日本の英語教科書とフェミニスト批判的言説分析

ハドー　アンドリュー

Feminist Critical Discourse Studies and Japan's English as a Foreign Language Textbooks

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Abstract: The following consists of a literature review of three areas of research: Japanese feminist and gender studies history, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), and gender focused critical analysis of textbooks. Organized by these themes, the author attempts to weave together the relevant literature with the goal of refining a methodological approach for a future research project: a feminist CDS research approach to an English as a foreign language (EFL) textbook series used in Japanese public schools.

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1. Introduction

The development of the field of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) has been long and interdisciplinary in nature. Yet, as Ota (2019) notes, CDS has yet to see widespread adoption in Japan. Her proposal, which partly inspired the undertaking of this research project, explores the ways in which CDS can be used in teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) in Japan. The prospect of nurturing L2 development in students congruently with a critical awareness of how language is used is an exciting one. The research questions which the present study is directly interested in, however, are primarily focused on how best to apply feminist CDS to an analysis of Japanese EFL textbooks. The textbooks that have been selected for this future project are the Sunshine English Course (Kairyudo, 2021), which are used in the prefectural junior high schools where this researcher resides.

Textbooks are specifically designed to impart knowledge to and influence the thoughts of learners (Macgilchrist, 2018), and play a large part in their socialization (Mustapha & Mills, 2015c). This makes them an ideal subject for CDS, which seeks to expose the connections between language, ideology, and power (Fairclough, 2010). By extension, gender and patriarchy become natural points of intersection in studying how language use contributes to the reinforcement of harmful stereotypes and discursive practices, as pioneered by Lazar (2007) and her feminist CDA (FCDA) approach. Textbooks have historically been found to be gender biased, which could influence students' formation of gender identity and expression (Mustapha & Mills, 2015b), and stand in the way of realizing global gender equality, the fifth Sustainable Development Goal (United Nations General Assembly,

2022). Thus, this research is motivated by a desire to both conduct research in Japanese EFL and to contribute to the dismantling of harmful gender discourses. Before such an analysis can be carried out, a broad literature review was undertaken in several key areas: Japanese feminism and gender studies, CDS in general, and textbook studies with a specific focus on EFL materials and gender.

First, Japanese gender studies and the history of Japanese feminism was deemed necessary to review before engaging in a feminist CDS approach to Japanese EFL textbooks. As with many other fields, assuming the viewpoint of western gender studies or that the western approach to feminism can be universally applied to other cultures is problematic. The assumption that all women experience their lives the same way has been left behind in favor of a more inclusive feminism. Kano (2016) explains that we have women of color, queer women, women of the working-class, and women from around the world to thank for pointing out the limitations established by the previous wave of predominantly white, western, upper middle-class feminists. As such, understandings of the history of Japanese feminism and the current work being carried out in the field of Japanese gender studies are crucial to conducting the present research project.

Second, CDS is a dynamic and interdisciplinary field with many competing approaches. The field was known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) until recently, when influential scholar van Dijk (2013) proposed the change. They claim that any discourse analysis can be critical if the scholar takes up a critical mindset, and the field is more akin to a political movement than a specific analytical method. van Dijk suggested the new term CDS to encompass the multitude of theories and approaches being carried out by critical discourse analysts. In the following text, the

term CDS will be preferred unless in reference to the ideas of other scholars who use CDA. This change in naming inspired this researcher to review previous and current CDS scholarship, in the hopes of narrowing down and synthesizing the most appropriate approach and methodology.

Finally, textbook creation is a multifaceted process with work from artists, researchers, committees of scholars, multiple writers, publishers, executives, and sometimes government officials, all interconnected to produce the final product that students and teachers use (Macgilchrist, 2018). Not only does this make authorship and author intent difficult to analyze in the context of CDS, but foreign-language textbooks add yet another layer of abstraction. As English is thought of as an employable skill in our globalized world and due to the increasing academic and social attention to gender, many textbook producers are actively attempting to avoid gender discrimination (Bağ & Bayyurt, 2015). We must, however, still be mindful of unconscious connections between textbooks and gender inequality, despite apparent progress. A review of the relevant literature was conducted across several areas including an overview of CDS and textbooks, gender representation in textbooks, and some related case studies.

The following literature review will bring together, synthesize, and summarize the research from these three disparate areas, with the intent of illuminating and focusing further directions of study pertaining to feminist CDS and Japanese EFL textbooks. The assumption at the outset of this project is not that the EFL textbooks in question will be outright discriminatory, but that a detailed, data-driven feminist CDS approach can help bring to light possible connections to overall gender inequalities in Japanese society. Please keep in mind, although *Japanese* can be used to denote ethnicity and/or nationality, other than when referring directly to the work of other scholars, this author will use the term to refer to Japanese nationality. This is because Japan, while often thought of as homogenous, in fact is historically and presently home to diversity and difference (Narzary, 2004).

2. Japanese Feminism and Gender Studies

2.1 Japanese Feminist History

According to the most recent Global Gender Gap Report by the World Economic Forum (2022), Japan ranked 116 of 146 the countries surveyed. This report assesses gender parity across economic, educational, health and political factors. Though educational attainment is high, according to the metrics of this report, Japan is particularly lacking in economic and political gender parity. This is despite the fact that Japan has one of the world's top economies and is classified as "very high" in terms of the United Nations Human Development Index by factors of health, knowledge, and standard of living (United Nations Development Programme, 2022). Such data is helpful, but to understand the lived experiences of women and men in any country, one must examine its history and current social climate in detail. Kano (2016) gives us a glimpse into this experience and tells us that women in Japan exist in a sort of conundrum. Although they can be seen as the guardians of traditional culture, they can also be looked upon with pity by women abroad. At once they can be depicted as happy with their situation in Japan, and yet are disparaged for accepting gender inequality. To better understand women's gender discourse in Japan, we will first review the modern history of feminism in the country.

One may falsely assume that Japan lacks a feminist tradition, but as Kano (2016) tells us, this is not the case. In fact, Japan is home to a long and colorful feminist history filled with public debate dating back to the late nineteenth century. From Meiji-era journals that became a platform for women's expression, and early political activists like Kishida Toshiko, early Japanese feminism was a period of public debate on issues such as motherhood, reproduction, and sexuality (Kano 2020). During the 1920s, political activists such as Ichikawa Fusae and Oku Mumeo led the women's suffrage movement, which became a major topic of feminist discussion. Later, the experiences of becoming a colonial power, defeat and the subsequent loss of colonies, the post war shift to democracy, and becoming the second largest global economy have affected all aspects of Japanese life and society (Kano, 2016). The author claims that understanding this tumultuous history is key to understanding present-day Japan's feminism. The period of the 1980s economic bubble brought the "women's lib" movement, and an era of unprecedented public feminist debate in Japan (Kano, 2020). This era of feminism proliferated the business world, the political, and the intellectual and led to a period of further advancement for women in Japan in the 1990s. Since the 2010s, according to the author, much has changed as print publications are being retired in favor of online journals and informal digital discussions, leading to some difficulty in drawing themes and debates together. As Kano (2016) makes clear, however, all policy in Japanese society is rooted in the assumption that all women are destined to be wives and mothers. This important foundation, as well as the various debates Kano (2016, 2020) has laid out will most certainly prove as important vectors of analysis regarding Japanese EFL textbooks and their representation of girls and women.

2.2 Masculinity Studies in Japan

In addition to the history of feminist thought and debate in Japan, it is also necessary to explore other areas of study related to gender. Malony (2020) tells us, for example, that a distinct field of

masculinity studies has been recently articulated in Japan. The work of R.W. Connell (2020), foundational to the field of masculinity studies, is helpful to recall when researching various masculine identities in a culture. Perhaps her most famous theory, hegemonic masculinity refers to the idealized archetype of masculine behavior and thought, at a given point in history in a society, to which other forms of masculinity are measured. She points out that a hegemonic masculine ideal may only be practiced by a small minority, yet the effects are still felt across the gender spectrum of a society.

Regarding Japanese society, as Cook (2020) explains, the archetype of the *salaryman (sarariiman)* is often thought of as occupying this hegemonic status. Themes of economic productivity, breadwinning, and responsibility to one's family are central to this idealized type of masculinity. Several alternative forms of masculinity are defined in relation to this ideal, such as the *otaku* (geeks) or the *soushokukei danshi* (herbivore men). The former, regardless of their actual employment status, are often thought of as unproductive members of society, further cementing the concept of economic output is central to one's masculinity. Herbivore men, Cook explains, refers to men who are not interested in or not successful in dating or reproduction. Recently, however, there has been a shift in cultural perception as the *ikumen* archetype, a portmanteau of the words *ikuji* (childcare) and the English *men*, gains more cultural clout in Japanese society. Fathers in Japan are increasingly expected to take an active role in their children's lives. According to Cook, the Japanese government, partly in response to the declining birthrate, have pushed this masculine discourse themselves. The author concludes by laying out further directions for masculinity studies in Japan, among which include transgender experiences and the ways in which women can also contribute to the reinforcement of hegemonic masculine ideals. Once again, keeping these discourses in mind will aid in the critical analysis of masculine discourse in Japanese EFL textbooks, both in how the male characters are represented, and in how other characters are weighed against them.

2.3 LGBTQ Studies in Japan

Dale (2020) explains the recent strides made in LGBTQ and specifically transgender studies mentioned earlier. Notably, there has been a shift away from the term Gender Identity Disorder (GID), suggesting an illness, to the adoption of the word *transgender*. Dale explains that changes in naming is often thought of as a key step in wider acceptance and equality in a society, and thus will hopefully lead to better outcomes for transgender people in Japan. Providing a brief history, the author recounts that for the bulk of modern history, transgender people in Japan were often thought of, and named, only in terms of their status as entertainers

or workers in the various sex industries. Dale notes that although much of the historical study of transgender people and their terminology has long privileged male-to-female individuals, female-to-male individuals also have a long history which is due further academic attention. Moving to the history of transgender rights in Japan, the author details the so-called transgender "golden period" of the 1980s, when transgender people became more visible on television, and the legal battles of the 1990s when the first gender reassignment surgery was successfully undertaken.

Despite this progress, it remains difficult for transgender individuals to change their gender on their *koseki* (the family register, an important legal document), as Chapman (2020) tells us. Several criteria, including being over 20 years of age, unmarried and without young children, and being effectively sterile, must be fulfilled for the change to be legally recognized. In 2018, transgender people became able to claim sex reassignment surgery through their health insurance, but this does not cover hormone therapy (Dale, 2020). Additionally, a successful application to change one's gender on their *koseki* means being taken off their existing family register (Chapman, 2020) which could carry significant symbolic and emotional weight.

Further in the realm of LGBTQ studies, Dale (2020) also outlines the modern understanding of x-gender people, often compared with but not identical to the non-binary gender identity. Although the proliferation of this conversation on television is becoming more common, Dale claims that much of the public understanding still seeks to shoehorn these individuals into a gender-binary narrative. Dale gives the example of educational materials that attempt to locate x-gender on the middle of the spectrum where woman and man occupy the polar opposites, rather than as falling outside the binary all together.

There has, however, been a recent shift in school uniform policy in Japan with many schools having begun to offer accommodations for LGBTQ students (Kowaka & Terasawa, 2022), though the approaches vary. The majority of schools believed providing long pants for girls (50.1%) was the most appropriate accommodation, with fewer agreeing with also allowing boys to choose freely from long pants, skirts, ribbons and ties (36%), and fewer still believing a gender-neutral uniform was the best option (35.4%) (Gender-free uniforms, 2021). These statistics show, at least, that there is a discussion of change in Japanese schools which could provide immense benefits for LGBTQ students, particularly for transgender and x-gender students. With this in mind, the undertaking of a feminist CDS analysis of Japanese EFL textbooks should be mindful of instances of LGBTQ characters, or the lack thereof.

2.4 Gendered Japanese Language

The final area of Japanese gender studies to be discussed is that of the connections between gender and language. Although the target of the present research is set with EFL textbooks in mind, one must briefly describe certain linguistic characteristics of the Japanese language itself, as they will undoubtedly shape the experiences of teachers and learners in Japan, and potentially the production of textbooks. Japanese makes use of honorifics, as Inoue (2020) explains, to denote social relationships and hierarchy. As many students of the Japanese language learn, there are also ways of speaking as women and men that are perceived as socially correct, such as feminine-sounding polite language and masculine-sounding gendered pronouns. The so-called "women's language" often heard on television, as Inoue tells us, is a variety of speech alienated from the experience of most women. Typically characterized by notions of kindness, respect, and submissiveness, this women's Japanese has been understood by researchers as contributing to the reproduction of socially limiting gender discourses and stereotypes, with women relegated to domestic and reproductive labor. Intersecting with class analysis, the scholar cites Ide (2005, as cited in Inoue, 2020) to explain that women's Japanese could potentially be seen as denoting a dignified social status, yet others have argued the lack of direct, assertive, and imperative speech forms available within women's speech can be seen as reinforcing the boundaries of the domestic sphere for women (Reynolds, 1985, as cited in Inoue, 2020, p. 42). Inoue (2020) complicates these traditional understandings of Japanese women's language by claiming that they falsely treat Japan as a homogenous society in which the social, cultural and linguistic experience of women are universal. Although women-learners of Japanese may be taught that this is the correct way to speak, Inoue also notes that modern studies are aware of the fact that language education can be negotiated with and resisted by students and teachers.

More broadly, Kumagai (2014, as cited in Inoue, 2020), posits that textbooks for Japanese learners are presented with hegemonic versions of Japan's language and culture. This leads Inoue (2020) to conclude that the teaching of foreign languages is an inherently political act, which in the case of Japanese foreign-language education requires deliberate decisions about how to represent Japan's culture and language to non-Japanese speakers. Indeed, one must wonder what versions of Japan are on display in EFL textbooks, and what discourses can be inferred. The textbooks that have been chosen for future study, the Sunshine English Course (Kairyudo, 2021), features vignettes of Japanese students and international English-speaking students set in a Japanese school. Beyond gender-minded analysis, a CDS approach to Japanese EFL textbooks from the perspective of nationality and/or ethnicity would also prove interesting, but is beyond the scope of this study.

3. Critical Discourse Studies

3.1 Overview and Fairclough

To begin broadly, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is an approach to the study of language which pulls from multidisciplinary fields to understand the connections between language and various aspects of society, specifically issues of power and social inequality (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018). Rather than referring to the use of spoken or written language in general, the definition of *discourse* in relation to CDS refers to the use of language in practice to express and recognize social groups and identities (Kress 1989, as cited in Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018). Flowerdew and Richardson (2018) list several examples such as sexist discourse, racist discourse, and neoliberal discourse, but the possibilities for multiple and overlapping discourses are endless. The authors go on to explain that foundational to this understanding of discourses is the concept of ideology: the values and beliefs of specific groups in societies. Further, ideologies can be deployed through discourses in order to benefit powerful groups in a society. Naturally, this can create an in-group/out-group dynamic which pits *us* vs. *them* and could contribute to social inequality. Even within one set of data, such as an EFL textbook, there would of course be many discourses worthy of consideration. Norman Fairclough (2010), one of the early CDS (then CDA) scholars, describes the field as systematic and multidisciplinary, and as using textual analysis of discourse to expose relationships between language and social processes, and offering possible solutions for easing or correcting social inequalities.

3.2 Gee's building tasks and tools of inquiry

Although his books are often labeled as simply *discourse analysis* (DA), rather than CDS/A, Gee (2011) makes it clear that in his opinion all discourse analysis must be *critical* because all language is *political.* According to the author, language can be used to illuminate how what he refers to as "social goods" are divided up in a society. This can refer to everything from the economical to the theoretical, such as wealth, power, status, and even acceptance. Gee also echoes Fairclough (2010) in stating that the act of engaging in critical DA is often itself a political act, as researchers and analysts may seek to address or help alleviate problems in society through their work. It is from this vantage that the present study seeks to explore how feminist CDS can be used in the analysis of EFL materials in Japanese classrooms, with the hope that the act of engaging in a CDS approach itself can work toward gender equity and the dismantling of harmful stereotypes.

Gee (2011) lays out what he calls "building tasks" for the aspiring discourse analyst to use to analyze how speakers and writers use language to construct reality. The tasks are as follows:

Significance, Practices, Identities, Relationships, Politics, Connections, and Sign Systems and Knowledge. The analyst is encouraged to ask questions corresponding to each task to theorize how a piece of language renders things significant or insignificant, what practices, identities, or relationships are being enacted, what political philosophies are being communicated as normal, what connections or disconnections are being made, and what sign systems are considered valuable. These building tasks, and in turn their related questions, are to inspire the formulation of hypotheses about a given piece or instance of language use. Of course, as Gee points out for many of these building tasks, it is important to analyze how the language not only privileges, constructs, and normalizes certain realities, but also how others are left out and therefore deprivileged. Gee's work in this field is filled with grounded everyday examples, from school-board meetings to the popular *Yu-Gi-Oh!* trading card game and is explained in simple language, making them a very useful set of concepts to begin the present research project.

Gee (2011) also offers several "tools of inquiry" to aid discourse analysts. The first, social languages, refers to the variations in ways we use language in different situations to represent and recognize our various and multiple identities in society. The author uses the examples of vernacular and technical language varieties, the latter of which could be used to enact authority on a topic as a scientist, doctor, teacher, etc. Next is capital "D" Discourses, which Gee defines as being able to "talk the talk" and "walk the walk" in a certain identity (p. 28). This term encapsulates everything that happens in addition to the raw language use when enacting or recognizing identities, from actions and behavior to the use of specific tools or symbols. Following this is the capital "C" "Conversations" tool, which refers to the well-known verbal and written debates within or between certain social groups or identities. The author lists examples such as the debate over abortion rights in certain countries, conversations around global warming, and so on, in which both sides of the argument are well established and recognizable by the members of those societies. Intertextuality, finally, is defined as how certain written or verbal communications call back to or reference other instances of writing or speech (texts). These tools can assist the discourse analyst by suggesting questions to ask of a certain text or conversation. For example, what social languages are being used in a text to enact or recognize certain identities? In a critical discourse analysis, we of course must ask if these tools can shed light on social inequalities in connection to the language in use.

3.3 Gender and CDS

As CDS is by nature overtly concerned with exposing the connections between language and social inequality, it is fitting

that a specifically feminist branch of the field emerged. Lazar (2007) cites many common traits between feminist language analysis and the work of CDS scholars, including holding social inequality and language use to a critical light. The author argues for the need of a specifically named *feminist* CDA (FCDA) for several reasons. Although CDS is concerned with social inequality as a whole, a specifically feminist approach would center gender as a dominant and repressive vector of social life. For Lazar, researchers and analysts must uncover the ways that harmful gender discourses can become common sense within societal groups. We can imagine the ways in which gender is represented in textbooks and how they may reinforce or challenge the status quo.

Remlinger (2007) introduces how gender discourses are played out within classrooms. The author argues that the analyzing of discursive practices within this setting is significant because many perceive the modern classroom in their societies as a gender-neutral space in which all learners have equal access and opportunities. They point out, however, that the classroom is in fact a public sphere in which teachers and students alike can reinforce and produce harmful gender discourses. Holmes (2007) also supports the idea that systemic power can calcify gender ideology through discursive practices into the form of common-sense knowledge, on all levels of societal interaction. Although Remlinger's (2007) study focuses on turn-taking strategies in classroom conversations, the idea that the classroom, and by extension learning materials, are not gender agnostic is crucial to the present study. Although Japanese EFL textbooks ultimately have the aim of teaching the target language to students, they could be seen as a way of reinforcing systemic power.

When this feminist approach is combined with Gee's (2011) tools of inquiry and building tasks, we can formulate a number of potential research questions or hypotheses in relation to gender. For example, what gender identities are given privilege in a given text over others? What can be said of the politics (distribution of social goods) between gender identities in the text? What Conversations (capital "C") are invoked in the text in relation to gender? Are there differences in social languages between the gender identities represented in the text? These will help jumpstart the analysis and help focus the project towards a praxis of justice for gender equality.

3.4 Multi-modal CDS

Up to this point in this review, CDS has been discussed in terms of potential ways to analyze verbal talk and written texts, but we know that textbooks often contain many visual and sometimes aural elements. To address this, as Ledin and Machin (2018)

explain, mutli-modal approaches are becoming more frequently used in the field of CDS, referred to by the authors as MCDA. This seems a natural fit for textbooks, including Japanese EFL textbooks, as the visual layout of the textbook pages in terms of both text (titles, headings, word boxes) and images (character positioning, character gaze, supplementary images), all work in conjunction with the written words of the lessons. *Reading Images* by Kress and van Leeuwen (2021), first published in 1996, blends traditional linguistic analysis with visual psychology and was one of several influential works in the development of MCDA, as Ledin and Machin recount (2018). The authors posit that MCDA should begin with the questioning what "semiotic resources" are being deployed in a communicative event or text in relation to ideology. Semiotic resources, in the case of a multi-modal approach, would refer not only to grammatical and lexical resources, but to the realm of the visual and aural as well. As Ledin and Machin teach us, the full understanding of the ideological and social contexts of a multi-modal text is impossible by only analyzing linguistic features, and we must consider all of its elements.

Ledin and Machin (2018) then use a university brochure and an internal university document to as example of their method's application. They show how things such as the use of photographs and visual design can illuminate connections to a shift towards a more neoliberal ideology in the university. They begin by linking a photograph of a staircase, which they characterize as suggesting swift upward movement, with success, mobility, and change, all central elements to neoliberalist thought. MCDA is not limited to only photographs or illustrations, however. In their analysis of the internal document, the authors focus on the visual layout of text and the use of tables, bullet points, and subheadings. These, Ledin and Machin explain, can be said to bring a sense of logic and authority to normally disparate categories or criterion. The use of tables in an activity plan later in the document refers to items such as "education," "research," and other "target areas," and is meant for course directors to show how they are meeting goals, which again implies a shift to neoliberal ideology in which personal responsibility and accountability are stressed. Organizing the targets together in one column allows the designers of the university document to suggest a natural hierarchy and relationship. While seemingly innocuous, this process which the authors refer to as "re-contextualization" is said to be a way of selecting some details and flattening others, and in this example replaces the acts of teaching and research at the university with a cold and systematic process. This MCDA approach is well suited for a study of Japanese EFL textbooks for this project, especially when combined with the acute feminist goals of Lazar's (2007) FCDA. We will be able to see how various elements, such as character images and layout choices, can be connected to potentially harmful societal and cultural gender discourses.

4. Textbooks

4.1 Textbooks and CDS

Macgilchrist (2018) offers an overview of CDS textbook studies, stating broadly that critical textbook analyses approach their texts not just as teaching materials, but as an element of the overall process of the socialization of the learners. Youngsters in particular can, consciously or unconsciously, acquire knowledge of the world and what is considered socially valuable and which lifestyles or identities are culturally perceived as good or bad. This contributes to their understanding of their place in a cultural or societal moment. The author organizes her summary of textbook CDS by three epistemological themes: *construction, theory, and fragility.* By her explanation, the first of these themes is most concerned with how exclusion and marginalization discourse is represented in the textbook, the second with analysis grounded in linguistics in regards to how knowledge is reproduced, and the third on the ideological cracks in hegemonic discourse that provide opportunities for discursive resistance. All three of these approaches could prove useful in a feminist CDS study of Japanese EFL textbooks, allowing the researcher to draw from various strategies.

Of the first approach, Macgilchrist (2018) states that textbooks generally can be thought of as maintaining the status quo, which benefits the powerful in a society. Textbook CDS approaches must then uncover if and how dominant (and often harmful) discourses are produced in these learning materials, and therefore if they will be propagated to young learners. In the broadest sense, this is perhaps the most closely related of the three approaches to the current EFL textbook feminist CDS project, though the second approach could also prove useful. Although the examples given of this second type are primarily CDS analyses of history textbooks, the feature of analyzing lexical and grammatical choices is appealing. Gendered dialog between textbook characters or narration, for example, could be seen to normalize certain political assumptions or gender ideologies. This highlights not only if but *how* this knowledge becomes common sense. The final theme, which focuses on the fragility of hegemonic knowledge, is perhaps different in tone from the first two. Although examining hegemonic discourses shows a need or desire for social change, analyzing the fragility of such discourses can show us how alternatives may already exist. The author draws a comparison with positive discourse analysis (PDA) which seeks to uncover the positive and progressive changes in discursive practices (Bartlett, 2018). In the case of the current project, rather than assuming a negative critical stance that the Japanese EFL materials will wholly

reproduce harmful gender discourses, this researcher will attempt to maintain a neutral stance and be mindful of progress, alternative gender discourses, or gaps where resisting hegemonic discourses is possible.

4.2 Gender and Learning Materials

In their comprehensive volume *Gender Representation in Learning Materials*, editors Mustapha and Mills (2015a) provide a collection of international research with case studies from Hong Kong, Turkey and Japan, among others. Mustapha and Mills (2015b) provide an introduction to how sexist or imbalanced gender representation can have negative outcomes for learners. They note that many feminist theorists have focused on outdated and conservative representations of women, such as representing women primarily or exclusively in the domestic sphere while men are largely represented as working outside of the home in the social sphere. They explain that stereotypes are presented to consumers as common knowledge or natural, while we know that there are in fact countless societal, personal, and cultural differences between people within societal groups. The authors continue, however, that while textbooks and other learning materials can be overtly sexist, students and teachers have the option to question, resist, or ignore such representations, and that modern scholarship tends to agree that meaning making is a complex process. Regardless, textbooks and teachers are generally seen as authorities on their topics of instruction, and thus the effects of gender representation should be taken seriously as a subject of analysis. Mustapha and Mills (2015b) continue that students are said to absorb a "hidden curriculum" when learning, including what gender roles are considered socially or culturally appropriate. In foreign-language textbooks, this can occur through things like the number of women featured or the frequency of their appearances, the types of jobs women are depicted as doing, the types of descriptions afforded to these women characters, their positioning in relation to the male characters of the book, and the frequency of women characters initiating conversations.

Further in Mustapha and Mill's (2015a) book, Sunderland (2015) provides a chapter specifically focused on foreign-language textbooks. She pulls from various theoretical backgrounds such as linguistics and CDS to present an overview of the field of foreign-language textbook study, which she points out was historically limited in its conceptions of gender, representation and linguistic analysis. The author also points out that research into gender representations in foreign-language textbooks has recently declined and that much of the existing scholarship is also limited in nuance and validity. The author then lays out a theoretical foundation including the theory of representation itself, the question of the author's intent, and why the concept of hegemonic

masculinity (Connell, 2020) is important for this type of analysis. Representations in textbooks are often made by powerful members of society who may be seeking to protect their interests.

Sunderland (2015) continues that when analyzing a foreign-language textbook, it is important to recognize the specific subgenres at work. These could include various grammatical or vocabulary exercises, pair-work, actual foreign-language dialogue practice, and so on. With the latter, the author points out that one must look for overall patterns across a book or series rather than in an isolated dialogue in order to effectively establish if the gender discourses are problematic. She adds that it is important not only to study what characters are depicted as doing, but also what they are not. For example, while a modern textbook may show more women in professional and authoritative roles, they may not show male characters engaged in child-care or domestic work. Ultimately, the author concludes that while many countries have improved the quality of their textbooks recently in regards to gender representation, there is still room for more research in this field. Taken as a whole, this volume (Mustapha & Mills, 2015a) cements this claim that gender representations in textbooks, while showing improvement in recent years, are still far from neutral.

4.3 Sample Studies

The final section of this literature review will highlight two gender focused case studies of foreign-language textbooks, one a comparison of English language textbooks (both EFL and native level) in Hong Kong and Australia (Lee & Collins, 2010), and the other a CDS (then CDA) study of Japanese language textbooks for Australian learners of Japanese (Thomson & Otsuji, 2003).

To begin with Lee and Collins (2010), the authors set out to conduct a methodical and data driven analysis of gender representation and language choices between a total of 20 textbooks, 10 from Hong Kong and 10 from Australia, respectively. They provide an introduction to the state of feminism and progress towards gender equity in the two regions, saying that both share improved access and funding for women in higher education and an improved share of women in the workforce. Of note, however, was that both Australia and Hong Kong had more highly skilled and managerial positions occupied by men rather than women. A major difference cited by the authors is the date of precisely when gender equality was codified into law, 1983 for Australia and 1995 for Hong Kong, leading to a gap in formal recognition of the connections between language and gender.

Lee and Collins (2010) cite previous textbook studies that found that the use of generic masculine nouns (policeman, fireman) and generic masculine pronouns (the generic he) can have direct impacts on women and girls' perception of suitable career choices. Further, they give the example that female students

remembered information more effectively if they found themselves represented in the text, and likewise male students showed improved recall when masculine pronouns were used (Briere & Lanktree, 1983; Crawford & English, 1984, as cited in Lee & Collins, 2010).

Having established the background of the two locations' relationship to gender equality and the impacts of textbooks and gendered language on students, Lee and Collins (2010) begin their analysis proper. The authors catalog and compare data such as the number of instances of representations of men and women characters between the texts, the topics they are associated with (success, friendship, crime, etc.), the distribution of social and domestic roles, as well as the use of gendered vs. gender-inclusive nouns and pronouns in the chosen textbooks. Their data showed that although the Hong Kong textbooks had higher number of instances of female mentions than the Australian books, they were often stereotypical and patriarchal in nature. They end their study with the sentiment that textbooks are not only a mirror of a society, but are also tied to the construction and reinforcement of these realities. They suggest teachers or textbook writers question if their materials are unbalanced or contain discriminatory gender representations, and they ponder the possible ways that teachers in Hong Kong and Australia might engage with the materials chosen for the analysis. Teachers are of course able to reinforce harmful discourses, but are also able to challenge them.

Moving on to Thomson and Otsuji (2003), this study specifically undertakes a CDS approach to foreign-language textbook analysis (referred to in the text as CDA). The authors claim CDA is the ideal approach for gender focused EFL textbook research because it focuses on social dominance, injustice and inequality, and the connections thereof to language. The authors begin with a broad overview of foreign-language textbook research, claiming that previous studies have concluded that EFL and JFL (Japanese as a foreign language) materials skew towards hegemonic representations of society and culture. The nature of foreign-language learning also means that learners are presented with idealized versions of speakers in the textbooks, and as such may internalize many of the dominant discourses of the particular culture being reproduced on the page.

With the stage set, Thomson and Otsuji (2003) then document and explain the social reality of the Japanese business world which, at the time of their writing, was seeing an increased number of women in Japanese companies. They do point out that the number of women serving in upper management was still considerably lower than overall participation, although it was increasing. The textbooks chosen for their analysis, subsequently, aim to train learners of business Japanese before assumedly moving to the country to work. Their primary textbook of focus contains lessons

on both communication skills for use at work at a Japanese company and information on the social and cultural context of such an environment. The authors point out the imbalance of gender representation and associations 国際 in the textbook, namely that female characters are defined by their relationships (familial or professional/subordinate) with the powerful male characters. In fact, only two of these female characters are named compared to eight named male characters, and they are often relegated to domestic or subservient roles.

Thomson and Otsuji (2003) then break down the discursive feature of turn-taking, previously discussed in this literature review regarding classroom discussion (Remlinger, 2007), and found that while male characters took 179 turns in conversations, female characters took only 57. Thomson and Otsuji (2003) go on to provide a great deal more data of this nature, as well as linguistic breakdowns of the lexical and grammatical choices of some example Japanese conversations from the book. They conclude that the textbooks in question actually failed to represent the actual social reality of the Japanese business world which, again, was seeing increased female participation, and that learners were provided with a rather outdated and limited view of Japanese work life. This also stands in contrast to the majority of the textbooks' readership, who were found to be majority Australian women. Thomson and Otsuji finish with a criticism of the textbooks, specifically that the materials may actively be reinforcing a harmful and stereotypical business culture and building further barriers to participation and success for women (more specifically, as the textbooks are JFL, non-Japanese women). Their research highlights a need for textbooks which are mindful and critical of the relationship between language learning and gender discourse and those which can provide students with the ability to form their new social identities when using their target language.

5. Limitations and Final Thoughts

The sentiment that students of EFL should be encouraged to think critically about language, power, and gender is of great importance to the current project. Equipping the next generation with adequate English language abilities should include the skills to choose when and how to conform to or resist dominant gender discourse, and how to live authentically as oneself in the social reality of the target language. Ultimately, the CDS approach deemed most suitable for the present research project will take the form of a hybrid feminist multi-modal CDS with elements and considerations from other approaches, such as positive discourse analysis (Bartlett, 2018), kept in mind as well. Gee (2011) and his building tasks and tools of inquiry will also aid in the practical conducting of the analysis itself. In the narrowing down of this approach, and the fact that the future analysis phase of the present

research project will be exclusively textbook based, rather than using human participants, several limitations have presented themselves and will be discussed below.

First, the CDS approach currently championed by van Dijk (2018), socio-cognitive discourse studies, focuses on the use of cognition and psychology to show how discourses are interpreted by people and how social inequality is reproduced and reinforced. Such an approach falls outside of the discipline of the present researcher, but would certainly yield interesting results if a model specific to Japanese social cognition could be established. Another approach which seemed promising in the conducting of this literature review was the discourse-historical approach (DHA), pioneered and refined by scholars like Wodak and Meyer (2016) and Reisigl (Reisigl, 2018; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). As Reisigl (2018) explains, this CDS approach is dynamic and problem-oriented and analyzes historical and political elements to elucidate issues such as various types of discrimination and the resulting in-groups/out-groups in a society. This does seem like an effective approach for the application of feminist CDS to Japanese EFL textbooks, and in fact was highlighted by Ota (2019) in her proposal for EFL CDS activities in Japanese schools. Certainly, historical and cultural contexts will be taken into account during the analysis phase of the current research project, but overall a feminist multi-modal approach appears more immediately useful to the present researcher.

To introduce another potential limitation, the beliefs and convictions of the teacher in charge of facilitating learning would also affect how the lesson content is framed and delivered. Potentially sexist content, for example, could be used by the teacher as a launching point into a critical discussion of gender among the students. Likewise, if students are presented with sexist content (or conversely, with progressive content) it is up to each individual student how to interpret the textbook and make their own meaning. Students in the classroom are not passive subjects who simply ingest the content on the page, but may question it silently to themselves or raise their concerns to the class (Sunderland, 2015). Although it is true that a certain level of L2 ability is necessary to hold such a critical discussion, the point is that interpretation remains individual, despite the ability of researchers to recognize social and cultural trends. Although the present project seeks to analyze the language use in the textbook itself, seeking teacher and student input could prove a fruitful area of further study in the future.

Finally, it should be said that the resources available to this researcher are limited to those in the English language or Japanese sources by secondary means such as translation or paraphrase. The literature consulted for this review, while international in scope, was mainly by non-Japanese scholars (referring again to nationality rather than ethnicity). Going forward, incorporating more Japanese scholarship, by any means necessary, will remain a goal. Although brief, this literature review has been a first step in beginning the project of designing and engaging a feminist CDS approach to Japanese EFL textbook analysis. It is the hope of this researcher that said analysis will prove fruitful and rewarding not just in the improvement of English education in Japan, but also towards the achievement of global gender parity, and in the dismantling of harmful gender discourse.

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