted as evidence of productivity. Time, for most academics, provides the possibility to publish, which is impacted by gendered societal expectations, as mentioned above. Women academics are assumed to have equal 'opportunity' to publish, and may be equally ambitious (Mathews & Anderson, 2001, p. 143), but generally do not have equal time to publish prolifically due to factors beyond care-giving responsibilities, such as being in precarious employment, and lacking institutional support and resources.

Little change has been accomplished to ameliorate this situation in Japan, nor, as Blau, Brinton and Grusky (2006) found, in many other countries as well. Furthermore, for "most, productivity [in publishing] is a function of one's position…in a discipline, (and women are still) constrained by the particular gendered milieu in which they work and by their placement outside of professional networks and collegial relationships" (Mathews & Anderson, 2001, p. 144). As already mentioned in the 'cottage industry' anecdote, the volume of material had little value without the added embroidery. Similarly, hiring academics based on prioritizing the volume versus the quality of publications exacerbates inequalities because volume is partially dependent on the time one has available—generally less for those with child-care or elder-care responsibilities. While those hiring in top-level universities may be savvy regarding innovation and creativity in research, other hiring committees may succumb to the temptation to equate quantity with productivity.

Disciplines and sub-disciplines: Formal qualifications and gender segregation
A discipline's sub-fields may be markers of gender. In the 'cottage industry' anecdote, the trade of sewing was gender segregated into subfields. Academic disciplines, too, have gendered subfields. For example, while many women study law, this field itself is highly segregated. Many women but few men are in family law and feminists (feminist economists, philosophers, etc.) tend to be women. When hiring to replace a retiring professor, for example, hiring committees may look for a similar background in the new candidate, searching in the same subfield and thus reinforcing existing segregation. Going beyond formal qualifications, this applies to publishing as well. Mathews and Anderson (2001) stated, women's participation "is often relegated to separate and gendered domains" limiting acceptance of their work for publication (p. 146).

Nakamura and Akita (2006), argued that the word 'gender' has been stigmatized in social and cultural contexts in Japan. Scholars whose discipline includes gender may be deemed to be on the fringe, or less desirable than those who do 'not' deal with gender.[3] Also, in interdisciplinary faculties (sociology, politics, international relations, etc.) a number of

economists (e.g. Marxist, labour economist, or political economists) may be acceptable yet one gender specialist, regardless of their area of expertise (gender and sociology; gender and linguistics etc.) may unfairly be seen as more than sufficient. These segregating practices are seemingly neutral and accepted as legitimate despite their gendered effects. They are not limited to formal qualifications (PhDs), but extend to publishing, again reinforcing gender disadvantages. Proxies cannot be instantaneously discarded as our profession is defined and aided by them, but they can be modified so that what they assess fits more accurately with actual job requirements. In economic terms, this will potentially increase productivity. In arguing that formal qualifications privilege males because they unjustly overshadow experience, Felstead (n.d.) stated the "unequal certification of work-related skills can act as yet another material means by which men exercise power over women. Qualifications, and those certifying work-related skills in particular, serve men better than women" (p. 16).

Structures and non-conscious discrimination

Hiring committees in Japanese universities tend to be de-centralized. For example, professors may be assigned to committees and while departments may have input in setting up recruitment and in approving the final candidates, the committees may choose candidates without further input or interference, and final choices are usually rubber stamped by the departments and the administration. Hiring committees, therefore, generally operate autonomously with limited accountability to the rest of the department and university. The lack of human resource expertise may result in biases resulting from either conscious or non-conscious discrimination.

Generally, one's own biased expectations may be non-conscious, and should these biases be brought to one's attention, they are typically denied. In fact, non-conscious discrimination can be consistent with a self-image of being fair, equitable and non-discriminatory, making this discrimination difficult to expose, and resistant to change (Anderson, 2008). Particularly insidious are instances where there has been little challenge to beliefs, especially when the taken-for-grantedness of gender relations has not gone through a process of re-evaluation beyond a superficial examination. Uhlmann and Cohen's (2005) research on recruitment and hiring, for example, found that bias:

> in the construction of job criteria allows evaluators both to discriminate and to maintain a personal illusion of objectivity. Although gender stereotypes encourage discrimination, egalitarian norms compel making hiring decisions on the basis of applicants' merit rather than their group membership. These conflicting pressures can be reconciled by defining and redefining merit in a manner that justifies discrimination. (p. 479)

Hiring based on merit has historically been fraught with biases. Anderson (2008) argued that 'aversive discrimination', "where people discriminate when nondiscriminatory rationales are available … has much room to play in hiring practices that rely on subjective assessments such as interviews, which are notoriously unreliable vehicles for measuring merit" (p. 10). Examining the 'rationalized myths' in hiring practices is one possible step in the process of eradicating discrimination in Japanese universities. Meyerson and Tompkins (2007) argued:

> organizations that exist in highly institutionalized environments, such as education, tend to adapt to ceremonial requirements of the environment based on a rationale of legitimacy or appropriateness rather than a rational of organizational efficiency … and resist fundamental change—not because they are necessarily the most effective means of

organizing education, but because they conform to 'rationalized myths' or taken-for-granted beliefs. (p. 305)

It is important to have equity-minded faculty on hiring committees, and having women and minorities on hiring committees has been shown to improve women's (and minorities) chances. The above quotes on segregating practices, while outside the Japanese context, are nonetheless pertinent here, at least until extensive research on gender biases in this cultural context can add to the existing data in order to provide a more culturally nuanced picture.

Creating change in institutions
Hypothesizing that change happens endogenously, in other words, from forces inside the institution (Hall, 20010; Krook & Mackay, 2011; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010) allows us to conceptualize the extent to which institutional actors have agency. In the North American context, Sturm (2006) argued that it was "a critical mass of research on systemic gender bias in academia [that] began to contribute to a shift toward focusing on systemic gender bias as an institutional transformation project" (p. 313). Mahoney and Thelen (2010) have proposed a theory for conceptualizing institutional change in which they argued that how endogenous change occurs in an institution depends on how much power resistors have to veto change, and how much discretion change agents have in interpreting institutional policies and their enforcement (Table 1). These factors determine whether gradual change comes in the form of layering, drift, displacement or conversion (p. 15):

Displacement: the removal of existing rules and the introduction of new ones *(insurrectionaries)*
Layering: the introduction of new rules on top of or alongside existing ones **(subversives)**
Drift: the changed impact of existing rules due to shifts in the environment **(parasitic symbionts)**
Conversion: the changed enactment of existing rules due to their strategic deployment **(opportunists)**

Source: Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, pp. 15-16; **change agent** in bold

To summarize their proposition here, Mahoney and Thelen (2010) described change agents as becoming "the intervening step through which the character of institutional rules and political context do their casual work" (p. 28). In fact, "change often occurs precisely when problems of rule interpretation and enforcement open up space for actors to implement existing rules in new ways" (p. 4). Insurrectionaries "seek to eliminate…rules and they do so by actively and visibly mobilizing against them. …and reject the institutional status quo and do not always abide by its regulations" (p. 23). Symbionts can either work toward supporting the 'spirit' of the rules or violate the 'spirit' by supporting the 'letter' of the rules. Opportunists "exploit whatever possibilities exist within the prevailing system" (p. 26). Subversives, while supporting the institution, "bide their time waiting for the moment when they can actively move toward a stance of opposition…They may encourage institutional changes by promoting new rules on the edges of old ones" (p. 26).

Table 1
Characteristics of the Targeted Institution
(Change agents in bold)

		Low Level of Discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement	High Level of Discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement
Characteristics of the Political Context	**Strong Veto Possibilities**	(Layering) **Subversives**	(Drift) **Parasitic Symbionts**
	Weak Veto Possibilities	(Displacement) **Insurrectionaries**	(Conversion) **Opportunists**

(Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p. 28)

Goldin (2006) proposed that a barrier to change is a fear of gender 'pollution', an unfounded fear that changes will result in a lowering of departmental standards since the current system is deemed fair. It is probable that departments have male faculty who were hired for their potential yet, in the end, did not meet expectations. In reality, modifying conceptions of expertise can potentially raise overall departmental standards (for examples of successfully raising women's representation while 'increasing' overall expertise see: Blum, 2001, on Carnegie Mellon; and Linn, 2003, on MIT[4]). If departments and universities are *smart*, they could, for example, be ahead of the curve and make a name for themselves as women-supportive organizations, thereby attracting top women academics who may be qualified beyond the departmental or university standard (for example, see Sturm, 2006).

Final Thoughts
The generally decentralized, subjective nature of the recruitment and hiring process lends itself to including gender-inclusive subjectivities that can be layered alongside the existing praxis. Civil society agitation and work to change policies and enforce laws are outside the scope of this paper, but challenges to institutional structures and ideologies can be exercised in tandem with these multipronged legal and civil society actions. University hiring in Japan, traditionally based on building alumni networks, is increasingly moving toward meritocracy, including increasingly requiring PhDs, and this will most likely persist due to the desire of some Japanese universities to meet international standards. This institutional change has been buoyed by the embeddedness of Japanese universities in the international university networks and this impacts the direction of institutional modifications. Other changes in hiring praxis can be accomplished directly in a way that avoids legal challenges while honouring the ideal of equality. Through increased transparency and accountability, conversion is possible through re-conceptualizing expertise and re-evaluating the efficacy of socially constructed qualifications.

Endnotes

1) Some people find the term non-Japanese to be derogatory term because of the negative prefix. There is no easy alternative as the term foreigner is also applied to those who are not considered to be Japanese nationals, i.e. foreigners who may be long-term residents—2nd and 3rd generation residents such as *zainichi* (Korean) or Brazilian Japanese and Chinese whose families have been in Japan for generations. Lie (2001) argues that, from Japanese nationals' perspective, those in Japan are either Japanese or non-Japanese. "When I asked about what kind of people live in Japan, almost everyone answered by dividing people into Japanese (*nihonjin*) and non-Japanese" (*gaijin*) (p. 147).

2) This site was in coastal Honduras. However, the gendered workplace referred to could be found across many regions where "typica" for tourist populations, specifically local fabric production, took place, such as across Latin America and Asia, buttressed by the male as breadwinner' ideologies that were promoted during industrialization through moral imperatives, state policies and laws (Platt, 2011).

3) Tokyo University, however, in its "Gender-Equal Participation Basic Plan" includes "Courses related to women's studies/Gender Research" as part of their overall plan, along with other goals to be taken to increase the number of women as full-time faculty members.

4) Carnegie Mellon University raised the number of women students studying technology. They promoted mentoring for women, increased the number of female-taught courses, offered interdisciplinary course, removed male normativity and provided peer support. They started to eliminate biases in 1995, when females were only 7%. In just five years, representation rose 6-fold to 42%. Linn (2003) wrote that MIT initially lowered admission requirements and admitted more women. Once women's representation increased, academic standards overall were raised (Linn, 2003).

Blake Elaine Hayes is an Associate Professor in Ritsumeikan University's College of International Relations and specializes in economics and labour market studies. She is currently researching segregation and inequality regimes. She is interested in theories on equality, adaptive preferences, and policy, particularly regarding intersections of gender, race and nationality in relation to migration.

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Harassment Prevention Policies at a Japanese University

Fiona Creaser

University of Kitakyushu

Abstract

This paper will first look at harassment from a historical, legal perspective when the term sexual harassment was coined in the United States in the 1970s and explain how the phrase was legally developed and adopted by Japan in the late 1980s and 1990s. After presenting various definitions of harassment, the paper will explain how harassment prevention policies—including power and academic harassment—were developed at Japanese universities in general and at a small private university in the Tokyo Metropolitan area more specifically. Finally, the paper will discuss the frustrations and complications behind the scenes of harassment committee work.

要約

本稿はまず1970年代に米国でセクシュアルハラスメントという名称が初めて用いられた際の歴史的法的観点からハラスメントを考察し、その名称が1980年代後半から1990年代にかけて日本でどう法的に展開し使用されるようになったか概観する。さらに日本の大学、特に首都圏の小規模私立大学において、パワハラやアカハラを含むハラスメント防止策がどのように立てられていったか解説する。最後にハラスメント委員会業務の舞台裏にひそむ障害や困難な状況について論じる。

Introduction

This paper aims to explain from an insider's perspective the establishment and the everyday workings of a harassment committee for "Campus B" at a small private university in the Tokyo Metropolitan area. Harassment is not a new experience for human beings. It has been an unwanted part of our lives for centuries. However, harassment as defined in legal and moral terms is relatively new and is arguably in a state of constant development and change.[1] Harassment is a subject that is still misunderstood. This is exemplified in the reactions people have when they discover that my field of research is the investigation of different types of harassing behaviour. Reactions vary from embarrassed laughter, complete fear, sometimes hostility, and occasionally a nod of understanding. Harassment itself seems to conjure up an immense fear, which in turn builds a wall that prevents people from speaking out about their own experiences. Not speaking out against bullying behaviour gives licence to harassers to carry on bullying and so the vicious circle continues—harasser harasses, harassed keeps silent—harasser harasses and so on and so forth. In his ethnography *The Japanese Professor: An*

Ethnography of a University Faculty (2010), Gregory Poole quotes Reid (1986) when discussing professors' rights to autonomy over their classroom: he says "In a comparative light, Reid (1986) points out that in Britain, 'like sexual activity, teaching is seen as an intimate act which is most effectively and properly conducted when shrouded in privacy (Poole, 2010, p. 8)'". My experience with the harassment prevention committee (as a member) was that on a public level, the university had a very active display of support for harassment policies, but an insiders perspective revealed that actual positive action was shrouded in so much privacy that it became inactive—especially when the behavior of senior management came under scrutiny.

If a clear harassment prevention policy is in place and of high quality, interesting training sessions are carried out, then much of the anxiety surrounding the issue of harassment will fade. The tighter the harassment prevention policy, the less likely that false accusation of harassment will occur. For example, if there is a very tight harassment prevention policy, which is managed by harassment experts, (by this I mean individuals who themselves have been through vigorous, high quality training sessions) false accusations of harassment will be more readily recognised and dealt with professionally. Robertson (1988, p. 799) says of sexual harassment, "There is a lot of nervousness, bafflement, tension, fear, and sometimes outright hostility involved when the subject of sexual harassment is raised among university personnel." Much of the "nervousness, bafflement, tension, fear, and hostility" Robertson talks about would disappear if people had a greater understanding of harassment and how harassment procedures work.

Historical overview: U.S. and Japan

The first type of harassment to be explicitly defined was sexual harassment, and it soon became headline news in the United States in the 1970s. During this time, women were becoming increasingly vocal about unwanted sexual behaviour from male colleagues at work. Many women found themselves being forced to choose between sexual advances, which they found repulsive and unemployment. Spearheaded by Lin Farley (1978), a group of female academics finally named this unwelcome sexual behaviour "sexual harassment".[2] The term sexual harassment was coined and was quickly adopted into everyday speech.

It was one thing to name the unwanted behaviour, but quite another issue to create a workable definition of sexual harassment especially a definition that would stand up in a court of law. Sexual harassment was, and arguably still is, an explosive and controversial issue. Denial of its very existence had been prevalent in societies throughout the world for centuries, and suddenly, what was once considered to be just a bit of "as harmless fun" soon became illegal.

In the early 1970s, the connection between sexual harassment and employment practices, although recognised on a personal level, had yet to be recognised at a professional level. Under the 1964 Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, the United States outlawed discrimination against anyone at work based on race, colour, religion, national origin, or sex. Sexual harassment was historically seen as a personal conflict between individuals involved rather than a form of sexual discrimination or sexual abuse.[3]

One of the first cases of sexual harassment in the United States to connect employment practices with unwanted sexual behaviour was in 1976. The district court decided that Dianne Williams was a victim of sex discrimination after she refused sexual advances from her

Department of Justice supervisor and was unfairly penalised because of this. By ruling in favour of Dianne Williams, *quid pro quo* sexual harassment and employment conditions for women could no longer be ignored (Kamiya, 1999; Mackinnon, 1979; Watts, 1996). Furthermore, in 1977, the Court of Appeals for the district Court of Columbia Circuit overruled a lower court decision that went against the plaintiff Paulette Barnes. Paulette Barnes refused sexual advances made by her boss and as a result professional relations with her boss disintegrated (Kamiya, 1999; MacKinnon, 1979). The appeals court concluded:

> But for her womanhood—said the Court of Appeals—her participation in sexual activity would never have been solicited. To say, then, that she was victimised in her employment simply because she declined the invitation to ignore the asserted fact that she was invited only because she was a woman subordinate to the inviter in the hierarchy of agency personnel. Put another way, she became the target of her supervisor's sexual desires because she was a woman, and was asked to bow to his demands as the price of holding her job. (MacKinnon, 1979, pp. 67-68)

The conclusion here was that Barnes had been discriminated against on the grounds of her sex. At this time, sexual harassment became recognised as unlawful because there was sufficient evidence to prove employment retaliation as a consequence of rejection of unwanted sexual advances.

In the 1980s, the phrase sexual harassment was adapted and adopted into mainstream Japanese language. *Sekuhara* (a Japanese abbreviated form of sexual harassment), was frequently used in popular Japanese media to describe the first case of sexual harassment to be brought to court in Fukuoka (Muta, 2008).[5] In 1999, after many years of high profile sexual harassment cases across the country, Japan changed its Equal Opportunity Law and included *quid pro quo* sexual harassment and hostile environment sexual harassment under article 21 of the Equal Opportunity Law. The provisions mandated that employers were now responsible for any incidences of sexual harassment occurring in the workplace.

In Japan, academic harassment, coined by Ueno Chizuko as *akahara*, concentrates on unwelcome behavior in academia, which is not of a sexual nature. The unwelcome behavior, although not sexual, does impede a person's right to work with dignity and respect. In June 1998, Kumiko Ogoshi established an academic harassment awareness support network in order to raise awareness of the problem. At that time, she was experiencing academic harassment from her superior in her research laboratory. Ogoshi was the first person in Japan to successfully bring a case of academic harassment through the legal system (Normile, 2001; Ogoshi, 1999;). Many Japanese universities are still unwilling to create official policies on academic harassment because there is the fear that floodgates will be opened and advisory services will be inundated with complaints. Consequently, those people suffering from academic harassment are often left to either suffer in silence, and try to seek help through the sexual harassment advisory services, or terminate their employment.

There are various opinions why harassment happens in the workplace and in 1999, labour standards issued a diagram (see Figure 1) explaining types of behaviour, which fall into an area known as the grey zone. Some of the behaviours outlined in the diagram below are specifically related to Japanese work practices for example, "at a drinking party being forced

to serve the drinks or sit in a certain order" and "forced to sing with someone." At first glance, these statements have little meaning unless something is known about how Japanese companies work. In Japan, socialising with colleagues at work is considered a duty even though the entertainment is outside of the actual workplace. In certain instances, women are expected to serve everybody alcohol at drinking parties and karaoke often plays a large part in the evening's entertainment. The second statement is a reference to women, being forced to stand in front of their work colleagues and perform a duet with a male colleague. Kazue Muta (2008) in her article "Sexual Harassment in Japanese Culture", states that the Japanese group ethos in Japan exacerbates the problem of sexual harassment because in the Japanese workplace the concept of *wa* or harmony is an essential ingredient to interpersonal relations and colleagues will go to great lengths to maintain harmony at work. Trying to create and maintain *wa* can also create opportunities to harass one's work colleagues.
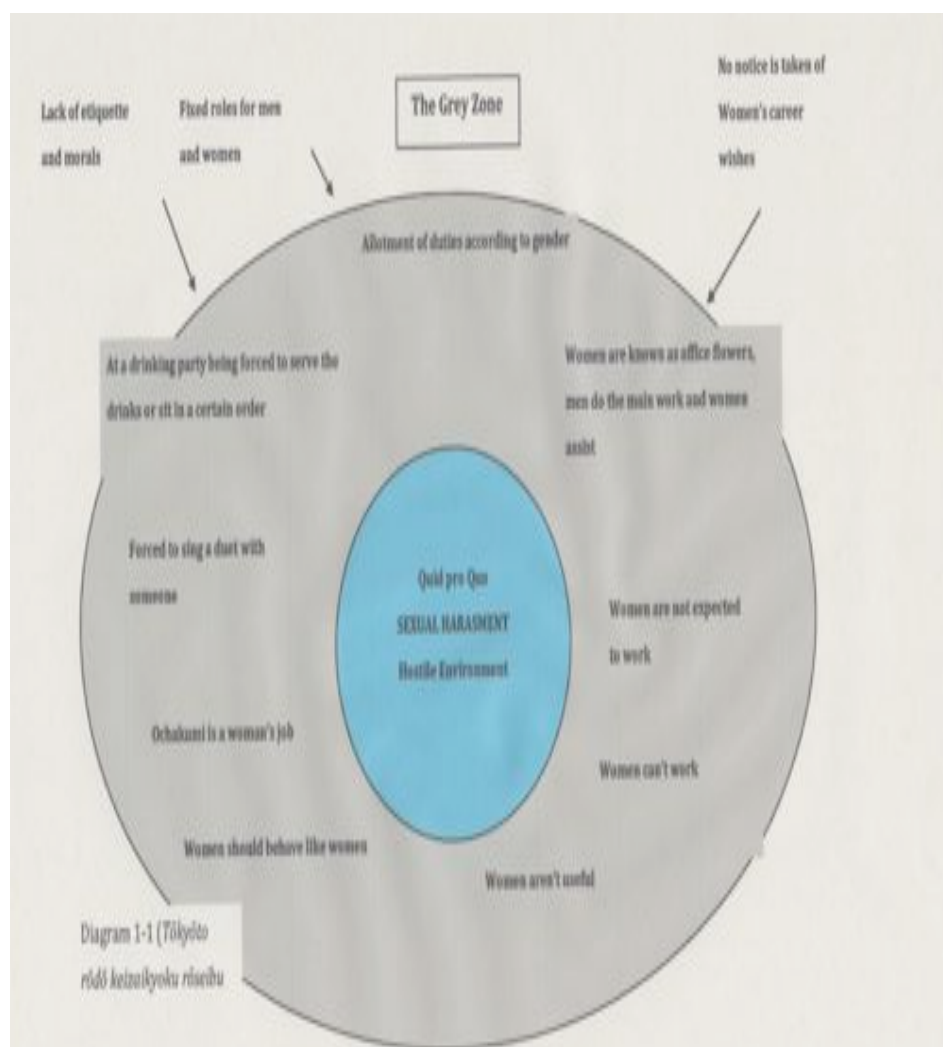

Figure 1: The Grey Zone (Tokyo Ministry of Labour and Economics 1995, p. 15)

Another example of the grey zone outlined in the above diagram is *ochakumi* is a woman's job'. *Ochakumi* is a duty in which female employees are expected to take turns to arrive a few minutes early in the morning in order to prepare the tea and coffee for their male colleagues. In some companies, not only are female employees required to prepare the drinks, they are also obliged to serve the drinks to their male colleagues. When guests arrive in a company, female employees are also expected to serve beverages such as green tea. Other duties related to *ochakumi* involve clearing and washing up dirty pots that have been used throughout the day.

The concept of *ochakumi* has become so institutionalised that female recruits are presented with guidebooks about how to serve tea; these guidebooks are precise in their instructions and include such details as the appropriate temperature necessary for certain types of tea. Although Japanese women may feel they have to acquiesce to such duties, it is a source of irritation for them, as Yuko Ogasawara (1998: 40) notes:

> It was only in serving tea that women had to put aside whatever they were doing and follow the orders of men. Tea pouring reminded women they did not have control over their time.

Overcoming such biased opinions of women is a major battle in the fight to create a well-balanced and fair working environment.

Definitions of Harassment: U.S. and Japan
Two types of sexual harassment have been defined in US legislation, *quid pro quo* sexual harassment and hostile environment sexual harassment. *Quid Pro Quo* sexual harassment:

> mostly occurs when job benefits are made contingent on the provision of sexual favors. When a sexual advance is rejected by an employee it can result in loss of employment or other benefits in job. This is also a part of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment. *Quid pro quo* harassment also occurs when an employee makes an evaluative decision, or provides or withholds professional opportunities based on another employee's submission to verbal, nonverbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. (USLegal.com)

Quid pro quo sexual harassment is extremely difficult to prove and usually occurs in situations where there are no direct witnesses. A common example of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment is when a female employee is made to accept sexual advances from her male employer in order to be promoted and/or receive a pay rise. The reality of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment is far more complicated and worthy of a research paper in its own right.

Hostile environment sexual harassment took longer to be recognised in the U.S courts, in part because many behaviours fall under the umbrella of hostile environment sexual harassment, and were considered to be "part and parcel" of working life. The first court case to recognise hostile environment in the United States was the *Brown v. The City of Gutherie* case in 1980 in which Phyllis Brown, a police dispatcher, successfully brought a claim of hostile environment in federal court (Gruber & Morgan, 2005).

This second form of sexual harassment, hostile environment sexual harassment is generally defined in the United States as follows:

> The Law recognizes that unwanted, demeaning, or threatening sexual conduct can limit women's opportunities, ambitions, and rewards in workplaces and in schools—that such conduct at work or in school substitutes a woman's sex for her personhood. (Mink 2000, p. 3)

Examples of hostile environment sexual harassment include placing nude pictures of women/men in and around the workplace and making sexist derogatory comments about women/men in the workplace. The United States was the first country to legally pave the way for some form of redress from unwanted sexual behaviour at work.

The definitions of sexual harassment used in Japan were adapted from the definitions in the United States Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (Saiki, 2001). Tables 1 and 2 illustrate how closely the definitions are linked.

Table 1
Japanese and U.S definitions of quid pro quo sexual harassment

U.S. definition of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment	Japanese definition of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment
Quid Pro Quo sexual harassment: "mostly occurs when job benefits are made contingent on the provision of sexual favors. When a sexual advance is rejected by an employee, it can result in loss of employment or other benefits. This is also a part of quid pro quo sexual harassment. Quid pro quo harassment also occurs when an employee makes an evaluative decision, or provides or withholds professional opportunities based on another employee's submission to verbal, nonverbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature." (USLegal.com)	女性労働者の意に反する性的な言動に対する女性労働者の対応によって、その女性労働が解雇、降格言及などの不利益をけることです。 Depending upon the female employees reaction to unwanted sexual behaviour the female employee is disadvantaged through [such actions as] dismissal, demotion, or reduction in salary. (Rōdōshō, 1999)

Table 2
Japanese and U.S definitions of hostile environment sexual harassment

U.S. definition of hostile environment sexual harassment	Japanese definition of hostile environment sexual harassment
The Law recognizes that unwanted, demeaning, or threatening sexual conduct can limit women's opportunities, ambitions, and rewards in workplaces and in schools—that such conduct at work or in school substitutes a woman's sex for her personhood. (Mink, p. 3)	女性労働者の意に反する性的な言動により、女性労働者の職業が不快なものとったために、能力の発揮に重大な悪影響が生じるなど、その女性労働者が職業するうえで見過ごせない程度の支障が生じることです。 Hostile environment sexual harassment occurs when unwelcome sexual conduct unreasonably interferes with an individual's job performance or creates a hostile, intimidating or offensive work environment even though the harassment may not result in tangible or economic job consequences, that is, the person may not lose pay or a promotion. Employers, supervisors, co-workers, customers, or clients can create a hostile work environment. (Rōdōshō, 1999)

One difference in the above definitions is that the Japanese definition originally only offered protection against sexual harassment for women. The rational behind this was only women suffered from sexual harassment. In the United States, the definition includes sexual harassment against men as well as women and it also recognises same sex sexual harassment. In 1998, the American Supreme Court had to make judgements on an unusually high number of sexual harassment cases, and although the majority of victims in these cases were women, the question being posed in the legal system was "Can men be sexually harassed?" (Kamiya, 1999, p. 3). The American High Court decided that sexual harassment could be committed by anyone to anyone. For example, sexual harassment could be committed from a man to a woman, from a woman to a man, from a man to a man, or a woman to a woman. However, the reality of the situation is that in a very large majority of cases, men are harassing women sexually (Fremling, 1999, p. 1077). The law in Japan has since been revised and strengthened—now under article 11 of the Japanese Equal Employment Opportunity Law— and the phrase *women workers* has been replaced with *workers* so that now men as well as women are protected.

The question "Can men be sexually harassed?" or "Can women sexually harass?" is still a very controversial and sensitive subject. It is sometimes felt that if research on harassment against men is promoted, it would negate the real problem of harassment against women. The answers to the above questions again merit a separate research paper, and it is important to keep an open mind when discussing harassment because no one case of harassment is the same as another. Every case is different and in order to create awareness of the problem, gender stereotyping has to be deconstructed.

The working group on campus B also added definitions of harassment to the student handbook. The student handbook is bilingual, so the following definitions were also translated into Japanese.

What is *Quid Pro Quo* Harassment?
This type of harassment occurs when it is stated or implied that an academic or employment decision about a student or employee depends upon whether the student of the employee submits to conduct of a sexual nature. *Quid pro quo* sexual harassment also occurs when it is stated or implied that an individual must submit to conduct of a sexual nature in order to participate in a university programme or activity.
What is hostile environment of sexual harassment?
A sexually harassing, hostile environment occurs when unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature creates an intimidating, threatening or abusive working or learning environment or is so severe, persistent or pervasive that it affects a person's ability to participate in or benefit from a University programme or activity.

The above definitions were taken from the University of Michigan's human resources home page. In addition to definitions of sexual harassment examples of *quid pro quo* and hostile environment sexual harassment were also included in the student handbook. The following definition of academic harassment was decided upon and placed in the Campus B's student handbook:

Academic Harassment
Academic harassment (sometimes known as *akahara* in Japanese) occurs when, either through one's actions or words, there is an abuse of authority, offensive treatment of another, a lack of respect shown for another's personality or individuality, or when a person's right to study, do research, or work is violated. Depending on the form of harassment, not only would a victim's emotional well-being be affected, it may also have a negative influence on that person's future.

Power harassment can be difficult to define and explain because it was originally coined and used in Japan as a way of explaining a particular type of harassment that occurs in Japanese companies. On Campus B, the following definition of the term "mobbing", a word used in Europe to describe bullying by a group of people rather than one individual, was the most suitable and perhaps most clearly understood example of power harassment on campus.

One example of power harassment is mobbing
Mobbing is an emotional assault. It begins when the individual becomes the target of disrespectful and harmful behaviour. Through innuendo, rumours, and public discrediting, a hostile environment is created in which one individual gathers others to willingly, or unwillingly, participate in continuous malevolent actions to force a person out of the workplace. These actions escalate into abusive and terrorizing behaviour. The victim feels increasingly helpless when the organization does not put a stop to the behaviour or may even plan or condone it.

Finally, senior management decided to add "other harassment" after sexual, academic, and power harassment to the student handbook, and the definition was as follows:

Other Harassment
Other harassment is that which does not fall into sexual, academic, or power harassment. It is any action or behaviour at work, which worsens the work, research, educational environment or any action, which hinders the accomplishment of duties, research, extracurricular activities or normal studies.

Establishing a harassment policy on Campus B

The university in which I worked was very small, consisting of two small co-educational campuses. Campus A was established in the 1980s during the economic boom years and campus B, recently established, offers liberal arts education through English. Campus B, the focus of this paper, is a small campus and has a capacity of four to six hundred students, with roughly twenty-four full time faculty members. Students on this campus are instructed primarily in English. Many faculty members were hired outside of Japan from a variety of cultural backgrounds, and many had little understanding of the Japanese language or culture. In contrast, the student body is composed of predominantly monolingual Japanese students who have just graduated from Japanese high schools in the neighbouring area.

Prior to the establishment of a harassment prevention committee on campus B, the prevention policy for both campuses was initially limited to a Japanese website, which did

little to explain the problem of harassment. The harassment policies were accessed through a link from the university's webpage (again only in Japanese). Because the only harassment prevention guidelines available were in Japanese a sizable portion of faculty on campus B were unable to understand these guidelines or have access to help if an incident of harassment occurred. In addition, as part of a faculty development initiative, a harassment awareness seminar was held on campus B (again only in Japanese) not long after its establishment. I formed the impression during the ensuing discussion that a large number of both full-time and part-time faculty (both Japanese and non-Japanese) had no real concept of what harassment was, how to recognise it, prevent it, or deal with it. Consequently, senior management on Campus B decided to establish a harassment prevention working group in order to carve out foundations for a workable bilingual (English and Japanese) harassment prevention system. Once these foundations were in place, a newly created harassment prevention committee took over to develop a more detailed bilingual harassment prevention system.

In order to set up a policy, the working group on Campus B consulted material from the United States and Japan. Our main source of reference from Japan was the *Kyanpasu Sekushuaru Harasumento Zenkoku Nettowāku!*, a national network that raises awareness of sexual harassment on university campuses in Japan. Although the network predominantly deals with sexual harassment—as the title of the organization indicates—experts within the network also know a great deal about other forms of harassment and were very helpful in helping us set up a procedure. They also were on hand to help and advise on several occasions when we were unsure how to deal with cases of harassment.[6]

The first task assigned to the working group was to decide which forms of harassment to include in the university guidelines. Sexual harassment is illegal in Japan and definitions of sexual harassment do exist. Other forms of harassment (for example academic and power harassment) are not explicitly illegal and working definitions are more complicated to explain, especially to faculty who have had no previous work experience in Japan. Therefore, the working group researched a number of definitions from various sources before deciding upon the most appropriate ones to use. By appropriate, I mean the definitions that the working group felt matched the makeup of campus B. Once the definitions were agreed upon, the working group and senior management thought that all bases were covered. The next step of setting up an advisory service and a harassment prevention committee could begin.

The first decision to be made after the guidelines were established was who would be on the harassment prevention committee. This was not such a difficult task, as the university regulations stated that only certain members of the university could hold certain positions on certain committees. The members of the harassment prevention committee were the Dean of campus B (Chair), myself (Vice-Chair), the head of administration, and the Chairs of the academic and student affairs committees. Once the committee members had been decided, the parameters of the committee had to be clearly established. In other words what could the harassment prevention committee on campus B do? It was decided that the campus B harassment prevention committee would only handle cases of harassment that would not involve lawyers or punitive disciplinary action. This was because only the university-wide harassment prevention committee of which the president was Chair could take legal disciplinary measures. It was decided that if necessary the Chair of the campus B harassment prevention committee could recommend measures to be taken in a case of harassment but ultimately the final decision would rest with the university-wide harassment prevention committee. The campus B committee, therefore, would promote harassment prevention

awareness and deal with cases of harassment, which it felt could be solved internally within our small environment.

Two very important points, which we felt needed to be addressed in the guidelines were:

1) The harassment prevention committee should make it very clear at the beginning of the guidelines that they were committed to eradicating all forms of harassment against all members of the university regardless of their position.

2) The harassment prevention committee should include a sentence or a line in the guidelines clearly stating that discrimination against anyone for whatever reason would not be tolerated.

The next step for the harassment prevention committee members was to establish an advisory system. The number of full-time faculty was so small that the harassment prevention committee decided to ask four full-time faculty and two full-time members of staff to be part of an advisory system. The committee then decided to try to achieve a balance between male and female as well as a balance between those faculty and staff who could speak English, and Japanese. In principle, anyone would be able to approach any advisor if they had a problem. We also decided it was essential to set up a training session for advisors and members of the harassment committee. The main problem we faced was the expense of bilingual training, so training was only given in Japanese. During the training session, those faculty and staff who spoke both Japanese and English were seated next to someone who could only speak English and acted as informal translators; nevertheless the situation was not ideal.

The next item on the agenda was to create harassment prevention leaflets, posters, and cards based upon the newly formed guidelines. Everything had to be bilingual, and so Japanese and English leaflets and cards were printed separately. Posters had English and Japanese on the same page. All students were to receive copies of leaflets and cards during their orientation and guidance sessions in April and all faculty and staff would be given leaflets and cards. Posters were put up at strategic points around the University campus: the library, the student and teachers common area, and the main student lounge.

I knew from my previous research on sexual harassment that designing a poster about harassment was not easy. For example, one of Waseda University's original designs for sexual harassment can be seen in figure 2.

Figure 2: Design of early sexual harassment poster at Waseda University (Waseda University, 1999)

Although difficult to see, the question セクハラってなに？（*Sekuhara tte nani?*）(What is sexual harassment?) runs down the image of what appears to be a woman's body. Shortly after this pamphlet was published there were complaints about the design as it was felt the image was too sexualized and the design was eventually changed for the plainer design seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3: More recent design of sexual harassment pamphlet at Waseda University (Waseda University, 2001)

The harassment prevention committee decided to model their designs on those from Waseda University and created simple leaflets—but what we hoped, were effective.

It was not long after the harassment awareness promotion campaign went into effect that the harassment committee received its first complaint. The first case of harassment the committee was asked to deal with was very serious and it was clear to most people on the committee that we would not be able to process this individual case. Instead, it would have to be passed straight onto the university wide harassment prevention committee. The problematic areas we had to consider were as follows: firstly, the advisor who had been approached about this matter had breached confidentiality, and soon details of the case quickly spread around the campus. It was a very uncomfortable situation for all committee members because we had no concrete proof of what had happened. Senior management were also reluctant to approach the advisor directly about this matter. Secondly, there was a problem with the original procedures put in place. The original process that the harassment prevention committee decided upon was as follows:

- **Step 1:** Alleged incidents of harassment are reported to an advisor. (If the alleged victim is uncomfortable speaking with an advisor directly then he/she can speak to a trusted member of the university who in return will report the alleged incident to an advisor).
- **Step 2:** If it is deemed necessary the advisor will report the alleged incident to the Harassment Prevention Committee.

• **Step 3:** Once an alleged incident has been reported to the Harassment Prevention Committee, a temporary committee (selected by the Dean) will be established in order to speak to witnesses and the alleged perpetrator.
• **Step 4:** The temporary committee will then report back to the Harassment Prevention Committee.
• **Step 5:** The Harassment Prevention Committee will then examine all of the information received from all parties in a professional and objective manner.
• ***Step 6: The*** *Harassment Prevention Committee will endeavour to solve alleged incidents of harassment internally;* however, it may be necessary for the Chair of the Committee to report to the University-wide Harassment Prevention Committee for advice.

Step one and step two had been followed, the problem area was with step three. In this case, the harassment committee felt that it could not be responsible for setting up a temporary committee. However, before proceeding to step six, according to the above procedure, we had to move through steps three, four, and five, After much discussion, we decided to change the original procedures in order to create a more flexible approach to the whole process. The revised procedure was as follows:

• **Step 1:** Alleged incidents of harassment are reported to an advisor. (If the alleged victim is uncomfortable speaking with an advisor directly then he/she can speak to a trusted member of the university who in return will report the alleged incident to an advisor).
• **Step 2:** If it is deemed necessary the advisor will report the alleged incident to the Harassment Prevention Committee.
• **Step 3:** Once an alleged incident has been reported to the Harassment Prevention Committee the Harassment Prevention Committee will meet to discuss how to proceed with the complaint. Unless the Harassment Prevention Committee decides otherwise a temporary committee will be established in order to investigate the alleged incident. The temporary committee will then report back to the Harassment Prevention Committee.
• **Step 4:** The Harassment Prevention Committee will then examine all of the information received from all parties in a professional and objective manner.
The Harassment Prevention Committee will endeavour to solve alleged incidents of harassment internally; however if deemed necessary the Chair of the Harassment Prevention Committee may choose to consult with the Chair of the University–wide Harassment Prevention committee about alleged incidents of harassment.   (Taken from Campus B's student handbook)

The revised steps one to four gave the campus B harassment prevention committee more flexibility and allowed the committee to immediately pass on any cases of harassment it felt it simply could not handle.

Frustrations and Complications
The next case the committee had to deal with was one of power harassment and the situation was so serious that the person's health was being affected. It was decided that for an interim period, the person who was being harassed would have the flexibility of using two office spaces and would not have prolonged "face to face" contact with the alleged harasser. A plan of action was discussed and in addition to the flexible use of two offices (the victim would be allowed to use a smaller office with her colleague and her supervisor would only be allowed to sit in the main office), senior management decided to speak to the alleged harasser and

implement a number of management-training sessions. However, senior management decided that in order to maintain a harmonious working environment at least on a superficial level, flexibility of office space would not be offered; instead everyone concerned would move into the main office. To exacerbate the situation even further, there was no explanation given to the rest of the staff, so people in the main office were left to ponder why an additional number of personnel were crammed into a once spacious area. Predictably, the situation did not improve and the person who made the original complaint eventually left the university and found a position elsewhere.

Throughout my work as the Vice-Chair of the harassment prevention committee, no cases of sexual harassment were reported. However, as I was leaving the committee, one openly gay student did complain of hostile sexual harassment. The student made the complaint about a group of students who were standing within earshot and making sexual jokes about homosexuals. The student pressed the University to create an awareness campaign, which also included presentations and information about the gay community. Senior management said that the regulations and examples in the student handbook did not include situations of harassment against gay members of the university, and so it was difficult for them to deal with the case. The message was clear—if the behaviour was not specifically written down in the handbook, it was not harassment. However, harassment is not a behaviour that can be categorised or put into neat little boxes; each case of harassment may follow a similar pattern but circumstances and the specifics of the case will be unique. By not recognising this, senior management were not able to grasp the essence of the problem of harassing behaviour. Finally, the student gave up and nothing was done to promote awareness of sexual minorities.

Other complaints made to the harassment committee included racist comments made about foreign faculty and staff, and women being asked to serve tea or clean up in the kitchenette near the main office—this duty also included a rotational taking home of used dish clothes and tea towels every weekend to be laundered and brought back on Monday morning. Time and again, I attempted to stop these "women only duties" by encouraging senior management to seek alternatives, but senior management were adamant in their ideas of who should do the domestic duties in the office. To my utter astonishment, I was once even visited by a female faculty member who was very cross at my suggestions that collective use of cutlery should mean collective cleaning up regardless of gender. Her main concern was that male staff members would be burdened and time would be taken away from their "other duties" if they had to participate in cleaning up or serving tea. The situation regarding domestic duties only for women staff was never really resolved. Similarly, racist comments were also left untreated as the advisor in charge of this simply told the person who made the complaint that this was the way it was in Japan and nothing could be done to change it. The person then withdrew their complaint, leaving some members of the harassment prevention committee feeling very frustrated and helpless.

Deep-rooted sexist behaviour seemed apparent in the attitudes of senior management on campus B and in the attitudes of certain members of faculty towards female staff members. They were adamant that only females should clean up and serve tea and this idea was so ingrained in the minds of certain individuals that it was impossible to change it. It was at this point that I began to really notice a subtle change in senior management's attitude towards the harassment prevention committee and harassment awareness in general. They were no longer as enthusiastic as they had been, especially since their own managerial skills were coming into question. On a superficial level, the support they gave was still abundant in the form of promotion awareness and they were very supportive of printing out more leaflets, orientations for first year students, and guidance for second, third, and fourth year students.

However, when it came to recognising incidences of harassment, within their ranks, an excuse was always found. This was usually in the form of using Japanese culture as an excuse for sexist practises. Female staff being in charge of serving tea and other "domestic" duties was justified as part of Japan's "hospitality" culture and was not sexist at all. Racist comments were said to be a part of Japanese people's naivety because they didn't know any better. This blatant defence of harassing behaviour meant it became an increasingly uphill struggle to break through the grey zone and stop incidents of harassment from escalating.

Final Reflections

In conclusion, I feel that there were positives and negatives in establishing the harassment prevention awareness committee and promoting harassment prevention awareness on campus. The positives were that guidelines were created, which were more easily understood, compared to the original homepage. An advisory system was set up that, in spite of initial problems, did work on some level and could be used as a stepping-stone for further development toward a more substantial understanding of harassment. Finally, harassment prevention awareness was promoted to students even though, to date, I only know of one student who has used the advisory service. The negatives included the constant problem of confidentiality. I have attended many meetings about harassment and found that confidentiality, especially on small campuses, is extremely difficult to maintain. Breaches of confidentiality resulted in rumours, which were in many cases extremely overblown and inaccurate.

Harassment prevention awareness policies only work if they are taken seriously. Dzeich (1998), in the introduction of her second book on sexual harassment on campus, says that in classes and workshops she holds for students, very few if any write that sexual harassment is an act of violence. Herein lies one of the fundamental problems with harassment awareness campaigns, the seriousness of the problem is often understated or justified with various reasons that are so socially ingrained within a culture as to make them seem almost acceptable. It is easy to print harassment awareness posters and leaflets, but much more difficult to come to terms with the problem of harassment or deal with the aftermath of harassment once an incident has occurred.

Endnotes

(1) Wise and Stanley (1987) note that phrases such as sexual harassment, racism, and mugging are words, which have appeared recently, to describe behaviour that previously was seen as "just part of life", until protest groups began to label this behaviour as unacceptable. Sharon Sievers (1983), uses the term sexual harassment to describe the treatment of women in textile mills at the beginning of the twentieth century even though the term was unknown at this point in time. Although the phrase sexual harassment had not been coined yet, one form of maltreatment Japanese women endured in the textile mills was the unwelcome, unwanted sexual attention from male employees, which in modern terms would be classified as sexual harassment.

(2) Lin Farley`s book entitled *Sexual Shakedown: The Sexual Harassment of Women on the Job* (1978) was the first publication to name unwelcome sexual behaviours women experienced in the work place.

(3) In 1975, the case Corne and DeVane v. Bausch and Lomb Inc. was described as "nothing more than personal proclivity, peculiarity or mannerism." Also in the case Tomkins v. Public

Service Electric and Gas Co. (1976), the view was upheld that Title VII was "not intended to provide a federal tort remedy for what amounts to a physical attack motivated by sexual desire on the part of a supervisor and which happened to occur in a cooperative corridor rather than a back alley." (Rubenstein 1983,p. 3)

(5) In this case, a male senior editor had spread false rumours about a female employee. He ignored her request to stop, so she complained to the editor's supervisor. She was promptly told that she could not make a complaint because the senior editor was a man and she was a woman. The woman ignored this advice and continued to complain and was eventually fired for being a troublemaker. She sued the company, and after two and a half years the court ruled in her favour. At the end of the year 1989, the newly coined term *sekuhara* was the most fashionable word of the year.

(6) The *Kyanpasu Sekushuaru Harasumento Zenkoku Nettowāku* was founded by Professor Kazuko Watanabe in 1997 with the intention of establishing a diverse network where information could be freely relayed between members and action could be undertaken to solve the problem of sexual harassment on university campuses across Japan. The network is divided into ten different nodes (Hokkaido, Tohoku, Kanto, Hokuriku, Tokai, Kansai, Chukoku, Shikoku, Kyushu, Okinawa) and each node is an independent center of activity, which is connected to other nodes through newsletters and mailing lists.

Fiona Creaser is an Associate Professor at the University of Kitakyushu. Her primary research is about sexual and academic harassment, she is also interested in disability images especially stereotyping of disabled women.

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A Discourse Analysis of Islamic Feminism in Malaysian English Newspaper Editorials

Sulastri Yahya
Tohoku University

Abstract

This paper aims to examine how Muslim women's representations in Malaysia are constructed. This research employs a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2003) and Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA) (Baxter, 2003) to explore positioning of Malaysian Muslim women. This study uses selected editorials by a Malaysian Muslim women's group, Sisters in Islam (SIS), appearing in two mainstream Malaysian English newspapers, *The Star* and *The New Straits Times*. This paper examines existing and conflicting discourses, critiqued and constructed by two female writers through analysis of newspaper editorials. The author explores how language is used to construct and contest identities and how Malaysian Muslim women are represented. She also uses CDA and FPDA to discuss how the two female writers draw on dominant and alternative discourses, especially in the positioning of self and of Muslim women.

要旨

本論文はマレーシアにおけるイスラム教徒の女性についての表現がメディアにおいてどのように構築されているのかを分析することを目的とする。批判的談話分析（Critical Discourse Analysis: CDA) (Fairclough, 2003) 及びフェミニストポスト構造主義（Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis: FPDA) (Baxter, 2003)を組み合わせて用いることで、マレーシアのイスラム教徒女性の位置づけを探る。マレーシアにおける主流な新聞である*The Star*及び*The New Straits Times*から抽出した記事を使用する。本研究では、新聞記事の分析を通して２人の筆者 により構築されるディスコースで既存のものと対立しているものを検証する。また、マレーシアのイスラム教徒女性のアイデンティティ及び表現を構築・議論するためにどのような言語が用いられているのかも分析する。CDA及びFPDAを用いることで執筆者自身及び他のイスラム教徒女性がどのように位置づけられているか、また優勢的なディスコースと代替的なものをどのように活用しているかについても考察する。

Introduction

According to Embong (2001, p. 59), Malaysia is a dynamic multicultural society consisting of Malay, Chinese, Indian and various other ethnic groups. In comparison with many other predominantly Muslim countries, Malaysia is commonly noted for its moderate and progressive ethos. However, Malaysia does implement separate laws for Muslims and non-

Muslims, which has resulted in differences in women's rights (Anwar, 2001, p. 235). Malaysia, then, is not without its crises, especially when it involves religions. Malaysian Muslim women have often been subjected to gender inequalities concerning religious issues (Anwar, 2001, p. 230-231). A group called Sisters in Islam (henceforth SIS) has recently tried to respond to this problem by initiating an Islamic feminist ideology in Malaysia.

The aim of this paper is to show a change taking place in Malaysian Muslim society instigated through the medium of newspaper debate. In particular, this paper focuses on issues concerning the challenge to the disempowerment of Malaysian Muslim women in the context of a society that has different, more liberal laws for non-Muslims. I use discourse analytic approaches to demonstrate how several Malaysian Muslim feminist writers contest dominant religious and gendered discourses which have long been considered normative in Malaysian society. This study shows how these writers construct alternative discourses to challenge oppressive and discriminating discourses in order to present and empower Muslim women in a more favorable position. The purpose of using discourse analysis methodology in examining media texts is to illuminate how social change is currently occurring. On a personal level, as a Muslim woman myself aspiring to a professional career in academia in Malaysia, I am invested in researching, understanding and contributing to positive changes and overcoming resistance to change in Muslim women's identities and status.

Malaysian Law and Women's Position in Malaysia

Personal and family law (such as marriage, divorce, child custody, and inheritance) for Muslims and non-Muslims are handled in different courts in Malaysia. For Muslims these matters are handled under State laws in *Syariah* Courts; however, for non-Muslims these are handled under Federal laws (Lee, 2004, p. 7, 41). According to Othman (2006, p. 339), the sole interpretation of *Syariah* law is grounded in a traditionalist (non-historicised) interpretation from men's point of view, which frequently discriminates against women. This dominant interpretation serves as a platform of continued discussion and debate in Malaysia. Anwar (2001, p. 227-235) asserts that SIS and other women's groups are at the forefront in challenging the efforts made by conservative Islamist groups to establish a "pristine" and "authentic" Islamic state by using a traditional Arabic model of Islam. Anwar (2001: 235) claims these efforts reverse Malaysian Muslim women's rights that they used to have, and deny Muslim women the same legal rights and protection as those of non-Muslim women.

Unlike Muslim men whose rights are better served and who have more power under *Syariah* law, Muslim women face problems in exercising their rights, and women also often encounter bias from male judges (Foley, 2004, p. 64). Othman (2006, p. 344) claims that it is somewhat easy for Muslim men in Malaysia to practice polygamy, divorce a wife or wives irresponsibly, neglect maintenance for children, or abandon wives and children. Polygamy is illegal for non-Muslims in Malaysia but it is legally accepted for Muslims. However, the conditions that a Muslim man should fulfill before marrying more than one wife are usually overlooked. Normally the court only considers the man's financial ability but neglects other conditions: a just and necessary reason, the ability to treat his wives equally, and whether the proposed marriage may cause physical, mental, or spiritual harm to the existing wife/wives (Anwar, 2001, p. 244). For Anwar (2001, p. 244), weak and discriminating implementation of *Syariah* law in divorce matters, is sometimes successfully claimed by women. Non-Muslims can file for divorce via mutual consent or petition by either spouse. On the other hand, Muslim men are able to pronounce a divorce unilaterally and register the case in a single hearing. However, divorce cases filed by Muslim women, due to gender-bias being

normalised in Muslim courts, often result in long battles, taking years to settle (Anwar, 2001, p. 244). Many cases filed by divorced, abandoned, abused or neglected Muslim women do not get prompt counsel from Muslim courts, or the legal action is not available to women, which in the end often results in injustice and oppression to women (Othman, 2006, p. 344). While non-Muslims enjoy equal rights to guardianship and equal rights to inheritance, Islamic Family Law states otherwise: the father is the sole primary guardian of his children and the wife does not inherit the whole matrimonial property, with some parts of it going to the deceased husband's family (Mahathir, 2006b). The existence of two separate judiciary systems has resulted in different conditions for Malaysian Muslims and non-Muslims pertaining to personal matters. This is seen as unequal by some, and causes many women to question both its efficiency and its fairness in a multicultural society.

According to the World Economic Forum's report on the 2011 Global Gender Gap Index, Malaysia was ranked at number 97 out of 135 countries (Hausmann, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2011). This low ranking reflects the social inequality between men and women in many aspects, such as the lack of female involvement in politics. Currently women make up only about ten percent 10% of the members of the parliament in Malaysia. According to the Department of Statistics in Malaysia, less than 49% of women participate in the labor force (2011, p. 13). Some women's groups and activists claim that the big gap in Muslim and non-Muslim women's rights contributes to inequality between men and women in Malaysia in general.

Islamic Feminist Versus Islamic Fundamentalist Discourses
The Muslim world has seen the rise of Islamic feminism, especially in Iran and Egypt (to name a few examples) and Islamic feminism is gaining popularity among Muslim women's "new"/radical movements in Malaysia. According to Ong (1999, p. 360), equality demanded by Muslim feminists is not a civil rights movement, but rather, these feminists seek to justify equality based on alternative readings of the Quran and Hadith's (the Prophet's) sayings. A discourse of Islamic feminism produced by Muslim women interprets Islam quite differently from the patriarchal Islamists (Badran, 2001, p. 51). This new interpretation is distinct from the interpretation of secular feminists in that Muslim feminists are demanding women's place and rights within an Islamic framework (Treacher, 2003, p. 64). Moghadam (2002, p. 1155) argued that some Muslim women have reinterpreted Islamic law in order to eliminate discrimination against women and improve women's legal status. Moll (2009, p. 40) noted that the growth of Islamic feminism is indebted to a "moderate Muslim" voice, which embraces equality, pluralism and human rights values with secular-liberal understandings. Islamic feminists seek to redefine "Islamic tradition", and reject the traditional commentaries of authoritative male interpreters, which are believed to not adhere to an "Islamic horizon" or Islamic vision (Moll, 2009, p. 42).

On the contrary, according to Moghissi (1999, p. 65), a fundamentalist agenda proposes to reform society by adopting models of an idealized past. Islamic fundamentalist movements suggest that Islamic societies' subjugation is caused by their deviation from "true" and "authentic" Islam, and they seek to save and "purify" Islamic societies. Fundamentalist groups share views of anti-modernity, anti-democracy and anti-feminism. These fundamentalists also oppose the separation of religion and politics. In Malaysia, Islamic fundamentalists try to control women's rights and status in the family and society, as well as women's bodies (Othman 2006, p. 343). Although the term "Islamic fundamentalist" is generally thought of as derogatory, and some Muslims prefer to be known as "Islamists",

both terms refer to the same notion of traditional Muslims who practice a conservative interpretation of the religious texts (Foley, 2004, p. 54).

The Islamic Feminist Movement in Malaysia and Other Countries
Within the framework of Islamic belief, many Muslim women around the world have attempted to reform *Syariah* law to revisit women's rights. Among many women who have been reinterpreting the religious texts are Afsaneh Najmabadeh, Ziba Mir-Hosseini (Iranian), Nazira Zain al-Din (Lebanese) and Amina Wadud (African American), along with other pioneer Islamic feminists like Zainab Al-Ghazali, 'Aisha 'Abd al-Rahman (Egyptian), Fatima Mernissi (Moroccan), and many others. These scholars have produced numerous papers on gender equality and justice (Badran, 2001, p. 50 & 2005, p. 18-21).

In addition to individual Islamic feminists, international women's organizations have also been involved in Islamic re-interpretations to increase Muslim women's rights and reform Islamic legal systems. Founded in 1984, "Women Living Under Muslim Laws" (WLUML) is an organization that supports women from around the world who have links to laws and customs originating from Islam (http://www.wluml.org/). Also formed in 1984, the "Sisterhood is Global Institute" (SIGI) is an international NGO that supports women's movements globally, but also focuses on Muslim women's welfare (http://sigi.org/).

The increase of Islamic feminist discourse in Malaysia is synonymous with the agenda of SIS (Ong, 1999, p. 368). SIS is a non-governmental, Islamic feminist group active since the 1980s which aims to fight for Muslim women's equality, and to eradicate discrimination against women (Anwar, 2001, p. 227-228). Since Islamic teachings have traditionally been interpreted by men, SIS members seek to find the interpretation of Islamic texts from women's point of view in order to understand the underlying values and principles in areas such as Islamic laws, polygamy, modesty, etc. (Anwar, 2001, p. 228-230). SIS also strives to educate the larger public on the importance of understanding the full context of Islamic teachings, and not only depend on the authority of religious scholars and Islamist groups (Othman, 2006, p. 348). SIS works to negotiate rights for women in legal, political, economic and social structures through research, advocacy, public education, publications, and local and global networking (Othman, 2006, p. 348-350).

Malaysia is different from other Muslim countries in that Islamic feminists have been aspiring to combine secular and Islamic elements, and to introduce Islamic modernity into this multicultural nation (Ong, 1999, p. 365). Even among members of the Muslim society in Malaysia, there are opposing opinions about Islamic rules and laws, resulting in a conflict among Muslims themselves. The practice of Islam is subject to different interpretations that have created discrimination for Muslim women. This has prompted SIS to take the lead to try to improve Muslim women's rights in Malaysia.

Discourses
Discourses refer to social or ideological practices, which govern the ways in which people think, speak, interact, write and behave (Gee, 1999). Sunderland (2004, p. 6) refers to discourses as "ways of seeing the world". Discourse analysis looks at the broad, macro aspects of society and deconstructs the commonsensical notions or ideas that people or particular societies have about the world. The most commonsensical notions are the dominant discourses existing in the world that we are born into and which can be challenged or changed. The conflicting discourses, or the more marginalized notions about the world, are

referred to as alternative discourses. Some common dominant discourses used universally are the discourse of "men as superior to women", and the discourse of "all Muslims as terrorists". These can be challenged by alternative discourses of "men are equal to women", or "Muslims as peace-promoters and opposed to war or violence".

Critical Discourse Analysis

The language of media is ideologically significant in revealing how people use power to represent things in certain ways (Fairclough, 1995). Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) is an appropriate methodological and theoretical approach to uncover how women's positioning and gender issues are constructed in newspapers (Fairclough, 2003). CDA is an approach where the researcher analyses texts and talk in social and political contexts, and looks at how social power, dominance, and inequality are represented in people's speech (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). CDA aims to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in written and spoken language, and in semiotics (Fairclough, 2001).

According to Fairclough (1995, p. 57), CDA's analytical framework to analyze media discourse consists of the analysis of relationships between three dimensions: "text", referring to written or spoken texts from audio or visual forms; "discourse practice", involving the processes of text production and text consumption; and "sociocultural practice", dealing with the social and cultural aspects taking place in communicative events.

Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis

Feminist poststructuralist theory stems from third-wave feminism, which challenges the sex-gender distinction. Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (henceforth FPDA) is based on various concepts like social constructionist feminism, post-structuralist feminism and CDA (Baxter, 2003, p. 4). FPDA looks at various discourses and examines how people negotiate their identities, relationships, and positions in their world.

Baxter (2003, p. 58) proposed several principles of FPDA: taking a deconstructionist approach, selecting a specific feminist focus and being self-reflexive. Taking a deconstructionist approach allows people to look at or produce new perspectives when constructions are deconstructed (Baxter, 2003, p. 61). It also borrows the "oppressed"/ "oppressor" terms from CDA to explore and challenge binaries of subject positions or discourses. Selecting a specific feminist focus involves specific contexts for the negotiation of gender discourse, and focuses on significant discourses on gender (Baxter, 2003, p. 66). FPDA also looks at how discourses position female speakers as both powerful and powerless. Self-reflexivity centers on the value of being self-critical of our own assumptions as researchers (Baxter, 2003, p. 58).

Data and Methodology

This paper focuses on how Muslim feminists are trying to challenge various dominant discourses that exist in Malaysia, and to promote a channel for new voices to be heard that might assist women in claiming equality and justice within an Islamic framework. I examine Malaysian Muslim women's representations in two well-read pro-government Malaysian English newspapers: The Star and The New Straits Times. In this paper, I critically analyze newspaper editorials by two women writers, Marina Mahathir and Zainah Anwar, who I will refer to respectively as MM and ZA.

I chose these two writers because they are feminist writers and they are also prominent members of Sisters in Islam (SIS). They have different careers and journalistic backgrounds from each other, and their editorials, which are published in mainstream newspapers in Malaysia, could possibly influence readers, positively or negatively.

MM is well known as the daughter of Mahathir Mohamad, the fourth Malaysian Prime Minister with a regular column, called "Musings", in The Star. ZA was a columnist for The New Straits Times, but she later joined The Star, writing a column called "Sharing the Nation". Their topics include issues on women's rights, gender differences, Islamic/civil laws, multi-ethnic relations, democracy, and politics, among others. While MM's witty, yet meaningful writings tend to lean on personal anecdotes, ZA's style is considered more formal and serious.

For this analysis, I specifically searched for editorials, which touched on gender issues in relation to Islam, and examined the identities of the writers and other Malaysian Muslim and non-Muslim women. This paper seeks to answer the following research questions:

RQ1.   How is language in printed media today used to construct and contest identities, relationships, and positions in the representation of Malaysian Muslim women?

RQ2.   How are traditional religious and gendered discourses being challenged and what new discourses are being created in media texts?

I draw on CDA and FPDA discourse frameworks for this paper's data analysis. According to Kamada (2010, p. 18), "a poststructuralist framework allows for multiple perspectives to be heard alongside one another" and that such multi-perspectives could include the combination of the compatible approaches of CDA and FPDA. Both theories put importance on the researcher's self-reflexivity (Baxter, 2010, p. 50). CDA and FPDA also examine how social actors are positioned (or position themselves), and reveal how people can be both powerless and potentially powerful according to various contexts (Baxter, 2003, p. 66). Positioning looks at the construction of people's identities, which can also be de-constructed or re-constructed.

From various media texts related to Islam and gender issues, I selected three extracts each of the two feminist writers, MM and ZA. I then analyzed the data using both micro and macro analysis. For micro analysis, I examined linguistic features in texts, mainly focusing on lexical choice and grammar. The text analysis also included an examination of what people "do" with language and how people "do" various actions through their language. For macro analysis, I explored how people "position" themselves and others in ideological perspectives, and use social discourses in which dominant and alternative discourses are drawn on. Following Kamada's analysis of how to discern discourses in spoken interaction, I searched for "words repeatedly occurring, commonly emerging themes, links and contradictions" (Kamada, 2010, p. 25) to find occurrences of discourses, and to determine how people position themselves and others.

Data Analysis

Below are analyses of extracts 1-3 by MM and extracts 4-6 by ZA. Some are divided into A and B parts for easier analysis. (See *Appendix: Data Conventions* for explanation of the conventions used in the extracts.) I chose similar subjects from MM's and ZA's editorials. The common themes concerning gender issues in Malaysia that emerged were: inequality of

women under Islamic Family Law (IFL), different rights for Muslim and non-Muslim women, and the construction of "new" identities of Muslim women today.

Analysis 1: MM

Following is the data analysis using extracts from MM's editorials. Through this analysis, I attempt to answer RQ1 by examining MM's use of language to construct identities, relationships and the positioning of herself and other Malaysian Muslim women. To address RQ2, I also show in what context dominant (traditional) and newly-created religious and gendered discourses are located and expressed.

In extracts 1-A and 1-B, MM talks about the amended Islamic Family Law, especially concerning men and women's rights. In the same article, MM details the amendments to the IFL, and differences in laws for Muslims and non-Muslims as mentioned above.

Extract 1-A: "True equality" (Mahathir, The Star, 2006a, January 25)

[…]
20 I think a lot of men are wondering first of all, why women complain endlessly about
21 discrimination. And secondly, what does equality actually mean.
[…]
41 That is exactly what happened with the IFL. Giving men who already have a lot of
42 rights more [rights], just because women had those lesser rights, only meant that the
43 end result was [that] the inequality between men and women got more pronounced.
[…]
47 So the IFL only creates inequality and injustice. Some people think that this is the
48 way it should be, simply because this law supposedly has some religious basis. But
49 this is like saying that religion essentially supports inequality and injustice. Surely
50 this is an insult to religion.

In this extract, MM brings up the subject of the meaning of equality (line 21). MM claims that IFL encompasses "a discourse of inequality and injustice". With regards to the IFL, she challenges an agenda of gender differences: men should not be given more rights than women with the result being even more inequality for women (lines 41-42). "Inequality and injustice" is repeated twice (lines 47 and 49) and "inequality" by itself also appears another time (line 43).

MM mocks the IFL, saying that it "supposedly has some religious basis" (line 48) and at the same time suggests that the "religious basis" of Islam should contain equality between the sexes. In lines 49-50, MM challenges the IFL's credibility by drawing attention to how it insults religion in its seemingly overt support of inequality and injustice.

Extract 1-B: "True equality" (Mahathir, The Star, 2006a, January 25)

[…]
51 So why should men support laws that provide for equality and justice for women?
52 Would they lose out by doing this, or be seen as a bunch of ninnies controlled by
53 women? I think the men who are against the IFL are intelligent and compassionate
54 men who really believe that discriminating against women is passé, that it is an
55 insult to humankind to treat one half as lesser beings.

[…]
61 There are men who are hesitant to sign the petitions against the IFL because they
62 are wary of being associated with women's groups. This is shortsighted and
63 irrational. Men have so much to gain by promoting true equality and justice for all,
64 and nothing to lose except empty egos. And I've never known a woman who has
65 genuinely liked any man who treats women as inferior.

In extract 1-A, MM referred to "inequality" several times, but here, in the latter half of this continuing extract, she uses "equality and justice" twice (lines 51 and 63) and "equality" also appears in extract 1-A once (line 21). In 1-B, MM challenges and attempts to deconstruct "a discourse of inequality and injustice", and then she reconstructs it as "a discourse of equality and justice".

She positions men in two different ways according to whether or not they support the IFL or sign petitions against it. MM deconstructs the notion put forth by the supporters of the IFL that men who support equal rights "are a bunch of ninnies controlled by women" (lines 52-53), and reconstructs men who support equality and justice for women as "intelligent and compassionate" (lines 53-55). On the other hand, she positions men who support the IFL as passé (line 54), "an insult to humankind" (line 55), and "shortsighted and irrational" (lines 62-63) with "empty egos" (line 64). Furthermore, in lines 64-65, she draws on a feminist positioning that women genuinely do not want to be treated as inferior.

As mentioned earlier, laws pertaining to personal matters in Malaysia fall under separate laws: Federal Law for non-Muslims and *Syariah* Law for Muslims. In extract 2 below, MM writes about the differences in Malaysian laws concerning Muslim women and non-Muslim women, highlighting the discrimination that Muslim women are facing.

Extract 2: *"No cheer for Muslim women" (Mahathir, The Star, 2006b, March 10)*
[…]
13 In many cases, it is women who are discriminated against. In our
14 country, there is an insidious growing form of apartheid among Malaysian women,
15 than between Muslim and non-Muslim women.
16 We are unique in that we actively legally discriminate against women who are
17 arguably the majority in this country, Muslim women. Non-Muslim Malaysian
18 women have benefited from more progressive laws over the years while the
19 opposite has happened for Muslim women.
[…]
43 These differences between the lot of Muslim women and non-Muslim women beg
44 the question: do we have two categories of citizenship in Malaysia, whereby most
45 female citizens have less rights than others? As non-Muslim women catch up with
46 women in the rest of the world, Muslim women here are only going backwards. We
47 should also note that only in Malaysia are Muslim women regressing; in every other
48 Muslim country in the world, women have been gaining rights, not losing them.

In this extract, MM draws on "a discourse of religious segregation" in the Malaysian context by pointing out how "Muslim and non-Muslim women" (line 15) are differently positioned in Malaysia based on the dual judiciary systems. She uses the passive voice in referring to women who are discriminated against (line 13) which leaves out the agent of the action, although the hidden agent could be assumed to be men. Her use of the passive form implicitly

foregrounds *men* as responsible for the discrimination towards women. MM uses an intertextual reference in the word "apartheid" (line 14), calling up an image of the former South African practice of systemic racial discrimination. She uses this term as a metaphor to illustrate the severe religious-based discrimination of Muslim women in comparison to non-Muslim women (as well as all men) in Malaysia, as a result of the dual judiciary systems MM uses an ironic, sarcastic tone to describe the practice of discrimination against Muslim women as "unique" (line 16). She uses this ironic voice in a sarcastically humorous way in saying, "we actively legally discriminate against women who are arguably the majority in this country, Muslim women" (line 16) in order to make her point strong.

Drawing on "a discourse of religious segregation" for Muslim women, MM further points out the irony of the situation, by showing how non-Muslim Malaysian women have progressed over the years, whereas Muslim women have not been able to stay at the same pace (lines 17-19). MM states the problem in very overt terms (lines 44-45) by questioning the two different and separate categories for citizenship concerning equality for women in Malaysia. In so stating this, she implies an alternative "discourse of religious parity" for everyone.

MM also draws on "a discourse of Islamic women as regressing" and positions Malaysian Muslim women as "going backwards" (line 46), "regressing" (line 47) and "losing" rights (line 48). She presents non-Muslim women in Malaysia as being in a better place since they "have benefited from more progressive laws" (line 18), as explained earlier in matters or marriage, divorce, guardianship and inheritance. As non-Muslim women can also enjoy more rights and have more privileges and advantages than Muslim women, MM also positions them as progressive since they are able to "catch up with women in the rest of the world" (lines 45-46). By drawing on "a discourse of women as progressing", her main point here is to illustrate how Muslim women in Malaysia are particularly marginalized and disempowered compared to their non-Muslim women fellow citizens who have benefitted from the same country's more progressive laws. For example, in divorce cases, both non-Muslim men and women have equal rights to file for a divorce, but for Muslims, only men have the right to pronounce a divorce inside or outside of the courts. However, Muslim women have to go through a different process of legalizing a divorce, often claimed as discriminating to women.

In extract 3 below, MM narrates a past event involving herself and two other women who are all daughters of previous prime ministers. The women are Hanis Hussein, the daughter of Hussein Onn, the third Malaysian prime minister, and Nori Abdullah who is the daughter of Malaysian fifth Prime Minister, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi. MM addresses them as Hanis and Nori in the extract, but I used the initials HN for Hanis and NR for Nori in the analysis. They got together for a public discussion during the Sisters in Islam International Consultation on Trends in Family Law Reform in Muslim Countries in 2006.

Extract 3: "A first for women" (Mahathir, The Star, 2006c, March 22)
[…]
26 As someone who has been publicly castigated for being "ignorant" and a
27 "bad Muslim", I have some experience in taking these sorts of public stands and
28 exposing myself to pretty violent negative reactions. Hanis had none while Nori has
29 some. It therefore involves a lot of personal risk to do this, especially if you're
30 basically a gentle soul who would never hurt a fly—like Hanis—or someone young,
31 like Nori. I would therefore like to personally congratulate both my sisters for their
32 enormous courage and thank them for their solidarity with their many less

33 privileged sisters in this country.
[…]
45 Therefore it is no wonder that the daughters of leaders have also become more
46 educated, and, having been brought up with the right values at home, cannot and
47 will not keep quiet.
[…]
54 I think the wish of all three of us was that with this significant act, we give our
55 sisters who are suffering injustices in this country hope. We would like them to
56 know that they are not alone, that they have in us champions who empathise with
57 them and who are willing to fight for their rights. We believe that as women who
58 have positions of privilege, we have an enormous capacity and a responsibility to
59 bring attention to issues that affect women in this country. Furthermore, as women
60 who believe in the inherently just spirit of our faith, one in which the Almighty
61 explicitly states that men and women are equal, it is therefore our duty to not keep
62 silent.

"A discourse of bad Muslim women" is seen above when MM relates how she has been positioned as "bad" with adjectives like "ignorant" and a "bad Muslim" (lines 26-27). MM uses the expression "publicly castigated" (line 26) to position herself as a victim. MM deconstructs this victimization by drawing on "a discourse of educated women" where she re-constructs herself as having "experience" [of social criticism] (line 27) and states that she is ready to expose herself "to pretty violent negative reactions" (line 28).

Besides herself, MM includes discussion of HN and NR in this extract, who, like her, are also daughters of previous Malaysian prime ministers. MM admits that it "involves a lot of personal risk to do this" (line 29). "This" (line 29) refers to a public event attended by the three prime minister's daughters on the issue of equality for Muslim women that took place shortly before this extract was written. MM positions both HN and NR as somewhat naïve, compared to her, in terms of speaking out about women's rights. MM positions HN as "a gentle soul who would never hurt a fly" (line 30) and she positions NR as "someone young" (line 30). Besides HN and NR, MM also brings in other female actors as "less privileged sisters" (lines 32-33), referring to other Muslim women who might be more victimized and unable to speak out for themselves.

MM draws on "a discourse of female solidarity" by referring to HN and NR as "sisters" (line 31) and congratulates (line 31) and thanks them for "their enormous courage" (line 32) and "their solidarity" (line 32). Here, she draws on "a discourse of educated women" where she positions herself and other "daughters of leaders" (line 45) as "educated" (lines 45-46) and as people who were brought up with "the right values at home" (lines 46). MM uses negative modality "cannot and will not keep quiet" (line 47) to emphatically create solidarity between herself and the other daughters of leaders in their shared determination and promise to speak out for the other "less privileged sisters".

When MM talks about herself and the other two women above, she uses "we", "us" and "our" repeatedly. The inclusive pronouns "we", "us", "our", and even "I" function as in-group membership markers -- women who share the same beliefs, values or knowledge. MM uses the noun "sisters" frequently to refer to both groups of Muslim women: the more privileged in-group including herself and two other women (HN and NR) ("both my sisters": line 31); and also the out-group Muslim women who are "less privileged sisters" (lines 32-33) and "our sisters who are suffering injustices" (lines 54-55). For the other female actors; MM uses the pronouns "they", "them" and "their" several times to refer to the less-privileged

"sisters". "A female solidarity discourse" appears again when MM positions the "daughters of leaders" or "we", the in-group members, as "champions" (line 56) to assist the other less privileged "sisters" or "they", the out-group members, although she speaks of them fondly, taking up a position like a *big-sister*. The lexeme "sisters" acts as an important keyword to index "a female solidarity discourse" among Muslim women. MM intertextually draws on the Muslim notion that "all Muslims are brothers/sisters" even though there is no actual blood relationship among them. By utilizing the word "sisters", MM constructs solidarity for readers to relate to and in so doing she constructs a special symbolic bond to unite Muslim women.

MM also draws on "a discourse of female solidarity" and "a discourse of champions or leaders" in the wish shared by herself and the other daughters of previous leaders to protect other Muslim women. They want to give "hope" (line 55) to women who are victims of injustice. As "champions" (line 56), MM tries to reassure the out-group that they will never be "alone" (line 56) as her in-group will always be around to protect them. The daughters' "wish" also includes being able to "empathise with them" (lines 56-57) and MM pledges that they are "willing to fight for the rights" (line 57) of the less privileged. MM positions the daughters of prime ministers as capable of leading since they have not only education, but also experience.

Regarding the "less privileged" group, MM positions herself, HN and NR as being in "positions of privilege" (line 58), drawing on a new progressive discourse of "Muslim women today". She also positions these daughters as powerful because they have "an enormous capacity" (line 58) in them to speak for women. To protect other women, she positions the daughters of leaders as being accountable to others in that they have to accept their "responsibility to bring attention to issues that affect women in this country" (lines 58-59). MM also puts herself and the other daughters in a position to take the responsibility to be spokeswomen for others: "it is our duty to not keep silent" (lines 61-62). Hence, MM challenges people who try to position Muslim women as powerless and instead re-positions them as powerful.

It is important to note that MM constructs her own interpretation of "the Almighty" (line 60) and understanding of Islam. "A discourse of equality and justice" re-emerges here when MM intertextually quotes the Quran in saying "the Almighty explicitly states that men and women are equal" (line 61). MM uses the "new Muslim women today" ideology, which she connects with the "equality and justice discourse" as seen when she positions all three of them as believing "in the inherently just spirit of our faith" (line 60).

Summary of MM's Data

In answer to RQ2, MM was shown to challenge traditional religious and gender discourses and draw on or create new, alternative discourses. Shown in extract 1, about men and women's rights and Islamic Family Law (IFL), MM was seen challenging a dominant discourse apparent in IFL, "a discourse of inequality and injustice" and creating a newer "discourse of equality and justice" in Islam. In extract 2, MM talked about laws involving Muslim and non-Muslim women in Malaysia as she drew on "a discourse of religious segregation" and "a discourse of Islamic women as regressing" as a result of the separate laws. She offered alternative discourses of "religious parity" and "women as progressive". In extract 3, MM wrote about how daughters of previous prime ministers joined forces to talk about equality for Muslim women. A dominant discourse of "bad Muslim women" was presented here which MM contested by offering alternative discourses of "educated women",

"women as champions or leaders" and "new Muslim women". She also drew on "a discourse of female solidarity" in extract 3 as a way of empowering Muslim women. In addressing RQ1, these extracts have shown how MM is taking the lead to re-construct Malaysian Muslim women's identities in a more empowering way that offers women other choices.

Analysis 2: ZA

The following sections analyze data from several extracts of another Malaysian Muslim feminist, ZA. This analysis also addresses RQ1 in order to uncover Malaysian Muslim women's identities and positions. Also, in answering RQ2, I show how various dominant and alternative discourses are linked to religion and gender in her writing.

In extract 4-A and 4-B below, ZA talks about the Sisters in Islam (SIS) group and its members' identities, views and faith in Islam, as well as about injustice and discrimination in the implementation of Islamic laws.

Extract 4-A: "Let there be public debate on laws" (Anwar, New Straits Times, 2006a, March 24)

[…]
24 For me and my group, Sisters in Islam, it is an article of faith that Islam is just and
25 God is just. If justice is intrinsic to Islam, then how could injustice and discrimination
26 result in the codification and implementation of laws and policies made in the name
27 of Islam?
28 It is at this level that Muslim women all over the world have begun to organise and
29 demand reform of laws and policies to uphold the principles of justice, equality,
30 freedom and dignity in Islam.
31 For most Muslim women, rejecting religion is not an option. We are believers, and as
32 believers we want to find liberation, truth and justice from within our own faith. We
33 feel strongly that we have a right to reclaim our religion, to redefine it, to participate
34 and contribute to an understanding of Islam, how it is codified and implemented — in
35 ways that take into consideration the realities and experience of women's lives today.

The group "Sisters in Islam" (SIS) (line 24) is mentioned for the first time in extract 4-A. ZA constructs her faith and SIS's faith by saying "Islam is just and God is just" (lines 24-25) which draws on "a discourse of religious parity". Unlike MM, in extract 3, who names the female actors, ZA does not include specific names. She only uses nouns and pronouns to refer to women. As indicated by her use of the inclusive pronoun, "we" (lines 31-32), ZA is not just positioning *herself* here, but is also referring to *in-group members*. She positions Muslim women as "believers" (repeated several times in line 31, line 32, 4-B: line 47) which constructs these women as faithful believers in the religion and as living according to Islamic ways. ZA emphasizes that "rejecting religion is not an option" (line 31) for them. The importance that ZA gives to the idea that SIS members are believers in Islam and her argument that the SIS movement aims to be acceptable within Malaysian Muslim society functions to establish reliability. She constructs the women members of SIS *not* to be taken as renegade or as infidels working against the Islamic framework, but as Muslim insiders and believers.

ZA juxtaposes the competing discourses of "equality and justice discourse" with "inequality and injustice discourse" in this extract. She highlights the contradiction between the "intrinsic" (line 25) value of Islam in upholding "justice" (line 25) and the "injustice and

discrimination… [resulting in]… the codification and implementation of laws and policies made in the name of Islam" (line 25-27).

Similar to MM, "a discourse of Muslim women's solidarity" also resurfaces in ZA's extract. She not only refers to Muslim women's solidarity in Malaysia, but also to "Muslim women all over the world" (line 28). She celebrates these women upholding "the principles of justice, equality, freedom and dignity in Islam" (lines 29-30). ZA positions them as progressive and courageous to "organise and demand reform of laws and policies" (lines 28-9) in Islam.

By drawing on "a discourse of 'new' women today", ZA celebrates progressive women's will "to find liberation, truth and justice from within our own faith" (line 32). Again, ZA suggests that women interpret their "own faith" based on their own interpretation of Islam. She positions herself and other Muslim women in feeling "strongly" about their right to "reclaim" and "redefine" their religion (lines 33-34). As ZA rejects the patriarchal construction of Muslim women, she draws on "a 'new' Muslim women today discourse" of women as educated, brave, and unwilling to accept the "so-called-facts" about religion based on outdated patriarchal interpretations.

Extract 4-B: "Let there be public debate on laws" (Anwar, New Straits Times, 2006a, March 24)
    […]
    36 For many women today, our lives are at a collision course with patriarchy's
    37 construction of the "ideal" Muslim woman. For too long, men have defined for us
    38 what it is to be a woman, how to be a woman and then used religion and tradition to
    39 confine us to these socially constructed limitations that reduce us to being the inferior
    40 half of the human race. For too long, we submitted, seeking their approval and
    41 applause because the power of reward and punishment lay in their hands.
    42 But not anymore. Women today are educated and economically independent. They
    43 will not be cowed into silence in the face of injustice. If the injustice is committed in
    44 the name of religion, then today's women will go back to the original source of the
    45 religion to find out for themselves whether it is the revealed text that perpetrates
    46 injustice or is it an act of interpretation by human beings.
    47 For those of us in civil society, as feminists, as believers and as activists living within
    48 a democratic constitutional framework, it is important that we assert and claim our
    49 right to have our voice heard in the public sphere and to intervene in the decision-
    50 making process on matters of religion.

Similar to how MM is positioned by Islamic fundamentalists as a "bad" Muslim woman in extract 3; here ZA talks about how men who dominate the society have tried to disempower women today. The occurrence of the term "Muslim women" (4-A: line 28, 4-A: line 31, line 37) reappears in this extract. ZA contests the "ideal" Muslim woman's construction by men with patriarchal values (line 37). She positions men as "controlling" when they preach "what it is to be a woman" and "how to be a woman" (line 38). She also constructs such men as using "religion and tradition to confine" women (lines 38-39). Also, she claims that these men mix "religion and tradition" as a pretext to create "limitations" (line 39) for women, which she implies is not religion-based but potentially "socially constructed" (line 39). These "limitations" (line 39) have resulted in women being "the inferior half of the human race" (lines 39-40). The lexical items "confine", "limitations", and "reduce" index negative connotations which diminish women's worth based on men's attempts to exert control over

women. ZA also challenges women's acceptance of the patriarchal construction of *ideal* Muslim women "for too long" (line 40) as she contests the idea of women as submissive (line 40) and even "seeking their [father's/husband's] approval and applause" (lines 40-41). She contests the position of Muslim men as powerful and formidable since "the power of reward and punishment lay in their hands" (line 41), so some women perceive how to behave or act based on the approval of men.

In line 42, ZA changes course, making a shift from talking about an older social worldview to the 'new' identity of Muslim women today, using "But not anymore" (line 42). The phrase "women today" reoccurs several times (4-A: line 35, line 36, line 42, line 44) drawing on the "new women discourse". Intersecting with this, ZA also constructs women's beliefs and understanding of Islam today in a progressive manner. Similar to MM, ZA positions women today as "educated and economically independent" (line 42). ZA celebrates the new position of educated and economically independent women as not being easily "cowed into silence" (line 43).

Referring to injustice "committed in the name of religion" (lines 43-44), ZA positions "today's women" as being knowledgeable enough to be able to refer to "the original source of the religion" (lines 44-45), the Quran. ZA positions educated women today as being able to differentiate whether "the revealed text [the Quran] perpetrates injustice" (line 45) or whether "is it an [biased] act of interpretation by human beings" (line 46).

ZA constructs other Malaysian Muslim women as "feminists," "believers" and "activists" (line 47) and as in-group members who may share similar knowledge, beliefs and values. ZA is making the claim here that it is important for women, as citizens within a democratic constitutional framework of Malaysia, to speak out and to contribute to decision making, especially on matters of religion that directly affect them; women should "assert and claim… [the] right… [for their] voice[s to be] heard in the public sphere" (line 47-50).

Many Islamic feminists believe that the implementation of Islamic Family Law (IFL) brings injustice to Muslim women, hence ZA also writes about IFL in extract 5.

Extract 5: "Seeking justice for Muslim women" (Anwar, New Straits Times, 2006b, April 7)
   […]
   5   While other Muslim countries are now finding ways to ensure that their laws begin to
   6   reflect contemporary realities, the discriminatory amendments continually made to the
   7   Islamic Family Law in Malaysia seeks to preserve a world that no longer exists.
   8   It continues to insist on a legal framework where men will always be superior to
   9   women, men will always be leaders, protectors and providers; never mind if this flies
   10 in the face of reality.
   […]
   71 For Muslim women, it is all the more painful that it is Islam that is used to deny
   72 change. Is it any wonder then that many are beginning to describe Malaysia as a
   73 country that practises religious apartheid as it formally establishes one set of rights for
   74 non-Muslims granting equality and justice between men and women, and a separate
   75 set of rights for Muslims, moving toward more inequality and injustice for Muslim
   76 women. As it was under apartheid rule in South Africa, separate can never be equal.
   […]
   90 When misogyny, injustice and political mission hide behind the cloak of religion, too
   91 many people in too many high places choose silence or acquiescence — out of fear,
   92 out of ignorance, out of personal belief, out of political ideology, or out of expediency

93 for short-term political gains.

There are three groups of people mentioned in extract 5: men, Muslim women and non-Muslim women in Malaysia. "A discourse of inequality and injustice/discrimination in IFL" (Islamic Family Law) resurfaces here. The "discriminatory amendments" (line 6) in the IFL is a result of Muslim society's rejection of practising religion based on "contemporary realities" (line 6). ZA also draws on competing discourses of "progressive" and "regressive" here. Judging from the "discriminatory amendments" (line 6) in Malaysian's IFL, ZA positions men who dominate Malaysian Muslim society as "regressing" since they try "to preserve a world that no longer exists" (line 7). ZA challenges the conventional practices of Islam which she believes is no longer relevant to "contemporary realities" (line 6).

ZA contests "a discourse of Malaysian men as superior" in this extract to promote "a discourse of Muslim women as equal to Muslim men". She challenges men's position in IFL's "legal framework" (line 8) as men "always be[ing] superior to women" (lines 8-9) and also as men "always be[ing] leaders, protectors and providers" (line 9).

In positioning Muslim and non-Muslim women in Malaysia, like MM, ZA also intertextually links the practice of "apartheid" in South Africa with her term, "religious apartheid" (line 73) and in so doing deconstructs IFL as "separate can never be equal" (line 76). ZA also draws on the same "discourse of religious segregation" as MM. ZA describes Malaysia as "a country that practises religious apartheid" (lines 72-73). She positions Muslim women as victims of this "religious apartheid" in that there is "a separate set of rights for Muslims" (lines 74-75), which in the end has resulted in "more inequality and injustice for Muslim women" (lines 75-76). ZA also positions Muslim women in Malaysia as being discriminated against in their own country since Islamic law creates separate rights for Muslim and non-Muslim women. On the other hand, ZA promotes an alternative "discourse of equality and justice" for non-Muslim women in Malaysia (line 74).

ZA contests the misuse and manipulation of Islam by some people who gain benefits for themselves from this exploitation. Based on "a discourse of inequality and injustice", ZA challenges people who use Islam as a tool "to deny change" (lines 71-72) for Muslim women. While ZA uses the passive form in lines 71-72: "it is all the more painful that it is Islam that is used to deny change", the hidden agent can be assumed to be some Muslim men who deny Muslim women equal rights. ZA also uses strong language to deconstruct the way that religion is used to "cloak" (line 90) another agenda which comes across as "misogyny, injustice and political mission". ZA reveals how the name of "religion" (line 90) is being used to manipulate and create injustice in laws and discrimination against women. ZA also positions people who "choose silence or acquiescence" (line 91) as being passively weak as they only hide under various excuses such as "fear" (line 91), "ignorance" (line 92), "personal belief" (line 92), "political ideology" (line 92), and "expediency for short-term political gains" (lines 92-93).

In extract 6, ZA writes about things she is proud of about Malaysia, which includes the hope she has that her country will be able to attain justice for Muslim women.

Extract 6: "How much I love thee, Malaysia" (Anwar, New Straits Times, 2006c, August, 25)
[…]
59 I am proud that as a Malaysian Muslim feminist, I see no contradiction between my
60 religion and my feminism; and that my fellow Malaysian feminists of other faiths see
61 no problems joining hands in a common struggle for justice with a group like Sisters

62 in Islam. My Muslim friends from the Middle East and other South Asian countries
63 are puzzled at how we can work together and even socialise together, when in their
64 countries rights-based groups don't engage with religion at all, let alone join hands
65 with groups that work within the religious framework.
[…]
73 I am proud that it is my Malaysian friends of other faiths who have defended and
74 promoted the work of Sisters in Islam to Muslims from other Muslim countries, that it
75 is possible to find justice and liberation within Islam. I am proud that in my travels to
76 developing countries, whether in Southeast Asia, Africa or the Middle East, people I
77 have met were keen to know more about Malaysia and how we did it— the political
78 peace and stability, the growth and development, the affirmative act in policy, the low
79 poverty rate, the First World facilities, the independent foreign policy, the existence
80 of a group like Sisters in Islam.

ZA draws on "a proud citizen discourse" in extract 6 which is also apparent from her choice of the title "How much I love thee, Malaysia". The phrase "I am proud" is repeated three times (lines 59, 73 and 75). She is proud to position herself powerfully as a "Malaysian Muslim feminist" (line 59) which is indicative of her advocacy for Muslim women's rights. ZA uses a lot of first person pronouns such as "I" and "my" to draw attention to her own identity positioning. ZA displays her pride as she reconstructs her "religion" (line 60) and her "feminism" (line 60) as not being in contradiction to each other. She draws on the public debate challenging the separation of religious and feminist values. She contests the notion that the feminist agenda should be kept totally "secular" and not as something that should be accepted in Islam.

ZA draws on "a proud citizen discourse" again when she celebrates how "friends of other faiths… have defended and promoted the work of Sisters in Islam to Muslims from other Muslim countries" (lines 73-74). She constructs solidarity with "friends of other faiths" as she sees them as helping to serve as an intermediary between Malaysia's SIS and Muslims from other countries. ZA positions herself as "proud" (line 75) of Malaysia as being successful, stable, developed, as well as socially progressive (lines 77-79), again drawing on "a proud citizen discourse". She includes "the existence of a group like Sisters in Islam" (line 80) as another positive aspect of her country. She is implying that, because on a global scale, her country is a forerunner in economic, political and social issues, she both loves and trusts, and at the same beckons her country to insure justice for women alongside men.

ZA also draws on "a discourse of female solidarity" when she brings in her group, "Sisters in Islam" (lines 61-62) to depict SIS's relationship with Malaysian women of other faiths. She acknowledges and celebrates "Malaysian feminists of other faiths" (line 60) who have "no problems joining hands in a common struggle for justice" (line 62) with SIS. ZA shares a commonality with these women of other faiths and draws on "a female solidarity discourse" in which she positions them as "fellow … feminists" (line 60).

"A discourse of female solidarity" is also seen when ZA positions her "Muslim friends from the Middle East and other South Asian countries" (line 62) as "puzzled" about the gap between the social development of their countries compared to the progressive situation in Malaysia. She compares how, in contrast to Malaysia, "rights-based groups" (line 64) in "the Middle East and other South Asian countries" "don't engage with religion at all" (line 64) or support "groups that work within the religious framework" (line 65).

ZA also draws on "a discourse of justice" in Islam, and incorporates "a discourse of liberation" as she explicitly states that it is possible to achieve "justice and liberation within Islam" (lines 74-75).

Summary of ZA's data

ZA wrote about SIS's interpretation of Islam, contemporary Muslim women's identities, and injustice in the practice of Islamic law in extract 4. In addressing RQ2, it was shown how she drew on "a discourse of religious parity" in promoting justice for Muslim men and women. She also drew on discourses of "female solidarity" and "new women today" in the construction of Muslim women's identities. Extract 5 was concerned with Islamic Family Law (IFL) and similar to MM, ZA contested the dominant discourses of "inequality and injustice" and "religious segregation" in the practice of IFL, challenging it with an alternative "discourse of equality and justice". She promoted "a discourse of Muslim women as equal to men" to challenge the notion of "Malaysian men as superior". Extract 6 looked at ZA's affection and pride in Malaysia as she drew on "a proud citizen discourse". She also drew on discourses of "female solidarity" and "justice" to promote Malaysia as a country capable of attaining justice for all people, which does not exclude Muslim women.

Discussion

Based on the data used in this paper, I have identified various dominant and alternative discourses appearing in MM and ZA's texts (see Table 1 below).

Table 1
Dominant and Alternative Religious and Gender Discourses in Malaysian Media Texts

Dominant Discourses	Alternative Discourses
1. Women as regressive	1. Women as progressive
2. Bad Muslim women	2. Educated, independent women
3. Conservative women	3. Women as champions/leaders
4. Muslim men as superior to Muslim women	4. Muslim women as equal to Muslim men
5. Inequality and injustice	5. Equality and justice
6. Religious segregation	6. Religious parity/religion as fair
7. Patriarchal Islam	7. Islamic feminism
	Female solidarity
	Proud citizens

Dominant and alternative religious and gender discourses seen in Table 1 above can be divided into two categories: discourses concerning Muslim women (number 1-4), and the practice of Islam and its effects (number 5-7).

Othman (2006, p. 342) challenged the popular discourse of Malaysian Muslims, which is similar to the global Islamic fundamentalist ideology that men and women's gender roles should be clearly divided; men should be the head of the family and responsible for protecting women, and women should be obedient wives and dutiful mothers and daughters. From MM's and ZA's selected extracts, I found repeated dominant discourses representing Muslim women as "regressive", "bad" and "conservative". A discourse of "women as regressive" refers to the oppression of women who are unable to modernize. This discourse

can be linked to the ideology of Islamic fundamentalists in their attempt to recreate a Muslim society according to the "idealized past" which promotes anti-modernity measures. It is somewhat common in Malaysian society for strict Muslim believers to expect Muslim women to uphold a "conservative discourse" in their actions based on Islamic practice. Women who are against behavior approved by Islamic fundamentalists are often deemed as "bad Muslim women".

Conservative Muslim groups draw on the discourse of men and women as inherently unequal in Islam, which leads to total segregation of men and women, and various restrictions on women (Anwar, 2001, p. 231). Some Muslim societies, including Malaysia, draw on the dominant discourse of "Muslim men as superior to Muslim women" in determining leaders or decision makers, either in governmental or political posts, or in organizations and companies. Fundamentalists believe that men have a higher status and credibility than women.

Pertaining to Islamic practice, a discourse of "patriarchal Islam" is still visible and very dominant in many Muslim societies, including Malaysia. Patriarchal Islam refers to Muslim men who ascend to top positions and have the final say in almost everything. This discourse derives from the Islamic fundamentalist discourse of Islamic resurgence coming from a traditional Arab interpretation of Islam (Anwar, 2001, p. 234). The interpretation of religious texts has always been from the point of view of men, and as a result of this, women have often suffered "inequality and injustice", such as in matters of divorce and inheritance. Othman (2006, p. 341) criticized the patriarchal conception of Muslim women that involves controlling women's bodies, their social roles, status, and presence in society. Another area where Muslim women have been disempowered is when they are unfairly treated or unequally discriminated against, unlike women in other societies or faiths, and is apparent in the data and named in this study as a discourse of "religious segregation".

In defining feminist discourse, Badran (2005, p. 7-8) pointed out how some Muslim feminist-leaning women have tended to draw on the discourse of religious reform, consisting of Islamic modernist discourse that is intertwined with the new nationalist discourse. A notable Islamic feminist, Mir-Hosseini, focused on three major issues: promotion of new discourses on gender among Muslim scholars, confrontation of Islamic family laws by common women, and the appearance of reform-minded Islamic feminists (Moghadam, 2002, p. 1145). MM and ZA, through their writing, have created alternative discourses based on the discourse of religious reform to contest how Muslim women are represented and to offer more favorable Islamic notions and practices. Since they are both feminists, they both promote discourses of "Islamic feminism" and "Muslim women as equal to Muslim men". Nonetheless, they often refer to the Quran within an Islamic framework in challenging the traditional male interpretation of the religious text. To contest discourses of Muslim women as "regressive", "bad" and "conservative", MM and ZA work to construct new Muslim women identities. They offer alternative discourses of Muslim women as "progressive", "educated, independent" and "champions or leaders" to inspire other women to be the same. To promote a more positive setting in challenging a traditional Islamic discourse, MM and ZA draw on the discourses of "equality and justice" and "religious parity/religion as fair" in the practice of Islam.

MM and ZA's work is not without criticism in Malaysia. Islamic fundamentalist groups in Malaysia have shown great resistance in accepting SIS's ideologies. However, I see MM and ZA as alternative voices for *average* and modern Muslims who may not always agree with the fundamentalists. Their columns offer some options and encouragement for others not just to think about, but to take real actions concerning gender inequality. Both MM and ZA

write about women and draw on "female solidarity discourses" in order to connect to other women in similar positions, or women who are victims of the injustice under the law. MM was seen constructing Malaysian men as intelligent and compassionate, not only in order for the male population to listen to their voices, but also to offer a sign of hope that there is a group of men out there who actually try to understand the predicament of Muslim women in Malaysia today. Similarly, ZA positively reconstructed Islamic society in Malaysia as consisting of both progressive women as well as men that has the potential to uphold the practice of equality and justice.

Conclusion

In conclusion, RQ1, which asked how language in printed media is used to construct and contest identities and positions in the representations of Malaysian Muslim women, was addressed through the micro analysis of MM's and ZA's data. MM and ZA were seen to consistently position themselves and other Muslim women in identities of empowerment through their work to deconstruct negative positions of Muslim women. RQ2, which asked how traditional religious and gendered discourses were being challenged and recreated in media texts, was also addressed through the data analysis. MM and ZA were seen to contest dominant religious and gendered discourses and to promote alternative discourses such as "a discourse of Islamic feminism" and "a discourse of equality and justice".

Both the writers promoted the discourse of Islamic feminism throughout their writings, and employed similar discourses in their editorials in order to serve as models for women to empower themselves and attain human rights. Importantly, this is to be accomplished *not* outside of Islam, but on the contrary, within an Islamic framework and according to the teachings of the Quran, which clearly promotes equality. MM and ZA argued that the practice of the Islamic Family Law is discriminatory against Muslim women, but that non-Muslim women are not affected, hence the existence of the "religious segregation discourse" in Malaysia. Rather than settling for the traditional norms, MM and ZA contested the dominant discourses of "patriarchal Islam" and "conservative women" by constructing *new* identities of Muslim women today as educated, independent, and progressive. Throughout the selected extracts, both MM and ZA were seen reconstructing contemporary Muslim women as reformist and liberal without neglecting Islamic values.

While I agree with Ong (1999, p. 365) that the rise of Islamic feminist voices in Malaysia is due to the country's presentation of itself as a secular country practicing *corporatist Islam*, I argue that the voice of SIS through MM and ZA marks a bold and progressive approach. This is an important development where Muslim women are becoming able to negotiate their identities in Malaysian society and contribute to the development of a progressive Islamic country. Women in SIS view Malaysia as having its own national identity and integrity as not just *any* Muslim country, but as a *progressive* Muslim country.

Appendix: Data Conventions

[   ]   Implied meaning
[…]   Ellipses

Glossary

Syariah   Muslim law (Derived from Arabic language, *Syariah* is the preferred spelling for Malaysia, otherwise commonly spelled as *Shari'ah* or *Sharia* in other countries)

The Quran   Muslim religious text

The Hadith   Collected sayings and customs of the prophet Muhammad

Sulastri Yahya is an English lecturer from Malaysia. She is currently working on her PhD in Linguistic Communication at Tohoku University in Japan. Her research interests include teaching discourse analysis and critical consciousness in language, in relation to media and gender issues.

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Comparing gender representations of the English and Japanese versions of an American movie screenplay: A brief analysis

Michi Saki
Ritsumeikan University

Abstract
This paper will briefly examine the text of an American screenplay from the Hollywood film "War of the Roses" (1989) and its translation in Japanese by discussing some ways in which it represents men and women. It will touch upon some features of Japanese speech in terms of how they represent gender roles in society. The background of the screenplay will be given following a short discussion of some of the differences found between the English and Japanese versions in the ways gender is represented.

要約
本稿では、アメリカの映画「ローズ家の戦争」（1989 作）の映画の中で男性と女性をどのように描いているかを論じることで、映画脚本とその日本語訳を分析する。社会における性別による役割をどのように描いているかという観点から、脚本中の言葉のいくつかの特徴を論じる。映画の背景を紹介するとともに、ジェンダーはどのように表現されていることについて、英語版と日本語版の言葉の違いを論じる。

Introduction
This paper briefly examines the English and the Japanese translation of a famous American screenplay by discussing some of the ways in which it represents the language of men and women in both language contexts. It will question the linguistic representations and features in both languages and how they represent the genders of the characters.

Some linguistic features of Japanese speech such as hierarchy and role, politeness, personal pronouns and sentence-final particles are first outlined, followed by a brief background of the screenplay. This paper then goes on to compare a few of the differences found between the original English and the translated Japanese versions, reflecting upon the different cultural representations of gender.

Characteristics of Japanese Speech
Regarding the ways in which men and women talk in Japanese, Tanaka (2004) argues that male and female registers are shaped by the gender of the speaker. These "gender-based dialects" include lexical, syntactic, morphological and phonological differences. Many popular television shows, animation and movies perpetuate gender divisions in speech. Most women characters use *joseego* or "Japanese women's language" (JWL) while the men use *danseego* (male speech), with each playing out the traditional cultural visions of men's and women's natures (Brass, 2005, p. 8). However, we have seen changes in the social attitudes of Japanese women and Japanese women's language in both media and in society. The

traditional Japanese hierarchical society has maintained that women are expected to behave and speak *onna-rashiku* or "as expected of women" (Kurihara, 2009, p.19), the current times show new traits in women's speech of the new generation, such as the new existence of *wakai mono no kotoba*, or *young people's language*, "where it is simply the way young people, regardless of gender, speak" (Brass, 2005, p.18). Today, it may be claimed that men and women have changed the way that they speak according to the type of image they wish to show. According to Brass, "such linguistic alterations connected to gender, by definition, are intertwined with notions of what is proper womanhood and manhood, according to the norms of the society in question" (2005, p. 1-2). In addition, men and women may have less of a need to actualize their male and female identity due to both sexes having similar gender roles. With current social trends in personal relationships, family structure and professional career roles changing, so is the gendered language.

Hierarchy and Role

Japanese speech can be said to reflect its social system in terms of hierarchy and ranking. Nakane (cited by Tanaka, 2004) claims that Japanese society is created in a vertical system where a strict hierarchy defines factors such as age and social status, as well as gender. Hierarchy is reflected in the use of honorific forms of speech, where someone must understand the level of social status and role, or the amount of social distance of the person one is talking to, and the relationship between the addressee and oneself before choosing the appropriate form, whether it be a humble form or a superior form of speech. Japanese contains a great deal of lexical characteristics that are distinctively feminine or masculine. The status and gender of a person who is speaking in a dialogue may be instantly recognized just by looking at the phonological, lexical and syntactic forms that are used in the text.

Politeness

Holmes (2001) discusses how in modern Japanese, speech is distinguished by degrees of formality or politeness rather than that by gender. Men's forms seem to be restricted to casual contexts and considered macho or coarse. Many linguists' study of Japanese women's language is based on the exclusively feminine style of speech, or *nyoobo kotoba*; a language created by and for courtesans in the Japanese feudal period.

    Accordingly, some researchers have claimed that Japanese women are the standard bearers of the Japanese spoken word, and are the ones in society who are to preserve its older, cultured, more correct forms (Washi, 2004, Inoue, 2002). Therefore we see that dominant discourse constructs women's speech as a conservative register in its degree of formality and politeness.

Personal Pronouns

One of the most prominent lexical features in Japanese speech is a pronoun, which may be said to have restricted usage by men or women. Coates (1993) explains that Japanese pronouns mark gender in all three persons, and that personal pronouns are used differently between men and women. As we can see in Table 1, pronoun usage for females is quite limited and more forms are available for men to use. Table 1 shows differences in the levels of formality: *watashi* (I) and *anata* (you), for example, are formal pronouns typically used by men, but are used as plain pronouns by women. This use of the pronoun by women tends to

make women's speech sound more polite than men's. Even where there is no difference in status among the participants in a conversation, since women have no deprecatory pronouns to use, they are expected to use more formal speech than men.

Table 1
Japanese personal pronouns (Ide 1991:73)

	Men's speech	Women`s speech
First person		
formal	Watakushi	Watakushi
plain	Watashi	Atakushi
deprecatory	Boku Ore	Watashi Atashi
Second person		
formal	Anata	Anata
plain	Kimi Anta	Anata Anta
deprecatory	Omae Kisama	

Sentence Final Particles

Shibamoto (1985) explains that gender-related morphological and syntactic differences in Japanese focus on the end of the sentence, where some sentence-final particles are seen to be used exclusively by women in speech. Some sentence-final particles may be used exclusively by women or by men:

Table 2
Different particles used by men and women (Chikamatsu as cited in Shibamoto, 1985)

Particles used predominantly by women:	
Sore de ii <u>wa</u>.	That's enough.
Ame ga hutte kita <u>wa yo</u>.	It has started raining.
Sonna ni shinpai shinakute mo ii <u>no yo</u>. Haite mo ii <u>kashira</u>?	You don't need to worry so much. May I come inside?
Particles used predominantly by men:	
Ore wa moo iku <u>ze</u>.	I'm going.
Koitsu wa umai <u>zo</u>.	That is good.
Zuibun atsui <u>na</u>.	It's really hot, isn't it.
Haite mo ii <u>kai</u>?	Can I come inside?

The usage of words and particles associated with women achieves a great deal of identity work. It makes the sentence sound softer and feminine, indicating a reserve or interest in eliciting the listener's opinion (*wa, wa yo, no yo, kashira*), whereas the sentences with particles used by men, which use emphatic assertions, help perform a version of hegemonic masculinity making the sentence sound stronger, tougher and more decisive.

Background

A movie script can never be more than a simulated rendition of spoken interaction. However, it may be helpful for our purposes to explore one text from this medium. The text under analysis is two episodes from the screenplay of the movie, *The War of the Roses* by Michael Leeson. This film has been analysed by Philips (2009) in terms of innovative features of music and sound effects. However, it may also serve to illustrate some points regarding gender representations in movie screenplays. Originally a novel written by Warren Adler in 1981, its inspired a major motion picture in 1989. *The War of the Roses* is a satirical comedy about the *ideal* upper-class, white American family in the late 1980's. This was a time in American history where more and more women were breaking out of the traditional "housewife" and "homemaker" roles and entering the male-dominated workforce. The mid to late 1980's saw a significant increase of women starting professional careers outside the home. These changes in women's social roles and attitudes were reflected in other popular American movies at the time such as Nine to Five (Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation, 1980), Baby Boom (United Artists, 1987), and Working Girl (Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation, 1988). *The War of the Roses* also touches on themes of American feminism, work and family life, which are still relevant today, and this is the main reason why I chose to explore this film in terms of linguistic content and gender.

The two main characters in the screenplay are: Oliver Rose, a successful lawyer striving for wealth and status; and his wife Barbara Rose, a dedicated wife, mother, and housewife who is committed to making the perfect home for her family. Throughout the movie, Oliver shows his workaholic tendencies, and his dominant and sexist attitudes. Barbara shows her passive disposition in the first half of the movie, up until the moment that she decides it is time to evaluate her own personal identity. She then decides to make some changes in her life. With her children grown up and out of the house, she realizes that her child raising and housekeeping days are over. Barbara then starts to explore her newfound independence through a future career outside the home, and finally expresses unhappiness in her relationship with her husband. As Oliver is always preoccupied with work, Barbara feels alone and isolated. After finally expressing her feelings to him, much to Oliver's surprise, Barbara tells him that she wants a divorce. The couple's seemingly "perfect" marriage turns into a vicious battle for power and material possessions, finally leading to the destruction of one another.

The English screenplay and its Japanese translation referenced in this paper were published by FOUR-IN Creative Productions (Yamada, 1993), a company well-known for translating the English screenplays of famous American Hollywood movies into Japanese. The screenplay is available under the Japanese title of *Rose ka no senso* (Screenplay). It is important to note here that the movie and its Japanese translation into English were produced nearly twenty years ago. The linguistic discourse between men and women in this fictional story may not necessarily reflect the current representations of gender. The last twenty years have seen significant changes not only in attitudes towards gender stereotypes, but also in language and gender.

Differences of Gender Representation in English and Japanese Versions

One of the most significant differences between the original English dialogue and the Japanese translation is the levels of politeness between different social groups; between men and women, husbands and wives, parents and children, as well as the roles of boss and employee. The way different characters are represented in each language shows their status in terms of how they talk to others, and how they are talked to by others. Honorific language is a form of speech that is used in Japanese in order to determine and recognize the level of social distance, status, class, role and age of interlocutors.

One difference in the Japanese and English translation of the scene (See Section 2 in Appendix 1) with the characters of Gavin (Oliver's work colleague, who is a middle-aged bachelor) and his young girlfriend Elke, (an airy-headed, blond-haired lady) are talking. Gavin directs Elke to button up her low neckline blouse before they go inside Oliver's house:

> *(English Version)* Gavin: "Elke, Elke. Wait a minute. We're eating with elderly people now. <u>Keep that closed</u>".

In the Japanese version, however, the verb form and end particle that are used in the sentence sounds more like a parent talking to a small child with the use of informal language:

> *(Japanese Version)* Gavin: "Elke, Elke, mate. Otoshiyori renchu to no kaishoku da. <u>Koko o kakushito**ki na**</u>".

It may be interpreted that the language used in the English version represents Gavin as being direct with Elke, warning her to keep "it" closed with "it" meaning her blouse buttons, as to not reveal her voluminous cleavage area to his older bosses and their wives at the dinner table. The language used in the Japanese version may be interpreted as Gavin being in a superior role, looking down on Elke, and telling her what to do by using linguistic forms that sound condescending and degrading toward her as a woman.

Another difference between the representation of men and women's relationships in the English and Japanese versions may be the Japanese use of personal pronouns. As mentioned in Table 1 the use of Japanese personal pronouns changes according to the level of formality. English only uses I, you, he and she, and there is no clear determinant in their usage for signaling social status. Japanese however, uses a series of different pronouns to signify social hierarchy. Throughout the two episodes examined in the screenplay (text sections 34, 69, 71, 73, 77, 126, 141, 142) Mr. Marshall and Oliver both use the plain form pronoun for "you" *kimi*, when speaking to their wives. This use of the pronoun kimi has been most commonly used by men in the past when speaking to close family members (such as their children and wives) or persons of lower ranking status in one's social circles and in the workplace. Below are a few examples of this Japanese pronoun usage of kimi, when some of the male characters talk to their wives:

> Mr. Marshall: *"Kimi wa ringo no ryori suru yo ne."("You make something with apples, don't you dear?")*
> Oliver: *"Warukatta yo. Kimi ga daradara hanasu mon dakara." ("I'm sorry. You were just rambling on. I didn't know if you…")*
> Oliver: *"Kimi wa tomodachi ni reba wo uta no kai?" ("You sold liver to our friends?")*

As for Barbara, the bosses' wives and the other female characters, they use the formal forms of "I" *(watashi)* and "you"*(anata)* when talking not only to non-acquaintances, but also to their friends and husbands (text sections 123, 125, 129, 135, 138, 140, 141, 142, 146, 147, 150, 152, 154, 156, 158). Below are a few examples of the formal forms of Japanese pronouns used by women:

> Barbara talking to her husband: "***Watashi** no okane kara harau wa*". (*"I'll pay for it with my own money."*)
> Barbara talking to a woman who she is trying to interview for the house maid position: "*...**anata** o yotou to tabun **Watashi** no seikatsu kawatteshimau wa. **Anata** to iu atarashii kousei ga kuwaru koto de ne.*" (*"...if I were to hire you, my life would probably change. You would be this new element in the house, you see?"*)

We can see here that this female character uses the same type of pronoun when talking to her husband and a first-time acquaintance, two people of different hierarchical ranking in her social circle. The choice of pronouns used by the different genders shows that in terms of the Japanese culture and language, women are expected to be more polite than men in speech, and therefore are prone to use the formal pronoun form, while men have been historically and socially acknowledged to be higher in status, and thus they receive social sanctioning for more plain and informal pronoun forms. Not only do the female characters use more formal forms when speaking to men, but also when speaking with other women. The reason why women in the past have been expected to use more polite forms of language is that JWL is thought to be the "proper" form of female communication, and also strongly connected to attractiveness, especially for women in Japanese culture. Should "a woman wish to be considered a *kotobabijin* (language beauty) she must understand how to manipulate the language she employs" (Brass, 2005, p. 6). Thus, the continued use of JWL in the Japanese media and entertainment. Here are two examples of kotobabijin from the Japanese version of the screenplay:

> Barbara's initiation for dinner with Oliver's bosses and their wives;
> "*Itadakimasho.*"(*"Let's eat."*)

The above line said by Barbara exemplifies the use of kotobabijin towards people who she sees as a higher in hierarchial status within her social circle, thus using not only a more polite form of the verb *taberu* (to eat) but also to show a stronger sense of femininity in her speech.

Barbara talking to a first-time acquaintance (the to-be house maid):

> "*Mishirannuhito to hitotsu yane no shita de kurasu no wa, ochitsukakunai no. **So desho?** Watashitachi dake janaku, anata ni totte mo ne. Anata was nichijyou na koto **kashira?**"* (*"Somehow the thought of a stranger living in my house just seems weird, you know? Doesn't it? I don't mean just for us, but for you too. Oh, but then I guess you do this all the time".*)

Barbara's particular usage of the Japanese words *desho* and *kashira* when talking to another woman again exemplifies the use of JWL as well as the high degree of politeness used when talking with someone outside one's social circle. The above two examples of Barbara's

speech in the Japanese translation depicts Barbara as a woman who frequently uses language to express a social image of overemphasized femininity.

In the original screenplay, Barbara's character can express herself directly and assertively as the situation requires but this can hardly be said for the Japanese language screenplay where she always expresses herself as a kotobabijin. Consequently, the Japanese translation of Barbara's words may not do full justice to the character of Barbara. The reasons may be due to Japanese women's speech being so profoundly gender-labeled, with limited opportunities to express the so-called culturally labeled "masculine traits" to express such feelings as aggression and hostility. This is not to deny, of course, that high school female students and women in leadership positions, for example, do sometimes provide counter-examples in Japanese. Contemporary changes in speech communities within Japan include young peoples' language. With current social trends in personal relationships, family structure and professional career roles changing, so is the language of gender.

Conclusion

This paper began with an analysis of the characteristics of Japanese speech and then proceeded to exemplify these characteristics by briefly examining a few examples of such discourse in an English movie screenplay. The purpose of this paper was not to critically analyze the current trends in gender and language in depth, but simply to illustrate some notable features that arise from analysis of an original screenplay and its translation. I touched upon some of the characteristics of Japanese and English speech to explore the gendered language chosen both in the original screenplay and its Japanese translation.

The characters of Oliver and Barbara are representations of typical social roles acknowledged by society. These characters follow the usual gender stereotypes in the first half of the movie, such as in Episodes 3 and 4, and this paper has attempted to analyze representation of some aspects of these gender roles. The director, Michael Leeson, may have purposely created the characters of Barbara and Oliver in playing traditional roles in order to set up the story in building up to the main climax, thus turning the story into a shocking and ugly battle of the sexes.

What would be particularly interesting to analyze further is how the language used by Barbara's character changes more so in the English version than in that of the Japanese. In order to analyze how accurately the Japanese version follows the original English meaning in terms of feelings and intent of the characters, factors such as whether a man or woman, a native Japanese or non-native Japanese speaker translated and edited the text need to be considered. As for whether the characters and storylines shown on the big screen in fact truly reflect the gender roles and attitudes in contemporary society, further research on gender coding and how they shape the translations of popular film scripts is required.

Michi Saki is a lecturer at Ritsumeikan University in Japan. Her research interests include sociolinguistics, bilingualism and the relationship between language, identity and gender.

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Appendix A
Selected sections of English screenplay and Japanese translation

(Please note: Italics have been used below to point out the narrative sections of script and to emphasize some significant parts of gendered speech.)
Source: Yamada, H. (1993). Rose ka no senso. [The War of the Roses]. Nagoya: Screenplay Shuppansha, FOUR-IN Creative Productions.

Text Section	Original English Text	Japanese Translation
1	*FLASHBACK BEGINS – EXT. WASHINGTON STREET, 1981 – NIGHT – Gavin drives his red convertible Corvette. His eyes are not on the road, but on a pretty blonde date, seated next to him. He puts his hand on her knee.* *EXT. ROSE APARTMENT – NIGHT – Gavin's Corvette pulls up to the curb outside the Rose apartment house. They get out of the car.*	
2	GAVIN: Ah, what a night! Elke, Elke. Wait a minute. We're eating with elderly people now. *Keep that closed.* *(Gavin points to Elke`s low neckline. She buttons the blouse and gives Gavin a kiss just as Oliver opens a window in the upstairs apartment.)*	Saiko no yoru da! Elke, Elke, mate. Otoshiyori renchu to no kaishoku da. *Koko o kakushitoki na.*
	(Lines 3 to 30 omitted from original script)	
30	BARBARA: *Let's eat.*	*Itadakimasho.*
31	OLIVER: Yeah.	So da ne.
32	*Elke takes a bite of the food and smiles seductively across the table to Gavin. Through the glass table top, we can see Elke's foot stretching underneath the table, nuzzling into Gavin's Crotch. Gavin reacts. Barbara notices Gavin's reaction.*	
33	MRS. MARSHALL: Oh my. Whatever flavour is this? No, don't tell me. No, don't tell me. Let me think now. It isn't apples.	Ma, kono flavour wa nani *kashira*? Iwanaide ne. So ne. Ringo janai *wa* ne.
34	MR. MARSHALL: *You make something with apples, don't you dear?*	*Kimi* wa ringo no ryori suru yo ne.
35	MRS. MARSHALL: No. Unless you mean baked apples.	Iie, baked apples igai wa tsukawanai *wa.*
36	MR. MARSHALL: Prunes?	Prune ka na?
37	MRS. MARSHALL: No, ah, wait a minute. No, this is a very special taste.	Matte, kore wa totemo kawatta aji ne.
38	MR. MARSHALL: Raisins!	Raisin da!
39	MRS. MARSHALL: It isn't pears.	Nashi demo nai *wa* ne.
40	*Gavin starts to massage Elke's foot. Barbara watches through the glass table.*	
41	BARBARA: Um...fresh fig with, uh…a little cognac.	Ichijiku ni konyakku o mazete arun desu.

42	MRS. MARSHALL: Figs! *(laughs)* I never would have thought of figs. *(chuckles)*	Ichijiku! Ichijiku wa omoi kakenaktta *wa*!
43	MR. DELL: I never would have guessed.	Omoi o tsukanakatta ne.
44	GAVIN: Umm. It's fantastic, isn't it Elke?	Oishii ne. Elke?
45	ELKE: Mmmm.	Un.
	Lines 46 to 65 omitted	
66	*INT. ROSE APARTMENT/ BEDROOM – NIGHT – Barbara is siting in the bed removing her watch as Oliver enters with a newspaper. He climbs in beside her.*	
67	OLIVER: Well, I think everybody had a great time, don't you?	Minna tanoshinde kureta yo da ne.
68	BARBARA: To make a long story short, no.	Hanashi o yoyaku suru to, "No" ne.
69	OLIVER: *I'm sorry. You were just rambling on. I didn't know if you….*	*Warukata yo. Kimi ga daradara hanasu mon dakara. Kimi ga…*
70	BARBARA: *(interrupting)* Well, then tell your own story next time, you care so desperately what everybody thinks, Fuckface!	Kore kara wa jibun de hanasureba..mo hisshi ni minna no kao iro bakkari ukagate, kono baka men!
71	OLIVER: They're my bosses.	Boku no jyoshi nan da yo.
72	BARBARA: They're Gavin's bosses, too. It didn't stop him from getting a foot job all through dinner.	Gavin no jyoji demo aru *wa* ne. Sore demo yushoku no machuu, ashi o motte asonndeta *wa*.
73	OLIVER: Gavin doesn't care about making partner. He doesn't have a wife and kids. I do. You wanna keep living in this apartment? Because you do not buy a house on an associate's salary. At least, not the kind of house we want. Okay, I care what they think. I care, all right? Shoot me.	Gavin wa partner ni naro nande omotenai kara ne. Tsuma mo inai shi. Boku wa chigau. *Kimi* wa zutto kono apatozumai de ii no kai? Ippan kaiin no kyuryo de wa ie wa kaenain da. Sukunakutomo boku tachi no nozomu you na ie wa ne. Sorya karera no kaoiro mo ki ni suru sa. So, ki ni suru yo. Sadameru ga ii sa.

	(Lines 74 to 118 omitted)	
118	*INT. ROSE HOUSE/STUDY-NIGHT-Oliver walks across the room with a file in his hands. Barbara peaks inside.* OLIVER: …deleterious…	…yuugai na…
119	BARBARA: Excuse me, you working?	Shitsurei. O shigoto chu?
120	OLIVER: Yes. Is it important?	Aah. Daiji na koto?

121	BARBARA: Yes. Kind of. I hope so. Stephanie Mayes called, uh, to say thank you for dinner this other night.	Ee. Sou ne. Sou omotai *wa*. Stephanie Mayes ga senjitsu no yuushoku no orei no o dennwa shitekita no.
122	OLIVER: Yeah?	Sou?
123	BARBARA: And she said the pâté I made was so good I should think about going into business.	Sore de *watashi* no tsukutta pate ga totemo oishikattan de, sore o shoubai ni shitara dou ka to iu no yo.
124	OLIVER: Uh-uh.	Hou.
125	BARBARA: So I asked her if she really meant it and she said she did…so I took a pound over to her and collected thirty-five dollars. I`d almost forgotten what it felt like to make money.	Sore de, *watashi*, honki de itteiruno te kiitara, Kanojo , souda to iun de, iichi ponndo 35 doru de utte ageta no. *Watashi*, okane o kasegu o kimochi wasurekaketa *wa*.
126	OLIVER: You sold liver to our friends?	*Kimi* wa tomocachi ni reba wo utta no kai?
127	BARBARA: She paid me in cash, Oliver. Somehow that …felt different from the money I get cashing a check. It made me feel like…trading in the Volvo for one of those …four-wheel-drive things with the big, knobby tires and the two-hundred horsepower engine. So I did...I`m gonna pick it up tomorrow.	Genkin de haratte kureta no. Kogite o genkin ka suru no to ha nan ka chigau mono o kanjita *wa*. Sore de….Volvo kara 200 bariki no okikurte mizo no fukai taiya no 4 rinnkudo norikaetaku natta no. Dakara kaikaeta wa. Ashita tori ni iku no yo.
128	OLIVER: Thank you so much for telling me. Uh… and you think that you…need this? I mean, a Volvo is a fine car.	Hanashite kurete arigato. Demo sonnna hitsuyou ga aru no ka? Volvo wa ii kuruma da yo.
129	BARBARA: I`ll pay it with my own money.	*Watashi* no okane kara harau *wa*.
130	OLIVER: Well, how much does it cost?	Ikura nan dai?
131	BARBARA: All right. I know it was kind of crazy, but I just…wanted it, okay? Twenty-five thousand.	So. Baka mitai kamo ne. Demo…hoshikatta no yo. Ni man 5 sen doru.
132	OLIVER: So, you only have to sell seven hundred more pounds of pâté.	Pate o honno 700 pondo ijyo ureba sumu koto da ne.
133	BARBARA: Maybe I will. Maybe I`m starting a business. But if you don`t want me to…	Tabun dekiru *wa*. Shobai o hajimeru wa ne. Demo <u>*anata*</u> ga hanntai nara…
134	OLIVER: No, no, no. no. You do it. Do it. Do it. *Oliver puts his glasses back on, hikes up his trousers and sighs as he turns away from Barbara and resumes working.*	Iya, iya iya. Yarebaii yo. Yatte mireba iijanai ka.
135	BARBARA: I`m doing it. *Oliver glances up at Barbara as she exits out of the study.*	*Watashi* wa yaru *wa* yo.
136	*INT. ROSE HOUSE/KITCHEN-DAY-Oliver walks around the kitchen.*	
137	OLIVER: Wait a minute. Wait-wait-wait-wait one minute here. I do not understand what`s the, uh…what`s the attitude.	Matte kure. Chotto matte kurenaika. Nann de sonna taido o toru no ka wakaranai ne.

138	BARBARA: I told you I would handle it.	*Watashi* ni makase toite te itta hazu yo.
139	OLIVER: That`s right, and when I didn't see anything happening, I went to Ed and I set up the interview.	Sono tori daga, *kimi* ga koudou shinai kara Ed no tokoro ni itte mennsetsu no danndori o shita no sa.
140	BARBARA:I would have done it.	*Watashi* ga suru tsumori data no yo.
141	OLIVER: I know, but sometimes you need a little push. We all need a little push. *Oliver shoves the cat off the chair, then walks to Barbara at the counter again.*	Shitteiru yo, demo *kimi* wa tokidoki back up ga hitsuyo nan da.
142	OLIVER: We agreed that if you`re gonna do this liver bit, we would need someone to take care of the house full time, right?	*Kimi* no liver no shigoto o suru no nara, dare ka full time no kaji o suru hito ga hitsuyou da to goi shitan da, sou daro?
143	BARBARA: Right, Oliver. Right again.	So ne, Oliver. Sono tori no.
144	Oh, come one. Let`s not argue, okay? *(shouting)* Just think about it for a minute. If you don't want to interview the lady, I will send her home. I`m only trying…to make your life easier.	Kenka wa yameyo. Sukoshi wa kanngaete kure. *Kimi* ga mennstsu suru ki ga nai no nara, Kanojo ni wa kaette morau. *Kimi* no tame ni yokare to omotte shitadake nan dakara.
145	*Barbara puts the dishes into the sink and does not respond. Oliver nods and exits into the living room.* *INT.ROSE HOUSE-LIVING ROOM- LATER- Barbara looks at Susan, who came to be interviewed for the job.*	
146	BARBARA: Somehow the thought of a stranger living in my house just seems weird, you know? Doesn't it? I don`t mean just for us, but for you, too. Oh, but then I guess you do this all the time.	Mishiranuhito to hitotsu yane no shita de kurasu no wa Ochitsukukanai no. So desho? *Watashitachi* dake janaku, *anata* ni totte mo ne. *Anata* wa nicihjyou na koto kashira?
147	No, no. I try this as a means of finding room and board and a little money. I`m also attending a few classes at William and Mary College. But that won`t interfere with my duties.	Iie. *Watashi* wa wai tsuki no sumu basho o sagasu no to tashou no teate no tame nan desu. William Mary Kou no kougi ni mo shuseki shiteirun desu. Demo shigoto no samatage ni wa narimasen.
148	Well, that`s great. I`m happy for you, really.	Sore wa ii *wa*. Honto ni yokatta *wa* ne.
149	So do I get the job?	Dewa o shigoto sasete itadakemasu ka.
150	The fact is, Susan, I don't need a live-in. This was my husband`s suggestion. I mean, I have raised two kids on my own and now they`re about to go off to college. They were both accepted at Harvard.	Soujiki itte sumikomi wa iranai no, Susan. Konkai wa shujin no iidashita koto dakara. *Watashi* wa jibunn de futari no kodomo o sodateagete, kondo daigaku ni ireru. Futari tomo Haravard ni ukatta no.
151	Hmm, that`s a nice school, too.	Asoko mo ii gakkou desu *wa*.

152	Thanks. So, anyway, it`ll just be Oliver and me here at home. Although I am getting going my own catering business…but let`s face it, I mean, I don't need to work. Not for the money. And that does not…necessarily make me one of these women whose married to a successful man and, uh, has dedicated her life to him and her children are about to leave her…by studying photography or opening an art gallery or going into interior design for her husband`s office. No, I`m…I have a wonderful house…crammed with beautiful things. I did this house myself. I did a great job. Not that I am necessarily a slave to materialism. No.	Arigatou. Sou iu wake de kono ie ni wa Oliver to watashi dake shika sumimasen. *Watashi* wa shidashiya san o hajimerun dakedo, honnto wa shigoto suru hitsuyou wa nai no.Okane no tame nara shinakute ii mono. Sore ni, yoku aru you ni shouraisei no aru aite to kekkonshite, otto to kodomo no tame ni tsukushi,kodomo ga hanareteiku to kawari no iki kai o motomete, shashin o benkyo shitari, art gallery ya otto no tetsudai de interior design o hajimetairi suru no to mo chigau no yo. *Watashi* nai wa… suteki na ie mo kirei na mono mo takusann arun dakara. Zenbu de jibun de yatta no. Yoku maa dekita to omou *wa*. Katoitte keshite butsushitsushuugi sha de wa nai keredo ne.
153	*Susan looks tired of listening to Barbara`s long lecture.* BARBARA: But I am …proud…of what I have accomplished, although I suppose some people would find my life…disgusting. No, I (breathes deeply) I would not say that many people would respect the choices that I have made, although…women would. Women like me. But then I don`t` care what they think because I can`t stand who they are. What I`m trying to say, Susan, is that I don`t need a live-in.	Konna jinnsei wa bakakashiito omou hito mo iru kamoshirenai kedo, *watashi* wa jibun no tsukuriageta ie wa hokori ni omou *wa*. Iie, bakabakashiitoiunowa iisugi ne. *Watashi* no kouiu ikikata o hyouka shitekureru hitso wa takusan ha inai to omou, jyousei wa betsu ni shite ne. Hitso no koto wa mou takusan dakara nani to omowareyou to kini shinai kedo ne. *Watashi* no iitai koto wa sumikomi wa iranai to iu koto na no yo.
154	*Susan stands up.* SUSAN: Well, thanks for the interview and good luck and…God bless you.	Mennsetsu shi itadaite arigatou gozaimashita. Oshiawase ni, kami no gokago o.
155	BARBARA: I would like you to understand that…if I were to hire you, my life would probably change. You would be this new element in the house, you see?	Wakatte itadaketa kashira. *Anata* o yatou to tabun watashi no seikatsu wa kawatteshimau *wa*. *Anata* to iu atarashii kousei in ga kuwaru koto de ne.
156	SUSAN: Hm-mmm.	Ee.
157	BARBARA: Well…let me show you where your room is.	Aaa, *Anata* no heya ni annai suru *wa*.

Book Reviews

Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity Are Making a Difference
Fujimura-Fanselow, Kumiko (ed.) New York: The Feminist Press, 2011, 560pp.

Review by Jhana Bach
Lancaster University

Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow has been a professor of Education and Women's Studies at Toyo Eiwa University, Tokyo for over 20 years, and is well-known for her work on feminist pedagogy, women's education, and Japanese higher education, but is perhaps most associated with the book *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future* (1995) which she co-edited with Atsuko Kameda**.** *Japanese Women* broached issues that "had yet to be adequately confronted, such as domestic violence and the plight of migrant women", and in keeping with that ethos, over half the essays in *Transforming Japan* also break new ground as they describe changes in women's lives and the culture overall.

Buoyed by equal employment and child care leave laws, the "era of women" described in *Japanese Women* seemed to promise "no end to women's increasing ascendance" but as we find from the current volume, "twenty years later, the picture is less rosy" (xvii). Political representation and other gains have been glacial by global standards, poverty is becoming increasingly feminized, with women constituting 74% of those living below the poverty line, and the status of women in the workplace has actually decreased (xix). Fujimura-Fanselow gives a succinct summary of the major issues facing women in the workplace today:

> …persistent economic inequality, discrimination, and domestic violence (discussed below) prevent women from leading autonomous lives. These factors lie at the root of several significant social developments. These include trends toward late marriages and a lowered birth rate, as well as declining birth rates and increasing divorce rates accompanied by rising numbers of single mothers. (p. xx)

Though she establishes a connection between women's inequality and the stagnation of the nation as a whole, it would have been interesting to see this thread developed into one of the chapters.

Like its predecessor, this anthology is a critical contribution that brings "Japanese women"s scholarship to readers abroad' (p. ix) as well as English-language readers in Japan. One of the greatest achievements of *Transforming Japan* is that it provides a thorough overview of the current situation framed in non-specialist language. This does not mean it is over-simplified, shallow or without nuance, but that the collection is well-contextualized and presents an active engagement with feminist principles of accessibility.

The collection works well on two levels: as a broad sampling of diversity issues in contemporary Japan, and as a deeper holistic analysis of socio-political barriers to improvements in human rights. One barrier that Fujimura-Fanselow critically engages with is the efforts of the conservative government to control curriculum, particularly through

"gender bashing", a backlash response which since 2001 has not only circumscribed efforts to question gender roles and confront bias and stereotypes, but has actually poisoned the word gender (ジェンダー) so that in Japan it now carries the negative connotations many outside of Gender Studies associate with the word feminist.

In flawless translations by Minata (Minako) Hara, Kimberly Hughes, and Malaya Ileto, the material is presented in seven subject areas: Cultural and Historical Perspectives, Education, Marriage and Families, Changing Sexualities, Activism for the Rights of Minorities, Doors to Employment Open and Close, and Feminism and Political Power. Perhaps the most uneven in theme is the first section, which mixes the struggle for legal reforms, women in Buddhism, the underrepresentation of women in the literary canon, and three early 20th-century female couples, but even here each is an articulate, scholarly contribution.

Transforming Japan covers a broad range of topics, from life as a househusband and professional women wrestlers to migrants in the sex industry and the "comfort women" issue. My only quibble is that in giving *diversity* equal footing with *feminism* in the title it seems to promise slightly more than its 400-plus pages deliver in representing the full diversity that exists in Japan. There is no discussion of Brazilian Japanese or Okinawan/Ryukyu issues. But perhaps these are merely signs of how much is left to contribute to the field, as every anthology must leave out more than it includes.

Transforming Japan fills a critical gap in current writing on and by Japanese women and forms a much needed update and expansion of *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future.* As a Women's Studies teacher from 2009-2011, this was the book I kept wishing I had on my shelves.

Exploring Japanese University English Teachers' Professional Identity
Hawley Nagatomo, Diane. Multilingual Matters, 2012, 215pp., with References, Name & Subject Indexes

Review by Laurel Kamada
Tohoku University

Nagatomo's *Exploring Japanese University English Teachers' Professional Identity* is a niche research which examines teacher-identity of an under-researched and yet extremely influential majority of English (EFL) teachers in Japan: Japanese university teachers of English. Delving into her participants' professional and gendered identities and the connection with their beliefs and teaching practices, Nagatomo reveals to her readers a depth of insight into what motivates such teachers, and also sheds light on why and how Japanese teachers of English differ from "native" English teachers.

The book comprises three separate studies, each with its own set of research questions, which are coherently brought together into a broader analysis of Japanese university teachers of English. The three studies look at: activities that such teachers engage in as part of their work practices and how they contribute to their professional identities; the impact of gender in

Japanese female's professional identities; and a case study of how the beliefs about teaching and language learning of one female Japanese teacher of English is related to her professional identity and classroom practices. While all three studies are based in narrative-focused research, Nagatomo draws on different theoretical frameworks for each of them, including: Wenger's (1998) identity theory (communities of practice), Gee's perspectives on identity (2000) and Holliday's notions of social context in teaching (1994).

Chapter Two lays out the context of her study by beginning with a brief history of education in Japan in order to contextualize the poor English skills of the Japanese. The latter half of the chapter looks at the education and employment situation for Japanese women and various gendered aspects of English in Japan. I found these sections to be some of the most interesting parts of the book.

Chapter Three begins to examine some of the theoretical underpinnings of the study focusing on knowledge, beliefs and identity, while other methodological frameworks are introduced in later chapters as well. Nagatomo introduces here Holliday's (1994) description of two major social contexts of language teaching methodology, which she continues to refer to throughout the study. She writes:

> The first one is BANA which reflects the methodologies that developed from second language acquisition research in Britain, Australasia and North America . . . [people from those regions consider the best teaching methodologies to be] learner centered, and focused on communicative language teaching. . . The second is called "TESEP". The methodology under this culture evolved from teaching that occurred in tertiary, secondary and primary academic institutions throughout the world that teach English as a foreign language. Teaching methodologies . . . often employ the grammar-translation method. TESEP teachers are usually . . . native speakers of the language of the culture in which they live. (p. 60)

The narrative research approach used in the study is introduced in Chapter Four. How the interview data was collected, transcribed and analyzed is explained. The eight participants, consisting of seven females and one male, are also introduced. Nagatomo introduces her original simplified (revised) transcription system used in her work which focuses more on content than on micro-analytic discursive details.

Chapter Five is the first of three chapters examining the data analysis. Here the background and findings of the first study are presented, drawing on Wenger's (1998) theory of identity and "communities of practice". The focus is on the actual work practices of the Japanese teachers and how those practices impact their professional identities. By examining three different areas of engagement (in teaching, in the workplace, and in the wider social context), Nagatomo has shown the various ways in which teachers negotiate their identities. Regarding "engagement in teaching", the teachers' practices were often related to their own educational and life experiences. "Engagement in the workplace" involved the practices that went on outside of the classroom among other colleagues. The differing job status of tenure, tenure track or contract position affected the participants' access (or not) to insider trajectory and power. While the tenured newcomer, Taka (the male participant), was given voice and taken seriously in his workplace, the tenured female participant (Kumiko) felt gendered exclusion from powerful factions of her university. While Kumiko was excluded from the inner trajectory, she instead funneled her energy into personal development focusing on research and teaching activities. The third area of identity development involved "engagement in the wider social context" and was an area where teachers could engage with other

colleagues outside of their place of employment, such as Kumiko's affiliation with feminist organizations.

Chapter Six, a synopsis of the second study, looks at the impact of gender and age differences on the professional identity of seven female teachers working in a predominantly male workplace context. Nagotomo draws on Gee's (2000) theoretical perspective on Identity which includes: nature-identity (N-identity), Institutional-identity (I-Identity), Discourse-Identity (D-Identity) and Affinity Identity (A-Identity). First, in reference to the N-Identity—which reflects the unchangeable biological properties of people, such as sex, age and ethnicity—Nagatomo explains:

> It is only when importance is placed upon these attributes that they play a role in shaping identity. Mere biological traits (such as, to use Gee's example, having a spleen) do not influence identity unless some importance is attached to it. A person's sex is also a biological trait, but the state of being male or female is ascribed a great deal of importance by society, and is often referred to as gender. (p.119)

Nagatomo shows how the gendered lives of the participants have permeated every aspect of their professional identity. While many aspects of this gendered identity was similar across the age groups, Nagatomo showed several differences in identities based on age, revealing the more recent effects of social change in Japan. Some of the generational differences were due to more younger females having greater opportunities to acquire a PhD and chances to partake in long-term overseas travel and residence than the women over 50.

Chapter Seven is an in depth study of one participant Japanese female English teacher (Miwa), examining her beliefs about her teaching and the connection with her professional identity and her classroom practices. Here Nagatomo contextualizes the cultural role of teachers in the two teaching cultures: BANA and TESEP. One of the biggest contributions of Nagatomo's work, in my opinion, is her fair and objective analysis of the teacher-directed TESEP oriented teaching contexts. While a major audience of Nagatomo's monograph will likely be researchers and teachers from BANA cultures, the argument for TESEP based methodologies from a Japanese point of view allows a sensitive and in-depth view from the inside. As Nagatomo writes:

> . . . upon first glance, especially from a BANA methodological point of view, it might seem that no meaningful learning could possibly be taking place in Miwa's lessons. However, students in TESEP countries are often not only accustomed to this approach to teaching and learning, they often *expect* their professors to possess important knowledge and to pass it on to them . . . TESEP students see many communicative classroom activities, which are designed to put students at ease and to facilitate learning, as useless and childish activities that fail to bring about 'real' learning . . . (p. 165)

Chapter Seven showed how Miwa's teaching beliefs (that teachers are people who "know everything") and her passion for literature shaped her professional identity and directly influenced her teaching practices. Sometimes her two conflicting identities as literature expert and language teacher came into conflict and were revealed in her more "technical" teaching practices which were shown to sometimes differ from the goals of her students.

The final chapter summarized the four main findings from the three studies. The first finding clarified the identity conflict of *who* the Japanese teachers of English felt themselves

to be (English or literature specialists) against *what they did* in their jobs in the classroom as English language teachers. Nagatomo exposed "the tensions caused by the participants' competing identities as specialists in their academic fields and as non-specialist English language teachers." (p. 182).

The second finding coming from the studies revealed that the way the participant teachers related to the students came directly from their own experiences as students. Related to this, the third finding revealed how the methods that the participant teachers used were related to the various techniques and tools that worked for them in their learning of English, but which sometimes differed from the way they were actually taught English. The fourth finding showed how the professional lives of female teachers were constrained by the expectations of women in Japanese society.

Nagatomo concludes her book with a very sound piece of advice for Japanese foreign language education policy makers: "Instead of sending unprepared teachers into the classroom . . . an apprenticeship system could be implemented in Japanese universities . . . to ensure that all perspective teachers were prepared for their teaching roles." (p.188).

I highly recommend this book to anyone teaching at the university level in Japan, or to anyone interested in the professional identities of women in the Japan workforce, as it is not only rigorously researched and analyzed through a variety of frameworks, but it is also presented in an engaging and easy to read narrative style allowing the honest self-reflections of the Japanese participants to be heard.

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Questioning gender: A sociological exploration.
Ryle, Robyn. SAGE/Pine Forge Press, 2011. 268pp.

Reviewed by Gwyn Helverson
Ritsumeikan University

Gender studies scholars who have been searching for a comprehensive introductory text will be thrilled by Professor Robyn Ryle's enlightening and entertaining *Questioning gender*. The author, who has taught a sociology of gender course at Hanover College in the U.S. for seven years, calls this 520-page tome an "un-textbook" in that it seeks to raise questions rather than to answer them. Ryle captures the essence of theory and then enlivens it with real-world, relevant examples of its manifestations to keep the reader turning page after page.

Readers/students are thereby encouraged to uncover their own "gender-based assumptions as well as those of societies around the world."

Ryle describes the first part of the book as a kind of "boot camp" to re-socialize students to truly "see" gender while Part II focuses on how gender impacts daily lives via issues such as sexuality, body image, and health. Part III deals with institutional gender at the macro level, for example, rigged political systems and the differences between rape-prone and rape-free societies. Each chapter includes discussion and activity prompts for critical analysis which are sometimes quite humorous, sometimes deadly serious, or both:

- *Question Boxes* (Sample: What does the idea of protective legislation reveal about femininity and masculinity?)
- *Cultural Artifacts* (Sample: Phallic symbols and the bass guitar. Why do so many female musicians play the bass?)
- *Big Questions* (Sample: What are the differences between liberal and radical feminist theory?)
- *Gender Exercises* (Sample: Choose a club to which you belong and compose an essay on its hetero-normativity.)

Ryle has placed analysis of groundbreaking studies strategically throughout this dense book; for example, beneficial effects of China's one-child policy on female children, homosexual practices of the Sambia of New Guinea, American transmen who found that their new status as (male) authority figures led directly to career success, and so forth. Just as Cameron (2007) critiqued neo-Darwinistic trends in mainstream Western society, Ryle debunks essentialist sexism with surprising examples of global diversity in gender roles.

Ryle warns readers about the traps of "false consciousness." A person who blindly adheres to their own culture's gender norms could be a "sheep," but telling people outright that they are sheep will alienate them. Moreover, to judge someone for their false consciousness without questioning one's own would be yet another example of false consciousness. Therefore, the early chapters of this book are non-confrontational. In the final chapter, however, Ryle declares her thesis: gender exists in order to secure power. Rather than "*Questioning gender*," this book could thus be called "*Gender as power*," but as the author has acknowledged, that kind of title could turn away students before they even get started.

Although the author did not intend to write a textbook on gender studies for non-native English speakers in Japan, the question for many of us is, nonetheless, "Could this textbook work here?" Yes, under the right circumstances. Given its intellectual heft, a year-long course would easily be filled by its contents. In the "Terms and Suggested Readings" section, students can self-check their knowledge of terminology. The companion website provides links to even more academic papers on similar topics for both instructors and students (instructors must officially register for access via their university).

However, the English used could be quite challenging since it combines chatty engagement with academic analysis in rather complex sentences. Vocabulary and structure may therefore be beyond the grasp of students whose TOEIC scores are less than 450, particularly first- or second-year university students. In addition, insider references to American culture in many of the "Cultural Artifacts" sections may be inapplicable. The exploration-style approach to education with the instructor as a facilitator may be challenging for Japanese students since they tend to expect a more authoritarian style from their

professors. Furthermore, in collectivist Japan, students may accept Ryle's thesis that gender socialization influences us on the individual, interactional, and institutional levels, but they may also pragmatically decide that socialization is necessary for society to function and therefore cannot or should not be altered. Since the author acknowledges the potential for individualistic, Anglo-European feminism to appropriate other cultures through its own meta-narratives, this in itself could be an excellent point for discussion.

This textbook is highly recommended. It can serve not only as a main text for advanced students in gender studies courses, but also as a reference to inspire academics to further research in the field. In addition, it is quite simply a great page-turner.

Reference
Cameron, Deborah (2007). *The Myth of Mars and Venus. Do Men and Women Really Speak Different Languages*? New York: Oxford University Press (USA).