

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

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Editorial Foreword

As this year comes to a close we are proud to offer you yet another volume of thought provoking research related to gender awareness and education from scholars in Japan. There is a strong theme in this volume, which encourages the reader to consider the link between a lack of gender awareness in education and gender discrimination in employment. While much research explores issues of gender in academia in Japan, only a few have analysed data from *juku* or “cram schools.” Robert Lowe looks specifically at vocabulary texts in *juku* and writings of authentic texts, which are in EFL use still after many decades despite the fact that they are outdated in many respects, especially gender representation. Large numbers of students in Japan receive tuition in *juku*, so issues of bias in gender representation are of particular concern. In addition, recent surveys of attitudes among young people indicate that the number of young Japanese women who hope for marriage in the future, rather than marriage *and* a career, or simply a career, has declined in comparison to earlier generations. The removal of gender bias from textual and graphic representations provided for young learners may help to improve this situation.

Our second paper, by Blake Hayes, is related to her publication in our last volume in which she outlined gender ideologies and how change is necessary in recruitment patterns in academia in Japan. She made a strong case for affirmative action quotas and for the re-conceptualization of expertise in order to achieve equality. In this volume she provides data and analysis on gender equality in academic institutions in Japan. Hayes shows that the provisions of conventions such as CEDAW and the Japanese domestic laws on employment equality in Japan have not been realized in the lived experiences of many women who wish to pursue successful and creative careers. Again she provides a convincing rationale and possible strategies of action for those who seek to implement egalitarian principles in academic life and beyond.

Activists in gender and sexualities studies have noted a strong “backlash” against their praxis in recent years. Governments are opposing gender mainstreaming in east Asia and sexualized violence against women continues to destroy more and more lives. Laws that promoted equality for sexual minorities have been rescinded in India and Australia; the enactment of anti-homosexual legislation in Russia puts a ban on ‘propagandizing of non-traditional sexual relations among minors’; and the anti homosexual legislation passed by the Ugandan parliament makes some gay acts punishable with life in prison. And inevitably family values and the protection of children are used inappropriately as rationales for rescinding human rights of LGBT people and women. In these times of sinister revivals of sexism and patriarchal attitudes, it is worth remembering that masculinism works through macho displays of power over women and over individuals who identify as LGBT. Nor

should we forget that the founders of GALE choose the name specifically because it invokes a sense of solidarity among activists in both gender studies and sexualities studies. Our final paper from Sarah Lubold shows that GALE members are still aware of the need to fight and educate against the homophobia and the sexism that lash out against efforts for equality. Lubold reports on work within language education that challenges the dominance of essentialized views of gender and sexuality. Hopefully more and more educators will broach this topic with their students.

As the holidays are upon us, this volume has some very interesting books to keep readers occupied and intellectually stimulated. Jhana Bach takes a look at Cordelia Fine's *Delusions of Gender: How Our Minds, Society, and Neurosexism Create Difference*. Fine exposes the weaknesses of pseudoscientific research which filters data in such a way that the notions of "the male brain" and "the female brain" come into being. In contrast, Fine analyses data methodically and finds convincing support for an understanding of the mind as malleable and devoid of the "hardwiring" of popular science. Gender equality in the workplace is the theme for a review by Michi Saki of a work that has received considerable attention recently—*Lean in: Women, work and the will to lead* by Sheryl Sandberg. While Sandberg has been criticized for her privileged standpoint, much of her message is worthy of serious consideration as can be evidenced in the serious political backlash which continues to push women back into the private realm of citizenship through economic sanctions, societal pressures, and the lack of substantive equality measures regarding employment. And our final review is by Gwyn Helverson—*Marginalized majority: Media representations and lived experiences of single women* by Kristie Collins. This book is especially valuable in deepening our understanding of how constructions of marital status in texts of popular culture help to perpetuate a gender regime of marginalization and inequity and also touches on issues of discrimination against women in academia. This final review is especially welcome, also, as it gives us an opportunity to welcome the author, Kristie Collins, to the co-editor team of the GALE Journal for next year. We also welcome Aaron Hahn as associate editor.

Many thanks to the entire editorial team who dedicate their expertise and time to make it possible for authors to make the best of their research and reflections. For the moment, let's enjoy the fruit of their labors with a thoughtful reading of this year's volume.

Robert Ó'Móchain
Salem Kim Hicks

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Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: Problematic representations of gender in authentic EFL vocabulary texts.

Robert J. Lowe
Rikkyo University

Abstract

Authentic texts are a popular tool in foreign language teaching, and are utilized to help improve a number of aspects of the student's L2. When selecting authentic texts, it is important for teachers and course designers to be aware of cultural bias in areas such as nationality, race, and gender, which may influence the value systems of the students. Instructors may then try to minimize the occurrence and effect of these biases. This challenge has been taken seriously by major ELT publishers; however, in more localized settings problematic biases may remain in texts. This paper examines a number of short, authentic texts used to teach English vocabulary at a private cram school (*juku*) in Japan. The materials were found to contain problematic representations of gender in terms of sex visibility. Depictions of employment in relation to gender, and the nature of the adjectives used to describe each gender were also found to be problematic.

要旨

オーセンティックテキストは外国語教育においてよく用いられる教材であり、生徒の第二言語習得の様々な側面を促進するのに活用されている。オーセンティックテキストを選ぶにあたり、教員やコースデザイナーは、国籍、人種、ジェンダーといった、生徒の価値観に影響を与えるであろう「文化的偏見」の存在について認識し、それを最小化することが重要である。英語教育界における主な出版社によってこの問題は真摯に受け止められてはいるが、それが深く認識されていない状況においては、偏見が教材内に存在していることもある。本研究では日本の学習塾で英語の語彙指導のために使用されている短いオーセンティックテキストを検証した。その結果、セックスビジビィティ、ジェンダーに関連した職業の記述、それぞれのジェンダーに使用されている形容詞の性質についての3つの観点から、ジェンダーの描写において問題があることが考察された。

Introduction

The strategic use of authentic texts (those written by L1 authors for an L1 audience) is often advocated as an important part of the language learning process has been proposed as an effective learning aid in several areas of language acquisition (see Nunan, 2002; Wilson, 2003; Berardo, 2006 for examples). However, when selecting texts, it is important for materials designers and teachers to be aware of various forms of cultural bias that may be present and which should be avoided. One important aspect of this cultural bias is the depiction of gender. As Mineshima (2008) notes, “[the] implicit conditioning of learners toward gender-role stereotyping is dangerous because...children can quickly and easily integrate such gender biases into their own value systems” (p.123). This should be considered carefully, particularly in the case of texts intended for the exposition and teaching of vocabulary, as these provide context for the target language (in this case lexical items) but are not intended to be read critically. The content of these texts must be carefully checked in order to ensure that no problematic cultural biases are propagated therein. Among the criteria for judging ELT materials and texts (including authenticity, sufficiency, educational validity, etc.), Sheldon (1988) lists cultural bias as a key issue, one article of which is whether or not the materials “enshrine stereotyped, inaccurate, condescending, or offensive images of gender, race, social class, or nationality” (p. 244). This paper deals with the use of authentic texts intended for the teaching of vocabulary in a private cram school (*juku*) in Japan, examines the representations of gender contained within them, and discusses the need for greater awareness of these issues among the teachers in these schools.

Authentic texts for vocabulary acquisition

The use of authentic texts is an established and important part of ELT pedagogy. There are many advantages to the use of authentic texts, mainly resulting from the fact that they expose the learner to samples of naturally occurring and organic language, rather than the more contrived and artificial forms of language normally found in texts, which have been specifically constructed for students.

Authentic texts and materials have been used in various areas of second language acquisition, such as in the teaching of listening (Field, 1998; Nunan, 2002; Wilson, 2003) and reading comprehension (Mera-Rivas, 1999; Berardo, 2006). As well as being employed in these areas, authentic texts have also been proposed as useful methods for building vocabulary acquisition (Coady, 1996; Nation, 2001). The selection of appropriate authentic texts is of course very important, and has been considered critically from a number of

different perspectives. Of immediate importance is the vocabulary contained in the text, and this is a primary concern of teachers and materials designers in text selection.

While these practical concerns are of immediate importance in text selection, there are a number of further issues, which should be considered by materials designers and teachers seeking to make use of authentic texts. As mentioned earlier, Sheldon (1988) argues that ELT materials should avoid, among other things, problematic or biased depictions of gender. This is an issue which has been taken seriously by ELT materials designers, and accordingly, it is becoming increasingly rare to find overtly problematic depictions of gender in professionally produced materials (Sano, Iida and Harvey, 2001; Jones, Kitetu and Sunderland, 1997). This is not to say, however, that such problematic depictions have disappeared completely, nor is it the case that problematic depictions of a more subliminal nature have disappeared alongside their more overt counterparts. The study described in this paper focused on gender representations in authentic texts used for the teaching of vocabulary.

Gender awareness in materials design

In the following sections I will provide an overview of the literature on gender representation in materials design, first globally, and then in the context of Japan. I will finally provide some context for the *juku* (cram school) sector in which this study was based.

The global context

While issues such as race and nationality have been very carefully addressed by major international ELT materials designers (Sunderland, 1992; Sano, Iida, & Harvey, 2001), the question of gender representations in texts is one which is recurrent in the literature. Early work such as that of Hartman and Judd (1978) and Hellinger (1980) found that stereotypical representations of males and females were rife in ESL materials, and served to reinforce notions of appropriate occupations and family roles for men and women. They were also found to contain more frequent discussions and mentions of males overall, with females being discussed in a comparatively lesser amount. These findings were further confirmed by Porreca (1984) who found that ESL textbooks contained a comparatively high ratio of male to female nouns, a greater use of generic masculine constructions, and a stereotypical delineation of employment roles.

In the years following these studies, conscious efforts were made by publishers to avoid these problematic depictions (Sunderland, 1992), and Sano, Iida, and Harvey (2001) noted

that “gender-imbalanced language has been substantially eliminated from EFL textbooks since 1990” (p. 901). Although there are few examples of specific guidelines being handed from textbook publishers to writers (as these are provided to writers upon being contracted to complete writing assignments), it is reasonable to assume that they conform generally to the guidelines proposed by Schmitz (1975), and elaborated on by later authors such as Brugeilles and Cromer (2009), which suggest that textbooks should avoid:

- 1) Disproportionate references to males over females.
- 2) Different roles assigned to males and females.
- 3) Reinforcement of gender stereotypes.
- 4) Condescending statements or generalisations about women.

(Schmitz, 1975, p.129)

However, despite these efforts, other studies have shown that the problem has not disappeared. Poulou (1997) found a gendered imbalance in dialogues, in which females speak less than their male counterparts and are given a narrower range of discourse roles, while Sunderland (2000) argues that females are often excluded from, or have their roles minimized in EFL texts, and are often treated in a stereotypical or disempowered manner.

Ansary and Babaii (2003), in a study of Iranian teaching materials, discovered evidence for what they termed “subliminal sexism” (sexism which was implicit in the texts rather than being overtly stated) being present in secondary school ESL textbooks. This subliminal sexism was manifested in a number of ways. Through a mix of quantitative and qualitative analysis, they found that there was a far higher level of “sex visibility” for males than females in both texts and illustrations, showing that “women...are clearly underrepresented” (p. 49). They further found that the books contained stereotyped sex roles and sex-linked job possibilities, and that depictions of activities carried out by men and women were equally assigned in a way congruent with stereotypical conceptions of gender. Gharbavi and Mousavi (2012) found a higher representation of male participant roles than female participant roles, and a higher proportion of male gender-specific nouns than female ones in Iranian English textbooks. This present pilot study also illustrates that even in the last decade problematic gender bias can be found in materials used for the teaching of English in some contexts.

The Japanese context

The study described in this paper took place in Japan, where research has revealed similar patterns of gender representation in teaching materials. While early studies such as that by

Faneslow and Kameda (1994) found serious gender imbalances in high school textbooks, more recent research has come to less obvious, but still suggestive, conclusions. Nakai (2000) found that reading texts in Japanese high school textbooks had a larger number of male characters than female, with a wider range of occupations and characteristics. Sano, Iida, and Harvey (2001) argue that while males are often over-represented in textbooks, in the case of the books used in Japanese schools females are, in fact, seen to “act and behave more often” than male characters (p. 902). However, while this is certainly a positive finding, a more deeply rooted imbalance was noted by these researchers. They argued that during instances of decision making, male characters took commanding roles, while female characters played more supporting roles. In addition, they found that the speech of male characters contained a larger amount of content, while that of female characters was fairly insubstantial. Furthermore, the topics discussed by the characters in each chapter could be divided into topics considered conventionally female-oriented or male-oriented. The researchers concluded that gender-based implicit messages were contained in textbooks, despite not being explicitly shown on a surface level. Mineshima (2008) found similar imbalances in an analysis of texts in a Japanese high school English textbook. In light of these results, it seems clear that while gender bias may have been eliminated from the surface level of EFL texts in Japan, it may remain pervasive in the form of “subliminal sexism”.

This study will take a somewhat different approach to previous studies into gender representation in learning materials, particularly in terms of context. Previous studies into Japanese EFL materials have largely been centered around the analysis of government produced and regulated textbooks such as the New Crown series (see Faneslow & Kameda 1975; Nakai 2000; Sano, Iida, & Harvey 2001; Mineshima, 2008). This study, in contrast, will focus on the less regulated, but extremely prominent private education sector in Japan, largely made up of *juku*.

Juku schools – prevalence and context

Juku are a Japanese manifestation of what Bray (2007) calls the “shadow education” system of private tutoring. Bray notes that globally, private tutoring takes on many forms, from one-to-one classes at home to large lecture theaters (p. 21), and that in Japan, *juku* are by far the most popular form of private tutoring. They are private cram schools, which are attended by many children to supplement their regular school education, in order to improve their university entrance exam scores in a number of different subjects including English. (Nagatomo, 2012). This private schooling is a multi-billion yen industry (Pettersen, 1993; Roesgaard, 2006). In support of this claim, Bray and Lykins (2012) have shown that 15.9%

of elementary school children attend *juku*, with this number gradually increasing to 65.2% in the third year of junior high school (cited in Cook, 2013, p. 403). Bray (2007) notes that in Japan about 70% of children will attend *juku* at some stage of their schooling, and that these numbers roughly doubled between 1976 and 1993 (p. 23). In addition, Dierkes (2010; cited in Cook, 2013, p. 403) has noted that there are roughly 50,000 *juku* in Japan, attended by children of various ages. It is clear from these reports that a huge number of children are having educational experiences in *juku* schools, and this is therefore an important context to investigate.

In *juku* schools, many English classes are taught using adapted or self-produced materials. In addition to this, most of the tutors in *juku* schools are not trained or qualified teachers, and are likely to be unaware of the discussion surrounding gender representation in material design. As Iwata (2006) notes, “*juku* schools are not approved as official schools, so the teaching staffs in *juku* schools need no license” (p. 2). In other words, there is within Japan a highly prominent and influential industry in which English language education is taking place, which does not, however, receive any official oversight of the content of the materials it is using.

Bray (2007) notes that private education globally is a huge business, but one “which so far has received little attention by researchers” (p. 18). Similarly, despite the prominence of *juku* schools, there has been very little research into them, and even less concerning the gender representations of the texts used within them, or the understanding that teachers have regarding the appropriateness of the materials they are using. This paper seeks to go some way towards addressing this situation.

Study aims and materials

As mentioned earlier, this paper is concerned with gender representations in authentic texts selected for the teaching of vocabulary in a private, unregulated *juku* school. This study consisted of an analysis of the teaching materials, and a discussion of the motives of and rationale given by the teachers for using these texts. In this section I will describe the texts which were analysed and the participant teachers.

Texts

The texts used for this study were collected from *Sakura Juku* (pseudonym) a private *juku* chain in Tokyo, Japan. Twenty texts were examined in total (see Appendix B for a list of

these texts). All of the texts were taken from “*Eibun Hyoujun Mondai Seikou (英文標準問題精講) - Interpretation of Standard English Passages*” (Hara & Nakahara, 1999); a textbook which features a collection of numerous short authentic English texts by famous authors in a variety of genres, and which has been used in *juku* schools for several decades. The textbook was originally written in 1933, and the texts were taken from well-respected works of the period. The textbook has proven to be very popular and is currently in its fifth edition (published in 1999), with the texts remaining largely unchanged, though some more recent texts from the 1950s and 1960s have been added. This paper analysed the fifth edition. While the analysis in this paper concerns only one chain of *juku* schools, the popularity and continual reprinting of this textbook makes it likely that these or similarly antiquated texts are still in use routinely in the private *juku* sector.

In the textbook, the short texts are presented and then analyzed in terms of grammar, with detailed grammatical explanations given below each passage. These texts are excerpts of larger works chosen by the textbook authors; however, the excerpts themselves have not been changed or edited, and are presented in the book in their original wording. While the passages were selected for their linguistic content, they have not been written or edited in order to present any pre-specified language to the learners. As a result, the texts, as presented to the students of *Sakura Juku*, contain the same wording and content as they did when presented to their original L1 audience, and therefore retain their authenticity.

In *Sakura Juku*, these texts had been repurposed by the teachers for the study of vocabulary, a process which involved retyping the texts into new documents on their computers, selecting target vocabulary items from the texts, and placing this vocabulary, with translations, under the body of the texts (See Appendix A for an example). These documents were then given to the students, who did not have a copy of the original textbook. The texts selected by the teachers covered a range of different topics, and were all written in prose style. While a small number of the texts were narratives, most were short, philosophical ruminations on some aspect of life or society. These were drawn from the works of writers such as Bertrand Russell and Somerset Maugham, writers who were operating in an earlier period, and whose writing may not have been subject to the same critical scrutiny regarding gender depictions as would be the case today. While some passages in the book were written by women, the majority were written by male authors, and the passages chosen by the teachers at *Sakura Juku* were exclusively written by male authors (see Appendix B for a list of the texts). When texts are referenced throughout this paper, the references will be to the textbook from which they were adapted, alongside the name of the original text.

The vocabulary items being taught were intended to assist the students (all of whom were at the age of sixteen or seventeen) in their university entrance examinations. These examinations feature grammar translation tasks in and out of the target language, and as such

the texts that were examined for this study were all short and presented as stand-alone pieces of writing, with vocabulary explanations and translations underneath (See the example in Appendix A). These texts were intended simply as housing for, and expositors of, vocabulary, and the students were, accordingly, not expected to read the texts too critically or deeply. It is therefore reasonable to assume that any gender bias present in the texts would not have been included for the purposes of encouraging debate or for some other pedagogical purpose.

Teachers

All of the texts described above had been selected over the last two or three years by the teachers at *Sakura Juku*. The majority of these teachers were Japanese, male, aged between 20 and 40, and, despite having taught for between five to ten years on average, did not have any training in the field of language education. This is unsurprising given that they worked in the context of a private school in which such qualifications are not required (Iwata, 2006). However this is an important point to note as it could help to explain why certain decisions were made in their choice of materials. Some information about the motivations and rationale of the teachers for choosing the materials discussed in this paper was gathered through private email and face-to-face communications with one of the teachers at *Sakura Juku*. This information is discussed in the following section.

Teacher motivations and rationale for text selection

Through informal, private, face-to-face communications with one of the teachers at *Sakura Juku*, and over email, some insight was gained into why the texts described above had been selected by the teachers in *Sakura Juku*, and the level of awareness the teachers had about issues of gender representation in material design also became clear. While this data was gathered from only one of the teachers, it seems likely that the similarity in level of training and experience between this teacher and her colleagues would allow this information to be cautiously generalized out to other members of staff. In addition, the teacher from whom this data was gathered mentioned the materials were collaboratively produced and used. The data below thus describes the state of thinking among the teachers at *Sakura Juku*, to the best of the knowledge of the teacher spoken to. The reasons for the texts being selected are as follows:

- 1) The texts contained authentic use of English.
- 2) The texts were readily available, and were part of established materials that had been used for a long time.
- 3) The texts contained the vocabulary the teachers were trying to teach.

(Sakura Juku teacher; personal communication, September 3, 2013)

The first of these concerns is pedagogic, showing that the teachers were concerned with their students encountering the vocabulary they were teaching in a meaningful context. The second two concerns are purely practical, in that they concern the access the teachers had to the materials and the coverage those materials had in terms of the language intended to be taught. While these concerns are important for teachers with limited time and limited training in materials design, the fact that these are the only concerns that were vocalized by the teachers (as passed on by the contact discussed earlier) suggests that other factors such as appropriateness of the textual content was not forefront in their minds. In fact, the teacher spoken to intimated that these concerns did not occur to her, and that she had not been given any specific guidelines regarding this matter. In fact, these materials had been suggested to the teachers by their managers, who had used these same materials themselves as both students and teachers. In other words, the selection of these texts was a result of an “apprenticeship of observation” (Lortie, 1975) rather than formal training in educational materials design or education of any form. In addition, when asked about gender depictions, the teacher spoken to seemed unaware of these concerns, and appeared not to be aware of these discussions, at least in the context of education. Nor did the teacher mention these concerns being brought up by any of their colleagues.

Analysis of texts

The aim of the first part of this study was to discover whether the texts selected by teachers contained gender biases. In particular, the texts were examined in terms of the following criteria (adapted from Sano, Iida & Harvey, 2001; Ansary & Babaii, 2003):

- Sex visibility (the prevalence of characters or language matching each gender, or displaying no gender)
- Depictions of employment in relation to gender
- Generic conceptions of gender – adjectives and attributes

These criteria were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, these criteria have been used as part of the analytical toolkit of scholars in different contexts, which suggests they are generally applicable to this kind of textual analysis. Secondly, these criteria were chosen from among several possible options because they were the most suitable for the analysis of short texts, rather than entire textbooks. Each of these items will be addressed separately in the subsequent sections, and some discussion of the results will be provided.

Analysis 1: Sex visibility

The texts in question were studied initially for sex visibility, and the results were then divided into six different categories:

- Generic pronouns – “if a person is a firefighter, **he** fights fires”.
- Generic nouns – “**the philosopher** may consider this an impossible task”.
- Third-person pronouns – “**He** was my best friend”.
- Second-person pronouns – “what are **you** doing?”
- First-person pronouns – “**I** saw it when **I** was five years old”.
- Direct references to characters – “... **the two daughters of the vicar**”.

In carrying out this analysis, it was decided that gender-neutral pronouns such as “I” or “they” would be assigned a gendered role if made as an anaphoric or cataphoric reference to a previously or subsequently mentioned character in the text. The results were then classified as male, female, or gender-neutral. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Sex visibility in the texts

	Male	Female	Gender-neutral
Generic pronouns	12	0	1
Generic nouns	22	0	15
Third-person pronouns	28	1	19
Second-person pronouns	5	0	6
First-person pronouns	27	1	50
Direct references	4	2	0
Total	98	4	91

While it is important to note that the number of gender-neutral items (91) present in the text is almost equal to those made in reference to males (98), both of these numbers eclipse the number of items used in reference to females (4). This could be explained due to the age

of the selected texts, but it is certainly surprising that texts should be chosen which contain such an androcentric focus, particularly given the amount of attention which has been paid to this issue in the wider world of ELT publishing, and given the fact that the texts have been selected simply to contextualize and house vocabulary for students. This lack of female representation in the texts may be evidence of gender bias present in the text. This is in contrast to the findings of Sano, Iida, and Harvey (2001), which described fairly equal levels of sex visibility in Japanese teaching materials.

The low level of female sex visibility present in the texts is unusual, and indicates that the texts are unlikely to meet the requirement of avoiding gender bias. However in order to fully and fairly assess the merits of the text, it is important to analyze this data at a deeper level, particularly in terms of how gender roles are represented. It may be instructive to first investigate how sex roles are presented in a sphere identified as problematic by previous studies – employment.

Analysis 2: Depictions of employment in relation to gender

As the texts in question are rather antiquated, descriptions and mentions of employment are limited to well-established professions. There are however, a large number of professions mentioned in the texts, and these are often explicitly linked to gender. As may be expected in light of the previous analysis, these professions are largely linked to males rather than females, as there are only two females present in the text to whom the professions may have been linked in the first place. Despite this, it is still instructive to note the relationships between gender and occupation presented in the texts, as although the gender imbalance in the texts reveals an overt gender-bias, further analysis may reveal a deeper level of stereotyping in the depictions of males and females. We shall start by examining a pair of extracts from separate texts (both from the 5th edition of the textbook), in which jobs are linked to individual characters:

Extract 1

“The two daughters of the vicar received a handful of children and taught them to read and do simple sums.” (Hara & Nakahara, 1999, p. 216 – *original text from Wain, J. [1962]*)

Extract 2

“This used to irritate my instructor. He would walk around the laboratory pleased with the progress all the students were making in drawing the involved

and, so I am told, interesting structure of flower cells, until he came to me.” (p. 220; *original text from Thurber, J. [1933]*)

In these extracts, three occupations are mentioned; school teaching, university teaching, and (incidentally) religious pastoring. On the surface, this would appear to show a balance between males and females depicted in relation to employment; however a deeper analysis reveals some disparity present even in these texts. It should first be noted that while men and women are equally well represented in the field of education in these texts, the male character is presented as a university lecturer (and a rather strict one), while the female characters are presented as school teachers charged with the education of children. This appears to reinforce stereotypical notions of gender, in which women are responsible for a role related to the care of children, while men take on more powerful, senior roles. In addition to this, the interactions between the characters in the texts in other extracts show different patterns and depictions of power. The women are shown to interact with their students in a rather passive way, asking questions to their students such as “you’ve not been using them as counters, have you?”, while the instructor in the second text gives direct instructions to, and criticisms of, his students, such as “try it just once again”. It would appear from these depictions that the males in these texts display a greater level of power, control, and authority than the females.

In addition, the women described in Extract 1 are defined in relation to another figure, that of their father the vicar. In fact, in the context of the piece, the women appear to have been given the job *due to* their relationship to the vicar. In this case the female characters are not defined on their own terms, but only by their relationships to the male character. Furthermore, their position of educational responsibility is diminished by the fact that it was assigned to them by their more powerful and senior father, rather than being a position earned through achievements. As in the study by Sano, Iida, and Harvey (2001), the female characters in this extract are presented as playing a subordinate role to the male characters.

These examples demonstrate, in terms of direct references to the occupations of the characters presented, that at least some level of subliminal sexism is present in these texts. While this is instructive, direct references to the occupations of characters do not constitute the majority of the textual references to occupations. A more common occurrence is the reference to job titles, which are then qualified using generic pronouns or some other indicator of gender. Some examples of this (from the 5th edition) are reproduced below:

Extract 3

“A good farmer is always one of the most intelligent and best educated men in our society.” (Hara & Nakahara, 1999, p. 40; *original text from Bromfield, L [1945]*)

Extract 4

“To the poet, the world appears still more beautiful as he gazes at flowers that are doomed to wither.” (p. 50; *original text from Lynd, R. [1924]*)

Extract 5

“Such men invariably rise. They make especially good bishops, editors, judges, Prime Ministers, money-lenders and generals.” (p. 229; *original text from Galsworthy, J. [1925]*)

Extract 6

“The astronomer is severely handicapped as compared with other scientists. He is forced into a comparatively passive role. He cannot invent his own experiments as the physicist, the chemist, or the biologist can.” (p. 218; *original text from Hoyle, F. [1950]*)

Extract 7

“It is not the function of the dictionary-maker to tell you how to speak, any more than it is the function of the map-maker to move rivers or rearrange mountains or fill in lakes.” (p. 256; *original text from Barnhart, C.L. [1961]*)

In all of these examples, with the exception of Extract 7, the occupation titles given are modified by a male generic noun (or are specifically described in relation to “men”), thereby relating the occupations implicitly to one particular gender.

The jobs described fall into a few broad categories—those with some level of societal or institutional power (judges, Prime Ministers, generals), those connected to the creation of knowledge or ideas (poets, scientists), and those connected to a trade (dictionary makers, map-makers). In the case of the first two categories, we find implicitly in the texts further evidence of a biased view of gender in which men are depicted as powerful, and as producers of substantive ideas. Once again, these observations reflect and amplify the findings of Sano, Iida, and Harvey (2001).

The lack of any occupations explicitly related to females, and the single example of a text in which occupations are treated in a gender-neutral manner, demonstrates that these

texts are imbalanced not only in terms of the sex visibility of the genders, but also in terms of the representations of the genders contained therein, at least in the context of employment. Occupations are continually related to male pronouns, and men are depicted as working in positions of power and knowledge creation. In contrast, female characters are depicted only once in the 20 texts examined (see Appendix B for a full list), and it is in a stereotypical employment position related to the care and education of children. This demonstrates that the texts present a biased view of gender in their depictions of employment.

Analysis 3: Generic conceptions of gender – adjectives and attributes

The final section of the analysis of these texts concerns the language used in relation to males and females. I shall focus, in particular, on the adjectives and adjective phrases used to describe each gender, both in terms of individual characters in the text and in terms of generic nouns. The results of this analysis can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Adjectives used in relation to gender

Adjectives used in relation to males	Adjectives used in relation to females	Adjectives used in relation to non-gendered characters
intelligent best-educated best the source of our stability plain worst civilized educated uneducated qualified of superior intellect especially good exceptional spiritual patient severely handicapped	injured spinsterly	quick-witted stern affectionate genuine

The comparative excess of male characters in the texts entails a far larger number of adjectives in the texts describing these characters. In fact, the number of adjectives used to describe non-gendered characters (4) is far less than the amount used to describe males (16), and yet the number of references to males and to non-gendered characters in the texts is, as we have seen, roughly equal. In total, there are twelve adjectives used to describe males with

positive connotations, and four with negative overtones in the texts. While it is interesting to note that some negative adjectives are used in relation to male characters, the nature of the usage must be taken into account. In the case of the positive adjectives, most are connected to the attributes of the characters, or to the general sketch of a personality being described by a generic noun. For example, in the texts we find sentences such as “A good farmer is always one of the most intelligent and best-educated men in our society”. Here, the adjectives are all related to the attributes of a “good farmer”, characterized as male by the generic noun “men”. However, when negative adjectives appear in the texts in relation to men, they relate more to circumstances beyond the control of the person than to the attributes of the character themselves. For example, in the sentence “the astronomer is severely handicapped as compared with other scientists”, the astronomer (characterized as male in the text) is not “handicapped” by anything under his control, but rather by the constraints of his discipline. There are one or two instances in which a negative adjective is applied to a male character due to their own attributes, but for the most part, they are forced into a negative position by circumstances beyond their control.

In contrast, only two adjectives are used to describe females, and both clearly carry negatively connotations. “Injured” is taken to mean frail or damaged, while “spinsterly” implies advanced age and loneliness. In these cases the adjectives apply to the attributes of the female character to which they are used in relation, and form a clearly negative image in the mind of the reader. On a deeper level the adjective “spinsterly” is applied exclusively to unmarried women, rather than equally and universally. By using this adjective, the text is once again defining females in relation to males rather than by their own attributes or intrinsic qualities, and therefore places women once more into a subordinate role to the males in the text. While the adjectives used in relation to non-gendered characters are largely positive, this does little to blur or mitigate the fact that the texts contain generally positive representations of males, and generally negative representations of females (on the one occasion they are mentioned at all).

This study is related to texts, which deal with the teaching of vocabulary, and therefore it is particularly important to note that on several occasions the adjectives described and documented above are, in fact, the target vocabulary of the passage. The readers for whom these authentic texts have been selected are all teenagers or young adults, and as Mineshima (2008) notes, it is important to consider text selection carefully because students at this age are more likely to assimilate such problematic gender biases into their value system. In the case of these texts, not only do the adjectives selected indicate a subliminal gender bias, but the students are in fact being explicitly taught the vocabulary which forms such a major part of these problematic representations. It is probable that a lack of formal training among the teachers at *Sakura Juku* is likely to have contributed to the selection of problematic authentic

texts, as the teachers were unaware that these issues and discussions even existed, and therefore lacked the appropriate awareness to avoid these issues when carrying out their own selection of texts. In order to combat this problem, it would be advantageous for *juku* schools to provide a simple set of criteria for teachers to consider when designing materials. I suggest one such set of criteria in the concluding comments to this paper, but the exact form of the criteria is less important than the recognition of the importance of awareness-raising among teachers in this educational context.

Concluding comments

It has been suggested in this paper that, when selecting authentic texts for the housing and exposition of vocabulary, teachers must be on guard against choosing materials, which contain gender bias. This is important because of the impressionable age of the students who will be reading the texts.

Through the analysis of texts used to prepare Japanese students for university entrance exams at a private Japanese *juku* school, it has been argued that gender bias is present and has not been adequately considered in the selection of these texts. The texts contain an extremely high level of sex visibility for males, while the sex visibility of females is comparatively very low. In addition to the higher level of representation of males in the texts, the males and females are depicted in stereotypical employment roles, with males in positions which are significantly more powerful and senior than those of their female counterparts. In addition to this, the texts use a far higher number of positive adjectives to describe male characters than to describe female characters, which are described using only two very negatively-inflected adjectives. This demonstrates further the level of gender bias in the texts. This study concerned text selection in only one chain of schools, but the popularity of the intermediary resource from which they were adapted strongly suggests that these and similar texts may be in widespread use in the private sector. The fact that this sector is very prominent and influential in Japanese education makes this observation even more urgent and troubling.

While authentic texts can be a useful tool for the teaching of vocabulary, it is important that problematic gender bias be screened for when teachers and course designers are engaging in text selection. While this has been a challenge taken up by the wider world of professional ELT publishing, it appears that more awareness needs to be raised around this issue among teachers in the context of Japanese *juku* schools who are designing or adapting their own materials, whose practice is unregulated by any outside bodies, and whose teachers have usually not undergone any formal training in the field of education. As has been shown in this analysis, a lack of awareness of these issues seems to have led to unsuitably gender-

biased texts being presented to students as part of their English studies. In the context of *juku* schools, it would be helpful to provide a checklist of criteria for teachers who do not have sufficient formal training to avoid selecting inappropriately gender-biased materials. I suggest that *juku* schools adopt the following selection criteria, as outlined earlier, to specifically guard against the selection of materials which contain offensive and stereotyped representations of gender. *Juku* teachers should avoid texts which contain:

- 1) Disproportionate references to males and females.
- 2) Different roles assigned to males and females.
- 3) Reinforcement of gender stereotypes.
- 4) Condescending statements or generalisations about women.

By employing these criteria, teachers will be able to largely avoid the selection of texts which are inappropriate and stereotypical in their depictions of gender.

In the case of authentic texts for the teaching of vocabulary, which are intended to be read uncritically, gender bias should be kept out of the text so as not to affect the value system of the student. Greater awareness of these issues should lead *juku* teachers to select texts which do not present or reinforce biased or sexist representations of males and females. This study has demonstrated that this lack of awareness can result in problematic and potentially damaging texts being handed to students, and this is an issue that teachers in non-mainstream education should carefully consider and try to overcome.

In this study I have looked at only one aspect of material design and utilization in *juku* schools. Given the size of the private *juku* sector in Japan, and the lack of research in this area, it would be interesting to see what may be revealed by further research into this area. In particular, further and more wide-reaching analysis of the materials used in *juku* schools may reveal greater insights into the representations of not only gender, but also other forms of cultural bias in terms of the representations of racial, national, sexual, or other minorities, which were beyond the scope of the pilot study described in this paper. I believe that the research presented in this paper has shown that *juku* schools may represent a blind spot in our understandings of the Japanese educational system, which further research may help us to shed light on. I hope this research will act as a spur to other researchers to pursue these goals.

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Appendix A – Sample text used in the study

A good farmer is always one of the most intelligent and best educated men in our society. We have been inclined in our wild industrial development, to forget that agriculture is the base of our whole economy and that in the economic structure of the nation it is always the cornerstone. It has been so throughout history and it will continue to be so until there are no more men on this earth. We are apt to forget that the man who owns land and cherishes it and works it well is the source of our stability as a nation, not only in the economic but the social sense as well.

Intelligent – 頭がいい

Be inclined to – する気になる

Agriculture – 農業

Whole – 全部の

Structure – 構造

Throughout – を通して

Own – 所有する

Source – 基盤

Educate – 教育する

Development – 発展

Base – 基盤

Economy – 経済

Cornerstone – 重要な点

Cherish – 大切に作る

Stability – 安定

Appendix B - List of texts used

Page numbers given below are in reference to the page on which the passages appear in Hara and Nakahara (1999).

- Passage from "Pleasant Valley" by Bromfield, L. (p. 40)
- Passage from "In Praise of Idleness" by Russell, B. (p. 42)
- Passage from "In Praise of Idleness" by Russell, B. (p. 52)
- Passage from "My Life and Hard Times" by Thurber, T. (p. 220)
- Passage from "Notes Towards the Definition of Culture" by Eliot, T.S. (p. 231)
- Passage from "The American College Dictionary" by Barnhart, C.L. (p. 256)
- Passage from "The Nature of the Universe" by Hoyle, F. (p.218)
- Passage from "Human Society in Ethics and Politics" by Russell, B. (p. 222)
- Passage from "Caravan" by Galsworthy, J. (p. 229)
- Passage from "Sprightly Running" by Wain, J. (p. 216)
- Passage from "The Road to Serfdom" by Von Hayek, F. (p. 213)
- Passage from "The Peal of Bells" by Lynd, R. (p. 50)
- Passage from "Gulf Coast Stories" by Caldwell, E. (p. 54)
- Passage from "In Praise of Idleness" by Russell, B. (p. 48)
- Passage from "Delight" by Priestly, J. B. (p. 46)
- Passage from "I Believe" by Einstein, A. (p. 44)
- Passage from "The Lost Childhood" by Greene, G. (p. 37)
- Passage from "An Outcast of the Islands" by Conrad, J. (p. 205)
- Passage from "My Childhood and Youth" by Schweitzer, R. (p. 203)
- Passage from "Reading a Novel" by Allen, W. (p. 196)

Language teachers: Promoting equality through and within Japanese universities

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Abstract

In Japan, the gap between the number of qualified women and women's representation as full-time professors continues to show little improvement. This inequality continues despite Japan's commitment to women's human rights, as evidenced by Japan's ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Equal Employment Opportunity Laws (EEOC) that took effect in 1986 and 1999. The lack of women in high-level employment, such as professorships, cannot be attributed solely to women's choices, such as having children and supporting men's aspirations. This paper aims to explore the myths and disadvantaging factors that reproduce women's inequality and suggests some alternatives that would promote not only diversity, but also increases in the quality of educators and researchers since talented women are often passed over for less qualified men who, while fulfilling the normative criteria, may not be a good match for the actual requirements of the job.

要旨

日本では、実際には能力をもっているのに教授として雇用されていない女性が多く存在するという問題は、ほとんど改善されていない。1986年施行のCEDAWや1999年施行の男女雇用機会均等法の批准といった日本の努力（献身）にもかかわらず、この不平等は続いている。教授職といった高いレベルの職の女性の不在は、子どもをもったり男性の野心を支えたりといった女性の選択にばかり原因があるわけではない。本稿（本研究）は、女性の不平等を再生産するという神話と要因を追究し、多様性ばかりではなく、教育者と研究者の質を向上させる選択肢を提案するものである。というのは、才能ある女性はその職業への条件を満たしている一方で、能力の劣る男性のせいで彼女たちが無視され、除外されているからである。

Introduction

Our struggle today is not to have a female Einstein get appointed as an assistant professor. It is for a woman schlemiel to get as quickly promoted as a male schlemiel. (Bella Abzug, cited in Lewis, 2010)

The prototypical, ideal professor is envisioned as a genius, buried in their research, producing reams of research that is original, creative, and who impacts their field in substantive ways. For most, though, that is not the reality. Apart from those few who may fit the bill, such as those in top tier universities and the occasional outliers, professors teach, do administrative work, and attempt, with differing degrees of success, to keep up with the minimum requirements of publishing and conference presentations so that they continue to look active; their production may not have much influence nor be terribly original, though the efforts may contribute to their professional development. Of course, what Abzug terms a “schlemiel” may be a somewhat harsh term to apply to the average professor, but using the prototypical ideal professor in hiring and promotion decisions when considering the majority of applicants potentially misdirects decision making away from carefully considering the specifics of the actual job. The image also generally disadvantages women since productivity is largely a function of one’s time availability—something most women sorely lack due to societal gender roles that place the burden of care work on women. The aim of this paper is not to argue for a lowering of standards so that unqualified women can be hired; rather the goal is to make realistic assessments of what a position entails and to widen conceptions of what qualifies as expertise so that appropriately qualified candidates are recruited.

In 1985, Japan¹ ratified one of the key transnational instruments whose mandate is to address gender inequality—the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW requires equality of *outcome*, not just *equality of opportunity*. All gender discrimination, whether reasonable, culturally justified, or convenient, violates CEDAW. The convention requires the state to implement initiatives such as broad educational programs of its residents and positive action in order to change gender relations that reproduce disadvantages so as to move toward substantive equality. Every nation, state, and culture has its own unique gender regimes and therefore each requires unique remedies. CEDAW gives recommendations through its periodic reports and these are developed with input from multiple sources, including gender experts and NGOs from the target countries. The CEDAW recommendations that the nations/states are required to follow are, therefore, sensitive to national and cultural diversity.

The desire to respect or conform to national, cultural, and institutional practices may make the reconciliation of culture and gender equity difficult. Those who are adapting to corporate, institutional, or Japanese culture(s), for example, may find it difficult to balance respecting their desires for justice with the current national, cultural or institutional practices; however, reproducing discrimination must not be a part of respecting the existing culture(s). CEDAW’s mandate specifically deals with cultural relativism in its requirement of eradicating cultural practices that reproduce inequality; these differ from context to context, from culture to culture, and from nation to nation. CEDAW also requires that this be done sooner rather than later, and hence Japan’s current trajectory, based on waiting for change to happen, contravenes this obligation.

This paper concentrates on issues of gender equality regarding university language teachers, specifically their recruitment within universities. It argues that because CEDAW’s mandate requires broad education of the citizenry/residents, universities are well-placed to be a part of this process, but also to be key players in this role. Language teachers have many ways to contribute to women’s position in Japan, as well as its intersections with nationality, race, and ethnicity.

¹ All CEDAW information can be found through the United Nations official web sites on CEDAW.

Conceptions of expertise in the academic profession developed when academia in Japan was almost exclusively male and, over time, its legitimacy has solidified, though criteria have also changed, particularly the recent increasing emphasis on requiring Doctorates. These conceptions of expertise have enshrined male normativity that has been and continues to be constantly reproduced. This paper argues that the ubiquitous normative conception of the ideal candidate is part of a mythology that is inappropriate in fulfilling the actual requirements of faculty positions. Adjusting conceptions of expertise, particularly in relation to recruitment and promotion is therefore a necessary step in the equality project; the end result of this paper is to suggest some possibilities for change, which are described toward the end of the paper and also summarized in Table 1.

The potential for change is discussed at the micro-level using bottom up, demand-side strategies. These suggested adjustments could be layered beside existing practices and implemented before quotas are implemented. In conjunction with quotas and other positive action, once put into practice, the advantages of male workers that have existed historically, and continue to marginalize women as precarious workers in academe, can be rectified. Change does not only need to come from Japanese nationals in universities. Bricolage—in the sense of expatriates piecing together their own cultural practices that they maintain overseas with local discriminatory practices that they've adopted with even those that are contrary to one's sense of justice—can lead to tensions between normative, legal, and cultural cognitive institutions. Nolan (2011), also in the Asian context, in Chinese organizations, found bricolage, with expatriate managers adopting and justifying behaviour from the local culture. Language teachers in Japan, in so doing, unfortunately may become participants in discriminatory practices. This paper hopes to shed some light on the human rights violations in Japanese universities that continue to exploit women as underpaid precarious workers². Even in a “nice profession” like English language teaching, to transform this less than light-hearted issue requires action from language teachers themselves. We may like to think of ourselves as not complicit, but we are if we are organizational citizens in institutions that are not actively promoting CEDAW's mandate.

After a brief description of the methodology, this article then describes CEDAW, drawing attention to specifics in relation to Japanese academia. First, its mandate is described. Next, the requirement of broad education regarding gender equality and the key role Japanese universities must take will be discussed. Decision making, gender ideologies and the necessity for proactive approaches are then discussed. Permissible action within the law and the spirit of the law is discussed next. The core goal of this paper is to examine the socially-constructed expertise of the academic profession, and this will be discussed with language teaching as its focus. This section includes descriptions of the male normativity of academe and its incumbent disadvantages for women. Scott (2008) argued that as institutions change, there are continual readjustments in conceptions of legitimacy (cited in Nolan, 2010). With a focus on recruitment, suggestions are given on how to re-conceptualize criteria of expertise in academia.

² Gottfried and Hayashi-Kato (1998) outlined how the Japanese labour market is organized through exploitation of women in precarious employment.

CEDAW and Japan's equality laws

The mandate

Gender segregation is a defining feature of all labour markets. This is especially exaggerated in Japan, where employment strongly structures gender. Gender discrimination has improved little since the implementation of the first domestic laws such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Laws (EEOL) and the Basic Laws for a Gender Equal Society (hereinafter the Basic Laws) (UENO, 2013). Japan³, is one of 186 states party to CEDAW. Since Japan is party to the UN Convention⁴ it is, therefore, required to act in good faith regarding CEDAW's mandate, which is to eradicate all forms of discrimination against women. One key point of CEDAW is that it addresses eradicating gender stereotypes, since they traditionally naturalize subordination and exclusion. For instance, for high-level positions such as university professors and administrators, stereotypically female traits tend to disqualify women and male traits tend to qualify men for faculty and administrative positions.

CEDAW's definition of discrimination⁵ also specifically addresses women's economic and social equality. Unlike some countries, such as the US, that require additional steps for international treaties to have the force of domestic law, international treaties *automatically* have the force of law in Japan and therefore CEDAW is directly applicable as domestic law. However, the domestic judiciary and state still need to be educated⁶ regarding its content and its force in domestic law.

CEDAW is unique in requiring that states must remove *social, cultural and traditional patterns* that perpetuate gender stereotypes so as to promote the realization of women's full rights. This is enshrined in Article 5(a), which states:

To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotype roles for men and women.

The strength of CEDAW is that its goal is to circumvent the quagmire of cultural relativism that immobilizes cross-cultural conceptions of equality, and in so doing CEDAW strongly undermines rationales of maintaining cultural practices and traditions that perpetuate inequality and discrimination. An understanding of the logic and the how and why of discrimination should, thus, not lead to complacency; understanding explanations does not make it right or just. For example, that women's heavy burden of care work (child care, elder care, and relationship work in pursuing and preparing for relationships and marriage)

³ Japan has the lowest gender ratio of women faculty of any developed country at 13% according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in 2008 (Cabinet Office, 2009).

⁴ Japan is required by this United Nation Convention to abide by CEDAW, which includes working actively toward women's equality (Luera, 2004, p. 619).

⁵ Any distinction, exclusion, or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise by women (irrespective of their marital status), on the basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, or any other field.

⁶ International law is given precedence over domestic law in Japan (Iwasawa, 1998, cited in Luera, 2004).

inversely affects most women's time availability, and this includes childless couples, as well as most single women⁷. This invariably impacts women's ability to publish and to attend and present at domestic and especially international conferences. Criteria that are considered in recruitment, which are a function of time availability, disadvantage most women and thus likely contribute to the low numbers of women faculty. This role that women are burdened with is addressed in CEDAW's Article 5(a) since it is a customary role and practice based on stereotypes, the stereotype of women being responsible for all or most of care work, which they continue to shoulder even when they have careers that are as equally demanding as their husbands. This social/cultural pattern of conduct, the gender roles that disadvantage women academics, requires change. There has been almost no improvement in men sharing these time commitments in Japan.

CEDAW is explicit in requiring parties to the convention to be active in the change process. All institutions, including universities are *required* to eradicate discrimination, since CEDAW's *raison d'être* is to eradicate all gender discrimination. Specifically, universities are required to move toward equality, which has been recently enshrined in the government's 202030 plan, with the 30% target of women faculty by the year 2020. Because there has been little improvement in the number of women faculty over the decades, positive action is required to meet these goals that the state has put forth. The EEOL and Basic Laws, which are in alignment with CEDAW, encourage the use of positive action, and possible temporary measures include quotas, benchmarks, targets, and incentives. The laws are in place. Given Japan's well-known weak legal enforcement, gender justice needs to come from the bottom up, and therefore corporate citizens – university faculty and staff – are responsible for ensuring gender justice as a human right.

Broad education

Shinohara (2008) stated that formal equality, enshrined in the Japanese laws of the EEOL and the Basic Laws on a Gender Equal Society, were buttressed by CEDAW. She argued that the changes have been relatively rapid and dramatic for Japanese women and employment. However, she also argued that the EEOL is viewed as merely a “symbolic reaction to international political pressure” (p. 465). Ueno (2013)⁸ in contrast, argued that things have generally not improved, and in some cases have worsened for women over the last 40 years, exposing the lack of substantive equality for women⁹.

⁷ Women shoulder the responsibility for most relationship work, including expending time and energy on dealing with the lack of a relationship, waiting to be noticed, dealing with break-ups and their financial and social repercussions.

⁸ According to Ueno (April 22, 2013), 1/3 of irregular workers (1990) were middle-aged married women; a decade later, 2/3rds were young and married women; more than 30% of all workers are irregular; and 70% are women; 58% of all women are irregular workers; if men's earnings are a baseline of 100, then women's average earnings are 70% of that, i.e. a ratio of earnings women/men: ¥70/¥100. Ueno pointed out that while the class gap gets attention, the gender gap is viewed as normal. Unmarried women with full-time employment are more likely to get married and have children than irregular workers, who have higher expectations of marriage and children, but they envision this being possible by also being dependent on a man/husband for financial support.

⁹ All countries must reconcile social, cultural, and traditional patterns, yet the formal equality enshrined in Japanese laws is far from being matched by substantive equality (Luera, 2004; Sepper, 2008; Ueno, 2013). Countries, such as Japan, that have formal (de jure/legal) equality are required to create initiatives to ensure substantive (de facto/actual) equality.

Under CEDAW, Japan is required, at a minimum, to implement broad educational policies to eradicate gender stereotypes. Media and educational initiatives are the very minimum requirement of states, and this includes systematic public awareness and informational campaigns to change stereotypical attitudes. However, gender discrimination is complex and even a basic understanding generally requires more than advertisement campaigns. A deep understanding is necessary for substantive change to transpire. The question is, how can a broad education of the public be enacted? Effective publicity campaigns would need to be produced by gender specialists. Educational programs in lower and middle school would need to be done by administrators and teachers who have a strong knowledge of gender issues and teachers would need to acquire this in their (university) education. Those in political power have shown little commitment; nor have top administrators in organizations generally, not to mention the gaps in the knowledge of those in the legal system, as is apparent in their weak enforcement of the EEOL and Basic Laws.

Universities are uniquely placed to be key players and need to be key players as a basic role of universities is, unexceptionally, education. As educational institutions, knowledge dissemination should be their forte, which necessarily includes the development of critical thinking¹⁰ for the dismantling of deeply embedded prejudices. Changing discriminatory attitudes in women and men is no simple task - gender roles are what we know; the taken-for-grantedness of societal processes make them opaque and camouflage the reality of inequality.

Discrimination is complex and includes structural and relational factors. A deep understanding can only come from comprehensive education, not just from ad campaigns and one-off activities. Broad education requires the skills of gender experts. Universities are well-placed to contribute to this educational project through teacher education programs, and developing women's and gender studies programs. For CEDAW's mandate of broad education of the population to be realized, universities should also be integrating feminist and gender scholars into a diverse range of departments such as economics, politics, international relations, and the sciences.

Positive action and consensus decision making

In conjunction with educating the public, Japan is also obligated, according to CEDAW, to take positive action. This applies to all institutions/organizations/firms where there has been discrimination and inequality. The number of women getting advanced degrees since the 60's has changed little, remaining around one third. For decades there have been and continue to be qualified women, though there are still fossilized perceptions that there was an even smaller number of qualified women. The enactment of the EEOL and Basic Laws in the 1980's generated much optimism for increases in women's representation in institutions, but this has not been fulfilled. There has been little change as yet since the start of the current government 202030 initiative and the universities have given it little more than a perfunctory nod. Therefore, getting the number of women in academia in line to reflect the full diversity of the population is an obligation that is clearly not realizable unless strong positive action is taken. While much has been written about the weak enforcement of these laws, it seems apparent that it will take initiatives internal to academe to reach them. Chan-Tiberghien (2004), for example, found that civil society has effectively used transnational treaties to

¹⁰ The debates on the necessity of critical thinking are superfluous here. In order to dismantle taken-for-granted discriminatory ideologies, critical thinking is imperative.

effect change; these bottom up strategies find their parallel in corporate citizens, such as faculty and staff working in universities.

The numerical goals and timetables, as reflected in the 202030 initiatives, are permissible under the EEOL and Basic Laws and they are mandated by CEDAW. Lack of support for these quotas may be due to particular conceptions of fairness and/or interpretations of professional expertise that may be in conflict with gender equality. Quotas and other strategies of positive action, while recommended by CEDAW, the EEOL, and the Basic Laws, suggest that positive action should be used as *temporary* measures until broad equality has occurred. In some regions outside Japan, particularly Northern Europe, quotas tend to be viewed favourably and they are widely supported by many gender equity experts, including many academics, and have been adopted, often with positive results (Krook & Mackay, 2011). However, quotas are sometimes resisted and this may be particularly true by those who fear losing their advantages, or for employed women who fear that they will be viewed as less qualified—being viewed as having been hired simply “because they are women”, a factor which tends to dilute their professional legitimacy. This is not unique to Japan. For example, Connell (2006), in her research on the public sector in Australia, found that the majority of respondents thought hiring should be “fair”, based on one’s qualifications. Of course, this buoys the assumption that those who already have the job have been hired simply on merit, not on networks, conscious and non-conscious biases, or other non-meritocratic criteria—even when this assumption is untested and often untrue, occurring especially in instances where male-normativity has been strongly endorsed. Generally, for high-level/high-status positions – and this includes professorships in Japan—men are implicitly deemed to be more status-worthy simply because of their gender.

Another reason why gender quotas may not be endorsed is due to the issue of consensus decision making. Consensus, as an ideology, has broad support not only in Japan, but also as a feminist practice, as it is seen to undermine hierarchy. However, as a cultural or institutional practice, consensus may not be used consistently and there can often be flexibility in organizational practices—sometimes ignoring consensus, sometimes modifying its practice. Voting was sometimes substituted where consensus had traditionally been used, especially when it was clear that business needed to move forward. Some decisions typically used voting, for instance, finalizing departmental hiring of professors and passing graduate students. This flexibility in its use has an element of power; those in positions of power sometimes agreed to forfeit consensus or used negotiations to override it. However, when it comes to changes in gender relations, the consensus requirement consistently has little flexibility, and one voice of opposition could therefore be enough to block any change. This can be an insurmountable constraint that buttresses inaction, contravening CEDAW’s, the EEOL’s, and the Basic Law’s mandates. While a defense of consensus on cultural relativism grounds may generate resistance to modifying it, it is precisely these cultural practices that fossilize discrimination that need to be dismantled. Yet the law requires that reservations such as these be put aside. Consensus decision making acts as a severe constraint. It has been suggested that, if consensus cannot be reconciled with substantive improvements, the practice of consensus needs to be modified¹¹.

¹¹ Luera (2004) argued that compliance with CEDAW requires reconciliation with Japanese practices such as consensus decision making when it perpetuates sexist stereotypes. She suggests therefore that in order to maintain consensus in these circumstances, it must be used not to maintain inertia but to promote substantive equality. The only other alternative is to forfeit this practice of consensus on human rights grounds – women’s rights are human rights. The CEDAW Committee has warned Japan on its over-reliance on consensus when it perpetuates inequality.

Ideological change

Research in the Japanese context has found that change has occurred regarding legal, but not substantive, equality (Shinohara, 2008; Ueno, 2013). In universities feminists and gender-conscious individuals may have been advocating for substantive improvements (as have NGOs in civil society), but success has been scattered. While this is theorized to be due to the lack of enforcement mechanisms¹², organizational practices and stereotypical attitudes also play a large role. As Japanese universities are required to act in good faith regarding the intentions of CEDAW, universities themselves are required to actively implement policies and practices, sooner rather than later, to promote change. At the heart of feminism is the belief that institutional change is possible and changes in equality have occurred precisely because the assumption of its possibility has been embraced (Krook & Mackay, 2011).

Unlike earlier research that found a strong national propensity for distinct gender roles (Möhwald, 2002), recent national research on social stratification has found a shift in attitudes and the majority of Japanese state they no longer believe in the inevitability of traditional gender roles—that men generally make better managers or that women’s place is solely in the home. This signals the necessity of women’s access to fairly paid employment. There may be widespread agreement on this, but how this can be executed is problematic, especially given women’s low political representation, which has been found to correlate to changes in substantive gender relations. It may not be possible for gender reform to occur without tensions and conflicts. Fundamental change in gender relations requires interrogating the taken-for-granted social norms thereby exposing power imbalances, biases, and male advantages. University corporate cultures, which depended on *wa*¹³ in order to ensure their smooth functioning, may be viewed as inevitably resistant to changes in gender inequality.

Re-defining/re-evaluating expertise

At some point in time legislation, for example, in the form of quotas, may be enforceable. This section proposes changes that modify, within reason¹⁴, exiting conceptions of qualifications that can operate until such time as broader change is enforced and they can also be used to supplement other forms of positive action. Civil society agitation and initiatives to change policies and enforce laws are outside the scope of this paper, but the proposed changes in recruitment are useful in tandem with multipronged legal and civil society actions. The alternative evaluative measures proposed in the following section are tentative, partial, and limited to actions that may be implemented from inside departments, faculties and organizations and they are in keeping with the law and the spirit of the profession’s conceptions of expertise. While this paper focuses specifically on the hiring of language teachers, these suggested changes are applicable to other fields. The generally decentralized nature of the hiring process in Japanese universities, often based on flexible criteria which are invariably highly subjective, has the potential to be an avenue for change and lends itself to

¹² “International treaties have the force of law in Japan and are directly applicable as domestic law, though the domestic judiciary still needs to be educated. Insofar as Japan ratified CEDAW without reservations, all of its provisions have the force of law in Japan and supersede domestic legislation” (Luera, 2004, p. 618).

¹³ *Wa* refers to the Japanese concept of harmony.

¹⁴ Within reason in that the goal is gender-neutral equality of *opportunity*. However, Japanese law does mandate equality of *outcome* with the constitution and CEDAW, over-riding domestic laws.

including gender inclusive subjectivities that can be layered alongside the existing praxis (suggestions are summarized in Table 1, at the end of this section).

University hiring in Japan has traditionally been based on building alumni networks; however, the trend recently has been toward meritocracy, and this change has been spurred by the recent introduction of *koubou* (open recruitment). While many professors in the past were hired with Master's Degrees, now, university recruitment also increasingly requires candidates to hold Doctorates. According to MEXT, in 2007, 45.5% of Japanese faculty held doctoral degrees (Shima, 2012). These changes may persist due to the trend of Japanese universities attempting to meet international standards; this institutional change has been buoyed by the embeddedness of Japanese universities in the *international* university networks. *Koubou* (open recruitment) is assumed to promote hiring based on fair and just criteria and, in conjunction with the EEOL and the Basic Laws, was assumed to result in increased numbers of women. However, after an initial surge in the number of women academics when the introduction of *koubou* was introduced, little change has occurred, and Japan continues to have the lowest percentage of female faculty of any developed country, at 11.4% (Cabinet Office, 2009), and for those women who successfully becomes academics, women earn, on average 86.1% of male salaries (Shima, 2012, p. 189).

Meritocracy has its appeal in its assumption that the distribution of resources will not be based on one's status, networks, and identity (gender, seniority, race, etc.) and also it appeals to our sense of fair play, our just deserts, that the best candidate, chosen on qualifications, deserves the job. Merit has been embraced as neutral and is lauded for its fairness. However, evaluative factors are part of hiring processes, many of which are subjective. Supposedly objective criteria are used in meritocratic assessment and include criteria such as formal qualifications, publications, teaching experience, awards and grants, and whether a candidate is from a public university or one of the prestigious private universities, or more recently the broader inclusion of international universities and academic experience abroad. However, these criteria are not gender neutral and even if they were objective, they are nevertheless evaluated through judgments that are necessarily subjective, in that they have to be interpreted.

To ensure criteria that are fair—that don't consciously or unconsciously advantage men—it is necessary to acknowledge that judgments that fulfill sameness tendencies (homophily), privileging those who are similar, generally reproduce male advantages. This homosociality, privileging those from the same in-group—those who are alike—reproduces existing inequalities (Moody, 2004; Sturm, 2006; Thornton, 2013). Because the practice in Japanese universities is generally to have hiring committees that consist of experts in the targeted field of studies who will assess the candidates' qualifications, their judgments will likely be a reproduction of criteria that privileges standards that have historically advantaged men; those who come before are the template for recruitment, and labour market research worldwide has shown that the sex of those who previously held a job is the strongest indicator of who will be hired. Broadening job descriptions and embracing non-traditional sub-fields of expertise are strategies to modify this.

There is an implicit assumption, as mentioned above, that the ideal professor in Japan is unfettered with caring responsibilities, able to work long hours, be an effective administrator and leader, and be highly productive by focusing on research publications, with output focusing on volume. This recruitment norm needs to be examined and challenged during the hiring process, particularly at the stage where positions are being defined.

In Japan, the expectation of the male norm, particularly the uninterrupted career, has historically been a strong factor in recruitment. Still, some universities demand no gaps in employment; others require that the person must have worked within the last 3 or 5 years.

These requirements negatively affect women much more than men, especially those who take off time while they have young children. This requirement would have been unlikely had women been a large numerical force in the decision making of criteria; perhaps a focus on teaching would have evolved with indicators such as how many of your students become instrumental in developing a fair and just society. Some professors have argued that since uninterrupted careers are criteria that apply to everyone, this practice was gender-neutral and the exclusion of women is therefore irrelevant to meritocracy—women choose to do care work. However, under CEDAW this is not gender-neutral. Alternative measures might include labour market tenure or possibly unpaid work, rather than maintaining the age normative requirement; the zero human capital accumulation of unpaid work in the home may also have some purchase for some faculty positions—the skills for student care have many parallels in other care work, and this is especially relevant in language teaching where affective factors might influence motivation.

The profession's concepts of expertise have been socially constructed, and this needs to be acknowledged; criteria should not be viewed as immutable. The legitimization of expertise, now firmly set in the status quo, makes it difficult to imagine adjustments. Language teaching is a people-oriented discipline, and teaching languages has been described as a craft that often requires a greater variety of in-class techniques than other disciplines. The lack of attention, often found in the hiring of language teachers, to the candidates' teaching as a craft, underemphasizes teaching skills and prioritizes researcher and administrative skills. Language-teaching positions that are concerned with all four skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking) need teachers who are good at their craft, not just good at publishing, and these skills need to be defined early in the job-description process. This is particularly relevant for women who often have strong teaching experience backgrounds due to their years in part-time and contract work that would have enabled them to focus on developing their teaching skills.

Particularly pertinent for language teachers in Japan and also related to homosociability, is the allocation of teaching positions as “Japanese” and “non-Japanese.” This leads to the continued marginalization of non-Japanese (Hayes, 2013), a factor that is intersected by gender (Hicks, 2013). One suggested change that follows from this is to re-define teaching positions without a heavy emphasis on research publications and presentations, while staying in line with what is actually required by the students in terms of their academic/language development.

A further, related point is the requirement of Japanese language skills for tenured positions deemed as necessary in order to fulfill administrative duties. If universities are committed to internationalizing, beyond hiring a narrow band of non-Japanese with academic backgrounds in Japanese studies and Japanese language, the job descriptions could be altered, classes shifted, and duties re-distributed so as to broaden the potential pool of candidates. This is not linguistic imperialism; each nation needs to look at its unique constraints that hinder diversity. Many countries hire faculty who have less than excellent skills in the languages of their adopted region and have accented, sometimes highly accented, command of their new home's language, yet are able to function to varying degrees. Functional Japanese may be sufficient for some faculty positions, especially language sections, where there can be some bilingualism or functioning in the non-Japanese language. The point here is to make some realistic assessments, and perhaps create some leeway in the name of gender equality and other forms of diversity.

Countable output, which is the bulk of criteria assessed in recruitment – publications, presentations, grants, and academic awards – are difficult to acquire if one has demanding time constraints, but other factors that inversely impact productivity include women's

precarious employment and heavier teaching loads that are part and parcel of being non-standard employees. Even a short stint can lead to a lifetime deficit and make it difficult to catch up, especially where the severe age-normative hiring practices of Japan are a strong determinant. The focus on quantity of output can be substituted in a number of ways. Allocating value to teaching experience in part-time and contract teaching is one way. This is also particularly relevant for diversity, as this non-standard employment is where the majority of non-Japanese are found (Hayes, 2013).

In the early stages of developing job descriptions, alternative fields of expertise that are lacking in departments can be considered. This is particularly pertinent as occupational segregation is further stratified by micro-segregation that is highly gendered. Looking at the micro-specializations of language teaching, sociolinguistics focusing on gender, or language and politeness—fields that women tend to specialize in—may result in more diversity in applicants.

Self-promotion is part of putting oneself forward as the desirable candidate. Self-promotion is a performance that men may feel more comfortable with, and difficult for women to pull off as it tends to be viewed as inconsistent with performances of femininity. However, the focus on things that are countable (publications, awards, conference presentation) renders invisible other areas of experience and expertise such as student mentoring, being a good teacher, and mentoring new professors. The teaching component of faculty positions is often substantial. The attention to the human aspect of the university is often marginalized, and it is also often the work that women do. It is important work, but was found to be generally uncountable, especially in the job-search process. This can be rectified in the recruitment process by paying attention to the teaching and human-relations aspects of candidates' backgrounds, eliciting concrete performance criteria in these pastoral aspects of teachers' careers. Thornton (2013) found that the people component of professor's positions, the pastoral duties and teaching, while considered to be integral to the profession, have been and continue to be downgraded in importance as neo-liberalism impacts the university as a managerial institution. Imparting cultural information, teaching critical thinking skills, and intellectual development have, over time, often been relegated to peripheral teaching staff, mostly women, who are on contracts or working part time. This has relegated teaching to the bottom of the hierarchy. Poole, Bornhold and Summers (1997) found, in a multi-country study, that women, more than men, considered teaching to be an integral and important part of their careers. This gendering of teaching as feminine is positioned against the work men do, administration and research, considered to be the important work, the work carried out in the core organizational positions. Professorships include not only research and administrative duties, but also teaching, and the assumption that one's research is an indicator of the teaching element is dubious.

Assessing one's *potential* is part of the subjective process of recruitment. However, this generally benefits male candidates, but was often in doubt for female candidates. This very subjective measure, purportedly based on past accomplishments, was highly gendered in assuming that men were more status-worthy. Potential needs to be problematized since unconscious biases based on gender stereotypes are not unlikely in contexts where men are considered to be more status worthy, which is true in Japanese academia generally (some examples are mentioned in the table below).

Finally, the myth of the expert needs to be problematized. We narrowly define the ideal professor, the iconic image of the genius, the expert—as someone who publishes a lot, has developed brilliant theories, and has had a substantive impact in their field. This ideal does exist, but it is generally the best universities who have these professors as their faculty members. For the most part it is from the pool of fairly average professors that the second-

and third-tier universities draw—the schlemiel referred to by Bella Abzug in the beginning quote. However, the ideal is so ingrained in our conception of expertise in the academic profession that we are inculcated to be enamored by quantity, fallaciously believing that there is a clear correlation with the degree of expertise. Yet for the most part, these countable outputs are, for the most part, a function of how much disposable time is available to meet the “publish or perish” protocol. In Japan, this generally advantages men who have more disposable time than women, and does not necessarily indicate one is a more accomplished academic nor does it make one a better professor or teacher.

Women’s research may be criticized as lacking focus. This perception may be gender biased as it does not fit the prototypical ideal of the historically-favoured focus on a clearly defined area of research. However, we may also be seeing a shift, as multi-disciplinary research combining previously untouched combinations is yielding compelling results. This interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research may have real potential, and should not be summarily dismissed. An option would be to include more diversity, for example, some of the factors mentioned above such as teaching skills, pastoral experience, even experiences outside of academia where organizational and people skills are developed (this includes many of the caring responsibilities that women do). These are skills that may promote better workplaces, better work relations, better gender relations, better in-class interactions, and diversity in research disciplines. In hiring we need to be honest about the type of teacher that will actually fit the job requirements and benefit students and the department.

Changes can be accomplished that honour equality as a just and fair goal and that pose no challenge on legal grounds. Through increased transparency and accountability, conversion is possible through re-conceptualizing expertise and re-evaluating the efficacy of socially constructed qualifications. A summary of the possible, tentative changes are presented, below, in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of possible changes to hiring criteria

Substantive transparency and accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Especially important during the process of developing criteria and recruitment. It is not enough to hide the candidate’s name, as segregation often marks gender. Rather, it is important to expand the range of desirable specializations to include subfields that have been ignored, and create more diversity (including, but not limited to, gender expertise in various specializations). ▪ Transparency in setting criteria includes defining clearly how much weight will be given to criteria such as the institution the candidate comes from, quality of publications, related work experience, etc. ▪ Be clear that those on hiring committees can substantiate adherence to criteria that were developed by the department before résumés have been received. ▪ Transparency should also include disclosure about network connections, to avoid the practice of hiring based on <i>kone</i> (network/old boy’s club connections)
Age-normative recruitment and hiring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hiring not based strictly on age-normative achievements. Variance in career trajectories should be considered. ▪ Career interruptions: requirements that someone has worked in the last three or five years should be abandoned. Arguments that non-paid labour can contribute to skill development such as people skills may have purchase with some, though this can be a tricky tactic with others. ▪ Promote hiring of women who are over 40, who show potential and/or have maintained partial commitment to careers through part-time work and/or publishing.

Fields of expertise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Actively recruit feminist and gender specialists in all disciplines (those who research and teach on gender issues, feminism, masculinity studies in their field, for example feminist economics, gender in politics, feminist institutionalism, masculinities in sociology, gender and language etc.). ▪ Include gender studies and feminism as desirable potential specializations or sub-specializations. ▪ Assessment of a candidate's potential must be made cautiously, with an awareness that this subjective judgment tends to be highly gendered, usually expressing confidence in men's potential, while doubting women's potential.
Meritocracy to override networking and the "Old boys club"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Have clear criteria solidified before résumés are received, and be active in formulating these criteria in faculty meetings, etc. ▪ When replacing faculty who are leaving/retiring, discuss in departmental meetings alternative ways of conceptualizing the position (hiring committees tend to look for similarity, and gender is the biggest predictor of replacement, which is problematic in male-dominated fields). ▪ Expand recruitment notices to places that include women in their population, and disseminate job postings widely through lists that women access. ▪ Be aware of male homophily and how male homosocial culture can exclude women from information sharing.
Male normative qualifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Build awareness that expertise and other conceptions of professionalism in academia are socially constructed. ▪ Conceptions of administrative expertise are highly gendered and need to be deconstructed since many forms of femininity are seen to be incompatible with administrative competence. ▪ Formulate criteria in the recruitment process to include a broader range of specializations (each field has developed over the decades, and looking at other universities, and internationally, can help give a broader, more up-to-date conception). ▪ For departments that hire "specialists" from industry, include a diverse description of what experience qualifies someone to be considered to be a specialist. Expand that definition, for example, to include people skills (strongly needed in both administrative duties and teaching) that may be acquired through service industry work, care-giving, etc. ▪ Diversity as a good in itself should be part of the faculty composition. Demanding more women may be met with resistance due to a baseless fear of pollution (women lowering the standards), but many departments have hired some males who have not lived up to their potential. Bring this up in the recruitment process by pointing out that past hiring on potential has not always led to accurate predictions of some men's capabilities. ▪ Problematize the ideal, prototypical image of a professor.
Quantity of publications and presentations ¹⁵	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Replace emphasis on the quantity of publications and presentations with an awareness of the diversity of research focus, as well as emphasizing quality through an examination of the meaningfulness of candidates' work and by the valuing of non-traditional fields. ▪ Emphasis on the length of publication lists may only reinforce gendered employment segregation that depends on uninterrupted work histories. Other desirable factors should include diversity of intellectual pursuits, etc.

¹⁵ This research found that there was much confusion about MEXT requirements, often conflating this with departments' or universities' requirements. Some departments required six publications, while the university only required three; some participants thought the requirement of five publications was a MEXT requirement, yet in the same university, others thought it was the university that required three. In some cases, part-time positions required publications, yet tenured positions could waive publication requirements for young candidates.

Qualifications as a proxy for teaching skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Paper qualifications in one's area of expertise do not necessarily transfer to teaching skills. Women often work part-time (especially in languages), and work experience may be a better predictor of one's teaching expertise, and should be given more weight than is currently given. ▪ Teaching is the "product" universities offer (and get a large part of their income from). Find ways to give teaching more weight, as it is often overlooked with publications and administrative competence being over-emphasized ▪ Give part time and contract teaching the weight they deserve Emphasize the importance of experience in teaching. ▪ Include people skills for faculty positions that have a teaching component as this is important in many aspects of language teaching.
Japanese nationality as proxy for administrative potential and/or Japanese nationality as proxy for Japanese language proficiency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ For non-Japanese who are trying to get jobs they are qualified for, having advocates working on the inside can make a difference. Question why some jobs are slotted for Japanese nationals only (especially relevant for language teachers) (Hayes, 2013). ▪ Administrative duties can be shifted to other duties or done in other ways in order to contribute to the institution. Unrealistic expectations of excellent (e.g. native-speaker) Japanese reinforce segregation based on nationality. Functional Japanese proficiency may be sufficient for some positions, especially in English-taught programs such as the Global 30, and language courses generally. ▪ For the teaching of language, interrogate what language skills candidates should realistically have, especially as student language skills are increasing (at times beyond what the current teachers are capable of). Changes in student levels may result in requiring higher language skills than what some Japanese faculty have had in the past, and realistic appraisal will identify the best candidates (Hayes, 2013). ▪ Faculty with strongly accented speaking patterns teach all over the world, and being functional (versus native-speaker-like) may be sufficient for many faculty positions, regardless of one's mother tongue. Interrogate what level of English language proficiency is truly necessary for English-taught classes and include those who are neither native English language speakers nor Japanese nationals.

Conclusion

This paper tackled two aspects of Japanese universities in relation to gender equality - their key role in the educational project of gender equality that is mandated by CEDAW, and the institutional, demand-side factors, that contribute to the low numbers of women faculty, suggesting some possible positive action based on adjustments in the profession's concepts of expertise. It is proposed that institutions should layer change alongside existing practices with a goal of eventual conversion to equality. They can be implemented both prior to quotas and as tools when quotas are adopted. In the US context, The National Science Foundation (NSF) found that women PhDs were not represented proportionally and "women's under-participation was not simply a 'pipeline' problem" (Sturm, 2006, p. 276), and, in the Japanese context institutional factors most probably contribute to inequality. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2001) research found that women's voices regarding gender biases remain unheard and when "an individual person tries to raise this issue, people don't hear them. Each women...is trapped alone" until finally a man in power takes responsibility (cited in Sturm, 2006, p. 276). It is imperative that prominent, well-positioned academics take the initiative in challenging unconscious gender bias. Structural changes - the removal of weak proxies and alternative conceptions of expertise would allow for a more equitable workplace to evolve.

The situation in Japanese academia, in many respects, has not progressed beyond tokenism. When it comes to hiring women, the widespread belief that the cause of

segregation lies in women's choices has led to complacency and the erroneous assumption that the pipeline from PhD to faculty positions is functioning well. The Cabinet Office White Paper (2011) stated,

in order to expand women's participation...universities have been taking various positive action (sic) so far, such as setting up numerical targets, developing gender equality plans, and providing financial assistance or training sessions for women... (however) the speed and current status of women's participation are not sufficient...(in order to) accelerate women's participation for attaining the target of '30% by 2020', it is necessary to draw on best practices at home and abroad, further encourage stakeholders in various fields, and further examine the feasibility of possible approaches for pushing ahead with positive action. (p. 13)

Institutional research theorizes that change in normative and cognitive institutions will take longer than formal regulatory institutions (Scott, 2001, cited in Nolan, 2010). Still, change in gender inequality in employment, especially for high-status positions, seems to have stalled. Bottom-up strategies, in the form of pressing for changes within institutions through exploiting the gaps between the rules and interpretations, may be the only action available until strong legal or other enforcement is in place.

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Owning inclusive sexuality in the English language classroom

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Abstract

Little empirical research has been done to quantify successful strategies for teachers who attempt to include a discussion of queer sexuality in their English language classroom. More and more however, teachers in global contexts are sharing personal accounts that enumerate the approaches they have undertaken in their own classrooms to encourage important dialogues with students and to problematize norms of human sexuality. These accounts depict the challenges that ESL/EFL teachers face as they broach the topic of queer sexuality, as well as the methodology they have used to establish discussions that reflect modern queer pedagogy. In this literature review, modern pedagogy and EFL classroom teacher accounts guide the discussion on addressing sexuality in the language classroom.

要旨

英語の授業にて同性愛について議論することを試みようとする教師の為の成功法を定量化した実験的研究はほとんど為された事が無い。しかしながら世界中でより多くの教師たちが、授業で学生と重要な会話を交わすことを促し人間の性について問いを投げかけようとしたアプローチの数々について、個人的事例を共有し合っている。これらの報告からESL/EFL教師が同性愛というトピックを持ちかけるときに直面する課題、また現代の同性愛についての教育法を反映した議論をする為に彼らが使用した方法が見えてくる。この文献レビューでは、現代の教育法とEFL教師の報告を中心に、言語の授業で性について話すことについて議論する。

Introduction

ESOL teachers, in global ESL and EFL contexts, have encountered the topic of sexual identity in their English language classrooms (Curran, 2006; Dumas, 2008; Nelson, 2002, 2004, & 2010; Ó'Móchain, 2006 & 2009; Schweers, 1997; Yoshihara, 2011). Discussions of queer sexuality, traditionally a high risk, culturally sensitive topic, have emerged in English language classrooms for a multitude of reasons. Students have expressed the need for language and opportunities to communicate the complexities of their identity; many students want to be able to relate to their queer teachers, and teachers want to be able to address the wealth of human sexual identities in classroom appropriate ways. For the most part however, teacher conduct varies in situations where sexual identity becomes the topic of classroom

conversation, though the administrative policies of the school and the teacher's comfort level with discussions of sexuality are major factors.

As more and more teachers find their language classrooms becoming an environment in which queer sexuality may be discussed, teachers have set out, within the limits of their classroom situation, to establish their own supportive classroom environments in which students may use English to examine and express their own identities. This literature review seeks to examine the problems that ESL/EFL teachers have encountered as they try to create a language classroom environment that either actively or passively presents queer identities as a viable, relevant source of discussion and learning for students of the English language. Additionally, this paper will present some of the approaches that these teachers have taken to support discussions of queer sexuality. Finally, this paper recommends research and institutional actions for the future.

What is queer?

Throughout this paper, the comprehensive definition for *queer sexuality* has been taken from Warner (1993). Queer is used to express 'lesbian,' 'gay,' 'bisexual,' and 'transgender'. This definition is traditionally held, and has lately been expanded to express the problematizing of heteronormativity. Warner's definition continues that *queer* may be used to disrupt traditional ideas about sexual identity, and can blur the categories of sexual identity. (pp. vii-xxviii) Succinctly, we can see that Warner finds *queer* to be a term that pertinently disrupts a range of longstanding, socially constructed dichotomies. This additional dimension of *queerness* underlies the attitudes of many authors of TESOL articles on queer theory in the classroom (Nelson, 2002; Ó'Móchain, 2009). Within this paper, *queer* should be understood as encompassing these later changes to traditional definitions, so that *queer* is used to challenge identity boundaries, rather than contain them.

Insights from modern queer theory

Cynthia Nelson (2002), Greg Curran (2006), and Robert Ó'Móchain (2006), defer to modern queer theory as a major source of insight for addressing the current and future direction of inclusive classroom instruction. Nelson (2002) suggests that queer pedagogy does not focus on acceptance, but instead guides an investigation into the norms of sexual identity. She goes on to say that queer pedagogy attempts to understand how sexual identity is expressed and created on a linguistic and cultural basis. In order to navigate this inquiry, Nelson warns that defining sexual identities can support and strengthen the current structure of recognized identities, thus separating into distinct categories culturally acceptable and unacceptable orientations. Alternatively, Nelson suggests that queer theory moves beyond this debate of categorization to the position that there is no need to label and polarize. This idea is found, too, in the work of Seidman (1995). "The roots of heterosexism are not socialization, prejudice, tradition, or scapegoating, but a basic way of organizing knowledge and fields of daily life which are deeply articulated in the core social practices of Western societies" (p. 135). Because queer theory sees the issue of queer identity inclusion in the language classroom as one that stems from 'core social practices,' it finds answers in a critical questioning of the underlying attitudes of these practices.

In Curran's (2006) Australian ESL classroom, inclusivity of sexual identities relied upon a calculated, reflexive recasting of students' questions that gave the students an opportunity

to become aware of their own heteronormative assumptions. “In response to the students’ questions, my intention was to ‘trouble’ the assumptions underpinning them, thereby showing that gay and lesbian issues were much more complex than the students had realized” (Curran, 2006, p. 89). For Curran, this solution came about after trying to answer questions about queer sexuality, and feeling frustrated by the partiality of his own perspective. Furthermore, Sarason (1996, as cited in Curran, 2006) warns teachers not to uniformly assume “the role of teller” because this reinforces a propensity for students to free themselves of the task of inquiring further for more accurate and personal answers. Curran adopted this deconstructivist methodology, an approach that asked students to question their phrasing and assumptions. In his classroom, students were being asked to take apart the queer narratives they hear and in doing so, Curran hoped to reveal the structures implicit in our society that promote heteronormativity.

In response to these ideas from modern queer pedagogy, Ó’Móchain uses activities that engage life history narratives of local queer Japanese people, serving as the impetus for classroom discussions of sexuality. In consideration of Douglas Brown’s founding framework for required elements of effective language education, Ó’Móchain offers local narratives as a strategy for approaching sexuality in a way that “recycles language,” supports meaningful communication, and motivates students (Ó’Móchain, 2006). Additionally, the study of these life narratives allowed EFL students to connect with the intricacies of sexual identity in their native micro-cultural environment.

Queer theory has done much to inform those classroom teachers who are now trying to bring topics of human sexuality into the realm of available conversation in the language classroom. Problematizing the notion of sexuality that exists in mainstream global culture is a significant step forward. Approaches taken by Curran and Ó’Móchain offer deconstructed and local narratives that allow students to better access their own perspective of human sexual orientation.

Encountering adversity: Teachers

ESOL teachers who consider *queerness* an inclusive topic for appropriate conversation in their classroom have often encountered the attitude that sexuality should not enter the classroom. Knowing how to broach the conversation can be challenging, as Curran (2006) indicates in his paper “Responding to Students’ Normative Questions About Gays...” because colleagues have often found the topic of queer sexuality to be unsuitable and difficult in a language learning environment. Some ESOL teachers have claimed that queerness is largely understood to be extraneous for most students, is potentially distressing to students of certain cultural and religious orientations (making a discussion of alternative sexuality a culturally sensitive topic for these English learners), and is perhaps unmanageably challenging for students with limited language proficiency (p. 5). These arguments have long been made on the basis that sexuality is somehow extricable from language learners. However, queer theory (Butler, 1993) is founded on the principle that sexuality is a vital aspect of human subjectivity. Therefore, sexuality follows students everywhere: to dance clubs, movie theaters, libraries, and into English language classrooms. As a result, it becomes an ESL/EFL teacher’s charge to guide students through this, as with any inquiry of expression.

Concerned that queer topics may be excluded from the classroom sphere due to a perceived lack of relevancy for the majority of individuals, assumed heterosexual, Nelson (2002) responds that the dichotomy between heterosexual and queer identities *generates* all

possible sexual identities, not only queer ones (p. 49). Furthermore, she posits, all people have personal motivation for engaging with queer inclusion because definitions of sexuality are interrelated; in fact, queer identities currently function as the negative definition of the 'heterosexual.' Additionally, all students participate actively and passively in the larger realm of sexual expression as human beings, so the opportunity to question assumptions and challenge notions of sexual identity is beneficial to all students, and should be supported in language classrooms. (Vandrick, 1997; Yoshihara, 2011).

Engaging with controversial topics in a classroom setting means that teachers who are willing to discuss topics surrounding queer sexuality with students can often find themselves the target of unwanted personal scrutiny. The decision to discuss queer identities in the classroom often means facing the supposition of students that the teacher identifies as queer, based on what Karen Amy Snelbecker (1994) calls 'the assumption of heterosexuality.' Using Snelbecker's insight, when teachers encourage the discussion of a socially charged topic (such as sexuality), it is common for students to make a connection (whether or not they know it to be true or false) between the authority figure (in ESOL classrooms, this is the teacher), and the topic of study (sexuality).

Knowing that this is a possibility, some teachers, as William Schweers (1997) points out, have often shied away from raising sexuality in their classes. Unfortunately, as Schweers says, teachers may have significant reasons to avoid being labeled in class. These reasons range from a desire to keep personal information out of class (Nelson, 2004), to the fear of negative reactions and abusive classroom behavior on the part of students or colleagues (Simon-Maeda, 2004), to a fear of accusations from colleagues and administrators of indoctrinating or brain washing students with feminist jargon (Yoshihara, 2011). Other teachers may simply feel under qualified to take up the topic (Yoshihara, 2006, as cited in Yoshihara 2011). This pressure prompts teachers to "use 'they' instead of 'we'" (Schweers, p. 3). Schweers adds that he himself used this vagueness in his class to initiate queer topics, assuming that he would be presumed gay once he introduced the topic to students.

Nelson (2004) offers another reason that teachers have chosen not to initiate discussions of sexuality in class in an interview with Roxanne, a queer teacher who worried about being labeled by her class because she did not want a name for her queer sexuality. Despite this concern, Roxanne told Nelson that she was willing to engage students in discussions of queerness and sexuality, and that she had not considered the fact that students might label her as lesbian by addressing the topic. For teachers like Roxanne, the concern does not seem to be about the discussion itself, nor about the potential for prejudice, but instead that having their sexual identity defined by others is constrictive; an identity that, for them, seems "fundamentally unknowable" (p. 39). This lends further support to the idea that definitions of sexuality should be problematized, not defined, so that students are actually offering up their understanding of language to a whole new level of meta-analysis.

Encountering adversity: Students

If teachers decide to risk labeling from students in order to broach the subject of queer sexuality in their classroom, they are asking for students' openness toward the topic, and are likely bracing themselves for potential intolerance. Unfortunately, while intolerance remains a factor for teachers who introduce queer themes, teachers have found that students are more likely to be ignorant rather than deliberately intolerant. Nelson's 2004 research study, in which she interviewed queer ESL teachers about their students' insight into queer topics, underscores the idea that students may not have a good understanding of queerness. In

Nelson's interview with Tony, an ESL teacher in the US, she found that he viewed the topic of gay identity as potentially foreign to his Asian students, and suggested that they were likely to confuse being queer with being a transvestite (Nelson, 2004). Though stereotypical, Tony's attitude indicates the possibility that students may not understand that queerness even exists. This points to a lack of education about queer identities; a position which should be differentiated from intentional intolerance. In reference to this interview, Nelson asks whether or not students have an appropriate or accurate understanding of gayness, and even though "students" is a problematically general category, her question about assuming an intolerance of queer identities is certainly valid. Moreover, if students are un- or ill-informed, they are perhaps more likely to be uncomfortable talking about sexual identities. This does not necessarily denote prejudice so much as an unwillingness to discuss the unfamiliar, and this underlines the need for guided exposure and accessible education.

Furthermore, some teachers have prejudged an intolerance that may, in fact, not exist. Interestingly, Nelson's interviews with a student of Tony's challenged the assumption that "students [are] either non-gay or anti-gay." (p. 34) Nelson found evidence that would suggest that even students who might be intolerant of a gay teacher in their home country, might in fact base their stance in a foreign context on local customs. In fact, Tony's student Miyuki said that she did not mind if her American teacher was openly gay, (although, she said, in Japan, this may be more problematic for her). To assume that students will be uncomfortable with queer sexuality may underestimate their capacity for reinventing their opinions in a nonnative setting (Nelson, 2004). In cases of both student openness and student ignorance, more exposure and classroom appropriate instruction is beneficial for all students.

Encountering adversity: Institutions

Even if students are open to the inclusion of queer themes in their English language classrooms, the administration of educational institutions often discourages any active discussion of sexuality. Ó'Móchain, (2006) used his institutional context at Minami College in western Japan to integrate discussions of sexuality into an established curriculum. He states that though teachers have a significant degree of control over content for classes in many contexts, Minami College's official curriculum did not reference 'nonnormative sexualities,' and that this omission strengthens the school's heteronormative instruction. Similarly, Curran (2006) cites job security as a concern while deciding whether or not to present queer topics in his language classroom in Australia. He says that he was willing to include queer sexuality into his classroom discussions, but was hesitant to make this known in his school community, because he "was a part-time teacher on a short-term contract" (p. 87). This concern for his teaching position made asking for administrative consent to investigate the topic problematic.

In acknowledgment of the reality that teachers often fear for their careers when choosing to address queer material in class, Snelbecker's 1994 dissertation on queer American teachers includes interview questions that pertain to the perceived attitudes of administrators. She concludes in her survey that some attitudes in the school were affirming, while others were unreceptive or contrary. The politics of the school thereby remains a factor in the decision of ESL/EFL teachers to include queer sexuality, partially because of the perceived reception by the larger institution (see also Simon-Maeda, 2004).

Educational institutions often play a major role in changing cultural perceptions. Primary, secondary, and postsecondary schools have the authority and resources to instate diversity training into their curricula as a requirement for all students. This responsibility is

being undertaken already by countless universities across the US and internationally, so models exist already for review by progressive thinking administrations. Today, international communities, governments and individuals are becoming more affirming of sexual diversity. Thus, educational institutions should be called to account for their own policies in their important role of cultivating the minds of these communities.

Encountering adversity: Suitable materials

When deciding whether or not to include gay/queer themes in their language classrooms, these interconnected issues make up a daunting set of variables that teachers must consider. Assuming, though, that teachers are well received with support from the students and the institution, there is still the question of how to present such material; most textbooks won't touch the subject. So, language teachers are on their own to create suitable materials, which can become complex when considering culturally accessible perspectives. For example, Ó'Móchain's work (2006) on determining methods for appropriate inclusion of queer themes in his EFL classroom also points to a cultural dichotomization between Eastern and Western notions of *queer*. For him, teaching his own notion of queerness may be disrespectfully imposing a foreign narrative onto his students because sexuality is portrayed differently across the cultures of the world. Instead, Ó'Móchain chose to use local Japanese queer narratives in his classroom to address this important theme in a tangible, meaningful native context for his Japanese students. Similarly, Nelson (2004) recognizes the recent shift to a global focus of sexual identities, under the lens of both globalization and post colonization. This would mean studying geographic regions that have been largely uninvestigated, in regard to sexual identities. Contrasting local and global positions on queer identities may provide insight as to how to best address the inclusion needs of truly diverse student groups.

Queering the classroom for the future

Discussing queer sexuality in an ESL/EFL classroom requires a willingness to examine human sexuality, a sensitive topic that requires forethought and openness on the part of teachers and students. An acknowledgement of this complexity raises the question: Why should we focus on something so private in a language classroom? Moreover, there are many other important and inspiring topics available for ESOL educators that would not delve so deeply into the heart of identity. In fact, there is a multiplicity of reasons why the topic of sexuality may never arise in ESL/EFL courses however, when students initiate a conversation and are searching for correct usages for expressing identities, or if teachers feel an advantage to discussing queer themes with English language learners, they must have appropriate resources and research to inform and enrich that dialogue.

Because EFL/ESL teachers continue to look into the future for ways to include queer sexual identities into the language classroom, and continue to utilize queer theory for support, further empirical research is necessary to provide a tangible portrait of how this inclusion is being achieved in diverse global classrooms. Problematizing the dichotomy between acceptable and unacceptable identities offers current pedagogy on the topic of queer sexuality to students in class, but it is uncertain at this point how this approach will affect students' attitudes during discussions of sexuality across global cultures. Snelbecker (1994) provides a look at queer American ESL teachers in her research, which set a baseline for further research. Since then, though personal accounts have emerged to support inclusive discussions

of sexuality, studies have, for the most part, examined the “Other” under racial, ethnic, or gendered lenses. For example, David Palfreyman (2005) studied Othering in EFL courses in Turkey. He refers to the Other in his study as “involv[ing] maintaining social distance and making value judgments... the Other is a socially constructed (albeit influential) *representation* of a group of people which may or may not correspond to observation or other sources” (p. 214). Though Palfreyman does not acknowledge the sexual Other in his introduction, his Us/Them dichotomy can be used to describe heteronormative cultural views of sexuality. It is clear that both Snelbecker and Palfreyman are concerned with problematizing customs that prejudge members of their potential classroom environments, but neither uses their work to target the effectiveness of measures taken by global classrooms to include dialogues with students about queer identities. The academic community will not be able to fully understand the extent to which individual teachers contribute to the incorporation of queer topics into English language learning syllabi until new studies emerge.

Furthermore, discussing queerness is not enough. Teachers and theorists have offered pedagogy and personal accounts, at the risk of losing their jobs and reputations as educators to shape the growing corpus, but are largely unsupported by their institutions. Now, as discussions of queerness are becoming more frequent, it is time for administrators to step up and support the inclusion of professional, accurate discussion of sexuality in the classroom.

In conclusion, language teachers, language learners and language itself are not asexual. In fact, sexuality is a complex aspect of humanity that is expressed with the finest subtleties of human communication. Eloquently, Jacqueline Dumas (2008, p. 1) writes that “the ESL classroom is one place where learners should not feel shy or afraid to explore and negotiate their identities, including their sexual identities.” To this end, it is critical that language classes acknowledge and support the development of personal identity by nurturing the conversation of human sexuality as it arises. In the near future, progress will mean the presence of open and inclusive discussion of human sexual identity in global language classrooms.

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Book Reviews

***Delusions of gender: How our minds, society, and neurosexism create difference.* Fine, Cordelia. W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2010. 338pp.**

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[C]laims of “essential differences” between the two sexes simply reflect—and give scientific authority to—what I suspect is really a majority opinion. If history tells us anything, it is to take a second, closer look at our society and our science. This is the aim of *Delusions of Gender* (Fine 2010: xxv).

Cordelia Fine is currently an ARC Future Fellow in Psychological Sciences and Associate Professor at the Melbourne Business School, University of Melbourne. In this volume, she conducts a wide-ranging, cogent deconstruction of popularly quoted “evidence” for gendered brain differences and untangles their powerful influence. Fine builds a well-scaffolded—and well-documented—overview of “neurosexism,” the latest incarnation of essentialist theorizing.

The first section of the book describes the psychological interplay between self-perception and stereotypes. Fine discusses numerous studies that demonstrate the malleability of self-concept and the ease with which it can be affected when gender is primed. One of the areas of greatest relevance for educators is her discussion of stereotype threat—when awareness of one’s gender (or race, age, or other difference) actually affects performance. Even something as simple as watching sexist advertising before taking a test can alter a woman’s (or man’s) performance. When stereotype threat was removed, for example by priming students to identify with their university rather than their gender, the stereotyped groups actually outperformed non-stereotyped peers (p. 31). Rather than absolute gendered differences in ability, it may be *beliefs* about differences in ability that lie at the root of many gaps in gender performance (p. 48).

The effects of these beliefs are not limited to self concept: when 100 American university psychologists were asked to rate fictitious CVs for a tenure-track job (identical except for the gender of applicant), 75% said *he* was hireable while less than half would hire *her* (p. 55). Implicit beliefs like these are much more difficult to combat than outright sexism, and form part of an evidence—belief—confirmation chain that further entrenches essentialist points of view. Fine works her way through a wealth of disturbing data, painting a compelling picture of what is at stake when neurosexist “evidence” is taken at face value.

The author goes on to discuss the gender-as-hardwired phenomenon, uncovering the realities behind the façade of neurological data. Simon Baron-Cohen, author of *The Essential Difference: Men, Women, and the Extreme Male Brain* (2007), for example, claims the “female brain is predominantly hard-wired for empathy. The male brain is predominantly hard-wired for understanding and building systems” (p. 11). Notably, in his study on empathy, less than half the female participants were found to have a “female” brain, leaving

one to wonder why he insists on using the term at all (p.16). Fine systematically debunks each of the studies that have worked their way into the popular subconscious, finding that even the iconic mental rotation test fails to demonstrate hardwired gender differences in cognition (p. 27).

Part Two focuses on specific studies and teases out underlying suppositions about biological differences. Why do we take for granted that science and math are about systematizing and maleness, for example? Einstein described his breakthroughs as guided by intuition, and philosopher Neil Levy suggests that intelligence, “even in the hard sciences, and even in innovation, is as much an ‘empathizing’ power as it is systemizing” (p. 109). Fine uncovers faulty assumptions, tests that don’t measure what they claim to, and ineffective methodologies. For example, girls with congenital adrenal hyperplasia—high fetal testosterone that can cause external organs to develop as male (while internal reproductive organs remain female)—should have a clear advantage over other girls in math or spatial ability, but studies found the same ability, more, or less, depending on method and sample size (p. 121).

Perhaps more disturbing are the numerous instances, such as Louann Brizendine’s *The Female Brain* (2007), in which the cited ‘facts’ simply do not exist in the supporting references (p. 158). Self-proclaimed gender experts Barbara and Allan Pease claimed to have pictorial evidence of women processing emotion in multiple areas of the brain, but Fine found no study by the cited author, Sandra Witelson, that matched the data. The only study that had to do with gendered brain differences was conducted postmortem—an unlikely way to successfully measure emotional processing (p. 148).

With each claim of evidence for the biological origins of our gender-stratified society, one can’t help but be reminded of Victorian attempts to find physical proof of their own superiority, from phrenology to eugenics and brain size (p. 132). As *Delusions of Gender* unfolds, it becomes clear that “the speculations of a few scientists [have] quickly evolve[d] into the colorful fabrications of popular neurosexism” (p. 154).

Part Three focuses on how neurosexism is being harnessed to shape the next generation of gendered children, from policing of gender performance to the rarity of gender-neutral toys and clothing to journalists speculating on the evolutionary origins of our supposed preference for pink or blue, even though those preferences have only existed for 50 years (p. 208). The popular fascination with seeking difference appears unquenchable.

As an educator, I find the National Association for Single Sex Public Education’s (NASSPE) calls for neuroscience-based single-sex education particularly alarming. To suggest that perceived or real gaps in performance in subjects such as language or math are due exclusively to genetic, “hardwired” differences in brain structure or function is shortsighted at best. To translate those “differences” into educational policy and separate curriculum for girls and boys seems to be taking social engineering to a dangerous level. If, as Fine argues, neurosexism “promotes damaging, limiting, potentially self-fulfilling stereotypes” as it exists already in popular culture, what further damage might be wrought by enshrining it in education? (p. 174).

While I occasionally wished Fine would dwell a bit longer on questions such as what sex differences in the brain actually mean for sex differences in the mind, and the extent to which such differences may be created by our experiences, *Delusions of Gender* is an important, thorough, and rewarding book to read, particularly for those in gender education. As Stanford University psychologist Carol Dweck notes, “when students are encouraged to see math [or other] ability as something that grows with effort—pointing out, for example, that the brain forges new connections and develops better ability every time they practice a task—grades improve and gender gaps diminish” (p.185).

***Lean In: Women, work and the will to lead.* Sandberg, Sheryl. Random House, 2013. 241pp.**

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I believe that women will lead more in the workplace. I believe that men can contribute more in the home. And I believe that this will create more of a better world one where half our institutions are run by women and half of our homes are run by men. (Sheryl Sandberg, p. 173)

Sheryl Sandberg's book, *Lean In: Women, Work and the Will to Lead* is definitely worth a read for both women and men in trying to gain a deeper understanding of gender inequality in the workplace and at home. Though some reviewers complain that this text reads like an academic textbook on gender studies, as an educator, I quite liked the overall approach. The coursebook orientation of the text was very helpful in choosing parts of the book that I could share with my students to engage their interest in some of the highlighted gender issues. The book is very well researched and with thirty-five pages of endnotes citing her sources, it is obvious that a significant amount of time and effort was put into researching a prodigious number of statistics, surveys, polls, and case-studies on women in the workforce, gender equality in career and business, the corporate world, employment, feminism, and family and childcare issues. Sandberg's writing style makes her book an easy read, especially as she shares her personal stories and recounts the lessons that she learned from those experiences.

Though Sandberg has received a lot of positive reviews of her book, it has also drawn its fair share of criticism and negative reviews by newspaper critics, the media and some feminists. Sandberg refers to very little contemporary literature on feminism. It would have been nice to have read something to the effect that the feminist movement cannot be narrowly defined as 'one homogeneous gendered identity' fighting for the same rights as men; but rather, a struggle for equal opportunity in society, regardless of 'race, class, sexuality and many other aspects of identity and difference' (hooks, 2013). Sandberg comes from white, upper-middle class, highly educated, background, being ranked as one of the top ten most powerful women in the US. She likely has an extremely supportive network at work and at home. The majority of women in the world may not be able to relate to who Sandberg is academically or professionally. Some readers might also feel that her book is biased and does not apply nor relate to the women who struggle with daily life, work balance issues, who are from lower economic brackets and who come from various diverse cultures and backgrounds. However, I feel that women from every culture, class or creed can get something very valuable from Sandberg's words. Though I would have liked to have seen Sandberg write in a more universal sense, she does send out the valuable message that women need to overcome their fears and not sell themselves short due to existing stereotypes and ignorant notions of how women should act, be and feel. I found myself nodding in agreement on certain points that Sandberg points out, as well as the occasional cringe when I noticed that there were some things that I have personally done unconsciously in terms of my own ignorance and my unawareness of gender stereotyping in the classroom ("Oh, no, I've done that before!" or "...hey, why didn't I ever notice that?"). While reading the book I kept

nodding in agreement, realizing that I have both experienced and have suffered from some of the same problems that she has, such as the guilt that women feel when trying to balance career and family, the frustration of trying to *have it all* and *leaning back* when I should have been *leaning in*.

Sandberg identifies very common gender-specific confidence problems and gives several examples of her personal successes and failures. She provides possible solutions and gives advice as to how to deal with the societal issues and situations women currently face. Having read Sandberg's stories about the things that hold women back in life have made me more proactive in overcoming my personal struggles and in turn, have felt a sense of rejuvenated power. I highly recommend this book to anyone who would like to gain insights on how to attain both professional and personal fulfillment in your career and at home.

References

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***The marginalized majority. Media representations and lived experiences of single women.* Collins, Kristie. Bern: Peter Lang, 2013. 221pp.**

Review by Gwyn Helverson
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The Mary Tyler Moore Show's Mary Richards, joyously tossing her hat into the air on a bustling Minneapolis street; Carrie of *Sex and the City* out on the town, literally well-heeled in her \$600 Manolo Blahniks courtesy of her successful writing career; the "ambiguous" and "helpless" *Ally McBeal* (p. 97), desperate for a man no matter what her latest corporate triumph: American TV representations of female single life have both awed and irked generations of women attempting to formulate their own identities for success. Kristie Collins of the University of Tsukuba has created a unique academic study of this particular aspect of TV pop culture for her book, *The Marginalized Majority*. In the first chapter, entitled *Mediated Singleness: Textual representation of single women*, Collins reviews the most popular American TV shows with single female leads from the 1970s to the present. Collins succinctly summarizes the various feminist interpretations of these shows in the second chapter, *Singular Identifications: Interpretations of the "real" single female experience*. She explains how the TV role models reflect society's conflicting expectations for women from each era, an example being Third-wave Feminist girl super-heroines as seen in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. Collins' discussion of a *real* single woman, Oprah Winfrey, one of the most successful and influential women in U.S. history, offers thought-provoking analysis. Readers who grew up immersed in this media and cultural environment will enjoy the sentimental

strolls down memory lane, reconsidering how, perhaps, *Mary Tyler's Moore's* mettle inspired them while her doting, paternal relationship with her boss did not.

In the third chapter, called *Sex OUTSIDE the City: Lives of single women in non-urban settings*, Collins analyzes interviews of 30 *real* single women in relation to this medium. She explores the participants' perceptions of their value and worth as singles in a generally hostile cultural environment. Collins skillfully delineates the intersections of gender, locality, and performativity in this focus group from Prince Edward Island, Canada. The reader thereby gains a micro-level view of single women, none of whom match the wealthy, white, young, heterosexual, urban 'ideal' presented in many mainstream TV shows. Collins displays her writing finesse throughout this whole book, but she truly reveals her strengths as a researcher with meticulous attention to detail in this chapter.

It is not all pop culture, fun, and games: Collins' message is that these shows reflect society's overall tendency to perpetuate "the stigmatization of singles" (p. 25) in an era in which marriage is under real threat of extinction: singles now outnumber marrieds in the U.S. As Collins notes, no one is born married, making being single a 'natural' state for humans, yet it is women who are supposedly inherently 'nurturing' and therefore doomed to dissatisfaction if unmarried, cultural assumptions to which men are not subjected.

"Women exist to enable men" (p. 154): this discourse still holds sway in the academic world Collins critiques. In the fourth chapter, Collins accuses the 'life course' branch of academia of repressing women via its interpretation of heterosexual marriage as the harbinger of maturity and success for adults. TV characters are a representation of this "singlism" towards that end (p. 188, from De Paulo and Morris, 2005), since industrialized, patriarchal society has to convince women to give up their agency to fulfill the traditional role of 'wife.' The role models in these shows, as well as the *real* women of Prince Edward Island, struggle to forge their own paths despite this hegemony of heterosexual marriage.

Since Collins teaches gender studies at a Japanese university, further studies of reactions to these shows could be enlightening, particularly in regards to the issues of Western cultural interpretations and imperialism. Would 30 single Japanese women in Tsukuba, for example, react to *Rhoda*, *Cagney and Lacey*, or *The Closer* in the same way as the Canadian women Collins interviewed? Also, how will new media expand or contract the influence of Western mainstream TV characters around the world? In addition, an entire book devoted to the stunningly successful Oprah Winfrey would in itself be interesting. In this book, Collins displays her aptitude for accessibly analyzing feminist theories, their pop-identity manifestations, as well as their impacts upon *real* women. The results of her future research are therefore eagerly anticipated.