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創刊号発行によせて センター長 田中かず子

国際基督教大学ジェンダー研究センター（CGS）は、2004年4月に設立されたばかりですが、設立2年目にしてCGSジャーナル『ジェンダー&セクシュアリティ』の創刊号を発行することができました。これは、ひとえにCGSの活動に尽力してくださった皆さまのおかげであると深く感謝申し上げます。

CGSジャーナル『ジェンダー&セクシュアリティ』の発行に際し、私たちは三つの大きな夢を掲げました。一つは、アジアから新しい知見を創造し発信する「場」となるように、このジャーナルを育てていくということ。日本では、ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究の領域においても、他の多くの学問と同様に、欧米研究者による研究成果を翻訳し消費することにおわれ、日本における研究を積み上げてその成果を海外に問うていく努力が少なかつたといえます。その一方で、隣国のアジア諸国・地域の情報は少なく、ほとんど知らないにもかかわらず、そのことに困惑することもなかったのです。つまり、西欧中心の知の体系を、私たちはしっかり内面化してきたということです。急速にグローバル化が進む現在、もはや一国内で問題を解決することはできなくなってきました。私たちはこの西欧中心主義を相対化し、アジアから新しい知を創造し世界に向けて発信していく決意をするにいたりました。

二つ目は、上記の目標を達成するために、日本の、そしてアジア諸国の研究者・研究所・NGOなどの研究活動をネットワーク化し、情報の交換や共同研究などを推進していく「場」となること。日本の大学にある女性学・ジェンダー研究関連の研究所やセンターは、その数が非常に限られていますが、にもかかわらず連携体制が未だできていません。日本女性学会など関連学会もありますが、ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究の研究者たちが活発に議論し研磨していく「場」とはなっていません。すばらしい研究成果を出しておられる研究者は沢山おられますが、私たちはその研究成果を積みあげていくための工夫が必要です。西欧中心主義的知の体系を相対化していくためには、日本の中で、またアジアにおいて、研究者や活動家が活発な議論ができるネットワークを作っていく必要があります。

三つ目は、ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究をエリートズムに陥らせないために、理論と実践、研究者と活動家を積極的に橋渡ししていくこと。当事者が直面している現実を理解し、研究者自身の問題として知的想像力を駆使することで、より深い理論枠組みの構築を可能にします。また理論の汎用性を、現場において試すことも必要です。CGSジャーナルは、研究者や活動家に、そのような理論と実践の協働作業の場を提供することをめざします。

CGS ジャーナルは二部構成で、前半の研究部門は、ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究における実証研究や理論的考察などの研究論文に、後半のフィールド部門は、活動家によるケーススタディや国内外のジェンダー関連活動報告など、実践の場での情報提供にあてられます。さまざまな領域の専門家同士が、また研究者と活動家が一緒に論じる特集を組むなど、活発に議論することができる「場」をつくっていくことを今後の課題にしたいと考えております。

この CGS ジャーナルは、だれでもどこからでもアクセスできる電子ジャーナルとして、CGS のウェブページに掲載されます。使用言語は、日本語と英語の二語に限られておりますが、いずれ ICT の発展により言語変換ソフトの開発がすすめば、簡単に母国語へ変換することができる日がくるのではないかと期待しております。この CGS ジャーナルを、おもしろい議論ができる「場」となるように、皆さまと一緒に育てていきたいと考えておりますので、論文や記事の投稿をよろしくお願いたします。

On the Inaugural Issue Kazuko Tanaka, CGS Director

The ICU Center for Gender Studies (CGS) is proud to present the inaugural issue of its journal, *Gender and Sexuality*. The successful completion of this publication, in only the second year since CGS was established in April 2004, could not have been achieved without the continuing support and encouragement we received from many people. On behalf of the Center, I would like to thank all those who have supported CGS in its activities so far.

Gender and Sexuality has three ultimate objectives. Firstly, we aim to develop a journal which is central to the generation and transmission of fresh knowledge and innovative studies from an Asian perspective. Gender and Sexuality Studies in Japan, like many other academic fields here, has so far been largely preoccupied with the translation and consumption of work by Western researchers. Consequently, there have been few concerted attempts to build on research in Japan and to convey it overseas. Compounded with an unabashed ignorance of our Asian neighbours, we have thus internalized Western paradigms. In this world of rapid globalization, it has become increasingly difficult to resolve problems within one country. This is why CGS is firmly resolved in its aim to produce innovative research from Asia which we can then disseminate to the rest of the world.

Secondly, to further the above objective, we also aim to promote information exchange and collaborative research through the creation of networks among scholars, activists, research centers, and NGOs in Japan as well as in Asia. There is still little coordination or co-operation between the small number of institutes for Women's Studies or Gender studies at Japanese universities. Although there are related societies such as the Women's Studies Association of Japan, there is no place where scholars of Gender and Sexuality can debate freely and refine their research. We need a means to accumulate and build on the admirable research which continues to be produced here. In order to relativize the 'Western-centered knowledge paradigm', scholars and activists in Japan and in Asia must create networks for dynamic debate.

Our third goal is to serve as a bridge between scholars and activists, theory and practice, in order to prevent Gender and Sexuality Studies from succumbing to the

trap of elitism. Learning of the issues faced by real people gives researchers a personal perspective on problems from which point they can then freely exercise their intellectual imaginations. This ultimately enables the creation of more meaningful, profound, theoretical frameworks. Moreover, it is also necessary to test the applicability of theories in actual practice. The CGS journal aims to provide a space for such collaborative work between theory and practice by researchers and activists.

The journal is structured in two parts – the Research Section features empirical research and theoretical studies in Gender and Sexuality; the Fieldwork Section offers information from the field, with case studies by activists and reports on gender-related activities both within and outside Japan. Through this journal we hope to create an active forum which brings together specialists, scholars, and activists from diverse fields.

The CGS journal will also be available online on our website for easy access by anybody, anywhere. For now, the languages of the journal are restricted to Japanese and English, but we hope that ICT will continue to develop so that perhaps one day translation into any language will be a more simple procedure. We look forward to receiving many articles and papers to develop the journal into a dynamic forum for stimulating debate.

Representing Sex and Sexuality: Requiem for Mother¹ Hyangjin Lee

As an effective medium of cultural criticism, film communicates the conflicting ideas of people regarding their changing social environments and human relations. This study adopts a cross-cultural analysis of Japanese and Korean cinemas, in order to evaluate the characteristics of gender representation in South Korea from an East Asian cultural perspective. With their close historical relationships, a comparison of Japanese and Korean cinemas merits a special discussion for this study. In particular, the shared 'Confucian' cultural traditions, the rapid Westernization process driven by external forces and the intensive years of state-led modernisation mark the contexts in which these cinematic discourses are situated. A critical examination of the cinematic parodies of cultural discontinuity and negotiation patterns of contemporary Japanese torn between the ideals of familiarity and foreignness in their daily lives, therefore, provides a balanced understanding of transitional Korean identity in recent years.

Four films were chosen for this study, two Japanese and two Korean nonsensical comedies about the unpredictable behaviour of ordinary people who contradict themselves because of their commitment to traditional community-oriented human relationships and because of their exposure to or pursuit of 'Western' ideals. The first pair of films are *The Funeral* (Ososhiki, 1984) and *Tampopo* (1986) by Itami Jūzō, the great Japanese film satirist. The counterparts of these films are *Farewell, My Darling* by Haksaeung Bugun Shinwi (1996) and *301, 302* (1996) by Park Chulsoo. Park, one of the most prominent South Korean directors, also enjoys an international reputation as a film satirist.

Both Itami's *The Funeral* and Park's *Farewell, My Darling* are comic dramas about the death of a father and the following family reunion. The various incidents amongst the people attending funerals and their behaviours and attitudes tend to allow an anthropological observation of the particular contexts. Directing the five-day funeral procedure in the form of a cinematic diary from the hearing of the news, Itami and Park show the transformations of women's roles based upon the needs of societies in transition and the vulnerability of women's positions from a male subjective point of view. The secondary roles of women in conducting the family rituals succinctly

reconstructed in the films express how the ideals of 'harmonious' familial relationships are exploited to stabilise and embellish the patriarchal system based on the sacrifice of women. The narrators of the films, the eldest son in *Farewell, My Darling* and the eldest son-in-law in *The Funeral*, introduce the hidden family histories, appropriating the suffering of mother and daughter (in-law). Although the two men are supposed to be the chief mourners in the funerals according to old customs, their detached voices let the audiences scrutinise the oppressive aspects of 'ideal' human relationships cultivated by the traditional norms of society.

Tampopo and *301, 302* use food as a central vehicle to represent the alienation of women in the family structure and in society. In *Tampopo* the central figure is a woman who, in order to succeed her late husband in the family business, desperately seeks to perfect the art of cooking noodles. In *301, 302* the main characters are two women who struggle for their own identities freed from traditional ideological constraints. In contrast to the heroine in *Tampopo*, who successfully transforms herself in harmony with her environment, the two women in *301, 302* isolate themselves from their own families and society. Ultimately, they destroy their lives through their bizarre and excessive obsession with food and cooking.

In discussing transitional identity in contemporary Japan and Korea represented in the four films, this study focuses on women's sexuality and role conflicts represented from male subjective points of view. The creative and experimental imaginations of Itami and Park in interpreting family melodramatic assets in Japanese and Korean cinematic traditions are encapsulated in the symbolic usage of food by, and division of space between, the different genders. The various images of heroines portrayed from male subjective points of view disclose the contradictory needs of the patriarchy in adopting the ideals of tradition and modernity. Especially, the motifs of food combined with the codes and conventions of sexuality are used to express the absurdity of the colonial and post-colonial experiences of the two peoples who seek to cope with the changes. A critical examination of Itami's and Park's works focusing on the issues related to male subjectivity in interrogating women's problems, therefore, allows the researcher to evaluate the two national cinemas as vital forms of social representation responding to changing cultural values in the respective countries.

Representing Sexuality and Male Subjectivity

Sexuality is socially constructed and maintained in symbolic relations. It functions “as a malleable feature of self, a prime connecting point between body, self-identity and social norms” (Giddens, 1993:15). Also, sexuality is defined “as being ‘by nature’ : a domain susceptible to pathological processes, and hence one calling for therapy or normalizing interventions; a field of meanings to decipher; the site of processes concealed by specific mechanisms” (Foucault, 1979: 68). As Foucault points out in *The History of Sexuality*, civilization in modern social life has achieved, through “discipline power,” a control of basic inner drives. In modern social institutions, such as prisons and asylums, discipline power, just as within families, has produced “docile bodies” (Foucault, 1977). The bodies and sexuality of women as the powerless are produced by the desires of the patriarch, the subject of discipline power. Since “power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Foucault, 1977: 194), sexuality as part of reality reveals the power relations in a society. Furthermore, power is the multiplicity of force relations and is ubiquitous. Power also includes the plurality of resistance emerging from a complex strategic situation in a particular society through discourses and discursive practices. Reality expressed by “docile bodies” , therefore, inherits the forces of resistance from below.

From a traditional Confucian view, a female body is the property of the patriarch, serving his procreative needs. Her existence is acknowledged through her biological reproductive functions, and her sexuality must be concealed as his private domain. Therefore, the ideals of womanhood, such as virginity, chastity, sacrifice and endurance, identify his claim to her body (Hogarth, 1996). Furthermore, the biological differences between men and women are used to foster their sexuality and gender identity through a set of stereotypes, such as spontaneity vs. passivity, and superiority vs. inferiority. In this discriminative identification process, women’ s sexuality is situated within a hierarchical order in familial society, and their sexual desires must not be open to public discourse. Also, their bodies should remain within the official social institutions, such as marriage and family.

In this sense, the representation of women’ s bodies and their sexuality, retained as they are by patriarchal power, means breaking the rules of silence. To avoid confrontation with such Confucian ideals, filmmakers, therefore, need a “dirty” body to

satisfy male fantasies and fetishist desires. She must be a “corrupted” woman disowned by the patriarch, i.e., either a prostitute or a divorcee. Her image is often associated with heavy make-up, revealing short skirts, large earrings and accessories, and smoking and drinking in public places. Through these discriminating dress codes, the corrupted woman reinforces the ideals of the virtuous woman who emphasises virginity and chastity. Sexuality inscribed by Confucian family politics is probably one of the burning issues in creating new identities in contemporary Korea. Given this basis, my discussion of the two films made by Park will focus on the relations between male subjectivity and identity questioning in re-asserting or de-mystifying the myth of motherhood through a comparison with Itami’ s works.

The Vanished Mother in *301.302* and the Returned Mother in *Tampopo*

The destructive lives of the heroines in *301.302* are ascribed to their rejection of “motherhood” . In the opening scenes, two little girls talk about their mothers. The camera is within the little girls’ gaze. Facing the camera, they address the camera directly. Their mothers’ cooking skills are excellent but they did not like their mothers’ food. They want their mothers’ attention and prefer to be different from their own mothers. In the first girl’ s recollection, a luxurious fridge full of instant junk food represents the image of her mother being absent. The American commercialized fast-food products substitute for her mother. In the latter’ s, her mother is cutting meat beside a huge fridge at her stepfather’ s butcher shop. Her second marriage has already violated traditions emphasizing “the chastity of married women” . Blinded by money, she neglects the stepfather’ s sexual abuse of her daughter. Given the female parenting, the girls have refused to reproduce a mothering role. The obsession with cooking and extreme eating disorders is the resulting development of their perceptions of motherhood. The denial of motherhood claims back the female body from the patriarch. The emancipation of the female body from the patriarch is the symbol of her new sexual identity, but it is only achieved through the invitation of death.

In contrast, the widow in *Tampopo* struggles to reclaim her sexuality as a mother. Without the patriarch she cannot protect her only child from his bullying friends. She cannot cope with her life without a breadwinner. Goro, a milk truck driver, comes to substitute for her late husband. He assumes the role of a surrogate patriarch in her new

life. Her son, Tabo also accepts Goro in his late father's place, wearing Goro's cowboy hat and mimicking his every movement at the dinner table. For the widow, Goro gathers all the culinary secrets for success, which are only communicated between men. Her master chefs are from various social backgrounds, such as professional cooks, food connoisseurs, a rich businessman, drivers or beggars, none of whom believe that a woman can be a good professional cook. At the hands of men, the heroine is reborn as a great mother to satisfy the appetites of men—society.

Mary Ann Doane argues that, "sexuality is most unnatural and achieved only after an arduous struggle" : "one is not born with sexuality" (1988: 219). The three women's struggles result from attempts to re-figure female sexuality constructed and maintained by a hierarchy within male-dominated societies. In Itami's view, motherhood is a form of ultimately sublimated femininity. It embodies unbounded love and strength to embrace a society suffering from the retreat of patriarchy. A gangster in a white suit who appears in the opening scene is a personification of the director: the patriarch of *Tampopo*. He acknowledges the presence of the audience behind the camera, stating that "Tampopo is his film" . "Tampopo" (literally, dandelion) refers not only to his film, but also to his heroine and his noodle shop. Tampopo's sexual identity as a mother is constructed by the needs of the patriarch. The close cultural connection between food and the female body is the main strain in Itami's representation of motherhood. The sequences in the hotel room and at the seaside are an imaginary journey by the gangster looking for a natural mother figure in order to provide the gratification of food and sex, similar to a baby being breast-fed. The closing shot of a little boy sucking his mother's breast and being nursed in her arms reinforces Itami's messages. His interpretations of traditions and modernity in the search for a new identity are tightly enmeshed in Japanese male fantasies of motherhood.

In contrast, in Park's view, motherhood is an ideological constraint suppressing women's lives, restraining her within repressive familial norms. To support this view², Park does not idolize the female body through male fantasies in this film³. Rather, he reveals his gaze and appears to confess his insensibility as the dominant sex. The detective, who is investigating the disappearance of the woman living in flat 302, is the director's other self. He visits the two women's flats. The camera shows him through a little hole in a door from the woman in flat 301's point of view and follows him entering

the other apartment. The initial camera movements suggest that the subjects of the camera's gaze are two women and the director reveals himself as the object of their gaze. In the end, the detective is informed of the secret of the woman who disappeared by the one left. One had killed the other according to the wish of the latter and had eaten her body. But the closing comment of the film leaves the audience with an open question: "So...is the two women's loneliness over?"

The titles of the two films imply the social identity of the three women. The two women in Park's film are referred to by their flat numbers, 301 and 302. In pre-modern Korea, patriarchal family relations defined a woman's social identity, such as somebody's daughter/wife/mother. These traditions still govern people's perceptions of women's identities, except in modern social spaces, such as in a hospital, police station or school. The woman in 301 is a middle class divorcee and the other in 302 makes a living writing for women's magazines. Despite their social and economic independence, their existence is not acknowledged by the existing familial society. Throughout the whole film, the camera completely isolates 301 and 302 from their society.

In contrast, Tampopo's sexuality as a mother secures her social identity. Her body is re-created by male desires. Her chef masters change the homely appearance of the middle-aged housewife into a glamorous, fashionable chef who would not be out of place in a trendy women's magazine. The refurbishing of her noodle bar is equated with beauty therapy for her body. As a symbolic gesture, they choose the name "Tampopo" for her newly opened noodle bar. When they remodel Tampopo's appearance and her noodle bar, they quietly leave the place like the heroes in a Western cowboy film. As suggested by choosing the name, dandelion, the ideal Japanese womanhood embodies both strength and femininity: a creative mixture of traditions and modernity (Schilling, 1999: 75)⁴.

The gist of Itami's representation of food is idolized motherhood: a traditional motherly figure wearing Western chef's clothes and serving Ramen, the Chinese origin noodle dish, signifies a newly constructed Japanese identity: their favorite dish. In this sense, Itami's motherhood is a modern project expressed in post-modern representations of food. It emphasizes the fact that the new Japanese identity is still firmly rooted in long-unuttered traditions.

The close cultural association between women and food inspires the creative imagination of many male filmmakers in depicting complicated power relations between the sexes. In “food films” made by male directors, the heroine often underpins adult sexuality with her extraordinary cooking skills, similar to a mother forming a love relationship with her child at the early oedipal “oral stage” . For example, in a Mexican magic realism film, *Water for Chocolate* (Alfonso Arun, 1996), a Vietnamese film, *The Scent of Green Papaya* (Anh Hung Tran, 1994), and recent French films, *Chocolat* (Lasse Haslstrom, 2001) and *Amelie* (Jean-Pierre Jeunet, 2002), the heroines enchant the world, which is full of misery, violence, hate or indifference among people, with the magic of food. Food in Ang Lee’ s films, *The Wedding Banquet* (1993) and *Eat Drink Man Woman* (1994), reveals unmentionable, underlying conflicts between parents and children and attempts to resolve them in a mutually acceptable manner.

On the other hand, male filmmakers’ representations of the female body always remain at the centre of feminist criticism (Laura Mulvey, 1975; Claire Johnston, 1976; Rey Chow 1995; Maggie Humm 1997). For example, Doane argues that “[c]inematic images of women have been so consistently oppressive and repressive” and the “filming of the female body constructs and maintains a hierarchy along the lines of a sexual difference assumed natural” (1988: 216 and 217). However, the conflicts between the filmmaking practices and feminist concerns are not only problems in the cinematic representations of female bodies by male directors. On the contrary, as Sarah Sceats argues, contemporary women writers’ use of food in representing women’ s images is also “problematic” . According to Sceats, contemporary women writers tend to depict the fact that “as anyone who has cooked for a family will know, nurturing may be experienced rather as an enslavement than as a power” (1996: 118).

Indeed, men substituted as food providers for families, such as the father in *Eat Drink Man Woman* or the son’ s American, gay partner in *The Wedding Banquet*, still discuss the significance of a mothering role in family relations. Despite the twisted representations of power relations within families, the food giving and receiving relationships confirm the cross-cultural significance of motherhood. Feeding, cooking, feasting and starving cannot be easily recognised in the absence of the notion of motherhood. In this sense, the provision of food can be problematic equally for women and men authors or directors. Neither women nor men can be easily freed from the prevailing cultural

norms of their society. Thus, as Doane argues, the images of women created by women cannot be exclusively “either for her or of her”, delivering the “real women’s voices” (1988: 216). However, this prevailing tendency in filmmaking practices can not erase attempts to challenge sexuality confined within male-dominated society.

Park’s self-reflective story on the cultural connection between food and women can attest to the feminist concerns of male filmmaking practices. He does not seek to restore the close relationship between women and food, disclosing the destructive aspects driving them to desires for death. The male subjectivity expressed in Park’s film implies the director’s scepticism of the myth of motherhood. For him, nurturing is not maternal empowerment. Food is domestic enslavement and a stigma for women. Food need not necessarily be made by the mother; equally sexual relations do not need to be bound to the institution of marriage. Food is seen to inhibit their quest for a new identity in a changing world.

In *301.302*, food is the metaphor of death to a woman who rejects motherhood. The woman in *301* obsessively cooks for her husband, but her husband is fed up with this. He stops talking to her, eating her food or having sexual relations with her. Her frustration results in an extreme eating disorder making her over-weight and losing “femininity” to accommodate the sexual desires of men. When she finds out about her husband’s affair, she cooks him his pet dog, the only object of love in their marriage. After their divorce, she moves next door to *302* where she finds a very gaunt, thin woman who re-imposes her desire to mother. The woman in *302*’s eating disorder is the refusal of sex. Food makes her vomit, as it invokes her revulsion of men’s bodies. It reminds her of the death of a little girl who was found dead in the fridge at her stepfather’s butcher shop. The fridge’s darkness gives her the impulsive desire to return to the pre-natal stage of birth, thus re-entering the womb of her alienated mother.

Cannibalism in Latin American literature is the dominant motif of “the cycle of death and resurrection symbolized by the devouring, absorption and transformations of invasive European cultures” (Macey, 2000:56). On the other hand, cannibalism in *301.302* is a metaphor for the two women’s recurrent desire to achieve the state of death⁵. Instead of eating “the dead bodies of their enemies in order to acquire their virtues and strength”, the woman in *301* kills the “surrogate child”, cooks it and serves it up to her husband. Cooking the dog is her symbolic revenge to thwart his virility. The

psychological cannibalism of the woman in 301 is accomplished in a concrete form when she discovers the secret of the woman in 302: the desire to disappear. Since the woman in 301 decides that the woman in 302 is the object of her desires, she first forces the latter to eat her food but the latter's body cannot stomach it. Their conflicts can only come to an end. The woman in 301 agrees to help the woman in 302 disappear. Cannibalism for them is the symbolic expression of denying men's proprietorship over a woman's body even after her death. Through the ritual of death, the two women set themselves free from male-dominated society and restore their identity in ultimate terms.

In comparison to Park, Itami's post-modern representation of food as a "collection of fragments" (Bruns, 1998:100) qualifies a woman as a great mother with "good breasts" (Seats, 1996:118). His representation of motherhood clearly envisions the feminist critique of male directors' use of the female body; "the ideas about the 'natural' female body or the female body and 'nature' are the linchpins of patriarchal ideology" (Doanne, 1988: 223). In the scene of the dying mother, serving the last family meal is the paragon of the self-sacrificing mother. Also, the scene in which a group of marriageable girls take western dining lessons at an Italian restaurant is an excellent parody of the way in which the director creates an ideal womanhood through the synthesis of traditions and notions of foreignness. On the other hand, the old woman in the late shop scene, who feels the softness of the cheese, French bread and peaches, provides a perverted image of "good breasts". When squeezing the various foods and fruits, it is as if she is missing her soft, youthful breasts. It is a mirror image of a woman who has lost her femininity and reproductive capability.

Mythologies of Mother in *Farewell My Darling* and *The Funeral*

The first-person narrative structure of the two films gives a very similar effect to a Brechtian alienation effect. The presence of narrators helps the audience to keep a certain emotional distance from what occurs on the screen. Through this cinematic device, the directors seek to reveal male subjectivity in reconstructing motherhood as a myth of contemporary Japan and Korea. The comic representations of the commercialization of traditions lampoon the creation of a new Japanese/Korean identity as shown in their consumption of cultural products according to the instruction

of the manufacturers. In the film, the people are not only the passive agents of consumption but also the object of the commodity and of materialistic fetishism. On behalf of consumers, the two directors appear to look for a motherly figure, who can nourish them with fantasies of nature.

In *The Funeral*, the scene of the videocassette, *ABC for a Funeral*, parodies the absurdity of contemporary Japanese life: traditions are only comprehensible through the instruction of modernity. Thus, tradition becomes “foreignness,” and modernity is “familiarity” . In this scene, the narrator, Wabisake, and his wife, Chizuko, both of whom are acting professionally, practice their expected roles at the funeral, learning the performances recorded on the video-tape. Also, the professional management of the funeral by Satomi, who is the manager of the couple, and the funeral service man, Ebihara, are a satire on ready-made traditions as a cultural commodity. The scenes suggest that the Japanese cannot perform traditional ceremonies without reference to a detailed manual and professional advice.

On the other hand, the subjectivity in questioning contemporary Korean identity with Park’s film seems to be more convincing in revealing his sense of moral responsibility as the dominant sex. In the film, the narration starts in Park’s voice: “Now I am going to attend my father’s funeral, and the camera situated in my mind starts to roll.” Park starred in the narrator’s role⁶. In their personalized story documenting his father’s death, his privilege as a director in pursuing male voyeurism and the fetishism of the female body is disqualified. The camera captures his emasculated images as the new patriarch, who was told to cede the role of the chief mourner at the funeral because of his long absence from the village. Moreover, he is humiliated by the villagers because of the improper manners of his wife and daughters at funeral.

The death of the father in *Farewell My Darling* and *The Funeral* means the demise of traditional patriarchy. Traditionally, a funeral was a symbolic process announcing the power transfer from the deceased to his heir. It not only generates the authority of the patriarch, but also secures the family proprietorship. The authority of the new patriarch is re-affirmed by the patrilineal ancestor worship ceremonies passed down through the generations (Park, 1996: 57). However, the authority of the patriarch represented in both films is already dismissed as social and economic incompetence. In Park’s film, the eldest son is estranged from his family relations. In Itami’s film, the family line of the deceased

is extinguished due to the absence of an heir. The representation of funeral rites in both films is a dramatic device to dispute the validity of traditions in constructing a new identity⁷.

Motherhood is the main prop of their criticism of the repressive and exploitative power relationships within families. Park and Itami question the prevailing norms of society that take for granted suffering as a natural part of motherhood. "Why is it at my house?" , "What are the funeral expenses?" , "Him...my father?...". The initial response of Wabisuke, narrator of *The Funeral*, on the news of his father-in-law's death is that of indifference. However, his refusal is immediately negated by the feminine spells of his wife, tears and a childlike face asking for his help. The father-in-law lived in the eldest son-in-law's old country house as his retirement home. The father was the passive recipient of care by his "filial" children. Wabisuke's apathy about the funeral implies his skepticism about traditions emphasizing moral engagement in family affairs. Therefore, the actor, Wabisuke, takes the main role at the funeral, performing in front of the camera. His colleague, director Aoki, volunteers to document the event. And Wabisuke's professional concerns lead him to appreciate the significance of a family bound by the nutrition and care of women. Through the emotional transformation of the narrator, *The Funeral* tends to suggest that the family is emblematic of reconstructing new identities in a contemporary Japan in danger of being de-masculinized.

Male subjectivity in mystifying motherhood and fantasizing a female body reveals the contradictory needs of the patriarch regarding the female body. The father's images represented in the opening scene correspond to this idea of the director. In the opening scene, the father drinks *sake* (traditional Japanese spirits), wishing a long life with his young mistresses. He is never concerned about his wife's feelings. Marriage secures female caring and nurturing for him, but her existence has gone unnoticed. The stingy husband picks up eels, ham and avocado on the way home after a health check at the hospital. The tightly packaged fresh soft meat signifies his unceasing appetite and sexual desire. Putting them in his mouth, he recalls the memory of the girls at the brothel he ran in Singapore during the war. He even named his daughter Chizuko after one of his mistresses. However, he cannot finish the dishes: his body becomes too weak to satisfy his appetite. He leaves the dinner table to go to bed and soon dies. A long life with young mistresses is his final wish. Yet, his wife regrets not sharing his death with

him and vows to live the rest of her life with the memory of her late husband. This is an idealised womanhood, which Itami wants to reconstruct in an attempt to address the significance of traditional family values.

The “mother-complex” of the narrator as a family head arises with the news of the father’ s death. The old father cannot perform his masculine role. Similar, to the old father, the middle-aged narrator also shows a lack of masculine power. The studio scene reveals his own emasculated image as the patriarch. In that scene, the narrator and his wife are wearing kimono (traditional Japanese attire) and doing a TV commercial. A giant geisha (courtesan) and a male dwarf are at a tea ceremony. The image of a large woman and a miniature male is a parody of gender relations in contemporary Japan (Schilling, 1999: 75).

The reversed power relationship between the sexes reappears later in the film, reinforcing the ideas of idealised womanhood. In the woodland scene, the narrator is seduced by his mistress against his will. This scene is continuously cut by the swing scene, in which Chizuko idly rocks rhythmically on a swing. The sounds of the love-making in the woods, and the peaceful image of Chizuko on the penis-shaped swing create an extraordinary image of the beauty of a woman who stands aloof from noisy, worldly affairs. With nature as the open backdrop, the close-up of Chizuko’ s long, white neck emerging out of her black kimono with the traditional hairdo from the back signifies the fetishism of the female body in Japanese cinematic language and art traditions. At the same time, her dignified image expresses the ideal womanhood constructed by contemporary Japanese men, who search for women wise enough to embrace both the impotent and the unfaithful patriarch with unbounded loyalty and forgiveness⁸. On the other hand, Wabisuke’ s initial resistance against Saito’ s seduction suggests his attempt to retain patriarchal authority and his refusal to retreat into an infantile stage which is governed only by primal desire⁹.

The attributes of motherhood, nurturing and caring for the family, are crucial in Itami’ s representations of female sexuality. With regard to the depictions of the funeral as a performance, his ideas of tradition may be “emptiness”¹⁰. However, Itami’ s view of contemporary Japanese identity is clearly marked by the presence of traditions in post-industrialized Japan. It addresses the values of family and traditions in isolating individuals in urban settings. The notion of motherhood to save the “face” of the

patriarch and restore his authority as family head provides definite moral tones to this sophisticated comedy. As in Tampopo' s dining scene at Tampopo' s house, Wabisuke' s Tokyo house scene in *The Funeral* conveys the director' s deep concerns regarding the absent father in contemporary Japanese family life¹¹. In this scene, Chizuko overhears Wabisuke tell the children about their grandfather' s death in a warm but firm voice. This scene informs us very well about Itami' s idea regarding the restoration of a father' s authority led by the wife' s supporting role. The post-funeral scene also confirms this message; the mother-in-law volunteers for a speech, insisting she is "the next of kin." Through her strong image, the authority of the late father appears to be reanimated. The last scene, in which Wabisuke and Chizuko are waving to the people and holding hands, graphically expresses this verbal message of the director about strong marital bonds. In this way, Itami attempts to qualify traditions as the essence of the creation of new identities in contemporary Japan.

The motif of a father' s death in *Farewell My Darling* is used to feature devastating, complex family problems in the violent clash between tradition and modernity. The death of the father is the backdrop of the director' s self-reflective report on contemporary, conflict-ridden Korean family history¹². Despite the detached voice of the narrator in documenting the whole event, the subjective camera position reveals the strong emotional bond of the director to his mother. In the eyes of her beloved son, the mother is a victim of traditional familial ideals. Her whole life has been stigmatized as a family accessory and social outcast, concealed under the shadow of the patriarch. The conflicts and recent expectations of a society undergoing radical changes fail to dislodge the repressive familial norms depriving individuals of autonomy in their lives. The motherhood reconstructed by Park in this film conveys the idea that the identity question in South Korea in the late 1990s was still at a confusing stage rather than suggesting a creative articulation between familiarity and foreignness, unlike in Itami' s work.

The Confucian gender segregation rules in conducting the family ritual succinctly express the ways in which new ideas, such as freedom, equality and individualism, create conflicts and tensions between people. Women are supposed to provide labor, preparing for the banquet. Only men eat and drink. Women are also not allowed to serve at the altar or enter into the men' s space. In the film, the position of the camera

is initially identified with the narrator's gaze directed on the funeral site strictly divided into men's and women's worlds. This voyeuristic gaze conveys curiosity and pleasure. But this gaze is soon frozen on the mother who is in despair, helplessly observing the men's room at a distance. However, Park's emotional identification with her position does not go beyond sympathy for her. He does not berate traditions for devaluing the existence of women as mere family accessories because he cannot admit that his own mother's whole life has been meaningless. Instead, by separating the camera view from his own and situating it within the audience's view, on the screen Park appears to communicate the failure to demystify motherhood.

Park's representation of female identity and sexuality is confusing and contradictory. His "intended" ambivalence in featuring traditions is manifest in the opening scene and closing shot¹³. In the opening scene, the father sees his unborn grandson in his dream. His cherished dream of a successor to the family line is accomplished by the second daughter-in-law, but only in his daydream. She represents the "good breasts". Instead of resisting the controlling power regulating her sexuality and gender identity, she functions as a "docile body" attached to the power of the patriarchy. However, the last shot of the post-birth situation shatters her mythic image. When the director gives the sign, "Cut! Thank you", the shot is frozen, and the skilful actress reveals her real identity; the male fantasy returns to reality. Reality remains a power struggle between suppression and resistance.

On the other hand, the images of the "bad breasts" are problematic rather than confusing. Chansuk, the narrator's wife is working at a bar. She is a breadwinner and a self-employed business woman, her heavy makeup and profession working at a bar are used as props for the characterization of a "corrupted" woman. The bar girls attending the funeral and the sister-in-law of the deceased, who is the daughter's age of her rich husband, having sexual relations with a photographer behind the funeral site, are ubiquitous sisters of the eldest daughter-in-law. "Immoral" or "undesirable" relations with men are the common motif in identifying these "sisters." However, the representations of the corrupted woman reveal the director's dilemma. He cannot avoid casting a cold eye on his own wife, while embracing other "corrupted" women's antics. This is the fundamental contradiction in this familial society, the patriarch seems to be ready to accept the freedom and equality of women at the societal level but not yet

in his private domain. The hypocritical nature of social norms reinforced by bourgeois familial ideology in capitalist society only allows women's entrance into a man's world in so far as mourners are desperate to survive as social outcasts. The red lipstick, which the narrator's wife drops in the soup on the men's table, symbolizes women's isolation and aborted rebellion in familial society.

Creating a New Identity for a New Society

Film often presents a female body as a metaphor of larger social problems (Douglas, 1975). Associated with food, women's bodies, as providers, signify the object of basic human instincts and/or the sexual desires of men. Food is a universal symbol for the identification of human relations in changing societies amongst changing cultural values. Also, it plays a significant role in the deliberations of people upon their own identities in relation to others. The power of food is a "symbol of self-identity [which] derives from the particular nature of the symbolic process involved" (Ohmuki-Tierny, 1996: 169). The female body in the absence of mothering powers invites male sadistic sexual desire and frustrates masculine gender identity in ultimate terms.

The striking similarities in using food and the female body as a metaphor for the perplexity of human relations and repressed sexual desires are the prime references for this cross cultural analysis of the different representations of tradition and modernity in the four films. The comparative study of Park and Itami's work confirms that Park's films attempt to offer a serious cinematic critique regarding the repressive aspects of society's ideals pertaining to repressive familial relationships and women's inferiority. In comparison, Itami's internationally acclaimed films seem to be concerned with the voyeuristic pleasure of women's bodies or with the amusing behavior of the various characters in confused states, who desperately seek to position themselves as "deserving" members of various social institutions, including the family.

The two directors' representations of the co-existence of tradition and modernity in contemporary Japan and Korea can be summarized as follows. First of all, a comparative study conveys the different positionality of Korea and Japan in interpreting the past in reference to the changing needs of the people and their cultural norms. As Jan Vansina argues, "tradition is a process; it lives only while it changes" (1990: 251; Ohmuki-Tierny 1996: 169). Despite the ten-year gap between the films and the different paths

of modernization between the two societies, these two directors communicate the unresolved tensions between familiarity and foreignness in the creation of self-identity in their respective societies. However, Park's representations of transitional identity in contemporary Korea express the dynamics of a society experiencing chaos due to the violent encounter between long-standing cultural traditions and radical social transformations under foreign influences. On the other hand, Itami seems to suggest a more stabilized form of new identity in contemporary Japan, which is still adapting to the needs of the present society.

The specific ways in which Itami and Park project food and female bodies on the screen can be understood in the context of the conjunction of each of their own society's cultural traditions and foreign influences. Set against the heroines' struggles to satisfy or reject the "esteemed" roles lavished on them by male fetishism, the four films show the various types of traditional and western food, and table manners and conversations at the table. Through the food and eating scenes, they convey the changing perceptions, confusion and unstable psychological state of people in transition.

Note

¹This study [A Comparative Cross-cultural Study of Four Thematically Related Japanese and Korean Films'] was supported by the Asia Research Fund.

²Park emphasized that the family is an unavoidable restraint on individuals in contemporary life and in particular for women. As such it could be considered as a strong instrument of repression in itself (I interviewed the director in Tokyo in Summer 2001.)

³The very skillful makeup and their black and white contrasting attire transform the beautiful actresses into two grotesque characters: one is obese and the other is a pathetic gaunt figure.

⁴Itami stated that "the main female character is strong...—in nearly all of my films in fact *Tampopo* was an exception—a Western parody. It wasn't really about Japan at all" (Schilling 1999: 75). However as discussed here *Tampopo* also features a strong woman character who can transform herself in response to the demands of society. In this way traditions are recreated as the result of Western influences.

⁵Kim Kiduk's *Address Unknown* (2001) uses the motif of cannibalism in a similar way. The U.S. camp town prostitute eats her mixed blood son's body after he killed himself in despair at the total rejection of his existence in South Korea's racist society.

⁶In *The Funeral* the narrator's role is played by Tsutomu Miyazaki. However Itami was also a well-known actor. Itami and the heroine (Nobuko Miyamoto) were married with two sons as featured in the film.

⁷According to Choi Joon-sik "burial customs or funeral laws are always very exclusive and

conservative and therefore almost never receptive to outside influences" (Choi, 1996). If we accept this argument both directors' representations of the funerals are chaotic and the evident confusion can dramatically communicate the seriousness of the clash between tradition and foreign influences in people's daily lives.

⁸In his 1997 suicide note he claimed that only through his death would he be able to prove his innocence regarding an alleged extramarital affair. The scene of Wabisuke's affair offers an interesting parallel to Itami's own alleged involvement especially when discussing levels of subjectivity as reconstructed in his films.

⁹For example, there are: the love scenes and the last credit scene in *Tempo* and the nursing scene in *A Taxing Woman* (1987). In the latter an old man is offered a nurse's breast to suckle.

¹⁰Heel, Beth (1998), "The Funeral" available at <http://students.haverford.edu/east/east260/projects/funeral.html> [2 September 2002].

¹¹Also in *A Taxing Woman* the tax evader sees the heroine's (the taxing woman) beauty through her caring for his son and proposes to her although the "threatening" divorce is always in loose trousers with a short hair cut and neglects her own son. For details see Eric Williams and Lawrence F. Glatz (1993).

¹²Just as Itami made *The Funeral* after his father-in-law's death so Park made *Farewell My Darling* inspired by the death of his own father. Despite the similar motives of the filmmakers, Park's representations seem to be more emotional and subjective in this respect. As the heir of the deceased, Park cannot maintain a third person's position since Confucian social norms exclusively identify the head and extent of a family. In legal terms a married woman belongs to her husband's family but a married man does not have any obligation to his family-in-law.

¹³Apart from the opening scene and the closing shot as well as his frequent appearance directing on the screen, the director also created uneven effects in order to disturb the audience's identification with the characters. He deliberately mixed the nonsensical comic representation of the behavior of the people at the funeral, the documentary style filmmaking for the formal funeral rites and conventional story telling for the family's hidden history. For example, the scene of the first meeting between the mother and her estranged daughter starkly reminds the audience of a typical scene in a 1970s TV family melodrama. It greatly exaggerates the drama in order to play on the audience's feelings, but at the same time it is comical since it is obviously overdone. In an interview with the researcher, Park recalled that in the particular scene he asked his crew to create such a mood, using sad background music, long with slow motion, and typical melodramatic performances from the actresses. (Summer, 2000, in Seoul)

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韓国での性とセクシュアリティ表象について イ・ヒャンジン

本論は日本と韓国映画を文化交差的に分析し、ジェンダー表象の特徴の共通点と差異を見出そうとするものである。日韓映画の比較は、その緊密な歴史的関係ゆえに非常に意味深い。特に、儒教的な文化伝統、外圧による急速な西洋化、国家主導の近代化などの共通点が、これらの映画言説がおかれるコンテクストを共に構成している。本論が扱う四本の映画は、伝統的な共同体中心の人間関係と、「西洋的」な理想とのはざままで、矛盾を抱え、おかしな行動に走る普通の人々を描いたナンセンスコメディ、伊丹十三の『お葬式』（1984年）と『タンポポ』（1986年）、パク・チョルスの『Farewell, My Darling』と『301,302』である。この四作品に見える日韓社会のアイデンティティーの危機について扱いながら、これらの映画で男性の視点から表象される、女性のセクシュアリティと役割の対立に焦点を当てる。日韓の映画の伝統に展開される家族ドラマを、クリエイティブに実験的に表現した伊丹とパクは、共に食べ物を象徴的に用い、また男女間の空間的分断を強調する。描かれる女性像の多様性は、家父長制が伝統と近代社会の理想の間に揺れ動き、求めるものも相互矛盾を引き起こしていることを示している。特に食物とセクシュアリティ規範を組み合わせたモチーフは、ポストコロニアル時代の人々の経験の特異性と、変化に対応しようともがく姿を表現するために用いられている。

Naming the Unspeakable: Representing Rape in Thai Literature **Chutima Pragatwutisarn**

Rape is one of the most under-represented crimes in Thai society. Silence about rape is mainly caused by the cultural norms that stigmatize women and blame them for the assaults. In her content analysis of rape news circulating in Thai society, Suwannee Kalayanasant (1993) finds that:

The media constructs either the eccentric behavior of the rapists or the tempting rape victims as the motives for rape. In addition, the media constructs the location of the rape with the atmosphere of darkness and isolation. This representation of rape by the media reinforces the patriarchal ideology that restricts women to the domestic sphere and to the traditional roles of wife and mother.

Similarly, Juree Vichit-Vadakan (1999) notes how the propensity towards sexual violence amongst the public is exacerbated by the media that normalize its threatening effects. In her discussion of the rape scenes in Thai soap operas, Juree states that the rape of the heroine usually occurs when the hero is in a drunken state. The heroine as a victim of rape feels anger and hostility towards the hero only to find herself gradually falling in love with the man who raped her. "This theme," says Juree, "seems to absolve the wrong-doing of rape, almost as if drunkenness is an excuse for sexual misconduct and that rape motivated by love is excusable. It also seems to imply that rape victims could learn to love their assailants" (p. 198). The representation of rape by the media reinforces the rape myths that large segments of Thai society widely endorse. Under such circumstances, the disclosure of rape becomes a difficult task the victim must face as she struggles to articulate her experience.

Self-inflicted silence is the response of many women to the violence they experience. Women's stories of sexual abuse reveal the paradoxical nature of the representation of trauma. As Brenda Daly (1998), an incest victim, reports:

The poisonous lesson of my childhood was that I could speak, I even could cry out, but no one would hear me, no one would listen. In what sense, then, did I possess language? What was the point of speaking and writing if no one listened? At the same time, I wanted more than anything else, to be heard and believed. (p. 5)

Victims are torn between a strong desire to tell their stories and an equal impulse to conceal them. They realize that their traumatic experience is unspeakable, resistant to, and yet dependent on, narrativity. Their narrative structures reflect the process that Harvard psychiatrist Judith Herman (1992) describes as “the conflict between the will to deny horrible events and the will to proclaim them aloud... People who have survived atrocities often tell their stories in a highly emotional, contradictory, and fragmented manner which determines their credibility and thereby serves the twin imperatives of truth-telling and secrecy” (p. 1). In contrast with scholars and academic researchers who easily turn rape into a topic of discussion, those who have direct experience of rape have difficulty recalling their traumatic past, and many avoid talking about it altogether.

Also, when rape is committed by family members, it is closely guarded as a family secret. According to Juree, Thai women from the upper classes may avoid sexual violence caused by non-family members more easily than their middle and lower class sisters. “However,” says Juree, “sexual assault and rape within the family and among acquaintances do occur among upper socioeconomic classes in Thailand as they also happen in other countries. But to preserve family honour and stature in society, such events tend not to be made public but are dealt with through internal mediation and negotiation” (p. 186). Denying that rape could have occurred in the family helps those in the upper class “keep face” in society at the expense of the rape victims. Moreover, since the family is considered the most important social unit in one’s life and since children have been taught to obey their parents, many abuse victims, feeling themselves responsible for breaking up the family, refuse to report their assaults to the police.

Many point out how breaking the silence is an act of self-empowerment for abuse victims. As Susan D. Rose (1999) argues,

In the process of breaking silence, survivors are not only finding their own voices; they also are collectively creating new narratives that challenge the individual and collective denial of abuse and the reproduction of violence. In dialogue with others who can bear witness, survivors are redefining the experiences that once rendered them powerless” (p. 165).

For the abuse victims to break this silence, it is not simply a matter of articulating their experience. Victims recounting their own stories challenge the cultural myths about sexual abuse and begin the process of recovery. Others, however, show how breaking the silence involves risk as well as promise. As psychiatrist Dori Laub (1992) explains, “If one talks about the trauma without being truly heard or truly listened to, the telling might itself be lived as a return of the trauma—a re-experiencing of the event itself” (p. 67). The ‘truth’ about the abuse is complex. It is not easily told and, when hesitantly articulated, it may include silences and gaps that are open to misinterpretation by listeners. Linda Alcoff and Laura Gray-Rosendale (1996) cite the case of TV talk shows to illustrate how the victims’ resistance is eradicated from their discourse in public recounting which involves the host directing the guests’ narratives and experts interpreting the narratives for the audience.

It is the danger and promise of speaking out that I want to explore in this paper. Democratization and women’ s activism are two important factors that raise awareness of women’ s issues in Thai society, including sexual violence against women and other minority groups¹. There is an increasing number of literary works dealing with the issues of sexual violence. However, one of the dangers emerging from the breaking of silence in the public sphere is that there is a tendency to read the stories of abuse victims as an “authentic” account—one that records the triumph of the abuse victims over repression. Therefore, freedom and expression are placed in opposition to politics and repression. However, as Michel Foucault (1990) reminds us, speaking is not always liberating and the proliferation of sexual narratives is also an effect of power. In his critique of what he calls “repressive hypothesis,” Foucault says,

Sexuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually

to uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct: not a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface of network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledges, the strengthening of controls and resistances, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power. (pp. 105-06)

In this sense, the emerging voices of abuse victims are not in opposition to repression but are embedded in the discursive flow of power; they should be understood as effects of negotiations. The rape victims when telling their stories are using discourses available in the dominant culture to construct their experiences. Ken Plummer (1997) says, "Rape is always historically and culturally specific, and how it is understood depends upon the framework of storytelling" (p. 63). I have selected two novels, *On the Mouth of the World* (2003) and *Behind a Cloud-Patterned Screen* (2002), to discuss how rape is represented in a Thai literary context and how knowledge about rape produced in these texts is caught within power relations. The issue here is not to define women's stories of sexual abuse as an expression of truth but to understand the relation of production and consumption which frames them for us.

On the Mouth of the World, written by SEA Write award-winner Anchan², is Jon's personal narrative about Ang, his lover. In the opening paragraph, Jon asks the reader to bear witness to his account about Ang whose story may inspire in them unknown and unidentifiable feelings. Jon begins his narrative with a depiction of Ang as a young, beautiful, upper class woman who flaunts her sexuality and has affairs with countless men. Unlike Ang, Jon presents himself as innocent and inexperienced. In his account, Ang is the one who introduces herself to him and finally seduces him. Upon discovering that Ang is pregnant after one of her affairs, Jon offers to marry her and adopt her fatherless child. Ang rejects Jon's offer and reveals a secret: her past sexual encounters with her stepfather, her grandmother's driver and her school teacher. In her account, Ang presents herself as the seducer instead of the seduced. Ang's final confession details her seduction of Jon. After listening to Ang's story, Jon decides to leave her. He meets another woman and then marries her after learning of Ang's tragic death. Unable

to forget her, Jon names his new born daughter “Ang” in memory of the woman he loved most.

Jon is not only a narrator but also an interpreter of Ang’ s story. His narrative focuses on Ang’ s physical appearance: “Besides her beautiful name, Ang possesses an unforgettable beauty. Her face is oval, her nose is high, her cheeks are full, her eyebrows and chin fit in with the other features on her face” (p. 14). However, he finds that there is something sinister about Ang’ s beauty. Her eyes, Jon warns us, “are molded not from sweet honey but from the boiling water of melted iron” (p. 15). Encountering this ambiguity, Jon splits her into the stereotyped opposition of good girl / bad girl. In Jon’ s imagination, Ang appears to be an innocent girl when Jon desires her:

Ang is standing humbly, wearing a shirt and a cream color long skirt. She looks like a sweet, lovely girl…with rosy radiant cheeks…holding a pure white rose… That day I became a greedy pig devouring its food although Ang surrendered her body to fulfill my hunger. (p. 55)

However, the image of an ogress substitutes for the image of a naïve girl when Ang expresses her excessive sexual desire:

We are attracted to each other again. But this time it is Ang who is the initiator. She stripped me off naked and pushed me to lie down on the bed and have sex with me…As I lay down looking deep into her eyes, I felt shocked because it seemed that through those mirrors I saw an ogress smiling back with its watery mouth before jumping out to devour my flesh and blood—an image that caused my hair to stand up suddenly. (p. 68)

Jon’ s depiction of Ang reflects the traditional Thai belief that a good woman has no sexual appetites. While it is possible for Thai men to boast about their sexual adventures, women are forbidden to speak about sex or to express their sexual feelings. Those who violate these norms are highly stigmatized and are frequently discussed in

terms of disgust and abhorrence. As a result, when Ang expresses herself as sexually active, she is compared to an ogress who devours food disgustingly.

Though the story ends with Jon' s abandonment of his lover and her tragic death, the ending is justified by narrative devices that support the reader' s identification with the male protagonist. Jon reads Ang' s confession as an expression of truth rather than paying attention to the contradictions embedded in her account. For Jon, Ang reveals through her narrative the truth of who she is: a whore, an ogress, a seducer. Since its focus is on the dark force of Ang' s sexual desire and seduction, Jon' s reading denies the reader an interpretation of childhood abuse that might otherwise be denoted. Jon consequently allies himself with those who, he believes, were seduced by Ang, and sympathizes with them:

I think of her stepfather, her grandmother' s driver, her female schoolteacher, hundreds of Ang' s lovers including me...Each of them will know very well as I did that those eyes have the power to turn a man into an animal. No matter where or when they find themselves, each knows very well that neither a god nor any sacred being can save them for even a single moment when left with the person who possesses those eyes (p. 152).

Though Jon reveals a moment of his doubt about Ang' s stories, he quickly dismisses it. By reading Ang' s story as one of her sexual desire, Jon also claims his own innocence. After all, like others, he is a sympathetic victim of seduction.

Jon' s narrative demonstrates what happens to the heroine when she transgresses sexually. Ang was found dead and her body bears the evidence of rape and torture. Her death is a logical end to the patriarchal plot in which a fallen woman has only two choices: redemption or death. In Ang' s case, she has fallen and does not repent her sin. She rejects the bond of marriage Jon offers and insists on writing her own plot. Since Ang is beyond redemption, she logically deserves a violent death at the end. Thus, what the narrative highlights is not Ang' s pain but rather Jon' s pain and suffering from the loss of his lover. However, his loss is redeemed at the end by having Ang return to him in the image of an innocent child. Jon' s narrative is brought to a satisfactory closure by the violent erasure of the woman' s story and her body. Not only is her death

appropriated as a warning for transgression and punishment; it also serves another purpose of Jon's narrative in maintaining what Kathleen Rowe Karlyn (2004) calls "core beliefs about the benevolence of patriarchy, the sanctity of the family, and the tradition of romantic love," which is often invoked to defend sexual abuse (p.76).

The recovery of woman's story and the world of the rape survivor

Although Ang's voices are heard in the narrative, it is Jon who is the author and interpreter of her story. Reading Ang from a masculine point of view, Jon misrepresents her as a woman whose perverted sexual desire causes her violent death. Thus, the tragedy of the story is not Jon's loss of his beloved but his failure to recognize a woman's story and consequently his inability to understand Ang. Maria Lugones (1994) uses the term "world' -traveling" as a metaphor for the production of knowledge that implicates both self and other. For Lugones, to know the other, it is imperative that we leave our world and meet them in their own contexts. Lugones' 'world' -traveling is a critique of what she calls "arrogant perception" —an act of attempting to "graft" the others' substance onto one's own without "the possibility of identification" (p. 128). Like an arrogant observer, Jon "grafts" Ang's story onto his own but his inclination is to reinforce his privileged status, rather than provide himself with an occasion to question his masculinity.

Since Ang's story is embedded in Jon's, to listen to her voice it becomes necessary that we approach Ang's story from the other side. This can be done by re-reading Jon's account of her story from the woman's point of view in order to uncover what has been buried or silenced that makes Jon's narrative possible in the first place. When re-read from the other side, that which appears to Jon as insignificant and irrelevant now takes on significant meanings. One of the recurrent images in Ang's account is the presence of a mysterious world. In a dream she told Jon, Ang discovers herself in a strangely familiar world where everything exists in opposition to the real world like images in a negative film. Ang discovered this world when she was young and lived abroad in her stepfather's house. At a party held by a neighbor for Cathy, a girl who was killed in an accident, everyone brings a green balloon because Cathy's mother believes that her daughter is not yet dead but lost in another world. When the green balloons with the birthday cards reach that world, they will turn red. The presence of the other world in

opposition to the real one fascinates Ang and she dreams of the balloons taking her away to this other world. Ang discovers that she herself can create that world when she builds a snow palace on the beach one winter' s day:

The image of the palace on the snow covered beach amid the bellowing sound of the waves arouses my feeling of wonderment. The image looks like a scene in an absurd drama where objects are out of place and contradictory. At that moment, I knew that the green balloon brought me here...on the mouth of the earth where the palace is made of snow instead of sand, where the sunlight is black while the shadow is white...From that day on, the balloon takes me along to wherever it floats ... It takes me to a place unknown to the rest of the world. Why is this possible? Because that place exists in the dark recesses of my mind" (pp. 105-06).

Ang' s escape to "a place unknown to the rest of the world" is associated with the trauma of childhood abuse. Her confession includes a scene in which she describes her first sexual encounter with her stepfather:

I saw myself climbing the curve of painful feeling until I reached the highest point in the sky and saw a bunch of balloons within my reach. At that moment, pain split my body apart...and I thought the last minute of my life was approaching. Then, in that last minute, I would lose the balloons I was looking for. Realizing this, I struggled to grasp the balloons before I ran out of breath and saw that they gradually changed their color. ...Then, a new feeling enveloped me... This feeling was an intense as the pain that had spread all over my body. But I began to forget most of the pain and remembered only the new feeling which was so arousing that I could not stop myself crying out" (pp. 127-28).

Although Ang does not define her experience as rape, it is clear that the experience is one shared by many rape victims. Susan D. Rose (1999) uses the term "dissociation" to describe how victims of sexual abuse seek safety by transcending their body.

Dissociation, which gives rise to a form of temporary transcendence, is one of the major defense mechanisms resorted to by traumatized children. The mind or spirit leaves the body and the child may come to feel no pain, may leave the scene entirely, neither experiencing the abuse at the time nor remember it afterwards. The escape from the self—from what is being done to the self—creates a safe space, a retreat. It may be temporary or longerlasting, depending on the severity and frequency of abuse. (p. 167)

Ang' s response to extreme fear and near-death experience can be seen as dissociation. The dream-like quality of her experience results from her being so violated that she psychologically escapes in order to avoid destruction. Her focus not on rape, not on her body, but on the outside—the other world where everything is opposite to what is perceived as reality, might be seen as her effort to protect herself in the midst of pain.

Ang' s secret world unknown to the rest of the world is shared by many raped women. Rape is a world-shattering experience because it brings not only pain and suffering to the victims but also changes their perception of reality. The abuse victim often discovers that the father the protector is also an attacker. Similarly, home as a place of comfort and protection often becomes a venue for violence. When taking into account the presence of the other world, the re-reading of Ang' s story discloses the stark reality of sexual abuse embedded in Jon' s account of her story as one of her own sexual desire. In other words, hidden behind Ang' s fantasy of seduction is the traumatic story of a helpless child unable to escape from sexual violence.

How, then, to make sense of Ang' s seduction fantasy? The scenario she narrates to Jon with great pleasure contrasts sharply with the reality of sexual violence. Ang wants to tell Jon what happened to her in the past, yet in her confession, she instead recounts a story in which she becomes an agent of seduction. The contradiction in Ang' s story is a result of the struggle of the abuse victim for self-expression in the context of the production and reception of women' s accounts of sexual abuse. One aspect of the struggle in women' s abuse narratives was their resistance to positioning themselves as passive victims. Avoidance of victim status is reflected in their refusal to label themselves as abuse victims and their experience as abusive (see, i.g. Hesford,

1999; Hooks, 1989). By narrating an account in which she is seductive, Ang is able to challenge those who are looking for a story of female victimhood in order to reinforce the stereotypes of female powerlessness.

However, her reversal strategy is still limited because it maintains her resistance within the confines of patriarchal ideologies. Moreover, her denial of abuse makes invisible the problem of sexual violence against women. If exploring the darkness in order to claim the part she left behind as a child is for abuse victims “a strategy—a therapy—for emotional, spiritual, and cognitive survival” (Daly, p. 42), any hope of healing for Ang is also denied. In rejecting the vulnerable and violated part of her self, Ang assumes the role of the abuser. Though she pretends not to be affected by the abuse, she does in fact suffer from post traumatic symptoms including nightmares and sleeplessness, risky sexual behavior, risk taking and suicidal impulses, and promiscuity. Ang’s death is not an outcome of her perverted sexual desire but of her self-denial and inability to heal.

My discussion of Anchan’s novel shows how the politics of representation affects the telling of sexual stories. Here, Ang’s story of sexual abuse is subjected to misreading and to appropriation by Jon, the male narrator, for self-constitution. In this section, I want to turn to a discussion of *Behind a Cloud-Patterned Screen*, a novel by contemporary female writer Piyaporn Sakasem³. Unlike Anchan’s novel, Piyaporn’s work focuses on the issue of rape from the perspectives of female characters who are abuse victims and from an omniscient narrator who sympathizes with them. Thus, Piyaporn presents the heroine of the novel as a character in her own right rather than a product of the male narrator’s imagination as the reader finds with Ang. Despite the author’s concern about sexual violence as a serious issue and her sympathy for abuse victims, her representation of sexual violence is still problematic. By prioritizing gender over other categories, the author subsumes differences among rape victims under the bond of female relationships and their shared experience of sexual vulnerability.

Behind a Cloud-Patterned Screen is the story of a pure, innocent, beautiful and young woman called Fah. Because her parents died when she was still young, Fah was raised by her grandparents, Doctor Jit and Val, and grew up in the highly protective home of an upper middle class family. Fah appears to be the perfect woman many men have dreamed of. After she graduates, her grandparents make arrangements for her to marry

an eligible young man, Kris. However, Fah shuns Kris' s sexual advances and runs away on their wedding night. A subsequent investigation of her strange behavior reveals the dark reality of sexual abuse hidden behind her facade of perfect purity.

Through the voices of her female characters, Piyaporn criticizes the rape myths that distort the reality of sexual violence. She emphasizes that women of all classes and all types of personalities are vulnerable to sexual violence. As she makes one of her female characters say,

What culture has informed us about rape is definitely not true. Rape can happen at any time and in all circumstances and social classes. Not a single woman may settle comfortably with the belief that rape will never happen to her in her lifetime. ... Not a single woman, no matter what circumstance she finds herself in, will be confident about her own safety as long as she is living in the world of different sexes!" (p. 266).

The author' s conviction that rape is an imminent danger that can happen to anyone at any time is reflected in her decision to present the heroine in the novel as a rape victim and to interweave the heroine' s story with the stories of other female characters who also share the experience of sexual abuse.

In the story' s main narrative, the author explores how patriarchal, familial ideologies perpetuate sexual violence in society. Among Thai people, especially those of the upper classes, virginity is highly prized as a feminine virtue and is closely guarded before a woman is married⁴. The valorization of female virginity makes it difficult for women to break the silence about their sexual abuse. Rape which brings about the loss of virginity becomes a stigma and women who were raped tend to see their body as unclean or impure and therefore question their suitability as future wives and mothers. As a member of the upper middle class, Fah' s grandfather, Doctor Jit wants to hide the sexual abuse that occurred to his granddaughter when she was young. In an attempt to make her forget the past, he not only changed her name but also reconstructed a new memory for her. Thus, Fah grew up believing that her parents were killed in an accident and that she herself was injured in the head and stomach. Dr. Jit' s denial of sexual violence could be regarded as a desire to protect his granddaughter from the pain of

her traumatic experience. However, it could also be a result of societal pressures on members of the established patriarchal family to maintain family honor and prestige.

Kris' s reaction to Fah' s history of sexual abuse is similar to Dr. Jit's. Kris takes pride in his rationality and good judgment, reflected in his decision to choose Fah as his wife. As the narrator says, "He reasonably evaluates everything, measures all the consequences of his decision, considers appropriateness, and then chooses only the best, the most profitable for himself" (p. 31). A young, middle class entrepreneur, Kris adheres to patriarchal, bourgeois ideologies which take precedence over love and understanding in his arranged marriage with Fah. His idealism, however, is shattered when he discovers that Fah, the woman he believes to be the best and perfect choice, has a flaw. Beneath her perfect appearance is something mysterious and unknown that manifests itself through her irrational behavior. This dark reality troubles him; it not only reminds him of the shaky ground upon which he lays his faith in masculine idealism but also forces him to realize his own liability to imperfection. Like Jon, the protagonist in Anchan' s novel, Kris distances himself after his discovery. Fah recalls the barriers erected between Kris and her "as if their intimate relationship during years of their engagement had never happened!" (p. 320).

Another cause of the perpetuation of sexual abuse is the judicial system. The author explores this issue in two subplots of the novel: Jiranan' s and Dao' s stories of sexual abuse. An upper middle-class young woman like Fah, Jiranan is out-going, modern, independent and self-confident. She was assaulted by Jim, a man she knew through an introduction by her friends. Disappointed and humiliated by her indifference to him, Jim sexually assaults her for revenge. Through Jiranan' s story, the author rewrites the popular stories of rape which are fundamentally about "male sexual release and women' s provocation" by showing how the story is actually one of "power and gender rather than sex and desire" (Plummer, p. 67). She was rescued but decided not to report the assault to the police. "All abused women," says the narrator, "are caught between the desire to assert their rights as humans and to claim equal rights and justice for themselves, and their impulse to let things go and forget the abuse" (p. 274). The fact that society tends to blame the victim rather than the abuser for the crime and that the law discriminates against abuse victims in a manner that would not be tolerated by victims of other crimes deters women from seeking justice for themselves: "Even such

a woman as Jirana—a self-confident woman who always makes claim and insists on getting what she wants must accept her defeat in this case” (p. 275).

Jiranan is more fortunate than Dao, a factory worker who was gang raped by her coworkers. Unlike Jiranan, Dao was aided by a support group organized by women and filed a lawsuit against her perpetrators. Her courage to bring the case to the public eye reveals the socio-economic differences among victims of abuse. Given the fact that women could be held in shame and disgrace, no one is willing to take the risk of reporting the crime. However, it is easier for Dao to come out and seek justice because as a member of the working class she has not much to lose when compared to Jiranan whose revelation may destroy her social status and her family’s reputation. Despite her refusal to be silenced and her determination to identify both the abuse and the abuser, the slow, laborious process of the trial she went through exhausts her. The difficulty for Dao in reporting the crime is compounded by the callousness and machismo she encounters from police and lawyers. They doubt her motives and seek to discredit her by pointing out her drunkenness when the gang-rape occurred. The torment, both physical and emotional, that she goes through finally forces her to find an easy way out by accepting the compensation money and dropping the charges against her perpetrators.

What also differentiates Piyaporn’s novel from popular accounts about sexual violence found in the media is that its focus is not on the event of rape itself but on its effects on the victims and on the process of healing. As the narrator says,

Rape is not incidental in one’s life. From women’s point of view, rape is compared to murder. Rape is violation—an act that dehumanizes the victims. What matters about rape is not the loss of virginity···but the psychological damage, the social disgrace and the loss of honor the rape victims suffer. (p. 396)

The author explores the traumatic effects rape has on victims’ lives and their journeys to recovery through her heroine’s story. Citing Judith Herman (1992), Jane Kilby (2002) states that “the experience of trauma is most likely forgotten by the very people expected to remember, the force of the event being such that the victim is left without any memories to speak of. Amnesia is deemed to be the ordinary response to traumatic

event" (p. 205). As a rape victim, Fah does not remember the traumatic experience of repeated victimization, though she has a vivid memory of her childhood. However, the traumatic past does not totally go away. Her mysterious behavior, such as her fear of sex and her blacking out, are signals of a troubled mind which later identified as rape trauma syndrome. The traumatic past, therefore, is not something one easily recovers from. Thus, the healing process involves a reunion of the split self rather than the forgetting of the past.

Fah's journey towards self-recovery is not just an individual act but a collective process. Because her memory of sexual violence was blacked out, the recovery of the past is aided by two close family members: Doctor Manta and Grandma Val. The story details how Fah collaborates with these relatives to search for clues to her past. The process of recovery brings her close to other rape victims, especially to Dao, a factory worker and a victim of gang rape. By participating in a rape support group for women and witnessing the pain and struggles of other rape victims, Fah comes to realize that "she is struggling but not alone. There are many other women out there who like her are struggling" (p. 400). This statement signals a shift from the "I" of the heroine to join the "we" of the women who are raped on the basis of a shared experience of gender oppression. A sense of hope grows out of their dialogues with other women as they together redefine the meaning of sexual violence and transform themselves from passivity to self-empowerment.

The journey to her past brings a new knowledge or consciousness to redefine her self and her relationship with others in the present. Fah realizes that the denial of sexual abuse in the name of patriarchal protection brings more harm to the abuse victim. She exposes the underside of protection by showing how a family's honor and prestige could be maintained only at the expense of the silencing of sexual abuse and the continued oppression of women. At the moment that the crucial piece of evidence will be discovered and the truth about the past emerges, Manta wants to spare Fah from the pain of self-discovery. However, Fah insists that the past be disclosed, reminding him, "Don't you realize that you are over-protective of me like my grandpa, Doctor Jit" (p. 430). Her new knowledge empowers her to seek a divorce from Krit, her husband, declaring to him that "I have changed into a new person; I am no longer the same woman as the one you wanted to marry" (p. 474). The divorce from Kris marks her

growth and maturity. By rejecting Kris, Fah also rejects the pretension and hypocrisy of the middle-class idealism that Kris values more than love and understanding of his wife.

Should we read the coming to consciousness of a heroine who is sexually victimized during childhood in terms of repression/ liberation? Does this mean that the author's role is to give voice to universal female consciousness? Fah shows her strength and determination to be healed; however, as Ken Plummer reminds us, "*The power to tell a story, or indeed to not tell a story, under the conditions of one's own choosing, is part of the political process*" (p. 26). While rape remains unspeakable for Ang, the heroine in Anchan's novel, in Fah's case the opportunity to speak out against gender oppression is afforded and even encouraged by her family members who help her search for the past, by the psychiatrist who assists her in healing, and by a support group for female victims of sexual abuse. Not only the presence of a group of sympathetic listeners and supporters, but also the fact that her perpetrator and her grandfather are all dead, provides her with the safe environment that makes possible the telling of her rape story. However, her openness is selective and limited to a small circle of family members, close friends, and organized groups of women. She does not tell her story publicly and politically⁵ Because society still holds prejudices against rape victims, Fah seeks protection from the dangers of speaking out in public by offering her knowledge to some but not to all comers.

Also, the author has not created a literary work which transcends time and place. Piyaporn draws a lot of her material from Rape and Sexual Abuse in Thai Society: a Hotline Study (2000), written by psychiatrists Ornanong Intarajit and Narin Karinchai. She also structures the heroine's story using what Ken Plummer calls a "major pattern [of telling sexual stories that] has proliferated and developed most rapidly in the latter part of the twentieth century" (p. 49). Plummer argues, "Rape stories...were once hard to tell. They still are. But over the past twenty years a new story has become more and more heard, more and more visible. This takes the initial suffering, breaks the silence around it (usually with the help of other women) and then uses the traumatic experience as a mode of radical change—to become a survivor" (p. 51). As a carefully constructed discourse, the representation of rape in Piyaporn's novel is historically specific.

The emergence of Piyaporn's novel should be considered within the social and political context of production and circulation. *Behind a Cloud-Patterned Screen* has

received positive popular acceptance. Piyaporn is admiringly praised for her efforts at breaking the taboo against sexual violence. This taboo-shattering is most evident in her portrayal of a heroine who is raped. Traditionally, no one else, except the male protagonist, could break the virginity of the heroine, so the heroine remains chaste and virginal until she meets and marries the hero. Piyaporn breaks this literary tradition by presenting a heroine who is raped when she was young. However, it must be noted that although Fah is no longer a virgin, she is not yet a "wife" . She leaves Kris, her husband, on the night of their marriage and does not consummate it with him. When we disregard the fact that she is raped, she is eligible for Manta, the hero of the novel. In addition, the author also takes care not to include any details too distasteful for the sensibility of her middle class target audience. According to Kathleen C. Basile (2005), the impact of rape on the victims' behaviors includes "alcohol and drug abuse, risky sexual behaviors, and smoking" (p. 112); Piyaporn selects for the heroine those psychological effects such as the fear of sex and fainting which her middle class readers find acceptable. Therefore, the reader could still identify and sympathize with the heroine because she is otherwise a perfect embodiment of feminine virtues except that she was raped.

The author focuses on female consciousness as an outcome of women' s shared gender oppression. All female characters in the novel are aware that as women they are vulnerable to rape and other sexual assaults. However, the positive response to universal female consciousness tends to override the multiplicity of differences among women and the ways in which female consciousness reinforces and conflicts with other forms of consciousness. The problem of universal female consciousness is reflected in the treatment of two sexually abused characters: Jiranan and Dao. Both function in the novel as foils to the heroine. Jiranan is described as an independent, modern and outgoing woman. She contrasts sharply with Fah, a conservative, virtuous heroine. As a result, the reader feels less sympathy for Jiranan than for Fah, even though Jiranan' s story is appropriated to highlight the courage of the heroine in her breaking of silence. Doa' s story is important in that it highlights the failure of the legal system to bring justice to women who want to fight back against sexual violence. The pain and suffering she goes through parallels that of the heroine' s journey of self-discovery. However, it is not Dao, but Fah, the heroine, on whose pain the novel focuses and who needs healing.

For example, Manta compares the fear reported by a rural girl to the fear in Fah' s case. The fear of the rural girl is of little importance to him because it does not interfere with her everyday life, while the fear expressed by Fah is perceived as more urgent because it threatens to disrupt her married life. Here, the rape is a tragic loss for Fah whose value lies in her sexuality, not for Dao, a factory worker, whose value is measured by her labor.

Conclusion

In this paper, I examine how sexual abuse has been a silent issue in Thai society. In our culture, it is men who have occupied the privileged position. They are the ones with the authority to define reality. Although in some cases abuse victims are encouraged to tell their stories, the complexity and ambiguity of their narratives are reduced by the literary convention that takes the emerging voice of the rape victims as authentic in opposition to social repression. It is such a framing of the women' s sexual stories as "repressive hypothesis" that we should reject. According to this hypothesis, one is led to believe that rape stories are the psychological outcome of oppression. The critics valorize the emergent voices of rape victims as expressions of truth. By concentrating on the self as authentic, they overlook social determinations about production and consumption which would allow us to interrogate the persistence of discrimination in relation to other factors such as class, ethnicity and so on.

What *On the Edge of the World* reveals is that it does matter who speaks of rape. Ang' s story of abuse is suppressed when framed by the patriarchal plot of Jon' s narrative and consequently it remains an untold story. To unearth the voice of the female abuse victim in the novel, it is necessary that the reader pays attention to silences, dreams, and other gaps deemed as insignificant and irrelevant by Jon, the male narrator. Ang' s voice, emerging from the struggle between the rape victims' desire to tell their story and the authoritative discourses intent on silencing them, is complex and ambivalent. In her confession, Ang not only tells Jon of her traumatic experiences but also withholds from him some parts of them. Her account is a contested site where speech and silence, the real and the fantasy, are intertwined. However, Jon (mis)reads Ang' s account as an expression of truth, denying any complexity and ambiguity in Ang' s story as part of her struggle to make sense of rape and identity.

In *Behind a Cloud-Patterned Screen*, Piyaporn explores how the silence about sexual violence is a result of a privilege of the ideal over the actuality in the dominant culture. Instead of looking at sexual abuse as an aberration of the norm, Piyaporn insists that we need to question its place and purpose within that norm. Violence is denied in the story and its denial allows the unequal power relations between men and women to continue. By placing the experience of women before the ideal, we acknowledge the reality of sexual violence and no longer regard it as a taboo but as a serious problem that needs to be solved. The author also explores the coming to consciousness of the female characters who share the experience of sexual abuse. In the novel, changes in consciousness arise from negotiations. It is “not a matter of finding the one, authentic or monolithic self, but rather of recognizing the multiplicity and complexity of one’s experiences and the continual evolving of identity” (Rose, p. 171). When taking into account the cultural framework in which stories of sexual abuse are produced, we are able to disclose the prejudices embedded in the author’s representations of sexual abuse.

Note

¹The contemporary period in Thai society is characterized by the establishment of women’s groups and organizations in response to national and international interests in women’s issues. They were successful in calling for the enforcement of new laws to protect basic women’s rights. However, as Amara Pongsapich. (1997) points out, the concern about women in Thai society had not been dealt with seriously until international pressure brought these issues concerning women forward.

²Anchan is the pen name of Anchalee Vivatanachai. Her collection of short stories entitled *Anyamane Haeng* Chewit (Jewels of Life) was chosen for the 1990 S.E.A. Write Award.

³Piyaporn Sakasem is the pen name of Nuntaporn Santikasem. She graduated from Chulalongkorn University and currently works as a teacher. She is one of the most prolific writers of the contemporary period.

⁴As Sumalee Bamrunsook (1995) maintains, “Central Thai women have long been taught to regard their virginity as the most precious possession in their life. ‘Women are good or valuable only when they are virgins’ was the ideal in *Suphasit So’ n Ying* [Thai didactic literature for women]. Parents, teachers, writers, and advice columnists have continued to prescribe this concept to young people” (p. 127).

⁵According to Ken Plummer (1997), “[Coming out] can be seen to capture four critical process (which are not a fixed sequence): coming out personally, in which a self-conversation emerges which clarifies who one is; coming out privately, in which the first steps are to tell specific others—family, friends, work peers—in delimited spheres; coming out publicly, in which many others are now told the story, and indeed it

may become public knowledge out of the self's own control; and finally coming out politically, in which the story is sued very widely as a means of social change" (pp. 57-58).

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語りえないことへの呼びかけ：タイ文学に見るレイプの語り チュティマ・ブラガットウティサーン

性的虐待が文学研究で取り上げられるようになったのは最近の現象である。しかし、性的虐待の物語の稀少さはタイ社会で性的虐待がほとんど起きていないことを意味するものではない。性的虐待の語りの最も重要なテーマの一つは、虐待の体験者たちが見せる、自らの物語を語ることへの欲望と、その物語を語り得ないことに対する無念さとの狭間の緊張である。性的虐待の問題は、それを表現する媒体としてだけでなく、虐待の意味性を構築し挑戦する役割を果たすものとしての言語の問題と切り離すことはできないのだ。重要になるのは、語りと事実の間の呼応関係ではなく、ある歴史的状況のもとに物語が生産され消費される、その文化的枠組みの中に虐待の語りを位置付け考えることだろう。文化的現象としての性的虐待の語りの登場は、体験者の声と支配的言説の間に緊張を生み出し、そこにおいて私たちは体験者の役割と支配的文化における治癒力を考察することができる。

この研究では、性的暴力がタイ社会で声を奪われていた理由を、SEA賞の受賞者であるアンチャンの最新小説である *On the Mouth of the World* (2003) におけるレイプの表象を通じて考えたい。この小説は性的問題を正面から取り上げた数少ない文学作品の一つである。前書きの中で作者は執筆意図をタイ社会に置いてタブーとされてきた性的問題に光を当てることだと明言している。この小説は、アンという名の女性の物語が男性のナレーターのジョンによって語られる。ジョンによれば、アンは上流家庭に生まれた若く美しい、性的魅力のある女性である。彼女は反伝統主義者であり、ジョンを含む数え切れないほどの男性と遊びまわり関係を持つことで性差の既成概念を超越している。物語の転換点は彼女が妊娠に気付いた時点である。自分が父親かもしれないと考えたジョンは、彼女を助けようと考え結婚して家族を持とうと彼女に申し出る。しかし、彼女はその申し出を断り、代わりに子供時代に体験し現在のセックスに対する中毒を招くこととなった、義父や祖母付の運転手、自分の教師との性体験を告白する。アンの語りを聞いたジョンは彼女から離れる決意をする。彼は自分の語りを、おそらく変質的な性的欲望によって引き起こされたであろう彼女の悲劇的な死の報告と、ニーという女性との結婚から生まれた女の子をアンと名づけたことで締めくくる。

この小説はタイ社会における性的虐待の典型的な受容と理解を表現した模範的なテキストとして読み解くことができる。アンについての物語であるが、彼女の物語の書き手となり自らの視点から彼女を解釈し評価するのは、男性の語り手であるジョンである。彼の語りにおいてジョンはアンを善良な少女か悪い少女のどちらかとして捉え、彼女のセクシュアリティに対する不安と、それを従属させたいという自らの欲望をその2項対立に反映させる。自らの物語

を語ることを押し通し父権的社会からは容認されていない役割を身に着けることで、アンは困難な状況にある女性を助け出す英雄というジョンのロマン主義的概念を打ち壊し、彼の物語が直線的な語りと整った結末を達成することを妨げる。アンの死は、既存文化の語りに自らの物語をはめ込むことを拒否する女性への父権の暴力を象徴していると言えるだろう。フェミニスト批評がもたらした解釈戦略によって、アンの物語を読み直し、男性的な語りの中に埋め込まれた女性のプロットを再発見することが可能になった。知識生産の状況に注目することによって女性の物語を発掘することができるのだ。奇妙に近しさのある虐待体験の世界から響くアンの声は、変質的な性的嗜好を持つ墮落した少女というよりは、無力で怯えた性暴力の被害者の物語を語る。この小説における真の悲劇は、アンの語りを読み理解することができず、結果として彼女を救うことに失敗するジョンにある。

性にまつわる物語を語ることは簡単ではなく、リスクと期待が共に伴う。明白にレイプの証言であるアンのジョンに対する告白は、彼女が自分自身を誘惑の対象ではなく誘惑者であると主張する、ねじれた結末がある。一般的には物語の虚構性の証明と見なされるこのような矛盾は、被害者が自らの体験に意味性を与えようとする苦悩を表わしているのだ。ここに見られるのは、体験を乗り越え生き残るための被害者の関与と戦略だけではなく、虐待側が無垢を主張し虐待された側が恥と罪悪感を背負うというレイプの神話を被害者自身が内在化するという、複雑な過程である。つまり、学者や専門家が沈黙の打破を抵抗の現われとして称揚するのに対し、アンの告白から浮かび上がることは、レイプの言葉と男女間関係性の支配的構造が女性の抵抗を通じて自らを語り続けているということである。

An Overview of Gender Representation in India **Parthasarathy Rajalakshmi**

Indian social reality is intermeshed with diverse cultures that are reflected in variant gender relations ranging from patriarchal forms to matrilineal practices in different parts of India. With the exception of a few communities like the Khasi and Garos of the Meghalaya and the Nairs and Maapillais of Kerala (where people rejoice when a girl is born; where a woman proposes marriage; where a house bears the name of a woman; where the child takes the mother's initials and her clan's name; and where a family without a daughter is considered a dying clan) all other communities and caste divisions follow a patriarchal system in which male domination and female subordination is the norm.

The patriarchal social structure was introduced into India by the Aryans who were also the founders of the Hindu society which has survived from the Vedic period to this day. The Aryans were essentially experimenters who were seeking the best formula for a group of people to live harmoniously with each other. Their experiment and final decision on the role of men and women in society, along with various foreign invasions and the consequent amalgamation of cultures, have shaped the destiny of Indian men and women for the past three thousand years. It is worth understanding the process in detail.

The nucleus of Aryan society was the joint family. The Aryans also introduced a monumental spiritual heritage through the Vedas and the Upanishads that included hymns of sacrificial rituals, instructions for invocation during ceremonies, descriptive passages praising different deities, and of discourses on religious philosophy. It is by inference from these sources that we have come to know of the status of women and men.

It appears that during the Vedic period, the Aryan settlers had a high regard for their women. The Aryan wife was not servile as she was destined to be later on. The Aryans gave their daughters equal opportunities with their sons for receiving education. Girls had the choice to get married (Sadyodavahanis) or pursue their studies and remain unmarried (Brahmavadinis). Women were trained in academic, war, medical, and administrative skills. However, with the Hindu society's proclivity towards favouring girls

who married and produced children, the education of girls began to erode. Gradually a woman became her own worst enemy because she stayed on the path of least resistance and chose to become a dependent, rather than learn to be self-sustaining. The laws of the Manu Smriti further degraded the status of women. Manu, the famous law-giver of 200 B.C. emphasized woman's secondary role in life and the necessity to keep her dependent upon men from the cradle to the grave (in childhood on her father, in youth on her husband and in old age on her son). Manu prescribed early marriage for girls (between the ages of 8 and 10) and declared that a married woman could own no property. Manu was also responsible for the deification of the husband. Even when a husband is a drunkard, leper, sadist or wife-beater, he is to be worshipped as God. The next logical downward step for women was 'sati' – the immolation of the wife on the funeral pyre of her husband. Gradually the practices of destroying female children at birth, infant marriage, polygamy, prostitution, mass burning of widows upon defeat in war became common and sanctioned by religion. Gautama Buddha, in the 5th century B.C. , disapproved of child marriage and 'sati' but did little to ameliorate the sorry state of Indian womanhood. The Buddhist emphasis on celibacy made women appear to be the seducers of good men.

Muslims began invading India from about 1000 A.D. and ruled large parts of the country for the next 700 years. Although Islamic law entitled a woman to own property and to divorce her husband, most Hindus who were converted to Islam continued to observe their own customs. Property and divorce remained the prerogative of the male. Muslims also introduced the institution of purdah, and the seclusion of women in harems. The poorer classes and a section of the upper caste treated widowhood as an abomination. Their heads were shaved; they were not allowed to wear jewellery and could dress only in the plainest white.

A big breakthrough came when a small band of enlightened Indians like Rammohun Roy brought reforms against certain orthodox Hindu practices. Gradually laws were passed against 'sati' , child marriage, dowry, and polygamy. Annie Besant and Margaret Cousins were responsible for founding many women's organizations of which the most active today are the National Commission for Women, the National Council of Women of India and the National Federation of Indian Women. Woman now in the Independent India attempts to alter her relationship with man in order to accumulate self-respect,

and regain her lost equality with him but with great difficulty. Women are expected to maintain traditional customs and practices. Being unable to compromise between old customs and new life styles some women live with an eternal sense of guilt and remorse. Their own educational and career achievements fail to give them self confidence and a sense of fulfillment.

Indian Constitution guarantees equality of status and opportunity to all citizens of India regardless of sex, caste, and creed. The Indian parliament has passed appropriate bills like the Special Marriage Act, the Dowry Prohibition Act, and the Act against Eve-teasing. These legal measures, along with access to education and careers, have led many people to think that Indian women have won the battle of equality long ago and are making steady progress, especially after national independence. This myth has primarily grown out of some visible improvements in the life of women from the urban educated middle class over the last century or so. There has been no obvious discrimination against women in professions in matters of pay and other facilities. The first few women police officers, judges, film makers, parliamentarians, and women pilots have, far from facing visible discrimination, been given distinct encouragement. The press, too, has given a great deal of sympathetic coverage to such women, projecting them as role models, creating a feeling that there is little a woman cannot do, no position she cannot reach, provided she has the ability and will power. The reality is that even in such professional circles, women are in the minority and must struggle in order to assert their will and make their voices heard and counted.

Even among the urban middle class, the power exercised by the family structure and the kin group over the lives of women in the name of customary practices has been, and is, a potent weapon in keeping women oppressed and powerless. Neither formal education nor the ability to earn an independent income has brought about the expected changes in the lives of urban educated women. Their education is usually tailored to the requirements of the marriage market. Even those few women who earn a substantial income seldom are able to have real control over their own or their family's income. Most of them have to go through arranged marriages and there is evidence that the dowries given for well-educated and working women are often more exorbitant than for less-educated or illiterate women. This is partly because parents have to seek even 'better qualified' husbands for their 'highly qualified daughters' .

In fact, a working woman may have to be doubly subservient in order to prove that working outside the house and bringing in an independent income have not corrupted her or caused her to deviate from the traditional womanly role. Even highly educated and well employed women often have to hand their entire salary over to their husbands or mothers-in-law and receive a small amount for daily expenditure. Except for a handful of women in elite professions, by and large, most urban educated middle class women remain confined to lower grade professions, for example, as nurses, secretaries, typists, receptionists, and primary school teachers. In these professions, they remain at the lowest rungs where they cannot influence decision-making and where avenues of promotion scarcely exist.

Thus, the equality and freedom that the modern Indian woman is supposed to enjoy have been, by and large, potential factors, not facts. Laws, rights, and privileges are not intrinsically useful if they stay in statute books. Their application has to be enforced and protected. It is when through usage they become traditions that they acquire an abiding characteristic. And this requires usage, not by just a few alert individuals, but by all the women and men of the country. It is true that there are women chief ministers of states like Ms. Mayavati, Ms. Mamtha Banerji, Ms. Jayalalithaa, Ms. Sheila Dixit and Ms. Vasundara Raje. Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, the leader of the ruling coalition party is also a woman. Yet it cannot automatically be assumed that this is a uniform and lasting progress for the remainder. Women are still struggling to get 33% of representation in the parliament. More than 70% of women are illiterate and are below the poverty line. It is again a fact that there are elected women leaders in the rural administrative bodies. But in many places, the male relatives of the women leaders practically take the power in their own hands. Even the women chief ministers do not show any significant strategy different from that of male ministers in governing their states. These women are found to be emulating their male counterparts in their political dealings which are mostly corrupt and self-serving. Their justification of such a state of affairs seems to be that in order to survive in politics, the domain of men, they have to resort to similar strategies used by men.

While efforts to change the condition of life of Indian women are confined to narrow strata of urban, educated middle-class women, the vast majority of Indian women who live in rural areas have been largely ignored. Vast differences distinguish the lives

of women in different parts of the country and within different caste, class, religious and ethnic groups. Unless the bulk of the Indian female population progresses with conscientious effort, it will not be a permanent change or development. The moot question is, what is it that is preventing them from giving up outdated and irrelevant traditional practices? The answer lies in the influence that Indian mythology has on the Indian psyche, especially with reference to their gender consciousness.

Myth and Religion

In India, religion is an integral part of Indian psyche and way of life; thus, almost all art forms and cultural practices are religious and are based on Indian mythology and folk legends. In the process of being and becoming a man and a woman in Indian society, the rich heritage of folklore, myths, epics and sagas play a vital role. In spite of changing mores and life-styles, Indian men and women are still expected to conform to the role models projected by Indian popular myths. Women continue to be deified, defiled, and enslaved by the role models defined by cultural lore. They continue to live within themselves and the heritage of the past. However, recently Indian women, while continuing to hold onto some of their rich heritage, also want to create a new world with a different quality of relatedness to men. Some women writers have challenged the representation of women and men in mythology. They feel that women have to deconstruct the existing mythology and reconstruct a new mythology in order to discover the reality of women.

According to the Indian mythology available to us, women are expected to remain within the threshold of a boundary line constituting marriage and family. If they want to go beyond the Lakshman Rekha, dangers are lurking. The images of Seeta, Renuka and Ahalya are deeply embedded in the psyche of Indians striking a note of warning that women should always be within the control of the men in their family. Women can attain divine stature if they worship and serve their husbands. As evidence to such a 'theory,' the stories of Nalayini, Anusuya, and Kannagi are cited. But the fact remains that there are no male role models for the Indian men to emulate except the epic hero Rama, who symbolizes an ideal son, brother, student and emperor. Unfortunately, he falls short of the requirements of an ideal husband from a feminist point of view.

The concept of 'Arthanareeswara' (androgyny) has been an acknowledged category in India from ancient times, stemming from the *Vedas*, the very basics of Indian thought. The 'Arthanareeswara' image in traditional discourse goes beyond gender, beyond identity. It is the emergence of the idea of bisexuality, which is present in every human being – the complementary traits of the male and the female, which are inevitable. But this image which speaks of a harmonious man-woman relationship is found among the temple sculptures and not among the daily lives of people.

Literature

The attitude of a culture is reflected in its literature, which not only represents men and women as they are but also shows how they are moulded into their stereotypes. If the touch-stone method of Arnold is used to study gender representation in Indian literature, one can easily affirm that the literature produced in any one region of India can certainly vouch for the similarity and uniformity of cultural representation of the whole of India. For an analysis of gender representation in Indian literature, Tamil literature is taken up here.

Tamil culture and literature have been popular since prehistoric times. When one analyzes Tamil proverbs and well-known ancient literary works, one can see how an attitude of pity, condescension, indulgence, indifference, neglect and mock-exaltation is expressed in the portrayal of women. The birth of a girl seems to have often brought disappointment in the family circle. Due to the dowry menace, and the great responsibility involved in bringing up daughters safely in society and safeguarding their virginity, people often prefer sons to daughters. The patriarchal belief that only a son can perform the funeral rights of his parents also is a reason for the preference of a son who is expected to take care of his parents in their old age. People consider it below their dignity to stay in the house of their married daughter for more than a few days. Some Tamil proverbs bring out the fact as to what value is accorded to the sons and daughters in Tamil society: 'Even a king with five daughters would become a mendicant' ; 'An honorable house needs only a girl to ruin it' ; 'Bring up a boy sternly but a girl with indulgence, as the boy is the preserver of the family's prestige while the girl is a decorative piece' .

According to Tamil culture, the natural traits of a woman are supposed to be fear, ignorance, shyness, sobriety and modesty. Laughter is not associated with the personality of a 'good woman'. A laughing girl and a weeping boy cannot be trusted, says a proverb. But when it comes to any reference to a mother, the following proverbs glorify her image: 'There is no temple greater than a mother'; 'Thirst can be quenched only with mother's milk'. The next step to glory for a woman is ideal wifedom. Literary works in Tamil reflect the very same social values that the proverbs speak of. Girlhood is a preparatory ground for marriage and wifedom is the best state to be in. A woman's entire early life trains her to aspire for marriage and, once married, to remain so since only that will bring her glory. She should respect her husband even if he happens to be a piece of stone or a blade of grass.

Marriage being the most important destiny for a woman, the code of conduct for a woman is safeguarding her chastity. Tirukkural, the bible of the Tamilians emphasizes the image of a woman primarily as a wife who is a home-maker and husband-worshiper. A wife who worships not god but her husband every morning could bring rains at her command. But for a man, his profession comes first. The 'manly' thing is not to listen to the words of women. The Thirukkural says that even a coy woman is better than a man who takes orders from a woman, and a sane man will never attach himself to a woman (quoted in Lakshmi, C.S., *The Face Behind the Mask* 3).

When one considers the present literary scenario in Indian writing in English, women writers seem to outnumber men writers. Some of the popular contemporary Indian women writers who write fiction in English are Nayanthara Saghal, Anita Desai, Shashi Deshpande, Bharathi Mukerjee, and Gita Hariharan. Arnthathi Roy, the Booker Prize winner for her book *The God of Small Things* has become a full-time social worker supporting the cause of socially downtrodden women. These writers have represented the issues faced by upper and middle-class, educated women in their writings. Regional writers from every state do touch upon the miserable position of the doubly marginalized women from the lower classes and castes.

Mass Media

The responsiveness of the media to gender can be captured through indicators of gender diversity and gender portrayal. Gender portrayal cannot exist independently of

the market or the hierarchical socio-cultural realities. Basically, traditional gender types are represented in various mass media. The complex range of gender subjectivities can provide an appearance of media's simultaneous sensitivity and bias on gender issues. The prevalence of gender discourse in the Indian context has ensured that the impact of gender differentiating structures in terms of atrocities such as sati, rape, female foeticide, dowry deaths, denial of access to facilities and resources, and the poor quality of participation in availed avenues are well reported. Such coverage is interspersed with images of typed male-female roles - beauty as an empowering product and female honour as the epitome of Indian culture while physical strength and authoritarian attitudes are the predominant traits of masculine identity. However, when one studies the representation of women in different media, it is mostly the urban, educated, middle class women, who are represented and hence an illusion is created that women's status has been radically changed in India.

In the absence of well defined and institutionalized policies, procedures and mechanisms guided by gender-just concerns among media persons, the messages conveyed fall in the realm of individual attribution of meaning. The reporting of a rape case may be perceived to be a woman's due for flouting the code of social conduct, a warning or mobilization for grievance redress depending on the audience. Moreover, the lack of formalized structure allows the media to selectively appropriate and represent gender issues contextually in conjunction with dominant socio-political norms. Thus, gender representation in the media in India is open to the influence of competing tendencies, be it the market, cultural capital, communalism, electoral politics or women's empowerment articulations.

Visual Media: Television

Due to poor access to knowledge and information on developmental programs, social and cultural barriers, and the low level of confidence in seeking and using knowledge, women's participation in TV programmes presents a low profile. Women appear frequently as announcers and news readers on television. The next role for them is to compeer light programmes as stop-gap arrangements in between regular features like the news, serials, movies, and educational programmes. They also appear as interviewers but only to interview persons from the cinema field or medical lines.

Interviews with politicians, heads of large firms, or popular sporting figures are often done by men. In such interviews, sometimes there may be a young woman present along with the male interviewer just to add some glamour to the scene.

The images of men and women presented in TV serials are contrary to reality. It is generally accepted that in many ways they reflect men's fantasy. Consistently and systematically, women are being exploited to the advantage of men's self esteem. Advertisements especially are used to build the macho image of men. Whatever the forces may be -commercial, political, or cultural- they are dominated by men. Hence what one could find on TV is reality wrapped up in the ideals imagined by men in influential positions. In the present cultural context of the empowerment process of women, the aggressive reactions of men are reflected in the portrayal of women as negative characters - 'vindictive or weak'. These characters are projected as worse enemies of the women themselves.

With regard to the drama serials, almost all are women oriented. But women are often projected in dual images: on the one hand they are weak, dull, docile, sacrificial, and emotional who try to protect traditional values and on the other, they are cunning, egoistical, volatile, and tend to destroy traditional values. The concept of truly emancipated and empowered women as discussed in women's forums and academia is yet to enter the stories that are written mostly by men. Again, women are often characterized as being money minded and for the sake of money they will sink even to the extent of committing criminal acts. While the villainous females indulge in personal vendettas, the weaker women are always seen swimming in an ocean of tears. The villainous female character is represented in such attractive and powerful roles that they outshine the virtuous and traditional female characters.

In most of the serials, the male characters are mere shadows and they are easily manipulated into being accessories of the villainous female characters. Some male characters are projected as oppressors while some are shown as victims of their own oppression. Men are represented as corrupt politicians, rich business crooks, drunken and oppressive husbands, faithful household servants, benign fathers and fathers-in-law in contrast to tyrannical mothers and mothers-in-law, brutish policemen, and so forth. Such portrayals of men, like those of women, do not give a true picture of men.

Most of the advertisements suggest that women are supposed to perform household duties and only some women could work outside as well, while men only work outside and rarely perform household duties. Women are shown as consumers capable of staying beautiful and cheerful even while washing clothes, cleaning utensils, or cooking and caring for family members. It definitely sounds like the dream-girl of the opposite sex, who could respond to fantastic demands without really much effort on his own side except that some men are still shown either as a he-man, a protector of the family or a macho-man. In order to sell their products, advertisers try to please men by perpetuating the myth that women are accepted by men, only because of their attractive physical appearance and intensive services. The worst advertisement is one in which a motor cycle is described as a woman's body and how a man can derive pleasure while driving it. When women are shown in their domestic roles as brides, wives, mothers and mothers-in-law, men are shown in a variety of roles like sports persons, company executives, drivers, construction workers, doctors, architects, lawyers, and of course as husbands and fathers too. In commercial advertisements, women appear for cosmetics, food and cleaning products. Even advertisements for bathing soaps and shampoos invariably convey the message that women bathe for beauty and men for cleanliness.

This unrealistic and unfair representation of men and women by advertisers does great harm since the commercials are repeated over and over again often within the same hour. This repetition reinforces certain attitudes in the minds of the viewers and therefore serves to reinforce society's attitude towards men and women.

Cinema

Cinema is a powerful medium that can make or mar a society. It is often said to reflect the society in which it is produced. Cinema is an integral part of modern Indian culture and the Indian film industry is the largest in the world. Indian cinema characterized by the diversity of its genre, language, regionality, and budget, can be seen as a crucial resource for understanding the dynamics of gender and sexuality in contemporary India. The stereotypical representation of women as dependent upon men characterized the cinematic landscape for a large part of the twentieth century. Except for a very few movies that were made with consideration for feminine sensitivities, post colonial

cinema has been dominated by hero-oriented movies with women reduced to mere props for adding glamour and dance sequences. Men are always represented as virile and powerful, protective of women who are projected as vulnerable and weak. The films are evidence of the brute reality of hundreds of millions of women internalizing the roots of their own destruction. Women are simultaneously looked at and displayed with their appearances coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote 'to-be-looked-at-ness'. The song-and-dance sequences of the Indian cinema serve mainly to present the female body as a spectacle to satisfy the voyeuristic pleasures of the male gaze. Most of the films are shot to make money. Feminists see cinema as a key carrier of contemporary cultural myths. Cinematic representations of men and women are far from reality.

In recent years a few women have made their presence conspicuous by producing movies which focus on women's issues. Deepa Mehta's film *FIRE* (1996) has tackled the theme of lesbianism among dissatisfied urban Indian wives. Though this film obtained international acclaim in India, it was considered a blot on Indian culture and womanhood. Indian cinema mostly represents women in stereotyped binary oppositions-the goddess and the whore. The goddess categories are revered mothers; devoted wives, demure sisters; and the romanticized girlfriends. The whore categories are villainous and fallen women who are sensuous vamps, courtesans, and prostitutes. Among these stereotyped women, the 'real' Indian woman is often lost or ignored. The popular theme in present-day cinema is 'romantic love' in its different dimensions. Since the cine field is very much in the control of men, women are represented as objects of desire and possession. All the longings, frustrations, fantasies and hopes of men are reflected in the films.

Print Media - Newspapers and Magazines

Media/journalists are a part of society and consume the same cultural values; hence they cannot escape their influence. Even if they hold individual values and views, they have to conform to the social concurrence. Violence against women has been a major issue on the feminist agenda. But we cannot say that the media is equally concerned about this issue. Events like bride-burning, rape, mysterious/unnatural death, eve-teasing, domestic violence, kidnapping, police atrocities, and infanticides are reported

as occurrences and not discussed as 'issues' , except in stray articles in special editions published on weekends. Such stories are largely gathered from police records or hospitals and published with the newspaper bylines. They are investigated mainly when the victim comes from an affluent family or has political connections or when the story has a political or communal angle to it. Women in most incidents of violence/ crime appear as passive actors, quoted by officials. In these cases, women may not be the sources providing news. It may be said that mainly two kinds of events related to women make news: sensational news of violence/crime and reformatory news dealing with officials' activities towards reforms which concern women' s lives.

The front page of a newspaper rarely carries news related to women' s issues. The items on women' s news are mostly found on unclassified pages. A meagre percentage of women' s news is found on the sports, economy and business pages. Interestingly the articles in the Saturday and Sunday magazine sections/supplements are mainly written by women. The authors are women academicians, women activists, and women journalists. It may be noted that in the case of editorials also there is meagre coverage of women' s issues on the agenda as the most important item in any newspaper. Nonetheless, it is encouraging that the media takes note of feminist books, plays, and articles for reviews.

The media draws from a ready reservoir of gender differentiating stereotypes, myths, legends and symbols. This becomes more dangerous when it is represented by a media that is considered egalitarian and secular since no filters are used while decoding their message.

The factors that give rise to this low coverage of women' s issues include male domination in the media profession, the lack of women in power positions, the general lack of interest in women' s issues, and the vested financial interests of newspapers. While the state media has defined gender guidelines and policies, these remain unstated in most private media institutions. These policies are women-centred, rather than gender-centred. In order for the media to reflect gender rights in a sustained and cogent manner, gender sensitive guidelines and mechanisms have to be evolved. While adherence to principles of equality can be lauded, procedures and systems evolved to promote empowerment must be screened through the assumption of gender rights.

Gender diversity within the media is an effective strategy only when supported by gender sensitivity and the integration of gender-just norms.

Conclusion

Indian men and women still have to discover their basic identity which should be neither male nor female but human. This identity encompasses the other two identities and is a liberating and life-giving force which can revitalize the whole of human society. The woman's identity is to go beyond the threshold of social transition so as to get in touch with her being and personhood on the psychological level. There should be mutual respect and recognition on the part of man and woman and both must develop their concern and consideration for each other. Only a gender fair society can become an ideal human society.

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Glossary

Ahalya – the wife of Gautama, was seduced by Indra and then released from her husband's curse by Rama.

Anusuya - a virtuous woman who is referred to in the *Ramayana*. She is the wife of Sage Atri. When the three Gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva try to humiliate her, she transformed them into babies with her power of chastity.

Arthnareeswara – Lord Shiva wears a male earring in one ear, a female one in the other, symbolizing his dual nature (Arthnareeswara, half-man, half-woman). It is believed that He is half himself and the other half constituting of his wife Parvathi.

Kannagi – In the epic *Cilappatikaram*, Ilanko depicts the transformation of the chaste wife Kannagi into a goddess after she avenges the unjust death of her husband.

Kauravas: Sons of King Dhritarashtra in *the Mahabharata*

Lakshman Rekha – the line drawn by Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama in the *Ramayana* for protecting Seetha, Rama' s wife against any danger.

Manu Smriti: *Manu Smriti* or Laws of Manu, a renowned code of Hindu law said to have consisted of 100,000 verses. The primary purpose of the book, which contains rules for the observance of ceremonies and rituals, and moral and social instruction, appears to have been to strengthen the institution of the caste system in India.

Nalayini – the faithful wife who took her leper husband to the prostates house.

Renuka – wife of sage Jamadagni and mother of Parasurama, an avatar of Lord Vishnu. She was killed by her son at the order of her husband who thought that she had been disloyal to him.

Seeta- Lord Rama' s wife in the *Ramayana* for whose sake a war was fought.

インドにおけるジェンダー表象概論 パルタサラティ・ラジャラクシュミ

このペーパーではインドにおける現代に至るまでのジェンダー表象およびグローバル化の中での変化のありかたの包括的分析を行う。インドの社会実情は多文化混在性と密接に結びついており、それは地域により父権主義的なものから女系制まで存在するジェンダー関係の現状にも反映されている。ここでは、ジェンダー観の発達および内在化に強い影響を与えた5個の要素に焦点を当てて議論したい。具体的には、インド神話体系・宗教・歴史・文学およびマスメディアを取り上げる。

多面的なインド文化では、多くの対立的要素、例えば伝統とモダニティ、都市文化と地方文化、精神主義と現実主義、識字文化および非識字文化といった事柄が共存するパラドクスが見られる。他言語・他宗教・他民族・階層社会というインド社会の多様性にも関わらず、そこにある統一アイデンティティが確実に存在しているのは、やはり文化活動の影響に負うところが大きいだろう。神話体系はインド文化にとって最も豊饒な基盤のひとつであり、現在に至るまでインド社会の精神性の根源はヒンドゥー教聖典であるプラーナの編まれた時代にある。ジェンダーによるステレオタイプや役割の発展過程の研究において、叙事詩や民話、伝説が参照される要因はここにある。

インド社会内の父権的構造によって採用されてきた宗教原理や伝統についての議論は、ジェンダーによる差異化がいかに着実に男性の社会における優位性を確立し女性の生を周縁化してきたか、また寡婦殉死や持参金制度、女兒殺し、寡婦や未婚婦人の蔑視、強姦をはじめとする女性に対する暴力全般などの社会悪の根源がここにあることを明らかにする。

外国勢力の侵入の歴史を辿ると、紀元前325年のギリシャによるパンジャブ地方侵入および紀元747年のアラブ侵入、15世紀に始まるムガル帝国による支配、イギリスによる植民地支配などによる数次にわたる男性優位性思想導入の影響を見て取ることができる。

文学はそれを生んだ社会を映す鏡の役割を果たす。一般大衆向け作品に見られるジェンダー表象は男女に対するステレオタイプ化されたイメージとアイデンティティの変化を見せてくれる。過去において、そしておそらく現在においても、女性に対するイメージには両義的なものがあり、神格化されたイメージと侮蔑的で貶められたイメージが並立して見られる。男性キャラクターの描かれ方と照らし合わせると、現代社会における女性の地位および役割の変化の中、アイデンティティクライシスが進行しつつあることが見て取れるだろう。

映画やテレビドラマ、広告や印刷メディアが男女の生活におよぼす影響は非常に大きい。映画は現在の社会の傾向を指し示す理想的なメディアである。年間製作本数の膨大さにおいて

インド映画界は世界最大規模を誇る。メディアテキストの多義的な意味性に女性性の現実ではなく男性の幻想の反映を見て取るのは難しくない。娯楽映画では、男女を伝統的アイデンティティのもとに表現するため、さまざまな方策をとっている。採算性が最優先されるため、男性観客向けアピールとしてセックスと暴力に力点が置かれている。インド社会全域に浸透しているテレビも映画に影響を与えている。連続ドラマの多くは女性を中心に据えているが、否定的な側面が強調されている。そこでは女性は悪意に満ちているか、あるいは弱い人間として描かれる。広告で男性の下着からトイレ・浴室用製品にいたるまで、グラマラスな人形として女性イメージが多用されている。

締めくくりとして、インド社会の精神性と文化構造の継続性および安定性が、黙々たるインド女性によって保たれてきたことを示したい。この文脈において、女性の人生は徳性の担い手として娘・妻・母としての義務と役割を果たすことにあると考えられてきた。全人格的存在としての個人が役割の枠組みから離れることは許されず、女性の多くが、既成の枠組みを超えるのではなく、その枠組みを尊厳あるものとして扱い、結果としてそれを保持してきた。しかし現在、成長と生活の場には新しい状況がある。現在女性が立っている空間はいまだかつて存在したことのない場所だ。そこには新しい指針が打ち立てられなければならない。女性が旧来の世界を脱却し、新しい世界に足を踏み入れ、新しい意味性を獲得し作り出すためには、まず自らの内面に潜む因習を乗り越える必要がある。現在の世界的および地域の状況は、女性と男性が対話に基づき、平等で幸福な人間社会を協力で築くことを行動に移す環境を整えつつある。

視線の政治：見られる・消費される女性イメージ 深澤純子

A 商業メディアと女性の視覚イメージ

私はこれまで、25年以上、主に商業メディアに現れる女性の視覚イメージを、女性差別という視点から観察してきた。その間、映像技術や表現技術は大幅な進歩を遂げ、視覚イメージが私たちの生活に供給される機会と量、質が圧倒的に増え、そのアプリケーションも広がり、多様なイメージが商品や情報として広がった。しかし、女性の差別的表現は残念ながら少しも減っていく傾向がみられない。

80年代初め、私は通勤途上の電車内の吊り広告やポスターを観察し写真に撮りはじめた。当初目についたのは、私鉄沿線にいくつもある結婚式場のポスターだった。イメージは白人モデルのウェディングドレス姿ばかりで、男性モデルが登場せず、中身のない、理想の結婚が強調され、「結婚は女の幸せ」は純白のウェディングドレスとおもちゃのようなチャペルに象徴され、宣伝されていた。しかし広告したい事業、商品とイメージは全く無関係ではなかった。

80年代半ばには、銀行、信用組合という金融機関が、夏のボーナス預金のキャンペーンに、各社ごぞって水着の女性モデルを使った大判ポスターを使用した。当時は、お堅い金融機関が、水着という「ソフトムード」のポスターを作った、ということだけが話題になった。

そのころから、広告出稿量は、80年代末のバブルの頂点に向けて、加速度的に増え、消費者側から見ても、いかにも手の込んだ豪華な、大判のポスターが、壁面にいくつも連続的に貼られていたのが印象に残っている。もちろん、広告媒体どうしを連動させたキャンペーンで、同様のイメージのテレビコマーシャルや雑誌広告、POP¹ 広告で、私たち消費者がイメージに接する機会はより増加していった。

そのような現象を観察しながら、私は、なぜ商品と関係のない、女性の性的なイメージ（肌の露出、体の一部を切り取り玩具のように扱う、また媚びを売る表情や性を強調するポーズ）が広告に使われているのかを、「広告効果」の観点から考えていた。露出の量が増えれば、認知度、記憶度が上がるのは当然であろうが、それらの女性イメージが、アイキャッチャーとして、シンボルとしての効果、企業イメージを作るという以上に、売り上げに貢献しているという直接的な効果について、広告主や広告制作者の側から報告したものは探し当てることができなかった。

1995年より、マスメディアが供給している女性のイメージが示す意味を読み取るワークショップを全国で100回近く実施してきた。広告主や制作者の側から見るのではなく、消費者、受け手としての私たちが、メディアの女性イメージを見て、主体的に何を感じ取り、発見でき

るかというプロセスをワークショップとしてプログラムにしたものである。ワークショップファシリテーターとしての経験から、またそこで観察された結果から考えたことについて述べる。ワークショップを実施した場所、機会は、国や地方自治体の女性センターや社会教育施設の企画する講座やセミナー、行政職員や企業の職員研修、労働組合での学習会、役員研修会、自主グループ活動等である²。

B ワークショップの手法について

1995年にワークショップを開始してからのこの10年間、メディアの供給する大量の女性イメージは、性役割を強調したものや、男性の性的な対象とされる「見られる性／女性」がほとんどであり、男女共同参画社会基本法やそれにともなう政策的な男女共同参画社会作りが進められていても、メディアの領域ではほとんどその影響が見られないといえる。メディアは、21世紀になっても女性を見られる性として取り扱ったものばかりを供給しつづけている。

大きく変化したのは、男性の視覚イメージが、男性に向けて大量に供給されるようになってきたことである。それは、ファッションやアクセサリ、自動車、スポーツ、旅行、日常的に使用する製品の消費を促すためのイメージである。

ワークショップを行う際に、手にいれやすさ、取り扱いやすさから、紙媒体の新聞、雑誌を素材にメディアの状態を観察することになっている。

まず、手法を簡単に説明しよう。

1. 共同作業で行うが、1グループ少なくとも5人はいたほうがよい。観察対象とする雑誌（たとえば女性誌）を集め、ホッチキスや糊を取り除いて、ページをすべてばらばらにし、集めた雑誌すべてのページをシャッフルし、雑誌類がまんべんなく混ざるようにする。
2. ランダムに紙を抜き取り、そこにある人物のイメージ（写真がほとんどだが、イラスト、マンガも）を、一人、複数人に限らず、全て切り抜く。この時、イメージの性別は考えない。各自20点程度。
3. グループで切り抜いた写真を集め、女性、男性、両方が混じっているもの、性別が特定できないもの、の4種類に分ける。
4. 男女別にイメージを年齢で3段階に分け、模造紙のそれぞれのスペースに貼っていく。
5. 完成した作品を掲示し、観察する。グループ内で気づいたことをことばにし、話し合いながら進め、より多く、新しい事柄を発見／再発見する。
6. イメージやジェンダーについて気づいたことがらを全体でシェアする。

C 女性と男性のイメージの作られ方を比較する

女性読者を想定した雑誌（以下女性誌と記述）は、年齢、既婚か未婚の区別、ライフスタイル、経済力、居住地、などで性格づけられ、細かくグループ化されている。女性雑誌は、は広告への依存率が高いからであり、一冊のうち2分の1から3分の1が広告ページであり、「カタログ雑誌」ともいわれるように、本文ページも、衣服、アクセサリ、バッグ、靴、化粧品、美顔、美容整形、ダイエット、痩身の記事におおわれている。

特徴をまとめてみると以下のようになる。

20代の女性がほとんどで、中年、高年の女性が登場するのは、数えるほどで写真も小さい。

20代女性の写真は、顔の大写し（化粧品の広告）が全身（衣服の紹介）、モデルには白人も多く、髪は長く、完璧に化粧をしており、サングラス以外のメガネをかけた女性はほとんどいない。太った女性もいない。表情は、媚び売るような半開きの口、笑顔、けだるい表情、カメラ目線かあるいは遠くをぼんやりと見るような定まらない視線等々。逆に、にらみつけるような視線ばかりが登場する時期もあり、撮られる表情にも、ちょっとした流行があることがわかる。

登場人物の職業を観察すると、モデル、タレント、女優、アイドル等、「見られること」が職業の人々ばかりである。その他の仕事をしている場面の女性は申し訳程度にしか登場することがなく、ただ「撮られる・見られる」ためだけか、商品を紹介するためにモデルとして登場していることがほとんどである。そのためか、個人のアイデンティティ、独自性を感じさせる人は少なく、無名な存在の印象であり、男性が、仕事、社会的な業績、スポーツの結果等の、成し遂げたことで登場しているイメージばかりであることとわけて対照的である。

登場する女性たちのイメージには、生活感というものが全く表れていない。背景に何も写っていない写真が多いが、それはスタジオ内撮影だと考えられる。入念なライティングがなされ、邪魔な陰影が出ないように工夫され、姿勢、表情もいくつも変え、撮影者やディレクターの意図、広告主の意図を反映したイメージが作られていく。シャッタースピードは野外撮影に比べて遅く、モデルはあまり大きな動きはせず、必然的に静的なイメージができあがる。広がりがない、閉じた空間におかれ、外との関係は断ち切られている。女性イメージは、このように虚構として演出され作られていく。

男性のイメージが撮影される場所は、その男性の仕事場や活動の場所であり、その行為、活動の最中を、カメラは捉えようとする。被写体は、運動や活動をしており、それに合わせてシャッタースピードは速く、イメージは動的なものとなる。

女性＝静、男性＝動、というジェンダーをなぞらえた男女で正反対のイメージが再生産されている。

そして、女性雑誌の特徴のひとつは、男性の写真の掲載数が極端に少ないことである。女性は男性のイメージを鑑賞しない、という前提、編集方針があるかのようである。そして、繰り返しになるが、上に列記した特徴は、1995年からの10年間で、量的にも質的にも減る傾向も、変わっていく傾向もほとんどみえないのである。

男性読者を想定した雑誌（以下男性誌と記述）のうち、20代、30代のサラリーマン向けとして編集されているものは、1995年以降、性毛を露出した裸の女性を撮影したグラビアが、各誌に毎号10ページ前後は載っている。また買春産業の記事（あるいは広告）が満載の雑誌には、さらに多くの女性の裸があり、性器を露出したものもたくさんある。ホテルの部屋、ベッド、布団、風呂場、水辺、庭等々、女性が、裸や裸に近い下着、布、水着で、性的に誘う姿態で、撮られている。これらは、男性の性的欲望に応えるためにあり、マスターベーションの際にも用いられるものであることはよく知られている。女性たちは、無名であり、性的な欲望の対象として見られることのみが目的で登場している。一般的に写真のサイズは大きく、身体を不自然にひねったりしているものも多い。これらは雑誌の構成の中では「エンターテインメント」とされている。

反対に、男性誌の中の男性の写真は、政治、経済、スポーツ、各種事件等の記事内容に関係し、名前が知られている人物たちが多く、顔だけの写真も多く、撮影のための特別な演出がこらされているのは、広告写真かファッションの紹介写真、あるいは特別なインタビューや人物紹介記事である。男性の写真を点検すると、手や口が動いているものなど、全体的に演説、講演、インタビュー、記者会見等々、話しをしている場面が多いことに気づく。それに比べると女性イメージは、話しをしている場面はほとんどなく、「沈黙」「無音」のイメージといえるだろう。

つまり男性の写真には、現在進行中の時代性があり、女性のイメージには「今日的」という生きた時代は見られないものが多く、時代性は外見の装いの流行で示されるだけと言っても過言ではない。女性の外見のイメージを作ってきたのは、女性の感性ではなく消費であり、女性のイメージが操作可能なものであることを基本とした製造、流通、メディアである。そして男性のイメージの分析結果にあるように、男性は、権力と経済力と筋肉力と意志で、女性を含む社会をコントロールできるものと想定されている。

D コントロール可能な女性イメージ

男性は、女性の虚構のイメージをコントロールすることで、女性がコントロール可能なものであることを、学習し続けている。

つまり

1. 女性は年齢が若いほうが、価値が高い。
2. 女性は外見が美しいほうが、価値が高い。
3. 女性はいつでも、男性の都合のよいときに、性的欲望の対象とされる。
4. 女性は各部分に切り分けて部品化し、好きなように変形させ、好きな場面に登場させて取り扱うことができる。
5. 女性の意志・意思を無視して、いつでも好きな時に、好きなように見てよい。
6. 女性は自分の意志・意思を表明しないで、黙っていればよい。
7. 女性は、見る主体として期待されていない。
8. 女性の生活や仕事、意志、思想など、生きている女性の存在は関係ない。

バーチャルリアリティ（仮想現実）とはコンピューターグラフィックス（CG）で作り出した3次元の現実味の強い虚構空間であり、モチーフが動いたり、視点の移動によって、空間が変わったりするものもある。コンピュータゲームに登場する若い女性キャラクターや、人間のアイドルと同じようにテレビCMに出る等の露出をするCGで作られた女性キャラクターは、1990年代末に「バーチャルアイドル」と呼ばれ、年をとらない、文句もいわない、病気もしない、自分勝手な行動をしない、24時間働くアイドルという強力な商品であることが話題になった。CGで、人間のように微妙で複雑な造形や動きのイメージを作り出すのは、いまだに難しい作業であり、巨額のその開発費が投入されているが、表現技術を手にすれば、そのアプリケーションで、巨大な利益を手にできる。なぜ、それらは、「女性」でなければならなかったのか。

20世紀に、女性のイメージをコントロールできることをより身近にした要因として、写真技術や印刷技術、西洋美術運動の中での「オブジェの発見」という、表現対象を徹底的に解体する手法によって、メディアの表現に載りやすくし、さらに精神分析理論を根拠として、表現を性的欲望と関連づける思考法など、20世紀西洋美術の果たしてきた役割を考慮しないわけにはいかないだろう。この稿はそれを詳しく説明する場ではないのだが、男性の性的な欲望を視覚イメージによって、コントロールし、さらに昂進させ、イメージを再生産させ・・・という現在のメディアのイメージ供給サイクルが作り出された。20世紀末から現在の日本のように、女性の性的なイメージが大量に溢れ、巨大なマーケットを築いており、さらに将来もその成長が期待されているという事態は、男性に対しては男性の性的欲望を使って消費を促し、女

性に対しては、男性の欲望の受け手としてジェンダーを強化するメッセージに満ちた女性像が送られ、女性もその影響を受けているという、変則的な位置関係、ベクトルがそこにみえている。

E 自分に自信がもてない日本女性？

(株)ユニリーバジャパンが「女性の美しさに関する調査」を実施し、その結果をホームページで発表している。

調査は、ハーバード大学の教授ナンシー・エトコフ氏とロンドン経済大学教授のスージー・オーバツハ氏の協力で、アメリカ、カナダ、イギリス、イタリア、フランス、ポルトガル、オランダ、ブラジル、アルゼンチン、日本の10ヶ国の合計3200名を対象に2004年度に行われた電話アンケートで、年齢は18歳から64歳まで、そのうち日本人は300名である。

この調査によると、日本女性は、「自分自身の生活の中で満足していることは？」という質問に対して、家族関係66%、健康62%、恋愛関係16%、仕事上の成功18%、容姿（体重、体型）17%、美しさ13%、外見の魅力14%、経済的魅力20%であり、調査対象国の中で全ての項目で最下位である。さらに「他の女性と比較すると、あなたはご自身についてどう感じますか？」という質問では、他の人より美しいと思っている人が10%、平均的だと思う人が53%であるが、これも調査対象国中最下位。「他の人より劣っている」と感じている人が26%で、これは10カ国のうちで一番高い。「美しい」「かわいい」と思っている人は0%で、「ナチュラル」と思っている人が43%で、フランスと同率1位である。

そして「女性を美しくする上で、重要な要素は？」という質問には、「メイクアップ・化粧品」の答えが55%で10ヶ国中1位である。「肌の状態」は70%で5位、「服装などのセンス」は63%で5位である。

「女性は何歳でも美しくなれる」と思っている日本女性は74%で最下位、「もし娘がいたら、自分を美しく感じてほしい」と思っている人は61%で、やはり最下位³。

上記調査によれば、日本女性は、自分の外見や容姿に自信が持てず、肌の手入れや、化粧品が上手になって、服装センスを磨けば美しくなれると思っているが、その目標はナチュラルであり人並みになることである。恋愛や仕事、経済力に大いに不満があるが、家族や健康には多少満足していると思っても、他国の女性に比べて、その率は低い。「何歳でも美しくなれる」と思っている人も、化粧品や肌の手入れ、服装のセンスを磨かなければいけないのである。

この調査が肌や髪のケア商品のメーカーによって行われたことを考慮すれば、この結果が次の商品開発計画に結びつけられていくことは当然であろう。そして、日本の女性誌が化粧品や流行の服装、肌の手入れやダイエット等商品の記事や広告で、誌面のほとんどが占められていることと、見事に呼応している。メディアは、女性にむけて、消費を通じて自己実現をはかり、

他人にすかれる女性となれと繰り返しメッセージを送っている。メディアによる、或いはメディアを使った資本の要求で、女性の意識は再生産されようとしていることがよくわかる。

F 男性のセクシュアリティとジェンダー

これまで述べてきたように新聞、テレビ、雑誌、広告媒体、ビデオ、コミック、ゲーム、インターネット等々を通じて、大量に供給される視覚イメージは、私たちの日常の意識や行動、ジェンダーやセクシュアリティのあり方に強い影響を与えている。しかしその数十年間、私たちは、イメージを読み取る訓練を十分にせず、あるいは批判的に読む経験を意識的にすることなく、右から左へとイメージを消費し、受け取り続けてきたのではなかったか。

2005年春、複数の若い女性に動物用の首輪をつけて自宅やホテルで数ヶ月間にわたり監禁していた24歳の男性が逮捕された。彼の行動は、出会い系サイトで知り合った女性を暴力で脅して監禁し、自分に従う動物のように飼育し調教するロールプレイングゲームを模したものだといわれている⁴。この事件は虚構と現実の区別がつかない特殊な人物の妄想の所業とかたづけることはできないと私は考えている。なぜなら現在の日本社会は、女性の性的なイメージがそこそこに横溢し、女性は他者＝男性がコントロール可能なものとして呈示されているからだ。

最近、「萌える」という言葉が、ゲームやアニメ、フィギュアと呼ばれる人形などの「美少女キャラクターへの愛情表現」として使われ、それらの製品は、大きなマーケットを形成している。家電製品、コンピュータの販売店が集中していた東京・秋葉原が、「萌え系ユーザーの町」として注目を集めている。フィギュアを扱う店では「客の9割以上が20代後半から30代後半までの男性」で、「以前は観賞対象だったが、今はフィギュアそのものに愛情を感じているようだ」という⁵。この現象を、ササキバラ・ゴウ氏は「思春期以上の人間に向けられた多くのキャラクターは性的な意味を持っており、これが大人も巻き込み、市場の裾野を広げた」と分析している⁶。観賞、つまり目で見て楽しむだけでなく、性愛の対象となっているというのだが、女性のイメージを観賞＝見て楽しむことと、性的対象としてみていることは、大きく異なっているわけではない。実際、「美少女」キャラクターを使い、内容はボルノグラフィーであるコンピュータゲームは多数に作られ、流通している⁷。

また、やはり「彼ら」の需要をねらって秋葉原で繁盛しているのが「メイド喫茶」なる商売である。若い女性が黒いミニやロングスカートのワンピース、フリルの縁取りのある白いエプロン、髪にはヘッドドレスなど、古典的なメイドの衣装をアレンジしたユニフォームを着て、ウェイトレスをする喫茶店に行列ができていているという。店に入ると、「いらっしゃいませ」という代わりに、「お帰りなさいませ、ご主人さま」と客に声をかける。また派遣メイドなる商

売も登場し、メイドの格好で、個人の家に出向き、掃除や洗濯など頼まれた家事をし、やはり三つ指について「ご主人さまのために、なんでもいたします・・・」という様子が紹介されている。ここまで来たら、買売春まであと一歩であることは明白であり、視覚イメージという付加価値によって性の商品化のバリエーションはいくらでも増やせるわけだ。

20世紀後半から21世紀に入って、女性のイメージは、メディアが多様な形態で流通させ、身近な商品として、作られ、売られ、消費されてきた。イメージとしての女性は、頭、顔、目、口、耳、髪、胸、胴体、尻、手、足、性器、セクシュアリティ、声、性格や行動等、すべてをばらばらにして部品のように取り扱うことができるように提示されており、さまざまな部品の中から好きなように選んで買って、組み立てる、あるいはそのように構成された膨大なバリエーションの商品のなかから「お気に入り」「自分専用」を購入し所有することが可能な体系となっている。それらを買集める経済力さえあれば、現実の生きている存在としての女性は、それらの虚構のイメージの不完全な模倣か、あるいは新たなパーツのイメージを発見したり、反映させたりする素材でしかなくなる。

コンピュータゲームでは、自分（ゲームのプレイヤー）を主人公にして、ストーリーが展開していく。台詞が対話で進められ、女性はそれに反応していく。プロセスを踏むことで、プレイヤーの脳の中にイメージの女性像、観念的／概念的な像が容易にできあがっていく。

このようにして、女性のもの化、部品化＝フェティシズムは、継続し深化していく。

「見る／作る／操作する」のは男性であり、「見られる／操作される」のは女性イメージである。

脚注

¹Point of Purchase の略。 広告の手法のひとつで、販売する商品の近くにおく店頭広告

²初期に書いたものとして、「メディアの女性イメージ」(かながわ女性ジャーナル 16号、特集メディアと女性の人権、神奈川女性センター、1996年)がある

³<http://www.nipponelever.com/> (2005年10月)

⁴「少女を監禁、容疑の男を逮捕 ネットで知り合う 警視庁」『朝日新聞』、2005年5月12日、朝刊

⁵「萌えて何? 美少女キャラへの愛情 オタク文化の中心概念」『日本経済新聞』、2004年10月28日付け、夕刊、タウンビート欄

⁶ササキバラ・ゴウ『<美少女>の現代史 「萌え」とキャラクター』(講談社新書)、講談社、2004年

⁷たとえば「魔法戦士プリンセスティア」アイチェリー社、「遠隔操作」Guilty社

⁸「メイド掃除でモテ部屋に あのコスチュームで掃除してくれる新サービスを利用してみた」『AERA』2005年5月30日号、朝日新聞社

The Politics of Gaze: on the Relationship of Seeing/Being Seen **Junko Fukazawa**

In the spring of 2005, a young man was arrested for the imprisonment of several young women for prolonged periods, both at his own place and in hotel rooms, equipped with collars and chains. It has been said that his behavior was copied from games of 'keeping' and 'training' women to obey, treating them like animals. In today's Japanese society where sexual images of women are exposed in ordinary life, it is not appropriate to trivialize this incident as an isolated incident of a crime committed by one man deluded between fiction and reality.

We cannot possibly deny the strong influence exercised on our everyday actions, thought patterns, gender and sexual relationships by the overwhelming amount of visual images disseminated by newspapers, magazines, TV programs, advertising media, videos, the internet, or games.

I have been examining female images in the mass media for over twenty five years from the perspective of discrimination against women. Since 1995, I have also conducted a number of workshops in which participants engage in reading the semantics of female images supplied and consumed by the mass media. During these ten years, neither the quality nor the quantity of female images have changed in any significant manner: despite the political instalment of an egalitarian society for men and women, images of women circulated by the media in quantities have remained as those with strong gender connotations or those of sexually objectified for men's gaze. What has changed is the growth in male images directed at male consumption. They are images to promote the sales of products for everyday consumption such as clothes, accessories, cars, or sporting and travel goods. Exposure to such images has created a desire for self-realization, most notably among the male younger generation.

The question which arises here is: Will the process of women's consumption of male images as objects of gaze progress forward, as it has with men's consumption of female images? I shall argue that in order to push the move forward, women should recover the seeing entity. Seeing too is an act formed through cultural exercise.

日本の商業アニメにおける女性像の変遷と「萌え」文化 ---- 新しいジェンダーを求めて ---- 村瀬ひろみ

1. はじめに——「戦う女の子」の台頭と「萌え」

日本の商業アニメで描かれる女性像は、日本アニメの隆盛に伴い、ますます多様なキャラクター造形となっている。黎明期のステレオタイプな女性像にはさまざまな批判がなされたが、今日のアニメーションにおいては、従来のような「従順・従属的・自己犠牲的・消極的」といったキーワードで表現される一面的な女性像が描かれることは少ない。たとえば、小学校低学年の女兒に人気の『ふたりはプリキュア』¹（2004-2005 現在は『ふたりはプリキュアマックスハート』として続編が放映中）という作品においては、文字通り体を張って「戦う」女の子たちが主人公である。彼女たちは「守られる」存在ではなく、「守る」存在であり、自身の考えで動く主体的なキャラクターとして描かれている。それらの作品においては、男性の存在感そのものが希薄であり、打破すべき敵の中にわずかな成人男性の造形のキャラクターが存在するだけである²。

このように主体的な女性主人公による物語の系譜の中で、「戦う女の子」のモチーフは大変好まれ、さまざまな作品中に何度も登場する。積極的であること、孤立していないこと、実行力があること、主体的に動くこと…といった「戦う女の子」の属性は、自立した女性像として大変わかりやすい。

しかし、「戦う女の子」を取り巻く状況を考えれば、その「戦う女の子」が自立した女性のシンボルとして存在するという見方はより楽天的で一面的にすぎないことがわかる。視聴する女兒、もしくはその親にとっては、自立した主体的な女性像であるとしても、それとは異なる見方が一方で存在しているのである。そのような見方は「萌え」と呼ばれ、「市場は2900億円」と試算される³。「萌え」文化は、日本アニメの輸出や多くの文化産業とともに、世界に広がろうとしている。（堀田 2005）

「萌え」文化の中で、「戦う女の子」はどのように語られ、解釈されているのだろうか。「萌え」的視線に晒され、再度客体化されるキャラクターたちは、従来のジェンダー構造から見れば、まさに性的搾取の対象となっている。しかし、そのような単純なわかりやすい図式は、実際に「萌え」を担う人たちの実感に即していないことも多い。

2. 「萌え」という視線

S. ホールによれば、オーディエンスが主体的に作品を解釈し、それによって作品を再構築するのであって、作品があつて解釈がオーディエンスに押し付けられるのではない。

(Turner1996=1999:16) 同様に、「戦う女の子」も受け取るオーディエンスによって、別の解釈が可能である。そのさまざまな解釈を生み出す代表的な場としてよく知られているものは、同人誌活動である。そこには、多様な物語の再構築がある。

同人誌活動の担い手は、本来のターゲット視聴者(『プリキュア』の場合は女兒)ではなく、成人男性、成人女性が多くを占めており、さまざまなパロディ作品を創出している。その中でもっとも大きなジャンルのひとつが性的な題材のもので、「戦う女の子」を対象としたものはその多くを占めている⁴。

主体として存立する主人公の女の子を、今一度オーディエンスが性的な対象として読み替え客体化していくというパロディのあり方は、もっともありふれた同人誌活動のひとつである。(その火付け役として、『美少女戦士セーラームーン』1992-1997についてはさまざまな論考がある⁵)。そのような同人活動における読みを支える一つの欲望のありかたとして、「萌え」がある。

「萌え」とは、「原作の物語とは無関係に、その断片であるイラストや設定だけが単独で消費され、その断片に向けて消費者が自分で勝手に感情移入を強めていく、という別のタイプの消費行動」(東 2001:58)とも言われる。つまり、「萌え」は、キャラクターの構成要素を分解し、背後に存在する大きな世界観や物語構造とは切り離れたところで、キャラクターの構成要素や設定に対して、グッズの収集や同人誌製作などの二次創作へと向かうことと言ってもよいかもしれない。たとえば、「萌え」は、メガネっ娘や三つ編、ネコ耳、セーラー服、ミニスカート、巫女さんスタイル、戦う女の子…などのキャラクターの要素であったり、親子関係でのトラウマ、対人関係でのトラウマ、兄妹、異母兄弟、などといった泣き要素といわれる状況設定であったりする。そして、それぞれの要素をオーディエンス自身が自分の好みに合わせて、二次創作をしたりグッズ製作や販売という生産活動、もしくはグッズや二次創作作品の収集といった消費活動に励むこととなる。もちろん、「萌え」という行為は、男性のオーディエンス、女性のオーディエンスともに見られ、「萌え」=女性への差別、女性の物象化と短絡することはできない。また、それらの行為の倫理的妥当性を問うことは本稿の主題ではない。

しかし、たとえば「萌え」を前提とした——言い換えれば、「萌え」のための要素を盛り込み、「萌え」られることを目的とした裏の設定を持つ——女兒向けと銘打ったテレビアニメ作品があるのも事実である⁶。そして、それは決して少なくなく、女兒にも大変人気が出ることが多い⁷。建前では、明るく、楽しく元気に、かわいく、主人公たちは「戦う女の子」をやるのだが、その裏では、その主人公の全体性や、作品の物語ではなく、部分部分の要素(たとえば、服装や髪型などの特徴「萌え要素」⁸といわれる)が成人のオーディエンスに流通していることは明白である。

本来のオーディエンスとしての女の子たちは、それらの「萌え」には気づかないかもしれない。しかし、いまは気づかなくても、将来はどうだろうか。自分たちが自己投影していたキャラクターたちの別の意味に気づくときが、いつかは来るかもしれない。

自分たちの敬愛する主人公が、「萌え」という視線によって、要素にバラバラに分解されて成人男性に愛玩されていることに気づくという経験が、女の子のオーディエンスにどのような影響を与えるかよくわかってはいない。それは、共通の話題を持つ異性の異世代との交流として無邪気に楽しいものかもしれないし、そうでないかもしれない。

しかし、「この国に栄える“萌え文化”は男子が女子に感じる魅力を記号化し、要素として積み上げて共有する文化」(堀田2005:150)とするならば、自分たちが憧憬の対象としてきた「戦う女の子」が、やはり従来の客体化を経て市場へと回収されていくことに、違和感を覚えるのである。「戦う女の子」の解釈の二面性についてはすでに指摘されているが⁹、その二面性を自覚しつつ「戦う女の子」の未来を考えてみたい。

3. 一つの「萌え」ジャンルとしての「戦う女の子」

テレビアニメの「戦い」は、戦闘によって自立や主体性が問われる作品世界においては、女の子にとってひとつの社会参加であり自己実現だった。しかし、アニメブームを経て思春期の視聴者を対象とするようになった作品の多くでは、「戦い」の意味や「正義」の根拠が問われるものも多くなった¹⁰。無邪気な勧善懲悪は純粋な子ども向けとして残ってはいるが、じょじょに姿を消しつつあり、キャラクターたちがもし「戦う」のならば、そのための動機や意味が必要となっている。

多くのテレビアニメでは、やむにやまれず戦闘に参加する女性たちや、好き好んで参加する職業軍人として女性たちなどがたくさん描かれている。しかし、SFアニメの衰退とともに、典型的な戦闘をテーマとした作品は減少傾向にある。それでも、現在(2005年)放映中の『ふたりはプリキュアマックスハート』の「戦う女の子」たちは大人気であり、彼女たちこそが、『セーラームーン』の衣鉢を継ぐ¹¹。もちろん、女兒にも人気、成人にも人気という、想定される2種類のオーディエンスのあり方をも継承しているのである。このような「萌え」の要素をたくさん散りばめ、多くのファンを掴むやり方は、日本のテレビアニメの大きな潮流のひとつとなっている。

『プリキュア』の主人公は、ちょっとドジで無鉄砲ななぎさと優等生のほのか。彼女たちは、決してあきらめない。理不尽な暴力を発動する「ジャアクキング」との戦いの物語を背景に、普通の子供中学生の日常にある葛藤が描かれる。将来への夢、家族との絆、友だちとの交流、出会いと別れ。二人を取り巻く女性陣も個性豊かである。祖母、母、新婚の担任の先生、

会社勤めをやめ移動カフェを切り盛りする先輩などなど。それらの人間関係を背景に、淡々としたどこにでもありそうな日常の風景を切り取ることで、「男子が女子に感じる魅力」（堀田：2005:150）という限定された魅力ではなく、現代社会に生まれ、成長していく一人の人間としての魅力を描くことを可能にしている。「萌え」とどまらない魅力、子ども向けの物語の楽しさがそこにはある。

他にも、「萌え」の対象となりつつ、そこを越えていくパワーのある作品は数多い。「萌え」として計算され効率的に作られた作品としての魅力を超えた魅力が、そこにはある。たとえ「萌え」として、解体され、愛玩されようとも、女の子のオーディエンスたちのもとには、生きることへの物語の確かな手ごたえが届けられる。その手ごたえが確かならば、本来のオーディエンスである女の子たちが将来「萌え」文化と直面し、自身の移し身である主人公が客体化されている事実に出会っても、その危うい視線に囚われることはないのではないだろうか。そもそも「戦う女の子」は、自立と主体性を手中に収めた女の子たちだ。それらを手に入れた後、女の子たちは「性」といわずれ向き合わなくてはいけない。自らの性的欲望、性的ふるまいの規範、性的な身体の自覚、自分たちの性的魅力とともに自分たちが性的に搾取される可能性にも目をつぶることはできない。

「萌え」は、ひとつの性的なパッションに支えられている。「戦う女の子」も所詮は女だと侮蔑するか、「戦う女の子」の性的身体を再確認するか。同じ性的なパッションであっても、受け取り方ひとつで意味は変わる。性的側面だけを強調して他を見ないのではなく、性的側面を隠してしまうのでもなく、性的身体を持った丸ごとの存在としての「戦う女の子」。その可能性は、オーディエンスのさまざまな読みにある。「萌え」もその読みのひとつかもしれない。

4. 「萌え」のもう一つの側面

「萌え」は従来のジェンダー構造から考えると、女性の客体化であり、女性像の性的な搾取であるとも言える。しかし、「萌え」には、別の側面もある。女性像を一方的に性的に搾取するマスキュリンな情熱がイコール「萌え」なのではない。「萌え」の根底に流れるものは、確かに性的なパッションではある。作品世界や特定のキャラクターに対する一方的でしかあり得ない偏愛と、その愛を表現する旺盛な生産活動と消費活動が「萌え」の本質であり、ここで、注目したいのは「萌え」が非常に多様性に富むこと、複雑であることである。

「萌え」のジャンルはさまざまなものに及ぶ。それは、従来、女性に対して感じる魅力とされた「優しさ、従順」というステレオタイプでは説明することができない。さまざまなキャラクターが、個人の好みに応じて、それぞれに魅力的とされる。それは、「可愛い、美しい」外見の画一性とは裏腹に、「優しく従順可憐な幼馴染」「生意気な妹」から「孤高の委員長」「ツ

ンツンしたそっけない態度の女の子」「優等生でライバル」といった多様な性格のキャラクターたちがいる。

「萌え」キャラクターは実に多様で、さまざまな外見、さまざまな内面を持っている。その中に、「戦う女の子」のような自立した女の子たちも含まれるわけである。もちろん、人気のジャンルはあるが、単純にステレオタイプな女性像が愛好されているわけではないことは、特記すべきだろう。

もちろん、「萌え」られるキャラクターには、一定の原則がある。それは、外見である。多様な特徴（メガネ、セーラー服など）があるのだが、その外貌は押し並べて可愛いらしい（少数派として、美しい外見をもつキャラクターもいないことはないが）。ほとんどすべての「萌え」キャラクターの外見は、可愛くデフォルメされている。大きな瞳、小ぶりの鼻、小さなもの言いたげな口。多様とはいえ、「萌え」に興味のない人間にとってその多様性を見抜くのは容易でないが、可愛い外見をつぶさに観察すればその奥にある性格設定や状況設定は、ステレオタイプで説明することが難しいことがわかる。

<従来>

視線 ⇒ 可愛い（美しい）外見 ⇒素直、従順、優しい、無垢

<「萌え」以降>

視線 ⇒ 可愛い（美しい）外見 ⇒素直、従順、優しい
⇒ドジ、おっちょこちょい
⇒生意気、勝気、わがまま
⇒優等生、マドンナ
⇒孤独、不幸
⇒無垢、純真
⇒勇敢、無鉄砲
⇒・・・などなど

ステレオタイプな女性像は女性を抑圧する装置として機能する。しかし、ここでは、個人個人の偏狭な「萌え属性」は個人の内面の問題であって、全体として「女性はかくあるべし」という結論を導かない。あまりにも多様な一人一人の「このタイプの娘が好き」という欲望の表出として見れば、「萌え」＝女性の抑圧と単純に言うことはできない。

一点だけ、可愛い（美しい）外見が常に求められる。そのことを、女性に対するステレオタイプと見ることが可能である。しかし、女性のおたくたちもカッコイイ（美しい、可愛い）

男性キャラクターに「萌え」ることが多々ある¹²。外見の可愛さ（美しさ）を求めることは、画像がメインとなるオタク文化では男女ともに変わりはない。

従来の抑圧的ステレオタイプは、沢山存在する「萌え要素」のひとつにすぎず、絶対的なものとしてはすでに機能していない。「萌え」は様々な要素を複雑に組み合わせ、作られる。理想の女性（男性）は、人それぞれなのである。生意気（従順）でも、有能（無能）でも、孤独（社交的）でも、愛されうるのである。

外見の可愛さ（美しさ）さえ、あれば誰でも愛される。男女問わず。

5. 「萌え」とジェンダー

「萌え」は、相手を所有するひとつの方法でもある。「萌え」の対象となる二次元作品におけるキャラクターには決して触れることはできない。そのキャラクターに少しでも近づくための手段として、二次創作やグッズ収集といった活動があることはすでに述べた。所有は、ある意味で非常にマスキュリンな行為である。女性を所有することによって男性の優位は明らかになる。

しかし、ここでもいくつかの転倒と、複雑化がある。

第一に、「萌え」のマーケットを形成するのは男性だけでないということ。マスコミで取り上げられる「萌え」は、消費主体は必ず男性という図式がある。男性が、女性を客体化して消費するという非常にわかりやすい図式がそこにある。たとえば、オタクの町秋葉原で注目される「メイドカフェ」が最もわかりやすいだろう。「おかえりなさいませ、ご主人様！」とメイド服に身を包んだ店員が来店者にお辞儀をするとき、想定される客は男性である。実際にマスコミにはメイドカフェに来る女性の客はあまり取り上げられない。が、メイドカフェは男性専用ではないし、女性客は少なくない。その場合は「おかえりなさいませ、お嬢様」と挨拶されることになるが、ここで、「ご主人様」と「お嬢様」の非対称性はあまり問題にならないだろう。そもそも、「ご主人様」に対応する女性の呼称がないのであるから¹³。メイドカフェが好きな女性たちの存在を無視することはできない。また、メイドコスチュームを「可愛いから着てみたい」と無邪気な感想も多い¹⁴。そこには、メイドという職業が持つ「従属」といった暗い側面はなく、「従属の様式を売るサービス、労働」という資本主義の原則があるだけである。メイドカフェのメイドをしている女性たちが、実際に男性客に従属しているわけではない。

メイドカフェに限らず、表層で騒がれる「萌え」は男性主体ではあるが、女性主体のマーケットは確実に存在する。「やおい」「ボーイズラブ」といったジャンルを愛好する女性たちは、男性を愛する男性に「萌え」ているし、その中にも様々なサブジャンルがある。彼女たちに対し

での、「男性を客体化しているからよろしくない」という単純な批判は、ここでも当たらないだろう。

第二に、「萌え」る男性の欲望のあり方はマスキュリンで女性に対して抑圧的だと簡単に断じることが難しいということである。秋葉原を歩くと様々なコスチュームに身を包んだ「コスプレヤー」（コスチュームプレイを楽しむ人）とすれ違う。その中には、女性キャラクターのコスチュームに身を包んだ男性がいる。彼らは、キャラクターへの愛から、そのような格好をするのだという。「萌え」に関する番組（知識を競うコンテスト）に出てきた男性は、次のように言う。「2次元美少女は人としての理想の姿が込められているので、幻想の世界は僕に生きる希望、生きる情熱を与えてくれる存在です¹⁵。」

「美少女系コスプレ男」と紹介される19歳の彼は、セーラー服、スカートなどのコスチュームも自由に着こなす。彼は、「萌え」の対象となるキャラクターには、「人としての理想が込められている」と言う。そして、そのキャラクターになりきることで、「生きる情熱」を得るといのである。

そこにあるのは、対象としての女性像を所有したいという欲望ではない。あるのは、人としての理想と一体化したいという願望である。その願望によって、彼は、自分の属するジェンダーすらもやすやすと超えてしまう。男性はスカートを着ないものという規範など、彼にとってはどうでもよいことなのだ。笑顔がチャーミングな「美少女系コスプレ男」にとっては、「萌え」の対象となる「2次元美少女」こそが、ひとつの人間のあり方の理想であり、その理想像は、従来の「男」や「女」を超えている。見かけはもちろん「女」ではあるが、彼に「女になりたいのか？」と問えば、違うという言葉が返ってくるだろう。「女」になりたいのではなく、「2次元美少女」になりたいのだ。

「萌え」の対象となるような「2次元美少女」になりたいと男性が願うとき、そこには、男性というジェンダーを超えようとする何かがあるのではないだろうか。女性を対象化していく視線ではなく、自らの男性性も投げ打って、「2次元美少女」へと一体化していく自己意識のあり方は、ひとつの新しいジェンダーを示唆している。

「萌え」という行為の中には、対象となる相手を所有したい、性的に奪いたいというマスキュリンなパッションがある。しかし、一方で美しく、可憐な「2次元美少女」と一体化しようとするパッションもある。その情熱は、肉体の「男」、「女」を超えた形で（自分のジェンダーを超えた形で）存在するのである。このように、「萌え」の一部には、従来のジェンダー観を超える部分があり、それを無視することはできない¹⁶。

6. 「萌え」のゲッター化——「戦う女の子」から「美少女ゲーム」へ

今まで、アニメに表現された女の子と「萌え」文化が生み出す新しいジェンダーについて概観してきた。しかし、2005年の現在、アニメ作品に対する「萌え」はその主流を退きつつある。そもそも「萌え」はアニメ作品の二次元のキャラクターへの届かぬ愛を語るためのものだった¹⁷。決して触れることのできないキャラクターを思い、そのグッズを集めたり、キャラクターについて熱く語ったり、パロディを製作することが「萌え」のはじまりだ。それから30年あまり、いまや「萌え」は男性ばかりでなく女性にも広がっている。女性も好きなキャラクターに「萌え」ることができるのだ。さらに、その対象となる作品も確実に変化している。

いくつかの「萌え要素」を売り物とした市場で、いま最も「萌え」なものは、「美少女ゲーム」である。PCの普及にともない爆発的に市場を拡大し、いまや同人誌の主流は「美少女ゲーム」の美少女キャラクターが占めているのだ。

堀田は、著書『萌え萌えジャパン』の中で、さまざまな「萌え」現象を取材している。たとえば、それは「メイドカフェ」であり、「抱き枕」であり「等身大フィギュア」などである（堀田2005）。その下敷きとなるキャラクターはやはり美少女ゲームが多い。美少女ゲームのキャラクターを抱き枕にしたり、その等身大フィギュアを作成したりするなかで、キャラクターへの愛をはぐくむというわけである。また、前出のササキバラは90年以降の潮流として美少女ゲームを挙げている。（ササキバラ2004:158）

美少女ゲームは、エロティックな目的で効率よく「萌え」が組み込まれたゲームであり、インタラクティブな要素を持つ。登場キャラクターにはセーラー服、ネコ耳、眼鏡っ娘などといった「萌え要素」が、ふんだんに組み込まれている。それらのキャラクターをいかに攻略するか——が、ゲームの最重要ポイントであり、主人公（＝プレイヤー）は常に様々なタイプの女性キャラクターに取り囲まれているという状態である¹⁸。また、ヒット作の中にはポルノグラフィックな使用を目的としないものもある。性的な目的は、あまり重要でないとする指摘も多く、性的な描写のない一般向けの美少女ゲームも存在している¹⁹。そこで重要視される「萌え」は、前出の東の「データベース化」への欲望とともに、キャラクターの内面への「萌え」が前面に出ている。女の子の部分部分に「萌え」るのではなく、女の子とのシチュエーションそれ自体に「萌え」るのである。たとえば「「うさぎのぬいぐるみを抱えた女のコが、校舎の前で僕を待っていて、時々かじかむ手にはあっと息を吹きかけて温めている情景に惹かれる気持ち」「いつも自分の恋の相談に乗ってくれる幼馴染みが、あるとき一生涯命涙をこらえながら“コイツう、ボクだって女のコなんだゾ”とつぶやいたときに生じる気持ち」（堀田2005:200）と記述される。

ほのかな恋情、青春の一コマ。決して戻ることのない、異性に憧れた初恋のころの胸の高鳴り。それらを再体験させてくれるツールとしての「萌え」なのである。ポルノとしての最終目標は後景に退き、いかにその甘く切ないプラトニックな恋愛を堪能するかというところに向かう人も多い。

このような美少女ゲームは、すでにナンパを楽しむシンプルなゲームではなく、恋愛というドラマの中でプレイヤーに擬似的に主体性を体験させる「バーチャル実存体験システム」にまで進化しています。(ササキバラ 2004:167)

美少女ゲームの隆盛とともに、多様なゲームが作られている。そのすべてが、プラトニック恋愛を志向しているわけではなく、さまざまなパターンのさまざまな「萌え」を盛り込んだあらゆるシチュエーションのゲームが発売されており、ポルノ論の見地からはやはり問われるべきであろうことは忘れてはならない。が、一方で、女の子たちの見かけに「萌え」るだけでなく、彼女たちの物語、外傷（トラウマ）に「萌え」る人たちが増えていることも事実である。いわゆる「泣きゲー」と呼ばれるものもその中に入る。

「萌え」の世界で、アニメはもう古いマイナージャンルなのである。たしかに、美少女ゲームは、記号的なアニメ絵で表現されるが、それはアニメではない。テレビアニメの向こうには、生身の女の子のオーディエンスがいる。そのオーディエンスのリアリティと、「萌え」は一致しない。だが、現実の生身の女の子たちの読みと、「萌え」的読みは、ねじれながら共存し、読みの多様性を作り出す。このように、多様な読み込みが可能な、重層した物語が、アニメ的には良い作品として評価される傾向にある。

たとえば、『エヴァンゲリオン』の包帯少女綾波レイに「萌え」た男性たちは、同時に宇宙規模で巨大化する綾波レイという物語も同時に手にする。もちろん、彼らが「萌え」るのは巨大化レイではなく、彼女の痛々しい包帯姿だったりその笑顔だったりするわけだが、「萌え」の文脈では巨大化レイの物語は捨てられて、美少女綾波レイの側面ばかりがとりあげられるが、その背後に巨大化レイの物語があることは、決定的に重要である。

その男性たちが美少女ゲームへと基盤を移すとき、「萌え」は唯一の正しい解釈としてプレイヤーに提示される。そこには生身の女の子の視線は想定されてはいない。他の読みの可能性もほとんどが打ち捨てられる。「萌え」の予定調和の中で、男性たちは孤独に「萌え」ることになる。

7. おわりに——『電波男』を読む

「もはや現実の女に用はない。真実の愛を求め、俺たちは二次元に旅立った。」という刺激的な帯の謳い文句。オタクである本田透の『電波男』（本田 2005）には、愛よりも「顔、金」

で男を選ぶ生身の女性への恨み節が炸裂する。オタクの「萌え」は、すべてを商品化する「恋愛資本主義」への絶縁状とも読める。

確かに、異性を選ぶのに「顔、金」という基準しか持たないのは、貧しい。それは、思考停止であり相手を卑しめる行為である。

しかし、待てよ——と思う。

「顔」で異性を選んできたのは、男性のほうではなかったか。「顔」で女性に優劣がつく世界に嫌気が差して、女性は男性にも「顔」を要求し始めたのではないか。『電波男』の表紙には、著者のパラダイスが表現されているが、はべらせている女性キャラクターたちはすべて美少女である。(従来、男性は「顔」だけでなく、「家事能力」や「従順さ」で女性を測ってこなかったか。であるから、彼らの女性に対する要求が「美しいメイドさん」というのはあまりにもわかりすぎることなのである)。もちろん、二次元の存在であるキャラクターたちは家事などやらないので、「顔」が最重要課題となる。彼女たちの顔は、記号絵でありリアルとは言えないが、どのキャラクターも可愛く美しく、可憐ですらある。

女性には選別の視線を投げ、厳しく査定しておきながら、自身の外面が視線にさらされることは許せないという、ダブルスタンダードのにおいがする。そのことの責任を、この『電波男』の著者個人に問うつもりはない。が、次のように書く人がなぜそこに気づけないのか、理解に苦しむ。

しかし、オタクはどれだけ女に傷つけられても、和田サンにはならない。スーフリ DQN (知性欠如の人間のこと: 引用者注) 族にはなりたくないのだ。なぜなら、オタクは女性を人間として尊敬しているからだ。愛したいのだ。愛してほしいのだ。スーフリ DQN 族になって女性を肉壺扱いするよりも、フィギュア萌え族になって女から嘲笑されているほうが、まだマシだ。そう思えるのが、オタクの優しさなのだ。(本田 2005:338)

二次元のキャラクターを愛することは、責められるべきではない。その愛に、「女は顔。家事もやってほしいけど。料理とか…」という打算が透けて見えることが、私を傷つける。

「萌え」には、このような古典的な女性像への回帰(女は顔、家事能力)も含まれているのだということをまざまざと見せ付けている。「萌え」文化を女性の抑圧だと批判することは可能だし、ある意味では必要なことなのかもしれない。しかし、本稿で概観したとおり、女性の抑圧、性的搾取といった側面ばかりではないことも一考の余地があるだろう。

本田は「萌え」に自閉していくことで、自分自身を救おうとしているように見える。傷つけられ罵られるリアル社会の生き難さを、「萌え」ることによって軽くしていこうとしている。でも、「萌え」だって、リアル社会との関係の中からしか生まれえない。「萌え」ることが、リア

ル社会とのかかわりを変えることもあるだろう。「美少女系コスプレ男」の彼は、自分が「男である」ことに囚われない何かを見つけている。

愛するって、なんだろう。その答えを、アニメで育ってきた私は、アニメの中に見つけたような気がしたのだ。「顔」でもない。「金」でもない。もちろん、「従順であること」「料理が上手なこと」でもない。答えは、「萌え」なのだろうか。

「萌え」は、古典的な男性の欲望や、女性の抑圧といった従来のジェンダー構造を過剰になぞりながら、多様な読みを提示することで新しいジェンダーへの道筋を見せてくれているように、私は思う。男女という古いジェンダーに囚われず「萌え」ること。それはひとつの愛の形なのかもしれない。

脚注

¹ 『ふたりはプリキュア』東堂いづみ原作、東映

² 敵陣営には成人男性のみならず、成人女性もいる。この構造に関しては、(斎藤美奈子 1996) に詳しい。

³ 野村総研による試算。

⁴ ただし、後に詳述するが、2005年現在、同人誌活動の主流は「美少女ゲーム」に移っており、テレビアニメに関するものは年々減少している。

⁵ たとえば(小林 1999) など。

⁶ 「萌え」という読み替えをした積極的なオーディエンスが、プロとなり作り手となることはよくある事実。

⁷ たとえば『東京ミュウミュウ』2002-2003 (講談社・征海未垂・吉田玲子)

⁸ どのような「萌え要素」に萌えるのかによって、オーディエンスの「萌え属性」が決まる。

⁹ 小谷真理は、「戦う女の子」の表象において、「戦闘美少女」系と、フェミニスト的な視点に内包した「超少女」系という二系統の解釈があることを述べている(小谷 2003)

¹⁰ 古くは1972年『海のトリトン』でも指摘されている。(大塚・ササキバラ 2001)

¹¹ 『セーラーMoon』は戦闘といっても、魔法的なものが多くを占めたのに対し、『プリキュア』では、身体を駆使した女の子の力強い戦闘が見物である。

¹² たとえば、男性同士の恋愛に「萌え」る女性たちがいる。彼女たちは「やおい」「腐女子」と呼ばれ(もしくは自称して)、オタクマーケットの大きな部分を占めている。

¹³ 「奥様」は、ご主人様と対に使われるが、ご主人様と違って単独で使われることはない。ご主人様は独身者でも可能であるが、奥様には常に夫がいる。自立した女性に対する尊称はなかなかない。

¹⁴ これは、筆者の周りの十代二十代の女性の声である。

¹⁵ 『TVチャンピオン』「アキバ王選手権」テレビ東京(2005年9月15日放映)

¹⁶ もちろん、近年のネット環境の発展も、肉体の性別にとらわれないジェンダーの構築に一役買っているだろう。「2次元美少女」をひとつのジェンダーとするならば、対極にあるのが「漢(おとこ)」という概念である。これも肉体の性別とは関係なく使われ、「漢らしい」と言えば、外見に囚われない、ダイナミックで勇敢、体力自慢といった属性を持つことが示唆される。「2次元美少女」や「漢」といった人間像は、肉体の性別を問わない点で、新しいジェンダーと言うことができるかもしれない。

¹⁷ 『海のトリトン』に女性たちが熱狂したのが最初の「萌え」だとする説もある。(ササキバラ 2004:24)

¹⁸ 主人公 (=プレイヤー) は、その中から攻略できる (好みの) 女の子を見つけてプレイしていくことになる。

¹⁹ 『CLANNAD』KEY など。また、PC の美少女ゲームとして人気を得たゲームは、ポルノグラフィックな側面が捨てられることによって、コンシューマ機に移植されることも多い。

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Warrior Princesses, How Far Will You Go? Transitions in the Characterization of Female Figures in Japanese 'Anime' Hiromi Murase

The characterization of female figures in so-called Japanese 'anime', or commercial animations, continues to diversify as the genre flourishes. Today, we rarely see traditional stereotypes of obedient, submissive, self-sacrificing, and non-assertive women in recent works, various criticisms being lodged on such one-sided treatment in the early productions: one example for the newer category is *The Two of Pricure* (2004~), a popular program for girls under ten, in which two girl main characters literally and bodily 'fight' against opponents. These girls are shown with their own initiatives in their role as protectors rather than being the protected. The male presence is generally weak in this 'fighter girls' genre, and often confined to the opposing force to be dealt with by the main characters. In the case of *The Two of Pricure*, it should also be noted that the opponents are often in the shape of male and female.

The image of 'fighting girls' is highly popular so that it repeatedly appears in the genre of stories with independent heroines. The qualities given to these heroines – assertiveness, companionableness, and resourcefulness – are easily recognizable as the basic attributes for independent females.

Yet, once we start to examine the context surrounding the image of 'fighter girls', the superficiality of the notion that this image symbolizes feminine independence becomes apparent; there is a drastically different way of reception cultivated by a separate group other than that of its primal target, the young girls and their parents.

Stanley Hall has argued that a text is fundamentally a reconstruction created by its audience through the process of forming their own reception; there does not exist a primal text that commands a set reception from the audience: 'fighter girls' could invite different receptions. Fanzines, a flourishing new media, are the exercise field of those alternative receptions. Varieties of parodies are created by its participants, who are mostly adult male and female. The biggest genre in these parodies is that of a sexually-oriented one and many of them are based on the 'fighter girls' genre.

Treating a girl heroine not as an entity but as a subjective presence, using the image as a receptacle of the audience's sexual interest, is the most popular genre in Japanese fanzine culture (the earlier object of such treatment is the much commented upon *Sailor*

Moon(1992-1997)). However, the centre of the practice has shifted on to *mo-e*, a kind of situational fetish which has reduced ‘fighter girls’ to just another subject for *mo-e*.

A derivation of the verb *moe-ru*, which means the first leaf buds of the year to open, *mo-e* is a term for the practice of cultivating a strong partiality on highly selective elements picked out from a larger structure. *Mo-e* could be directed at situational elements as well as more simply at physical characteristics such as eyeglasses, pigtails or sailor-collared school uniforms. Essentially, it is a transposition /reassembling of favored details into a new context of the audience’ s own preferences, entirely independent of the original context.

Mo-e is exercised by both male and female audiences, so it would be inappropriate to call it a simple discrimination and reification against women. It is equally off the point to examine the ethical validity of such acts.

Rather, our attention should be directed at the practice of producing programs, ostensibly aimed at a girl audience, but intentionally incorporating *mo-e* elements to cater for the alternative adult reception. Despite the bright, eager, fun-loving and sweet disposition given to ‘fighter girls’ in the plot elements, their other attribution as sexual objects aimed at adult consumption is belied by the physical presentation of these characters – for example, in their hairstyles or costumes.

The notion that these contradictory receptions can stay separate and that young girls remain unaware of the presence of this *mo-e* reception seems ungrounded in the face of media exposure and the communication between generations.

The influence of the girl audience’ s exposure to the deconstruction and sexual reification of their favorite (and often identification with) anime characters has not been studied fully. Yet, it is not difficult to imagine that it would not serve to ease the life of girls.

Is there any possibility of producing characters less likely to attract the gaze of *mo-e*? The answer would be both negative and positive; the process of *mo-e* originates from detaching minute details from its context in order to derive highly sensualized sensations out of them, and any subject can yield some such details. On the other hand, several ambitious projects have been staked to subvert the *mo-e* attempts.

One trend is that of *Princess Alite* (2000), which places a solid worldview that overwhelms other story elements so that extracting and segmenting characters away

from that worldview leaves little to attach *mo-e*. Another trend is that of *Situation of His and Hers* (1998-1999) where excessive subjectivity is given to the heroine by a meticulous high lightening of her consciousness, thereby prohibiting the projection of the audience' s desires.

It is apparent that the shift in feminine stereotypes in the anime, from that of a waiting princess to a warrior princess has been a natural development. Girls are capable of anything and everything; they are not a friendless, isolated presence; it is up to them to choose to be a leader or a warrior. Anime has started to present girl images that break out from the traditional obedient, non-argumentative sweet things.

The future of these warring princesses shall be determined by the way new programs address the presence of the gaze of *mo-e*.

Gender and Human Security in Asia: Women and Education Mana Tanaka

Introduction

When I received the invitation to this "Gender and Human Security" workshop, I was first puzzled by the remote connection between my local community activity and "human security". The day-to-day struggle and the girl's education programme in rural Rajasthan of India seemed to have little relevance to this new concept of "human security", an idea that emerged from the recent history of internal civil conflicts. Global security issues entailed a complicated set of ideas such as national sovereignty, balance of power, nuclear deterrence and collective security. For someone like myself, working among illiterate women and children in a minority Muslim community, these issues seemed like the concerns of upper-class people in another world.

Through reading the Final Report of the Commission on Human Security and other conceptual notes, however, this mysterious trinity -community development, human security and national security- somewhat became clearer in my mind. As Sadako Ogata, the Co-Chairman of the Commission on Human Security, stated, the "nature and scale of 'insecurity' and 'crisis' have changed drastically over the decade." In the past ten years, international conflicts have become rare while internal civil conflict has victimized civilians all over the world. September 11th certainly reminds all of us that the real menace is not outside but inside the national boundary.¹ Hunger, poverty and social inequality create insecurity among individuals, become a platform for violence, and threaten a nation from within.

It is in this context that the conventional framework of national sovereignty and the state's role of protecting its citizens was severely challenged. With her ten years of experience as the High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR), Ms. Ogata appealed, "we cannot rely on a state alone to protect human rights"². An endorsement of national sovereignty and a heavy military setup for self-defense no longer ensure national and social security. Rather, it is the empowerment of the people at the bottom of society – individual and community – that will be aggregated into social and national security.

Although the concept of "human security" is new and yet distant to development

field workers, the issues of "empowerment" and the "bottom up approach" are quite familiar. In fact, development workers experienced this paradigm shift, from the "trickle down" to the "bottom up", long before the security experts.³ The purpose of this report is to highlight the issue of women's empowerment from the development workers' perspective. The first two sections briefly sketch the relationship between women and poverty. The other sections narrate the real stories of the women and the girls in rural India. A critical analysis of women and education is made in the penultimate section, which reflects the anxiety of the field worker. This is not a comprehensive report on women and education in India, but rather, my own personal story and reflection upon women and education in a minority Muslim community of India.

Who are the Deprived?

Hunger and poverty are not new phenomena. Since the 1970s, billions of dollars of foreign aid have been spent on developing nations for economic growth and poverty alleviation. The amount of bilateral aid was reduced after the Cold War, yet the amount of loans through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was never reduced. What is new, however, is the sense of failure among policy makers to outreach the poor and to reduce their numbers.

It is widely recognized that the gap between the rich and the poor grew in the 1990s. On a macro level, the top thirty percent of people control the majority of wealth in the world. According to the Final Report of the Commission on Human Security,⁴ 1.2 billion people still live below the poverty line of one dollar per day and two-thirds of them live in Asia. On a micro level, a study published in the *Economic and Political Weekly* magazine found that a mere two percent of people have moved out from poverty over a period of 25 years.⁵ This household survey and interview within Andhra Pradesh of India, of course, did not depict the whole picture of rural development in India. This finding, however, endorsed many local practitioners' observations that the poor remain poor over generations.

In addition to this ever-increasing gap between 'haves' and 'have-nots', another characteristic of poverty was highlighted in the 1990s: the serious deprivation of women. On a macro level, internal civil conflicts left their utmost impact upon women who lost their husbands, houses, and source of income, as well as being subjected to

physical and sexual assault. Now, the majority of refugees are women and children. On a micro level, all the statistics indicate the growing, persistent gap between men and women in the population,⁶ infant mortality and literacy rates in India. The Human Development Report of 1995 encapsulated this phenomenon: "Poverty has a woman's face."⁷ Clearly, the majority of people swimming or sinking in the pond of poverty are women and children.

Reaching Out to the Deprived

Despite the reports and statistics that emphasize the relationship between poverty and women, "poverty" is often not enough to cover all the miseries of women. Economic dispossession is just a part of the misery in rural Rajasthan where I work. A woman at the bottom of society has many other faces: she is illiterate, lives in a rural area, works in the field, is married early, has five to ten children, has never been to school, has never voted, always feels depressed, has no self-esteem, and dies as early as fifty years of age. Robert Chambers,⁸ in his early book, provides five useful clusters,⁸ of disadvantages that shed light on the other faces of woman.

1. Poor (few assets / no land)
2. Weak (sickness / malnutrition)
3. Isolated (from information and support)
4. Vulnerable (to changes in situation / natural calamities)
5. Powerless (exploited)

Chambers argues that policy outreach becomes more and more difficult the higher the number is from 1 to 5.⁹ It is relatively simple to provide money, shelter and health care to the weak and poor, but reaching isolated tribes or protecting illiterate women from local exploitation is not. In the development sector, working among "deprived" or working for "empowerment" means tackling these difficult aspects of poverty (isolation, vulnerability, powerlessness). As the above-mentioned study of Andhra Pradesh suggests, lifting people out of the poverty pond is extremely difficult. This is a strenuous task and you may end up saving just two women out of a hundred over 25 years. Worse, you may end up sinking or swimming in the pond yourself while trying to save others.¹⁰

Having stayed in rural Rajasthan as a local NGO worker, not as a researcher, I have little knowledge of the size and depth of this poverty pond. In other words, I have little

interest in measuring the scale of poverty or identifying its causes. Many institutions as well as prominent economists have been working on poverty alleviation strategies in India, yet the poor remain poor over generations. To save the poor in the poverty pond, one needs to swim in the same pond. My story is about the day-to-day struggle in rural Rajasthan: about the women, the girls and the challenges in education.

Women, Girls, Challenges in Education

The State of Rajasthan is located in the west corner of India, sharing the longest border with Pakistan. It was also the land of the Maharaja and the warriors who left behind beautiful forts, palaces and legends. The Thar desert stretches from Pakistan to Rajasthan. Naturally, water is scarce in the state. The climate is extreme: summer temperatures can reach 45-50 degrees Celsius; winter can be as cold as 4-7 degrees Celsius. Although the land is a popular tourist spot in India, many outsiders do not realize the extent of poverty and illiteracy in Rajasthan, as they do not visit the poor backward inlands there. The Mewat area where I worked is one of the most deprived areas in the state.

Mewat is synonymous with Meos, the predominant Muslim population in the area. Although the Muslim population in the state of Rajasthan is around 10 percent, over 70 percent of Mewat residents are Meo-Muslims. Meo scores especially low on the social indicator scale. Women have 7 to 8 children on average, significantly more than 4 to 5 among the low castes in the region. The sex ratio is as low as 840 females per 1,000 males, indicating the high rate of female infanticide in the area.

Tradition and custom carry a lot of weight in rural Rajasthan. Child marriage and the custom of dowry are widespread despite federal law.¹¹ In the Mewat area, the average age of marriage ranges from 12 to 14, at times even younger. Parents often take advantage of marrying off the younger daughter with her elder sister to the same family to reduce the dowry.¹² Unlike other Muslim communities, marriage is arranged with a boy in another village, thus isolating the girl from her own family. The *purdah* system, the covering of heads and faces with shawls, is also prevalent even with girls as young as 5 or 6. After marriage, women must bend their shawls forward as a sign of submission when they meet with their husband and their in-laws.¹³

Meo women are known for their hard work. While men are killing time smoking water pipes and playing cards, women take charge of all the agricultural work, animal husbandry and household tasks. Being close to the desert, fetching water and collecting firewood requires tremendous labor. Consequently, women seek help from the eldest daughter to look after the younger children and the household. It is women and girls who do most of the fieldwork of sowing, weeding, harvesting, thrashing, and stacking. The buffalo, their precious asset and source of income, also add to the workload: collecting and cutting fodder, watering, bathing and milking.¹⁴

Although they are categorized as "Muslims", they have adopted many Hindu and indigenous customs. On one hand, they follow the rule of fasting, prayer and Muslim festivals, but on the other side, they celebrate Hindu festivals, spending excessive amounts for wedding and dowry in contrast to the traditional Muslim custom of bride-price.¹⁵ Meo women seem to bear a double disadvantage by both Hindu and Muslim male-dominating customs. When two Afghan women, both faithful Muslims, visited our project site for exposure in March 2004, they were stunned by the oppressive practices in this rural area. During the field visit and discussion, issues of sexual violence, incest, forced marriage and alcoholism among men were repeatedly mentioned by village women. They were also surprised by the amount of field labor women perform, as most Muslim women in Afghanistan do not even go out to the local market. "Women may be much better off in Afghanistan (than in Rajasthan)", one said.¹⁶

A girl child's wellbeing is largely negated in Meo due to extreme subordination practices. Girls spend most of their time engaged in domestic labor: pitching water from wells, feeding the buffalo, collecting firewood, preparing food, and taking care of younger siblings. These girls do not have time for school; following in the footsteps of their illiterate mothers. Even when they have a chance for an education, the quality of education is extremely poor in rural government schools. In our NGO's target area of Mewat, one teacher looks after 80-150 students in one classroom. These teachers are often absent from school or do not give any guidance to students. Consequently, children learn very little over the years. Some cannot even write their own names. This accounts for the high dropout rate and the functional illiteracy¹⁷ of government school children.

The Long Road Ahead for Girls' Education

Due to the extreme backwardness mentioned above, the well-meaning intentions of NGOs to educate girls is not well accepted by the Meo community. Villagers were already disillusioned by malfunctioning government school education and very cautious about outsiders who may do wrong to their women and girls. On top of these suspicions, there is a hardcore belief that "education does not make a good farmer." Agrarian life requires lots of manual labor, including washing buffalo, making fuel out of their dung, and fetching water from far away wells. Educated boys and girls frown on the dung and urine of buffalo, and look down on physical labor and illiterate elders. With the scarcity of job opportunities outside their villages, virtually none for girls, the community sees no benefit in educating their children.

To earn the trust of these disillusioned villagers, local NGOs start their work by building confidence. Initially, local field supervisors keep open dialog with the community, form women's Self-Help-Groups (SHG) for collective savings and gradually win the trust of village women. SHG and micro-finance programmes require a lot of input: how to count money? Who will keep the account? Who will borrow the money? What if she cannot repay the amount? Regular meetings and training sessions create a solid bond among illiterate women. By the time the women learn how to sign their names in an account book or visit a bank to open a group account, they have gained enough confidence to deal with other challenges in their villages.

Taleemshala, a non-formal school supported by NGOs, is introduced once the above process is completed. Women are consulted about building a village school where they can send their daughters. The NGO conducts a baseline survey and forms a Village Education Committee (VEC) in each village. VEC members and SHG women are responsible for: sending their daughters to school, providing a learning space, active involvement in meetings, and contributing grains and money to school events. Women become active and enthusiastic about Taleemshala in a village where they can safely send their daughters. It is the NGO that is responsible for recruiting and training teachers, providing study materials and maintaining the cost of running the school.

This scenario is exactly the path Ibtada¹⁸ has taken in the past seven years. An organization was established in 1997, and it supported a micro finance project that covered over 60 villages. An education programme was launched in 2000, three years

after the formation of SHG. Quality education now reaches over 1,000 students in 26 villages.

Education with No Discount

One of the advantages of non-formal education is an absolute freedom in its pedagogy and curriculum design. Generally, in non-formal or alternative education sectors, the purpose of education is narrowly defined. The emphasis is on writing letters or applications, reading street signs or newspapers and keeping the accounts of the *mazduri* (labor fees). Literacy and numeracy are essential in productive life, but do not necessarily make the individual an active participant in society. The main objective of primary education should be to encourage children to learn and to develop their confidence, skills and capabilities. Being a minority Muslim, it is more crucial for girls to learn how to work with diverse groups and accept different religions than it is to acquire simple literacy. Ibtada adapted its pedagogy and texts from an experienced education NGO, Digantar,¹⁹ to bring up students as independent thinkers and self-learners.

Taleemshala' s education is unique: a multi-level learning system with no exams or competitions and an absolute egalitarianism between a teacher and 30 students. Its curriculum aims at making students vocal and rational. Therefore, almost 60 percent of school activities are spent on group discussion and oral exercises where students brush up on their reasoning and communication skills. Unfortunately, it is too complex to share the entire philosophy and pedagogy of Ibtada' s primary education programme in this paper. This section focuses on one aspect of its education programme: the recruitment and training of teachers.

The quality of education largely depends on the quality of teachers, so recruitment and training are critical. From a management perspective, it is relatively simple to prepare the "hard" items for education: negotiation of the location of the school within the community, ordering the study materials from Digantar, and distributing stationery and books to village schools. Recruiting teachers is the difficult and risky part of the operation: Who is capable? Who is culturally sensitive? How long will they stay? For most candidates, working in rural Meo-village is quite a challenge. One needs to commute to a village under the extreme climate of Rajasthan and endure all the responsibilities of both teaching students and facilitating community meetings. Although the ideal

intervention is to recruit local people from a village itself and train them, this option is limited as not many Meos are qualified.

In the past four years, Ibtada has conducted teachers' recruitment six times and provided training for nearly 100 candidates. However, there is always the dilemma of finalizing teachers, as those who scored well in exam – commonly non-locals - will not stay long, while the local candidates perform extremely poorly. Female candidates are more than welcomed but their retention rate is low. The salary provides motivation but those who solely look for higher payment often lack the cultural sensitivity required to approach Muslim girls. There seems to be no golden formula to find committed and capable candidates in rural areas.

Teacher training is the most crucial part of school quality management. All candidates have to go through a 40-day residential training or three-month in-service training. Training covers five subjects (Hindi, Mathematics, Science, English and Art) in addition to the pedagogy of ancient Greek, local folk songs and poems, intensive group discussions and even the proper way of cleaning toilets. The purpose of training is to build skills and sensitize the attitude of teachers who will directly serve the Meo-community.²⁰

Frankly speaking, it took me a while to understand why such intensive training is required to teach a little child in school. When I was in Japan, I always felt comfortable tutoring elementary students at a cram school (*juku*), even though I had received no formal training. Later, however, I realized one basic principle in education through observation: one could only teach the way one learned. Those candidates who themselves received poor quality education at school were ill equipped to handle a large number of students without raising their voices, repeating the same instructions, and using physical punishment at times. Simultaneously, I realized that the primary education I received in Japan was extremely good in quality: most of the teachers were well-educated and patient, used many colorful teaching materials and paid attention to the progress of individual student. Ibtada's intensive training is an effort to bring local teachers up to the level of those in Japan.

In spite of such endeavors, there remains other problems for Ibtada to wrestle with. Notably, the recurring costs of the teachers' salaries and the frequency of meetings and training sessions are high compared with other local NGOs working in non-formal education.²¹ Results, in terms of student attendance and community appreciation, are

also not authentic. Although village women enthusiastically invited the Taleemshala, their habits of using elder girls for seasonal labors and house works did not change so quickly. When girls turn 14 or 15 years of age, parents automatically withdraw them from school for early marriages or housework. Teachers and field supervisors have the strenuous task of visiting parents and talking to VEC members. This never ceased over the four years. It could have been easier to reduce the number of subjects or school time, but no appeasement was made to accommodate the local tradition. It is, after all, the constitutional right of every child to receive good quality primary education.

The Reality Behind Empowerment

There are few counter arguments against the notion that education empowers people. The Co-Chairman of the Commission on Human Security, Amartya Sen, elaborated the link between basic education and human security in his speech.²² Although he defines basic education as narrowly as literacy and numeracy, he expects much from this: access to the law, political participation, employment, and increase of ownership and income of women. The Final Report of the Commission on Human Security also devotes one chapter to knowledge, skills, values and human security.²³ It highlights the educated women's positive impact on family and health. Although the Final Report is not as ambitious as Amartya Sen's speech about the benefits of basic education, both agree that the returns on educational investment are higher in women than men. Although I do not completely disagree with this notion, what is illustrated on paper seems like too rosy a picture of women and education, not entirely reflecting the bitter reality.

First of all, basic education does not directly contribute to income generation and employment.²⁴ In rural India, there are millions of educated men who can not get employment outside their villages. On the other hand, there are millions of illiterate women who are self-employed and able to generate income out of their small businesses in South Asia. The success of micro finance project such as that of the Grameen Bank proved that it was not the lack of basic education, but the lack of capital that kept women away from entrepreneurship. The micro finance project of Ibtada witnessed the empowerment of illiterate women many times. Examples of this empowerment include some SHG group calling on a bank manager (clearly an upper

caste male) for a loan and another group forcing the closure of an illegal liquor shop in their village. In a rural society, numbers count. Women who learn the strength of collective power can voice their issues without hesitation.

Secondly, property ownership and legal protection have almost nothing to do with the educational background of women. The majority of women whether they are educated or uneducated, do not seek legal support against unjust actions done to them. Victims of rape and sexual assault would rarely file the cases in court, because they are afraid of tainting their family name. The cost of justice is so high that blackmail to the family, rumors about the victimized girl and insensitive investigations continue until the day of final judgment, which only comes 5-10 years later. Numerous cases of dowry harassments and massacres are also rarely brought to court but settled between families. The precondition of property rights and legal support for women is the rule of law, protection of privacy and swift judgment. If none of these exist, what is the use of basic education?

Last but not least, education does not necessarily make women happy or secure in society. A predominant reason for not sending a girl to school in a rural village is the fear of her gaining the ability of articulation. Educated girls start asking many questions and often speak out against men. In extremely male dominated societies, this is not welcomed at all. An outspoken girl may have a hard time in securing a marriage arrangement. If a woman is extremely vocal but her family is too poor to provide many dowry items, she can be ostracized by her in-laws. For educated woman themselves, it is quite frustrating to live in a traditional society after many years of education and exposure to a new world through media and books: there is no job outside the home for woman, no educated friends to talk with, and no choice of when and whom to marry. At least in rural Rajasthan, unfortunately, women are more secure being illiterate, obedient to men, and quiet at home.

Then why do we need to educate girls? Working in the primary education programme over the past two years, I still do not have a good answer, except that basic education is a fundamental human right. The majority of our students' families are illiterate farmers. Raising a first generation learner²⁵ is always difficult. There is always almost no support or understanding from the family, no role model in the village and little chance to pursue higher education. Having being an English teacher for village girls, I worried a lot

about the future of these outspoken angels. All of us treated the girls with respect, but respect is something they would probably never receive in their new married lives. Their desire of pursuing higher education may never be fulfilled.

However, despite my concerns, the very girls who studied at Taleemshala are positive and confident about basic education. Our first batch of 29 girls delivered their messages before their graduation. From hearing their voices, I realized that besides basic literacy and numeracy, they have learned to think, to speak, to laugh and cry, to clean up, to read the time, to make a phone call and to work with others at Taleemshala. As for their future dreams, a variety of images came out: to learn how to drive a car and motorcycle, to visit new places faraway from the village, to learn stitching and sewing, to become fluent in English, and to continue studying at school. The social environment is extremely harsh for women, but when these girls strived to fulfil their wishes, the results also embraced them. This April, 29 girls surprised all of us with their incredibly high scores in the first 5th Standard Exam. What surprised us more were the 26 families who agreed to send their daughters to Class 6 of the government school. Never before did we expect the Meo-community to send their unmarried daughters outside their villages. Now some girls are studying at a school in the city, commuting from their relatives' homes.

Empowerment is not a linear process. Whether it is an individual or community, we sometimes do not see much change while we are working hard. Empowerment is often compared with the process of heating water: you do not see the change until water boils. Only when it hits boiling point, a community is transformed. What we can do, at least, is to keep providing good quality non-formal education for girls as long as possible. When Ibtada educated 1,000 or 2,000 girls and sent them back to the community, the stream of girls' education become irretrievable. Our micro finance project became the platform for 2,500 women in the Meo-community over a period of seven years. Taleemshala would be the platform of change in the next decade.

Conclusion

In the past two years, I had the opportunity to work with a grass-roots NGO in rural Rajasthan and witnessed the empowerment of women and children. Not many Indians have a chance for such an in-depth experience of the field. Adjusting my life to local

customs was not easy, but through that process, I learned the social norms, Hindi conversation and even how to ride a motorcycle through the chaotic traffic in India. For foreign aid workers, it is always difficult to reach the poor and find out their real needs. Looking back on my thirty months in India, I am content with the path I took to see the reality.

Today, many international organizations have become keen on participatory community development and the empowerment of women. Little however is known about the reality of these rural people and the strenuous work done by local NGO workers. Stories of empowerment are not as vivid as they are reported. Effects of basic education on women's employment, ownership and security are not as clear as they seem. Many international donors tend to overlook these bitter realities and just publicize the "positive reaction" of the community as a sign of empowerment. This is inherent to the short project cycle and result-oriented approach adopted by many donor agencies. Real empowerment requires strenuous work and long-term commitment. The study of gender and human security needs to focus on the real empowerment process and the real people working at the bottom eschelons of society.

Regarding the lives of women and children in other parts of India, I am not as fluent as one particular American journalist who spent six years in India. Her honest and detailed reports about women's lives provided me with many fresh insights. Her words below perfectly synchronize with the very feeling I have right now. I hope this paper on women and education will draw your attention more to the lives of women in South Asia.

But slowly I realized that the way Indian women live is the way the majority of women in the world spend their lives: it is Americans who are peculiar. Ultimately, I realized my journey to India was a privilege. Rather than going to the periphery, I had come to the center.

Elizabeth Bumiller²⁶

Endnotes

¹Ogata, Sadako. "Human Security and Global Security," Speech at Columbia University, March 2002.

²In my mind, "human rights" and "human security" are almost synonyms, yet the latter refers to an elementary human right such as the "right to live". For the distinction, please refer to Sen, Amartya. *Basic Education and Human Security*, 2002.

³The "trickle down effect" is a classic theory of economic development. It suggests that national economic growth and its benefit would "trickle down" from the top to the bottom. India adopted this approach in the 1960s for its Five Year Plan, but the effect was widely disproved and replaced by bottom-up approach in the 1970s.

⁴The Commission on Human Security. *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People*, 2004

⁵ Krishna Anirudh. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 17 July 2004

⁶The latest census data shows that the sex ratio in India has fallen from 945 (1991) to 927(2001) per 1000 males. Census 2001 is available at <http://www.censusindia.net/>

⁷UNDP "Human Development Report 1995," UNDP, New York

⁸ Robert Chambers is probably the biggest academic figure in the development sector today. He focuses on the knowledge and capacity of local people and enhances their active participation in situation analysis, policy making, and implementation. His empirical studies heavily relies on fieldwork in rural India and the local workers' approach to poor illiterate peasants. This approach and method are called Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), later referred as Participatory Learning and Action (PLA). PRA-PLA had a great impact on the development sector in the 1990s.

⁹Chambers, Robert. *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, Longman Publishing Group, 1983.

¹⁰Grameen Bank is the micro credit pioneer which reached over 43,000 villages across Bangladesh. Grameen's borrowers are almost exclusively women, 96 percent, with no access to other credit. Founded in 1983, its loan recovery rate still remains at a miraculous 99 percent (Muhammad Yunus 2004). Little reported however, is the number of field supervisors who outreached the bottom and went bankrupt. Those local workers who themselves possess little, sometimes repaid the money instead of the borrowers. This emotional attachment or obligation is the challenge of any field worker who directly caters to the poor.

¹¹The Dowry Prohibition Act (No. 18 of 1961) stipulates a penalty of seven years imprisonment and a fine for giving or taking dowry. The minimum age of marriage is stated by the Indian Constitution as 18 years of age for women and 21 years for men.

¹²In rural Rajasthan, poor farmers commonly practice arranged marriages of two daughters with two sons from another family. This saves the amount of dowry items - money, motorcycle, color TV and other furniture - at one time.

¹³ Literature on Meo-Muslims is almost non existent. Hashim Amir-Ali's socio-economic

survey (1970) provides details about Meo's socio-economic background. Almost 35 years after publication, the social codes and practices noted in this book are still dominant in the area. Another recent baseline study was conducted by SRIJAN in 2000.

¹⁴ Northern Indians consume lots of milk for tea. In Rajasthan, milk is mostly taken from buffalo not from cows. The dairy programme, which forms women's group for milk collection and selling, is popular in Rajasthan and the adjunct state in Gujarat. Institutionalization of these local dairies became a major movement in Gujarat in the 1970s. Counter to the "Green Revolution (agricultural renovation)" in the 1960s in Punjab, this community mobilization is referred to as the "White Revolution" in India.

¹⁵ In Muslim custom, the groom has to pay a high bride-price at the time of marriage. At the time of divorce, he is also responsible for paying the living expenses of his ex-wife.

¹⁶ Monitoring and Evaluation Department, Aga Khan Foundation Afghanistan. *Towards a Gender Strategy – Report on Women's Tour of Rajasthan*, April 2004

¹⁷ Functional literacy indicates self-learning abilities such as reading newspaper or books. It contrasts to simple literacy in which one can just write one's own name and address. In India, all school-enrolled children are considered as "literate" regardless of their actual attendance and literacy level. This policy hides a lot of functionally illiterate students underneath the literacy data.

¹⁸ *Ibtada* means "beginning" in Urdu. Meo-Muslims have a strong attachment to Urdu in which the *Holy Book of Qur'an* is written. Many Meos migrated to Pakistan during the partition between India and Pakistan in the 1940s.

¹⁹ Digantar is a distinguished resource agency of primary education and teacher training. They developed their own curriculum and numerous teaching and learning materials. Their multi-level learning and egalitarian system borrowed a lot from the Japanese schools *KUMON* and *Tomoe Gakuen*, the alma mater of actress Ms. Tetsuko Kuroyanagi.

²⁰ The trinity of "skill", "knowledge" and "attitude" is required of any facilitator or service provider working in local communities. In the field of social work and PRA-PLA in India, the major focus is on proper attitude and communication skills.

²¹ In *Ibtada*, per student annual cost is around 45 US dollars in comparison to 30 US dollars in other education NGOs such as BLACK in Bangladesh and Gyan Shala in India.

²² Amartya Sen "Basic Education and Human Security," Speech at Kolkata University, January 2002

²³ The Commission on Human Security "Chapter 7: Knowledge, Skills and Values for Human Security," *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People*, 2004.

²⁴ UNESCO conducted a comprehensive experiment regarding literacy and productivity in the 1970s. Empirical studies in 15 countries did not find a clear link between them. For the details, please see the Experimental World Literacy Programme (EWLP) Final Report issued by UNESCO and UNDP, 1976.

²⁵ Many studies proved the benefits of second-generation learners, however, as first generations create the path and make sure to nourish and educate their children.

²⁶ Bumiller, Elisabeth. *May You Be a Mother of a Hundred Sons*. Penguin Books, 1991.

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アジアにおけるジェンダーと人間の安全保障 —女性と教育— 田中真奈

「ジェンダーと人間の安全保障」をテーマとした報告の依頼を受けたときは多少困惑した。インドの片田舎で行っているコミュニティー活動が世界の安全保障と一体何の関係があるのだろうか？人間の安全保障に係る最終報告書を読み進めるうちに、その疑問が氷解していった。過去10年に世界各地で勃発した国内紛争の数々は、安全保障の問題が国内の貧困や不平等と密接に関わることを示す。従ってアジアにおける人間の安全保障を考えると、社会の底辺で暮らす人々のエンパワーメントの問題が重要となる。

国家の治安や集団安全保障は遠い世界の話であるが、貧困と不平等はインドに暮らす自分にとって身近な問題である。本レポートはインド・ラジャスタン州におけるイスラム子女の初等教育の取り組みを通じて、貧困とエンパワーメントについて現場のレベルから思うところを述べたものである。

開発分野では『貧困』や『欠乏』についての多くの考察がなされてきた。なかでもロバート・チェンバースの著書にある貧困の分析は、搾取や危機に対する脆弱性といった構造的な問題を明示している。この難しい課題に対して、息の長い活動と質の高い教育で応えるローカルNGOがインドには数多く、私が2年半を過ごした団体もそのひとつである。

イスラム子女への教育活動を通じて学んだことは、教育—とりわけ女子教育とエンパワーメントの関係が一般的に論じられるほど明確でないことである。家族や地域の理解も将来の展望も無い状況で、読み書きができることに一体どれほどの意義があるのか？むしろ自分の置かれた状況に疑問に感じたり、書籍を通じて外の世界に触れたりすることで、その後の人生が余計に苦しいものになりかねない。

エンパワーメントというのは女子の就学率や識字率といったことでは測れない。教育を受けた女性が、差別や抑圧のなかで他の非識字女性と変わらぬ短い一生を送るのだとしたら、それが何の“power”と呼べるだろうか。しかし開発機関の中には数値の上昇やコミュニティーの反応といった一過性のものにとらわれ、本質的な変化(Transformation)の重要性を看過するものも多い。アジアにおけるジェンダーと人間の安全保障の研究が、将来に渡って貧困や差別の中に暮らす人々の視点から行われることを望んでいる。

書評：川橋範子・黒木雅子 著
『混在するめぐみ：ポストコロニアル時代の宗教とフェミニズム』
(東京：人文書院、2004年)
評者：加藤恵津子

いずれの宗教かにかかわらず、一般に「信心深い女性」は「男性に対して従順な女性」だと想像されがちである。このような想像は、ある面、現実から派生している。実際多くの場合、女性は、「神・仏・超自然の存在に対して従順」であることと、「神職や神学を占有する男性たちに対して従順」であることを、抱き合わせで要求される。だが、女性たちが「みんな」「何の疑問も持たず」「嬉々として」このような要求を受け入れていると思ったら、それは想像者の頭の中のステレオタイプの問題である。

本書は、一般人や（男性）聖職者たちの抱くこのようなステレオタイプの・一枚岩的な「女性信徒」像を覆そうとする試みである。執筆者の一人・川橋は、宗教学者・文化人類学者として、また曹洞宗の僧侶の「つれあい」として、仏教寺院内に生きる女性たち―僧侶の妻や尼僧―の声を丹念に拾い上げ、仏教界を支配する家父長制の限界を描き出す。もう一人の執筆者・黒木は、社会学とフェミニスト神学の立場から、サンフランシスコに住む日系アメリカ人キリスト教女性たちの声を集める。そして彼女たちが、男性が定義した神や正義にも、白人女性が唱えるフェミニズムにも疎外感を感じる中で、自分なりの（部分的）キリスト教信仰をつむぎ出す様を描く。本書はこのように、専攻も調査対象も、対象となる人々との関係も違う二人の研究者が、理論的枠組を提示する冒頭二章は共同執筆し、続く中核の二章は各自が専門のフィールドについて執筆するという形式で書かれている。

個々のフィールドの興味深さもさることながら、本書の理論的枠組において特筆すべきは、この本が「宗教」「フェミニズム」「ポストコロニアリズム」という「トリロジー」（三つ巴）の上に成り立っているという点である。まず、「宗教」と「フェミニズム」はこれまで「不幸な関係」にあったと執筆者は言う。フェミニズムは宗教を、家父長制が女性支配のために用いる「主人の道具」であると見なしてきたし、また宗教学も、他の学問分野にも増してフェミニズムの思想に抵抗を示してきたからである。だが、宗教学において声を聞かれることの少なかった女性信徒に光を当てるには、この親和性の薄い二つの分野を融合させる必要がある。

ではなぜここに「ポストコロニアリズム」も加わる必要があるのか。この部分の議論に、本書の真骨頂がある。これまでのフェミニズムにおける宗教批判は、「白人」フェミニストが、宗教（よく槍玉にあがるのはイスラーム教）と結託した「第三世界」の男性の女性への抑圧を批判する、といった白人中心主義的・植民地主義的態度と不可分だったからである。このようなフェミニズムの磁場においては、「有色」の女性は、「(宗教による、また男性による)被抑圧者」

として描かれがちである。「白人」フェミニストによる「有色」の女性たちのこのような表象に対しては、「第三世界」ないしイスラーム文化圏に（部分的にでも）身を置く女性知識人たち自身から、すでに疑問や批判が投げかけられている。女性学のチャンドラ・モハンティ、文化人類学のリラ・アプ＝ルゴッドなどはその好例である。

そうであれば本書の執筆者たちが、日本人・日系人女性信徒らを描くにあたって、フェミニズムをもって家父長的な宗教制度に挑戦するだけでは、白人フェミニストが既に抱いている「同民族の男性に抑圧されたかわいそうな日本人・日系人女性」というステレオタイプを強化してしまう危険がある。この点で、白人中心主義的フェミニズムもまた「主人の道具」である。これを避けるには、フェミニズム内部のパワー関係の批判も同時に行わねばならないのである。

有色女性の表象に関するポストコロニアルな問題は、宗教というトピックを超えて重要である。この第三の足場を取り入れることを発想できたのは、両執筆者ともアメリカのアカデミアで過ごし、現地の研究者との間で違和感や葛藤を経験し得たからだだろうと想像する。だが、そういった具体的な体験が本書にはほとんど書かれていないのは残念である。アメリカにおけるそれまでの日本人・日系人女性の表象や研究、研究者の態度に関して、両者ともしかるべきスペースを割いてより具体的に、より丁寧に論じるべきと感じる。そうでなければ、日本の読者がこのポストコロニアルな問題を「自分のこと」として感じることは難しいし、下手をすると日本の読者が自らの立場の独特さに無頓着に、イスラーム圏やいわゆる「第三世界」の女性との安直な連帯感を感じてしまいかねない。

さて、メインの章の一つで、まず川橋は、今日多くの仏教宗派において僧侶の妻（「寺族」）たちが、「黙認されているが公認されない」あいまいな存在として、負い目を持って生きなければいけない現状をあぶり出す。彼女たちがその存在を公には認められない背景には「虚偽の出家主義」、すなわち表向きには僧侶は独身であらねばならないという考えがある。さらにこの考えの根本には、男性が歩む仏の道を妨げる存在としての女性への非難がある。そして当の妻たちは、うしろめたさの中にも僧侶を「裏方」として支え、寺の後継者たる男子を出産・養育するという役割はしっかりと担われる。寺院を非日常の聖域としてロマン化しがちな外部読者にとって、これらは目を疑いたくなるような報告である。だが今日、寺族・尼僧・その他の女性たちはネットワークを作り（川橋はその運動の一端を担う）、家父長制から自由な仏教を創り出す活動を行っている。彼女たちは仏教の中にとどまり、仏教の刷新に主体的に関わっているのである。コロニアリスト的態度の研究者には気づきにくい、「現状に満足している」でも「かわいそうな被害者」でもない女性たちの姿がそこにある。同時に川橋は、異なる宗

派に属する寺族や、尼僧など、異なる立場にある女性たちの声を自己反省とともに拾いあげ、寺院に生きる女性が一枚岩でないことも示す。もう一つの重要なポイントである。

続く章で黒木は、アメリカ国内では「マイノリティ女性」である日系人（キリスト教）女性たちの自己規定の語りに焦点を当てる。社会学者らしく黒木は、彼女たちの多様な語りを、ジェンダー（女性であること）、エスニシティ（日系アメリカ人であること）、宗教（クリスチャンであること）という三つのファクターの多様な組み合わせとして分析する。実際、彼女たちの語りは必ずしも宗教ないしキリスト教というトピックに限定されない。ここで注目されるのは、ある者は男性中心主義的な牧師の語りに耳を貸さず、またある者は、キリスト教と他の東アジア的宗教（仏教や儒教）を組み合わせた信仰を持つと言い、またある者は、白人フェミニストから受けた夫婦関係に関するアドバイスを「文化的感受性」ゆえに部分的にしか受け入れず、またある者は、永年フェミニズムよりも人種問題を重要視してきたと語る。これらの語りから共通して見えてくるのは、彼女たちが自らを「(白人および日系人) 男性とも違うが、白人女性とも違う」と考えているさまである。フェミニスト神学は「女性の経験」の重要性を主張するが、エスニシティによって「女性の経験」も異なる以上、すなわち「女性」が一枚岩でない以上、ここにポストコロニアル研究的視点が不可欠であることを、日系キリスト教徒女性たちの語りは示している。

これら中核の二章は、フィールドワークに基づくだけあって迫力がある。だがあえて批判を呈するならば、せつかく宗教をメインピックとし、現場の女性信徒たちの声を集めているにもかかわらず、女性たちが、具体的にそれぞれの宗教の教義のどの部分を心の支えにしているのか、どの部分に男女平等の希望を見出し、その宗教から立ち去らないことを選んでいるのかが見えにくい。特に黒木の章では、「キリスト教」は「仏教」「儒教」「ジェンダー」「エスニシティ」などと並ぶキーワードの一つとなっており、インタビュー一人一人が教義の具体的などの部分に共鳴したり、どのように自分なりに解釈したりしているのかの記述がない。川橋の場合は、釈尊の教えの自分なりの解釈を提示している（曰く、釈尊は性別・人種といった「生まれ」に基づく差別を戒めた、また「すべてが関係性の中にあり、たえず変化するという真理」は、「男女の性差を不可変で普遍的なものとして決め付ける」言説を戒めるはずである）。願わくは、ネットワークに属する他の女性たちの解釈も聞いてみたいものである。

さらに本書全体の批判を述べるならば、二人の研究者が明快な一つの方向に読者を導いているとは言い難い。抽象的なレベルでは多くの理論を分かち合っているように見える二人も、各自の章を読むと、理論の具体的な使い方や最終的な主張においては部分的にしか共通点がないことがわかる。例えば川橋の章に登場するのは、寺院内で生活する、宗教と生活が不可分な関係にある女性たちであり、彼女たちにとって仏教の刷新は、文字どおり人生をかけた問題で

ある。一方、黒木の章に登場する女性たちにとってキリスト教は、先述の仏教女性たちと同じ意味で人生を左右するものではなく、自分というパレットにおける絵の具の一つ、すなわち他の宗教と混合させたり、遠ざかったりすることのできる、いわば自分のアイデンティティ形成のために自由に交渉できるファクターの一つであり、教会制度の中核に切り込んで行く必要性までは彼女たちに感じさせないものようである。いずれの女性たちも「彼女たちを周辺化してきた宗教伝統のなかに」「踏みとどまる道を選んだ」(155頁)といっても、宗教との日々の具体的な関わり方はかなり異なる。こういった諸所の細かな点で、読者は混乱を免れない。

もっとも執筆者たち自身、これらの不整合は承知のようで、二人の立場の違いを「ずれ」「ポリフォニー」といった言葉で説明し、これら自体を本書の「めぐみ」としている。読者の一人としてはそれほど肯定的な捉え方はできないのだが、それでも本書を、未踏の分野への挑戦であり、たとえ抽象的なレベルではあっても、まずは大掛かりな理論的枠組を提供し、さらにたとえ不整合はあっても、フィールドワークによる複数の具体的分析例を提示しようとした最初の試みであると捉えれば、勇気ある一歩として評価できる。この本は、「宗教」と、「フェミニズム」または「ポストコロニアリズム」のうちどちらかを結び付けて論じようとする今後の日本での議論に、「三つ目」の視点が必要であることを警告して止まないだろう。

BOOK REVIEW:Kawahashi, Noriko and Masako Kuroki
Mixed Blessings: Feminism and Religion in the Postcolonial Age.
Tokyo: Jinbun-shoin, 2004.
REVIEWER: Etsuko Kato

It is generally believed that 'religious women' are 'submissive women to men'. This belief does in part derive from reality. In actual practice, women are often expected to be submissive to God, Buddha, or other deities as well as to the men who rule religious institutions. However, the assumption that this is 'willingly' and 'without question' accepted by all women is a stereotype.

This book is an attempt to counter the stereotypical, monolithic image of 'religious women' held by the general public and clergymen. One of the authors, Kawahashi, is a theologian and anthropologist as well as the wife of a Soto school Buddhist priest. She collects the stories of female priests and priests' wives to depict the limitations of patriarchal Buddhism. The other author, Kuroki, writes from the perspective of sociology and feminist theology. She gives voice to Japanese-American Christian women in San Francisco who, feeling alienated from both male-centered theology and White woman-centered feminism, create their own (partly) Christian beliefs. Thus, the book is a result of a collaboration between two researchers of different academic backgrounds and research positions and who relate differently to their research subjects. They write the first two theoretical chapters together and the following two fieldwork-based chapters individually.

An interesting aspect of this book's theoretical fieldwork is that it is based on a 'trilogy' of religion, feminism and post-colonialism. The authors first point out how religion and feminism have so far had a 'dismal' relationship. Feminists have criticized religions as 'the master's tool', used by the patriarchy to oppress women. Theology, in turn, has showed more resistance to the concepts of feminism than any other academic discipline. Thus, for this book to highlight the stories of women in religion, a reconciliation between these two academic fields is critical.

But why must post-colonialism also become involved here? The feminist approach to religion has so far been inseparable from white-centric, colonialistic attitudes. Feminists have criticized the oppression by men of women in the so-called Third world, often Islamic societies. Such depictions have already been questioned and critiqued by

intellectual women from these societies such as the feminist Chandra Mohanty and the cultural anthropologist Lila Abu-Longhod.

Against this background, if the authors were to depict Japanese women's challenge towards the religious patriarchy from a feminist standpoint, they are likely to only intensify the White women's stereotypes of the 'pitiable Japanese women' oppressed by the men in their culture. In this respect, white-centric feminism is also 'the master's tool'. In order to avoid this, the authors must therefore simultaneously critique the power relations within feminism.

Post-colonial problems relating to the depiction of non-white women go beyond the issue of religion. In my opinion, the authors' excellent idea of introducing post-colonialism to the book must be a result of their own academic experience in the United States and the gulf they felt between themselves and their North American colleagues. However, it is unfortunate that they did not write about their own direct experiences of depictions and attitudes towards Japanese/ Japanese American women in the book. Without that, Japanese readers would find it difficult to personally relate to the postcolonial problems in their book and may fall into the trap of seeing it from a safe distance as a problem for women of Islamic societies or the 'Third World' .

In her chapter, Kawahashi elucidates the ambiguous status and guilt-ridden life of the wives of priests in many Buddhist sects today. The women's existence is not officially admitted because of the 'false celibacy' of the priesthood, behind which is the condemnation of women as a seductive, hindering existence for men following the Buddha's way. Still the wives are fully expected to support their priest husbands 'from behind', and to bear and raise the male children who will eventually become successors of these temples. (This may come as a shock for those readers who tend to romanticize the temple as a world away from the mundane.) However, the women depicted here are neither 'content' with the status quo or 'miserably oppressed', as colonialistic researchers may assume; they have established their own network (of which Kawahashi herself is a part) and are actively working to create a patriarchy-free Buddhism. At the same time, Kawahashi shows an awareness of the polyphony of the voices of women from different sects.

In the next chapter, Kuroki focuses on Japanese-American Christian women who tend to be viewed, for their ethnicity, as 'submissive', 'minority' women in their country.

As a sociologist, Kuroki analyzes the women' s discourses on identity according to three factors - gender, ethnicity and religion. It was interesting that the women identify themselves away from both White or Japanese-American men and White women. For example, one woman talks about how she refuses to listen to a minister' s male-centric sermons, one claims that her faith is a fusion of Christianity and East Asian religion, another woman says she accepts only part of the white-feminist discourse, while yet another stresses that she has long considered problems of human rights, rather than feminism, as a priority. Their stories highlight the need to critique mainstream, male-centered theology from a post-colonial perspective, as opposed to traditional feminist criticisms which emphasize the significance of 'women' s experience' but overlooks actual differences among women.

These two chapters have a powerful impact as they are based on actual fieldwork. Still, one drawback is that the authors do not clarify the aspects of their religions in which these women find salvation or see hope for gender equality, and which make them continue with their faith. Especially in Kuroki' s chapter, 'Christianity' is just one of the key terms alongside 'Confucianism' , 'gender' , and 'ethnicity' ; the author does not discuss what parts of the Bible the women sympathize with, or in what unique ways they may interpret it. Although Kawahashi presents her own interpretation of Buddha' s teaching that would support gender equality, I would have liked to read about the other women' s interpretations as well.

Another shortcoming is that the book as a whole does not lead readers in one clear direction. The two authors appear to share a common ground on the abstract level of theory but are quite different when it comes to applying the theories in actual practice as well as in their conclusions. For instance, for the women residents of temples depicted by Kawahashi, life is inseparable from their religion so reform in the religion is a vital issue. Meanwhile, for the women in Kuroki' s research, religion is just one of the factors that they can negotiate freely for the sake of forming their identity. Thus, the ways the two groups of women interact with their religions are quite different, even if the authors conclude that 'they chose to remain in their religions' which have 'long marginalized them' (p.115). This, and other discords in detail, cannot help but confuse readers.

Not surprisingly, the authors themselves are aware of this discrepancy and explain it as 'gaps' or 'polyphony' that are 'blessings' for the book. As a reader, I cannot accept the argument in such a positive way. However, this book can also be viewed as a courageous first step into an innovative new field. They first construct a theoretical framework (even if only on an abstract level) and then present actual cases (albeit inconsistent) based on fieldwork. This book therefore highlights the need to incorporate the 'third' perspective of 'postcolonialism' in the previously dichotomous debate between 'religion' and 'feminism' .

アジアにおける人間の安全保障とジェンダー: 人文科学の視点から ——アジアのジェンダー表象——

2005年9月16日(金) - 18日(日)

国際基督教大学ジェンダー研究センター(CGS)では、今年、第二回目となる国際ワークショップ『アジアにおける人間の安全保障とジェンダー: 人文科学の視点から——アジアのジェンダー表象』を2005年9月16日から18日の三日間に渡り、開催いたしました。2004年に開催された第一回目のワークショップは社会科学の視点に焦点を置き、人間の安全保障という概念から女性がしばしば排除されていることを取り上げましたが、今回のワークショップでは、安全保障を人文科学の視点から見つめ、マスメディアや文化的産物の中で作り出されるイメージが、私たちの生にどのような影響を与えているかなど、文化表象とジェンダーの問題を多角的に捉える試みとなりました。特にアジアにおけるジェンダー表象に注目し、共通点や差異を学びあう貴重な場となりました。

三日間のプログラムは多岐にわたるものでした。一日目には、アジア各国からの参加者が、それぞれの地域におけるジェンダー表象の実態をレポートしてくださいました。また、映画『30年のシスターフッド』の上映会と、制作者トークを開催しました。ウーマンリブ運動に関わった女性たちのポートレイトは、実に生き生きとしており、運動についてよく知らなかった学生たちにも共感を呼ぶ企画となりました。またフォーラム・シアターの企画の中では、学生たちが日本のよくある情景を演じ、それに参加者たちが反応を出し合うというものでしたが、アジアといっても様々な価値観が存在することがわかる活発な議論が展開されました。

二日目にはテーマ別の発表とディスカッションが行われ、言語と権力、美、セクシュアリティとジェンダーの問題が話し合われ、さらには新しい表象の可能性を検討するセッションも持たれました。

三日目は、アジアの女性監督作品を集めた短編映画上映会を催し、それぞれの上映と監督のトーク、そしてパネル・ディスカッションと続けました。この企画は特にどなたでも参加できるものとして、外部においても広報に勤めた結果、200人以上の参加がありました。ジェンダーというものをアカデミックな枠内に押し込みたくないというCGSの活動が、ひとつ実った感がありました。また表象の力を実感した出来事でもありました。ともしれば、偏見を持って捉えられてしまう「ジェンダー」という言葉ですが、文化的なアプローチを取ることによって、より多くの人に届けることができるのではないかと可能性を感じることができ、今後のCGSの活動のひとつの柱が見えてきたように思われます。

CGSが今年のワークショップで目指したことは、大きくまとめて三点ありました。一つ目は、アジアのジェンダー表象について語り合う場を提供することです。ジェンダー表象については、アジアの様々な地域で研究されていますが、その多くは地域内部にとどまっており、また国際的に発信される場合でも欧米に向けての発信が主となっているように見受けられます。私たちは今こそアジアの隣人たちが互いに情報を発信し、類似点や差異から学びあうことが重要と考えました。このワークショップには、研究者、詩人、作家、映画監督、評論家、ジャーナリストなど、アジアで文化表象に関わる様々な人々が集まりましたが、それぞれの社会の事情について、私たちがお互いにかに無知であるか、再認識することとなりました。そして学びあうことの重要性を認識すると同時に、映像や文学作品などを媒介として語り合うことができる楽しさや喜びを発見することもできました。アジアに存在する同質性と多様性を、互いに尊重しながら、助け合い、教えあうことができ

ると実感しました。

もう一つ目指したことは、上述の点と関連していますが、アジアのジェンダー研究／女性学にかかわる研究者、教育者、活動家の間の協働ネットワーク作りにあります。私たちは、このようなネットワークが、アジアにおける今後のジェンダー研究、女性学の発展、研究活動と現場の橋渡しに、大きく寄与すると考えます。実際今回のワークショップには、アカデミックな研究者だけでなく、自主映画製作にかかわる方々や、新しい演劇の形を追求する方々、アクティヴィストの方々、そして学生たちが多く参加・協力してくださり、アカデミックにとどまらず、社会に広がっていく可能性を持つものに少し近づけたのではないかと思っています。

また、もう一点私たちが大切にしたいことは、学生が参加できるワークショップにすることでした。常日頃からCGSの活動に協力してくださっている学生の皆さんが、このワークショップの準備と会期中の実務に関しては、非常に大きな力となってくださいました。また、これまでCGSに来たことのない学生の方々も、映画や演劇の企画を通して参加してくださったことは、非常に嬉しいことでした。所員の授業を履修している学生たちも、ワークショップのディスカッションに参加し、昨年とは少し異なったワークショップになったのではないのでしょうか。大学キャンパスでこのような国際ワークショップを行うからには、将来の日本を作っていく若者たちに参加してもらいたいと考えましたが、予想以上に多くの方が参加してくださいました。ありがとうございました。

ようやく二回目を迎えるCGS国際ワークショップです。反省点も多く存在します。できるだけ多くのことを学び合いたいという気持ちが強く、なかなかプログラムを減らすという行為に至らなかったのですが、スケジュールの過密や、ディスカッション時間の不足は、特に今後の改善点となるでしょう。しかし、ジェンダーと表象の深い関わり、また社会に及ぼす影響の強さを、強く印象づけられたワークショップとなりました。同時にそれは、表象を通じて、社会に働きかけていく可能性をも示唆しています。様々な文化活動に関わる参加者たちの強くて希望に満ちた姿に、大変勇気づけられた気がいたします。参加してくださった皆様、協力してくださった皆様に、厚く御礼申し上げます。今後とも、CGSの活動にご理解とご協力を賜りますよう、よろしく願い申し上げます。

国際ワークショップ 2005 コーディネーター
生駒 夏美

プログラム

セッション概略

9月16日(金)

セッション1 アジア各国のジェンダー表象概論1

Session 1 Overviews of Gender Representation in Asia I

日本の美術界について

報告：北原恵（甲南大学文学部）

今日の日本において、最も保障されず、報道されず、一方で歪めて伝えられている〈女〉は誰だろうか？ それは、従軍慰安婦問題であり、元慰安婦の女性たちだと言えるだろう。

2000 年末の女性国際戦犯法廷は、世界各国から大勢のメディアが注目し報道したが、日本国内の主流メディアはほとんど黙殺した。そのなかで、唯一テレビで特集を企画したが、NHK のドキュメンタリー番組だったが、実際に放映された番組は、法廷の基本的情報すら伝えなかつたばかりか、慰安婦の歴史を大きく歪曲するものだった。放映後、上層部や政治家の圧力と右翼の脅迫によって番組が改ざんされた事が明るみに出た。真先に消されたのは姜徳景さんによる《責任者を処罰せよ!》という絵であった。戦後日本のタブーに激しく挑戦するものであったためであろう。

美術界では、1990 年代後半に「ジェンダー論争」と呼ばれるジェンダーバッシングが起こった。これは、日本の美術系のミニコミ誌上で「ジェンダー」の視点に立つ美術展や、美術史学の方法の有効性をめぐる論争へと発展し、現在に続くジェンダーバッシングを「先取り」していたとも言える。だが一方で美術界における<女>の活況もある。この夏のヴェネチアビエンナーレの日本館の展示や、栃木県立美術館の展覧会「前衛の女性 1950 - 1975」などは、着実に制作と研究などの活動を続けてきた実績の上に成り立つ成果である。逆風にめげないこれらの女性たちの活動は、1990 年代末からさかんになった韓国との交流など、他国との交流によって、ますます活性化してきている。

Report on CGS International Workshop 2005

日本の文学について

報告：北田幸恵（城西国際大学人文学部）

現在、性役割、セクシュアリティの規範など、全般にわたって日本のジェンダーは大きく揺らぎ変容している。晩婚化、非婚化による少子高齢社会が進行し、女性たちの社会進出、高等教育への進学も著しい。女性作家たちは家族制度の桎梏、女性の差別打破、女性の権利の獲得などを掲げ、近代の出発期からその時代の進歩的な思想や運動と連携しつつ、支配的な男性中心文化からの解放をめざす女性の声を表現してきた。現在も大庭みな子、河野多恵子、富岡多恵子、津島佑子、山田詠美などの女性作家が既成のジェンダーやセクシュアリティ規範に挑戦する作品を発表しつづけている。また大庭みな子、米谷ふみ子、多和田葉子などは、狭隘なナショナリズムから脱出し、広い国際舞台でジェンダーを検討する作品を発表し、在日韓国文学者柳美里は日本の中の性や民俗の他者性を追求し、重要な日本文学の分野を担っている。

一方、アジアの女性の歩みを阻害した戦争の負の遺産に取り組む作家もいる。林京子の小説『長い時間をかけた人間の経験』と『トリニティからトリニティへ』の二作品は、女性被爆者が被害者の立場から歩み出て、二十世紀から未来へと続く人類の経験を言語によって表象する語り手へと深まりを見せる。日本、アジア、世界の民族や国家の問題と、ジェンダーの問題は、深く関連し、相互に規定しあいつつ展開している今日、アジアの女性の表象を語ることは、今日の人類の困難と希望を語ることに他ならない。

韓国について

報告：イ・ハンジン（シェフィールド大学・立教大学）

20 世紀最後の 10 年は、現代韓国政治史にとって大きな節目である。国威をかけた政治改革にも関わらず、97 年、韓国は世界通貨基金に多額の援助を求める羽目に陥ったのである。その後も困難な時代は続き、韓国では社会経済システムの有効性を疑問視する声が上がった。この疑問はやがて儒教的家父長制の理想を堂々と否定する流れにつながってくる。民主的で対等な社会へと変貌を遂げる韓国で、大衆は混乱のさなかにあるが、ジェンダー表象はその混乱を映しとる。人気小説やドラマでは、理想的なジェンダー関係や家族の絆の

実現のためにはいまでも伝統的な家父長権威が重要な役割を果たす。繰り返されるそのモチーフは、まるで家父長のリーダーシップや親の保護といったものへの、センチメンタルなノスタルジーを示しているようである。一方、現実にある家父長制への不信も、メディアには反映されている。伝統的な家族関係やジェンダー観への渴望と否定が、このように共存している点にこの発表は焦点を当てる。

中国について

報告：ヤン・リシン（南京師範大学）

80年代半ばまで、中国の学界はフェミニズムへの偏見を色濃く持ち、誤解・抵抗があった。この点と、中国の女性解放運動の特徴、またフェミニズムのポスト近代化的要素が中国では学術的に合わないと思なされていた点が合わさって、中国におけるフェミニズムの浸透が妨げられてきた。これは西洋におけるフェミニズムの隆盛と大きな対比を見せる。また中国の文学批評家たちに起こった「新方式ブーム」とも大きく異なる。これらを考慮することが、中国におけるフェミニズム論とその発展の理解には不可欠である。

セッション2 アジア各国のジェンダー表象概論2

マレーシアについて

報告：ウォン・ユエンメイ（マラヤ大学）

70年代以来、マレーシアのフェミニストや女性運動NGO関係者、また消費者組織は、メディアの女性表象や、ジェンダー表象を、絶えず批判の対象としてきた。女性を貶める表現や、ジェンダースtereotypeが取り上げられ、政府やメディア会社に、よりバランスのとれたジェンダー表現を求める際の資料として使われている。特に女性にとってのジェンダー表象の重要性を認識し、メディア制作、経営、クリエイティブの現場にいる女性を応援する方策がとられてきた。女性が発言できる場所をどのように作っていくかということが、ますます重要な問題となってきている。しかし残念ながら、表現の自由を求める女性たちはマレーシアでは国家に対して反動的とみなされ、しばしば規制の対象とされている。本発表では、マレーシアのメディアの民主化にとって、女性の表現する権利がいかに鍵を握っているかを検討する。

インドネシアについて

報告：アドリアナ・ヴェニー（プレムプアンジャーナル編集長）

性的搾取、幼児性愛、人身売買、そして性教育の不足、またメディアにおける物質主義の悪影響などを受け、インドネシアの10代の少女は極めて大きな問題に囲まれている。しかし、インドネシアのメディアには、青少年の権利を保護するための規制法が存在していない。政府による規制、あるいは少なくとも監視システムが必要である。西洋的な美の概念の普及や、社会問題に対する認識を増すような公共広告の不在、過剰に性的であったり暴力的な表現の増加、などがその問題の一端である。インドネシアには放送委員会があるが、これは何の罰則も課さないため、機能していない。そして政府は女性保護の活動も全く行っていない。この国では分娩時死亡率も高いし、DV法も発効していなければ、人身売買防止法も発効していないのだ。女性を暴力から守る法律を作るため、理解を求め、認知を高めるキャンペーンが今非常に必要となっている。

インドについて

報告: パルタサラティ・ラジャラクシュミ (レディ・ドーク大学)

インド社会の現実には多岐にわたる文化が入り混じっているため、ジェンダーを巡る関係性も家父長的から母系的なものまで、様々である。この発表は、インドにおけるジェンダー観を作るのに影響を及ぼす5つの主要な点に焦点を当てる。それらは、インドの神話伝説、宗教、歴史、文学、そしてマスメディアである。インド文化は、多言語、多宗教、そして様々な階級や共同体レベルが混在するにも関わらず、ある種の統合性を持つが、社会の倫理を支えるものの一つがインドの神話体系である。宗教と伝統的慣習とは、父権の確立と女性の周縁化に貢献した。しかし外国による侵略の歴史もまた、女性の地位の更なる下落へとつながっている。インドの人気小説には、男女のステレオタイプなイメージがみとれると共に、その変わりつつある様子もうかがえる。インドのマスメディアは問題含みである。それは彼らが人気を求め、セックス、暴力、ステレオタイプのイメージを流すからである。このような文化的背景の中で、女性たちは自分たちの役割を超越するというよりは、むしろ威厳を持って守り続けているようである。だが全く新しい世界になったのであるから、まずは内なる妄執を捨て去る必要があるだろう。

セッション3 アジア各国のジェンダー表象概論3

タイについて

報告: チュティマ・プラガットウティサーン (チュラロンコン大学)

最近になるまで、ジェンダー研究はタイ社会では広く行われていなかった。この数十年はタイの女性に対する学術上の、またアクティヴィストの注目が集まってきたが、ジェンダーそのものへの注目度は低かった。タイの学術会であまり取り扱われてこなかったジェンダー問題に、本論では光を当て、現代タイ文学におけるジェンダー表象を見ることにする。改革以来、タイの文学には「モダン・ウーマン」が描かれ続けているが、その内容は時代によって微妙に異なる。文明改革により女性の教育が普及したが、理想の女性像は、教育はあるものの主婦としてとどまる女性であった。60年代以降の社会経済上の変化によって、外の社会で働く女性像が作られたが、それは家族を支えるために働く女性であり、よき理解者でありつつ伝統的な価値観を守る存在であった。70年代になり、活発な民主化運動によって、政治的にアクティブな女性が登場する。現代はさらに国際的な女性運動に影響を受けた強くて開放的な女性が描かれ、彼女たちは伝統的な役割を拒絶する。しかしその表象は、決して好意的なものではなく、社会が抱くアンバランスを象徴している。

フィリピンについて

報告 マリア・ジョセフィン・バリオス (フィリピン大学)

本論はまずフィリピン女性が自国の文化の中で、どのように構築されてきたかに注目し、次に女性作家やアーティストたちが、それらのステレオタイプに挑戦する像を創造することによって、どのように彼女たちは再構築されてきたかを分析する。フィリピン女性は、植民地支配、帝国主義、グローバル化の経験を経て、幾つかのカテゴリーに分類されてとらわれている。1) スペインによる植民地化がもたらしたカトリックの影響を受けた、マテル・ドロローサのような苦しむ母の像、2) 夫の不貞や子供の欠点に堪える、殉教者の

ような妻、母像、3) 家族の借金を支払うために、家政婦などとして働かされる女性像、4) ロマン스에影響された人物像で、優しい心を持つ売春婦像、5) フィリピン社会で曖昧な存在感を持つ愛人像、6) 独身女性や狂った女性、反抗的な女性などの、異分子としての女性、などがその型である。「髪」をメタファーとして見ると、これらの女性の外見的な要素は、その女性の徳のあるなしに対応したものとして使われており、ひいては、その女性の社会での受容を示していることがわかる。例えばマーテル・ドロローサは常に髪をきちんとまとめているが、借金を支払う女は誘惑的な長い髪を腰まで伸ばしている(昼間はまとめているが、夜はおろす)し、売春婦は派手な髪型をしている。現代的な女性はボブスタイル、外国人労働者は染めた髪といった具合である。これらの女性像は、主にフェミニスト作家やアーティストの努力によって、批判され、新たに作り変えられてきている。

ベトナムについて

報告 ファン・フエン・トゥ (ドキュメンタリー映画監督・詩人)

ベトナムでは、かつて女性の地位が比較的高く、男性とほぼ同権だった。もっとも尊敬を集める女神、聖なる母は、ベトナムの農耕社会に重要な性的エネルギーの源泉とみなされていた。歴史的にもベトナムは、女性の偉人、為政者を輩出している。しかし15世紀に儒教がベトナムに輸入され、状況は一変した。女性が再び男性と同じように社会活動に参加できるようになるのは、第二次世界大戦後のことである。60年代のフランスとアメリカとの戦争を経て、女性たちは少しずつ地位を回復していく。今日では政界を含む様々な分野で女性リーダーが活躍している。経済発展によって家族制度が変化し、独身の独立した女性が増加してきたが、男性にとっての理想の女性像がなかなか変わらないことが、ベトナム女性にとって大きな問題となっている。彼らの理想3Nは、少々まじめ、少々美人、少々愚か、というものである。現代ベトナム女性は、この3Nの理想に合わせて結婚するか、独立と発言力を守るかの二者択一を迫られる。後者を選んだ女性が、しばしば私生活で苦しんだり、家族からのパッシングを受けるとことが、問題となっている。

セッション4 言葉、表現、パワー

20世紀の中国女性文学における言説のポリシー
ヤン・リシン (南京師範大学)

20世紀の中国女性文学の発展は、3段階に分かれる。五月四日運動から40年代、70年代末から80年代初期にかけての「新時代」、そして80年代末から90年代にかけての時期である。第一期の女性作家たちは、母性愛を礼賛し、家父長文化の枠内で表現の権利を獲得することに成功した。彼女たちは、弱い母像を捨て、女性自身の伝統の基礎作りに貢献した一方、主流文化へのアクセスも確保した。しかし性的言説が欠如しており、彼女たちが封建的モラリティーにしばられていたことがわかる。また彼女たちは家族や社会におけるジェンダーの問題も、扱うことができなかった。80年代になると、ヒューマンイズムの価値観と西洋のフェミニズムの影響もあり、中国女性は性の問題により意識的になる。「新時代」の女性作品に繰り返し登場する「病気の女」のイメージは、現実社会に対抗する身体メタファーのひとつとして読むことができる。90年代になると、性や女性の身体に関する物語がCixousの強い影響下であふれる。しかし90年代半ばになると、「身体」は既に家父長社会の俗なエロティック欲望と商業主義を満たすための、搾取の場となってしまう。焦点はやがて「パーソナルな」作品へと移るが、ナルシスティックな繰り返しや、相対性の欠如などが批判されている。言説のポリシー変化は、このように、中国における女性文学の

発展を示すだけでなく、その弱点や課題をも明らかにする。

伝統の翼にのって飛び立とう

ファン・フエン・トゥ (ドキュメンタリー映画監督・詩人)

ベトナムでは現在、世代間ギャップが深刻な問題である。古い世代は伝統的価値の保持を主張し、若い世代が抱える新しい問題や価値観に気づかない。特に議論の種となるのが、性的問題である。私が参加する「若い詩」運動は、新しいスタイルを用いて、個人的経験などの新しいテーマを扱い、これらの新しい価値観を反映している。新しい言語使用によって、性を改革しようとしている。この運動は若い世代の共感を呼ぶ一方、激しい批判にもさらされている。私自身は、性的問題も核の一つであるものの、新しい言語の創造により関心を持つ。ベトナムの言語は音やメロディー、イメージの豊富な美しい言語であるが、ベトナム人が現在用いるアルファベットによる表記では、この言語の特性を表現できない。ベトナム詩人たちは、長期にわたってこの問題を無視してきたため、既に美しい言語の一部は失われてしまっている。私は古代の言葉をよみがえらせ、それらを新しい言葉と並べることによって、古いフレーズや観念と現代の感情を結び付けようとしている。伝統的なベトナム語の美しさと現代語を組み合わせることで、今日のベトナムを表すのに適当な表現が作れると考えている。

日本人の名前とジェンダー

日比谷潤子 (国際基督教大学)

本発表では「明治安田生命保険名前ランキング」を主たる資料として、1945年以降に生まれた日本人の年代差をジェンダーの視点から考察する。具体的には、1945年から2004年までの60年を第1期: 1945年~1959年、第2期: 1960年~1974年、第3期: 1975年~1989年、第4期: 1990年~2004年の4期に分け、上位に登場する名前の特徴をみていく。第1期と第2期の男性名は、勝(まさる)、勇(いさむ)、進(すすむ)、博(ひろし)、茂(しげる)、隆(たかし)、誠(まこと)のような漢字1文字3拍のものが多い。漢字は、成功・出世・前進・健康・知性などを表すものが大半を占める。これに対して女性名は、和子(かず+こ)、幸子(さち+こ)、洋子(よう+こ)、恵子(けい+こ)のような漢字1文字2拍+添え字「子」のものが圧倒的に優勢で、幸福・平和・愛・正直・寛容などを意味する漢字がよく用いられている。第3期に入ると、健太(けんた)、翔太(しょうた)のような「大・太」のつく男性名が増加し、スケール感が重視されるようになる。この時期前半の女性名は、第1期、第2期とあまり変わらない。しかしながら、後半になると、恵(めぐみ)、愛(あい)、麻衣(まい)、美穂(みほ)、彩(あや)のように多様化、個性化が進み、添え字のつく名前が衰退する。第4期は、名前の中性化の時代と言える。男女とも海斗(かいと)、拓海(たくみ)、蓮(れん)、美咲(みさき)、萌(もえ)のように、自然に関連する漢字を含む人名が増え、女性名では植物を連想させるものも多い。以上の分析結果は、特定の会社の生命保険に加入している人々の名前のみを対象としたものであるが、関東地方・近畿地方にある中学・高校の同窓会名簿で第1期から第3期に当たる卒業生の名前を調べたところ、ほぼ同様の結果が得られたことから、ある程度の一般性があると考えられる。

セッション5 アートとは何か?: 身体、美、ジェンダー
日本の文化行政はどのように女性身体を見せているか?
ー公共彫刻におけるジェンダー表象
西山千恵子(東京国際大学)

日本で公共の場に彫像が設置されるようになった明治以降から第二次世界大戦までは、近代国家における国民意識の形成、国家主義、軍国主義的なイデオロギーの見地から、偉人を賛美する彫刻、銅像が多く作られてきた。男性像がほとんどで、女性像はまれにある場合でも、内助の功を尽くして夫の成功を助けた妻、献身的にわが子に仕えた母親など、限定されたステレオタイプの女性像である。大戦後は、戦後日本の国是とされた「平和」「発展」「健康」「産業振興」などの価値を表象する男女の裸像、特に母子像が平和の象徴として、また母性愛そのものの賛美として、全国の都市に設置され続けた。さらに、高度経済成長を経て今日まで、公共彫刻は芸術的価値重視の傾向へと移行しつつその数を増やし、その多くが若い女性のヌード彫刻である。

現在、戦前タイプの公共彫刻と戦後に設置された公共彫刻が混在し、そこには明確なジェンダーの対比が生じている。それらの特徴を簡略化すると以下のようである。①女性はヌード、男性は着衣。②女性は若く、男性は多様な年齢。③女性は自然、男性は文化。④女性は無名で普遍的存在、男性は個別的存在。⑤女性は空間配置において下位(地)、男性は上位(天)。⑥女性は無為、男性は行為・力・緊張。⑦母子像は多いが父子像は少ない。

また、女性像は多くヌード像であることとあまって、ことさらにエロチックに性的文脈で描かれることが多い。

公共彫刻は、芸術の名を借りたステレオタイプなジェンダー表現の温床であり続けている。日本の文化行政は、公共彫刻設置事業によって、ジェンダー強化政策、女性身体の性的客体化政策を各地で推し進めてきたともいえよう。

ネオ・コロニアルなグローバル化された身体: フィリピンの芸術文学における女性の体に関する考察
マリア・ジョセフィン・バリオス(フィリピン大学)

現代のフィリピン女性の体は、ネオ・コロニアルでグローバル化されていると表現することができる。その肉体は、16世紀にローマ・カトリック教がフィリピン人の生活に浸透し、肉体を「罪の棲家」として糾弾し、隠されるべき、触れざるべき存在としてしまっただけで、以来、スペインとアメリカの植民地時代を経て変容してきた。スペイン植民地時代には、熱帯性気候であるにも関わらず、フィリピン人は何枚もの服で身を包まなければならなかったことに特徴的である。19世紀に入りアメリカの支配下に移ると、フィリピン人の肉体は商品となり、また商品の受容者となった。酒やタバコの宣伝にフィリピン人の体が使われる中、フィリピン人の肉体は西洋的な美に基準を合わせ、化粧品やシャンプー、コンディショナー、最新流行のファッション、アクセサリを消費するようになる。現在、フィリピン人の肉体はこのようなネオ植民地化現象に影響されつづけている(美白やダイエット法の流行などに明らかである)。フィリピン女性を、花嫁として、あるいはケアワーカー、使用人として宣伝するウェブサイトを見ると、前者では彼女たちの肉体はエキゾチックなものとして提示され、後者ではフィリピン人の大人しさ、貞淑さが強調されている。こうして、グローバル化の中で、植民地の「レッスン」はまだ生き続けているのである。

セッション6 性とセクシュアリティの表現について
韓国での性とセクシュアリティ表象について
イ・ハンジン (シェフィールド大学・立教大学)

本論は日本と韓国映画を文化交差的に分析し、ジェンダー表象の特徴の共通点と差異を見出そうとするものである。日韓映画の比較は、その緊密な歴史的関係ゆえに非常に意味深い。特に、儒教的な文化伝統、外圧による急速な西洋化、国家主導の近代化などの共通点が、これらの映画言説がおかれるコンテクストを共に構成している。本論が扱う四本の映画は、伝統的な共同体中心の人間関係と、「西洋的」な理想とははざままで、矛盾を抱え、おかしな行動に走る普通の人々を描いたナンセンスコメディ、伊丹十三の『お葬式』(1984年)と『タンポポ』(1986年)、パク・チョルスの『Farewell, My Darling』と『301,302』である。この四作品に見える日韓社会のアイデンティティの危機について扱いつつながら、これらの映画で男性の視点から表象される、女性のセクシュアリティと役割の対立に焦点を当てる。日韓の映画の伝統に展開される家族ドラマを、クリエイティブに実験的に表現した伊丹とパクは、共に食べ物象徴的に用い、また男女間の空間的分断を強調する。描かれる女性像の多様性は、家父長制が伝統と近代社会の理想の間に揺れ動き、求めるものも相互矛盾を引き起こしていることを示している。特に食物とセクシュアリティ規範を組み合わせたモチーフは、ポストコロナル時代の人々の経験の特異性と、変化に対応しようともがく姿を表現するために用いられている。

マレーシアにおける女性のセクシュアリティ：争論の場
ウォン・ユエンメイ (マラヤ大学)

マレーシアでは、女性のセクシュアリティは文化的・政治的論争の場と化している。よく見ると、女性の肉体をめぐる、マレーシアでは地域的、国家的、そして世界的規模での引力が複雑に絡み合っていることがわかる。特に一般メディアでは、女性のセクシュアリティは消費文化、大衆文化の交差点となっている。その肉体はセクシュアライズされ、客体化され、女性のセクシュアリティが欲望、快楽、客体化の場となっている。一方、政治的文化的な権利闘争が、女性の身体、特にセクシュアリティとの関係で形作られもしている。政治・宗教団体は、団体として嫌悪する性行動やジェンダー行動様式を設定することにより、一致団結しアイデンティティを堅固なものとする。こうして女性のセクシュアリティは様々な規範や規則の元に縛られることとなる。政治的表現すらもセクシュアライズされ、逆に女性のセクシュアリティが政治化された。皮肉にも、女性の肉体をめぐる表現や言説は、女性たち自身による自己批判や身体意識化現象を生んでいる。女性たちは自己表現や論争を通じて、自分のセクシュアリティとアイデンティティを変えたり、探求しようとしている。本論は、女性の身体とセクシュアリティに働きかける様々な社会政治的な要因の相互影響力と、そこから発生する多義性、矛盾、パラドックスについて検討する。

視線の政治 見る／見られるの関係をめぐって
深澤純子 (港区コミュニティーカフェ・ヒューマンサービスセンター)

2005年春、複数の若い女性に首輪をつけて自宅やホテルで数ヶ月間にわたり監禁していた男性が逮捕された。彼の行動は、女性を監禁して自分に従う動物のように飼育し調教するゲームをなぞったものだとされている。女性の性的なイメージが日常に氾濫している現在の日本社会にあって、この事件は「虚構と現実の区別がつかない特殊な人物の妄想」の所業とかたづけすることはできないだろう。

新聞、テレビ、雑誌、広告媒体、ビデオ、インターネット、ゲーム等々、大量に供給される視覚イメージによって、私たちの日常の行動や思考、ジェンダーやセクシュアリティのあり方にも強い影響があることは、いまや誰も否定できない。

私はこれまで、25年以上、メディアに現れる女性イメージを女性差別という視点から観察してきた。また、1995年よりメディアが供給し、消費されている女性のイメージが示す意味を読み解く作業を、ワークショップ形式にして、多数回実施してきた。この10年間、ジェンダーの視点から見て、メディアの供給する大量の女性イメージは、性役割を強調したものや、男性の性的な対象とされる「見られる性／女性」ばかりで、政策的な男女共同参画社会が進んでも、その量や質において大きな変化は見られなかった。変化したのは、男性の視覚イメージが、男性に向けて大量に供給されるようになってきたことである。それは、ファッションやアクセサリー、自動車、スポーツ、旅行、日常的に使用する製品の消費を促すためのイメージである。特に若い男性たちに、モデルを提示することで、商品による自己実現の欲望が作り出されていく。

では、女性たちが、男性のイメージを見る対象として消費する行為が、男性が女性イメージを作り消費していきたくに進行していくであろうか。女性たちは見る主体を回復しなければならぬ。見る行為も文化的な学習により形成されるものだからである。

語れないことを語る：アンチャンの小説の中のレイブを読む
チュティマ・ブラガットウティサーン（チュラロンコン大学）

性暴力は最近まで、文学論のトピックではなかった。しかし性暴力についての語りの少なさが、タイ社会における性暴力の少なさを意味するわけではない。むしろ、性暴力を扱った語りの最大の特徴は、暴力被害者が体験を語りたい欲求と、世間にその語りが受け入れられるかという不安の、微妙な緊張関係にある。性暴力の問題は、言語のそれと不可分なのである。言語は表現手段のみならず、暴力の意味が構築され、脱構築される手段でもあるからである。本論では、文学賞も受賞したアンチャンの『On the Mouth of the World』(2003年)の分析を通して、タイ社会でなぜ性暴力が語れないものだったかを探る。

この小説はアンという女性についての物語だが、語り手はジョンという男性である。彼がアンのストーリーの著者であり、彼女を彼の視点から解釈し評価するのである。彼の語りの中で、アンは良い女性あるいは悪い女性のどちらかとして描かれる。彼女のセクシュアリティに対するジョンの不安と、それを支配したい欲求の二つを反映している。

セッション7 新たな地平線へ：ジェンダー概念を再定義する
インドの短編小説に見る脱・再神話化
パルタサラティ・ラジャラクシュミ（レディ・ドーク大学）

フェミニスト作家たちは以前から、女性をエンパワーする神話の復興または創造を唱え、神話そのものに興味を持ってきた。本論は現代の二人のインド作家シャシ・デシュバンデとアンバイ・デシュバンデが、インド神話のテーマや登場人物を、重要な文学装置としていかに利用しているかを見る。『ラーマーヤナ』や『マハーバーラタ』などの古典は、インド作家に普遍的なテーマを供給するテキストやサブテキストで満載である。これらの文化神話を創造したり解釈することで管理してきたのは、これまで長きにわたり、男性たちであった。しかし興味深いことに、今日の女性作家たちは、古い神話が提唱する社会価値やジェンダー要素について、疑問を投げかけたり、それらのステレオタイプを脱構築することにより新たな神話的キャラクターを作り出し始めている。彼女たちの作品は、伝統的な神話

の別の読みを提供すると同時に、その転覆をも提供している点で、ポストモダンととらえられるだろう。インド社会では、ヒンズー教の神話的テーマやキャラクターが、理想の行動規範の見本として利用されてきたが、本論で扱う二人の作家はそれらを使って、家父長制イデオロギーの差別構造を暴露する。彼女たちは国家全体の思考過程に、根本的な変化をもたらすには、神話の再解釈が極めて重要であると指摘している。なぜなら神話は宗教、世代、ジェンダーを超越して人々を結びつける力のある媒介だからである。

情熱的、不道徳、それとも抵抗の文学か？インドネシア文学における女性性を再定義する
アドリアナ・ヴェニー（プレムプアンジャーナル編集長）

非常に家父長的なインドネシア社会において、女性はしばしば特定のジェンダー役割へと抑圧されている。女性たちが自らの考えやセクシュアリティを表現することは、困難であったが、女性作家の中にはこれまでタブーとされてきたことについて、口を開くものも始めている。しかし彼女たちは不道徳な文学一派とレッテルを貼られてしまっている。本論ではステレオタイプの道徳やタブーに抵抗する三人の女性作家を分析したい。アユ・ウタミ、ディエナ・メーサ・アユ、オカ・ルスミニである。ウタミの作品は、女性の立場から率直にセクシュアリティを扱っている。アユの作品は性暴力の問題を扱っている。またルスミニは、詩人でもジャーナリストでも作家でもあるが、抵抗の文脈を常に提供し、女性たちがあきらめて犠牲者になってしまうことなく、生存者となるように、応援を続けている。

日本の商業アニメにおける女性像の変遷と「萌え」文化：新しいジェンダーを求めて
村瀬ひろみ（山口大学非常勤講師）

日本の商業アニメで描かれる女性像は、日本アニメの隆盛に伴い、ますます多様なキャラクター造形となっている。今日のアニメーションにおいて、従来のような「従順・従属的・自己犠牲的・消極的」といったキーワードで表現される一面的な女性像が描かれることは少ない。たとえば、「戦う」女の子たちがいるが、彼女たちは「守られる」存在ではなく、「守る」存在であり、自身の考えで動く主体的なキャラクターとして描かれている。主体的な女性主人公による物語の系譜の中で、「戦う女の子」のモチーフは大変好まれ、何度も登場する。積極的であること、孤立していないこと、実行力があること、といった「戦う女の子」の属性は、自立した女性像として大変わかりやすい。

一方、主体として存立する主人公の女の子を、性的な対象として読み替え客体化していくというパロディのあり方や、キャラクターの構成要素を分解し、それらの要素にこだわり好みのものを支持していく「萌え」の現象もある。「萌え」は、男性、女性ともに見られ、「萌え」＝女性への差別、女性の物象化と短絡することはできないが、たとえば「萌え」を前提とした女兒向けと銘打った作品があるのも事実である。建前では、明るく、楽しく元気に、かわいく、「戦う女の子」をやるのだが、その裏では、その主人公の全体性や、作品の物語性ではなく、部分部分の要素（たとえば、服装や髪型）が性的対象として流通している。自分たちの敬愛する主人公が、「萌え」という視線によって、要素にバラバラに分解されて性的な対象物となるという経験が、女の子にどのような影響を与えるかよくわかってはいない。ただ、それが、「女の子たちを「生きやすくする」側面を持っているかどうか」といって、かなり難しいのではないだろうか。

**International Workshop 2005
Human Security and Gender in Asia: Perspectives from the Humanities
Gender Representation in Asia
16-18, September 2005**

CGS held its second international workshop on September 16-18, 2005. It is our second in the series, in which last year we focused on perspectives from the social sciences in considering Human Security. This year the focus is on humanities aspects, and the many-layered attempts to grasp the relationship between gender and cultural representation, how images created in media and culture as a whole affect our daily lives. Our emphasis was especially on gender representation in Asia.

The three-day program was variously approached. On the first day, we had participants from all over Asia present the current situation in each of their own countries. We also had a film viewing of *Thirty Years of Sisterhood* and a talk was given by its producers Chieko Yamagami and Noriko Segawa. The film's portrayal of the women of the Women's Liberation Movement in Japan was very vivid and impressed even those who knew nothing about the movement. In the Forum Theatre session, ICU students offered a skit in which they reproduced scenes from their daily lives. The participants in return responded to the skit, and the heated discussion which followed proved how many various views were present in the Asian context. On the second day, we had presentations and discussions according to various themes. On the third day, we had a film showcase, in which we were privileged to show four short films with a talk by each director afterwards. We also had a panel discussion in the afternoon. This program was open to the public, and we had over 200 people in attendance. It was one of the moments in which the activities of CGS in trying not to confine Gender Studies in the closure of the academic came to fruition. Also, we were happy to realize the power and possibility of visual representation, and it will certainly be one of the core activities of CGS in the future.

One of the purposes of this workshop was to offer a place to talk about gender representation in Asia, as gender in Asia is studied but remains focused quite domestically, and when international communication is ever done, it is mainly with the US or Europe. We feel that our Asian neighbours need to know about and communicate with each other and to learn from our sameness as well as our difference. We are grateful that people with various backgrounds attended this workshop and let us realize how ignorant we are about each other and how joyful to talk with each other through the medium of cultural products. We are sure we will be able to respect each other and learn more from our diversity.

Another goal, related to the above, was to build a network among Asian researchers and activists. We consider such a network to be a valuable contribution to the future progress of Gender Studies and Women's Studies, as well as various revolutionary movements. We were happy to see not only many academics, but film-creators, acting groups, activists, and students in our workshop, as a significant step forward for the permeation of gender studies in society.

One more vital goal was to make this workshop a collaborative event with our students. We owed so much to the students who have been involved in various activities of CGS, who helped us with this workshop too. Also we are thankful to those newcomers, and those who participated in the theatre and film sessions. It made quite a difference and it meant a great deal. We had been hoping to welcome young people, and were very happy to see more than we had expected.

The workshop posits many points of reflection, however. Because of our strong wish to learn as much as possible, the schedule was overloaded, causing a lack of discussion time, which needs to be rectified for the next workshop. However, it was a success in that it made us more aware of the close connection between gender and representation and the power it has on society as a whole. It also suggests the potential of representation as our means to work on society. We feel we were empowered greatly by the participants who are actively and energetically involved in various meaningful activities. We would like to express our gratitude to those kindly attended and helped our workshop. We are hoping to see you again in our future activities.

International Workshop 2005 Coordinator
Natsumi IKOMA

Current Japanese Art

KITAHARA, Megumi (Konan University)

Who are the least protected, least reported(or, if reported, very biased) women in today' s Japan? It is "Comfort Women." The trial of the war crime against women in late 2000 was the focus of international coverage, but the major media in Japan did not report it. The only broadcasting company that featured this trial was NHK, though their documentary distorted the historical facts of "comfort women" severely. Afterward, it was revealed that the program was changed under threat by some politicians and the right-wing. The first to be eliminated was the paintings made by a Korean artist, which confronts a taboo of postwar Japanese society.

During the late 90s, "gender debate" occurred in the Japanese art world. It was a form of gender bashing. It turned into a discussion on the validity of art exhibitions from gender perspectives and of the methods of the study of art itself. On the other hand, women in Japanese art are more than ever active. The women are working against the main current, with the help they obtain from collaboration with Korean and other international artists.

On Japanese Literature

KITADA, Sachie (Josei International University)

The idea of gender in Japan has been much transformed lately. Late-marriage, or non-marriage changes society into an aged one with few children. Women have started to go into the public sphere, and they are as educated as men. Japanese women writers, since the beginning of modernity, have been expressing their wish to subvert the male-centred tradition, emphasizing the problems of the family system,

gender discrimination and women' s rights. Today, also, we see many female writers confronting the existing norms of gender and sexuality. Some even broaden their issues globally. Another current of Japanese literature is an attempt to reconcile with the negative heritage of World War II. Gender issues, as they demonstrate, are closely connected to racial issues and Japan as a nation. To talk about the representation of Asian women, thus, means to deal with difficulties and the hopes of human beings in today' s world.

On Korea

LEE, Hyangjin (Sheffield University / Rikkyo University)

The last decade of the twentieth century marked a watershed in contemporary Korean political history. National pride in successful political reforms was seriously damaged when the country was forced to seek 58 billion dollars from the International Monetary Fund in 1997. The following years' difficulties pushed Koreans to further question the capability and effectiveness of their social-economic systems. The growing scepticism about social systems eventually led to the open disavowal of the ideals of Confucian patriarchy. I will discuss the ways in which gender representation in South Korea reflects and expresses the confusing status of ordinary citizens regarding the rapid restoration of democratic social orders, towards equal human relationship. The traditional authority of the patriarch is still indispensable in materialising the ideal gender relations and familial bonds in popular films and dramas. The indiscriminative representations almost synchronise to induce the nostalgic sentimentalism on his powerful leadership and parental protection. On the other hand, media fantasy cannot avoid scepticism on patriarchal social orders in reality. This paper will highlight this ironic co-existence of craving and denial of the discriminative familial relationship and gender identification reinforced by tradition.

Feminist Poetics in China: Double Contrast and A Culturological Analysis

YANG, Lixin (Nangjing Normal University)

Until the mid-1980s, the Chinese academia had been showing prejudice against feminism, misreading and resisting it. This, coupled with the characteristics of women' s liberation in China and the post-modernity elements of feminism that were regarded as an academic misfit in China, explained the rather slow progress in the dissemination and practice of feminism in China, which was in double contrast to the development of feminism in the west and to the 'new methodology boom' among Chinese literary critics. The double contrast has conditioned, if not determined, the basic form of feminist poetics and its trend of development in China.

Beyond Representation: Women and Media in Malaysia

WONG, Yuen Mei (Malaya University)

Since the 1970s, the feminist scholars, women' s NGOs and consumer organizations

in Malaysia have been engaged in a constant critique of media representation of women and gender relations in the mainstream media industries. Various women images in the media were cited to demonstrate the under-representation of women and the perpetuation of gender stereotypes in the media. These women images have been used as evidence to negotiate with, or to lobby, the government agencies and corporate media companies for a more balanced gender representation. Recognizing the importance of gender representation for women, various strategies have been deployed to empower women's participation in media production, management and creative work. Increasingly, the issues of creating spaces for women to make their voices heard have become more significant. But unfortunately, women's pursuit of freedom of expression in Malaysia have been perceived as subversive by the state and various restrictions have been imposed to silence them. This paper will argue how women's rights for communication and representation are the key to media democracy in Malaysia.

Young Women on Indonesian TV Screens

VENNY, Adriana (Chief Editor of Journal Prempuan)

Problems of Indonesian teenage girls now have become critical, as we face the spread of sexual exploitation, paedophilia, and human-trafficking, not to mention insufficient sex education, and the bad influence of the media on consumerism. However, the Indonesian media does not have the regulatory system to protect the rights and interests of children. The presenter suggests the need for governmental control, or at least, some governmental monitoring system. The problems include the prevalence of the Western concept of beauty; the lack of an Advertising Council to raise awareness of social issues; over-sexual expressions; the prevalence of violent expressions in media. The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission is not working as it does not impose any penalty fee. So far, the government has done nothing to protect or save women. The mortality rate at birth is still high; the anti-domestic violence law has not been enacted; the anti-trafficking law has not been enacted either. What is strongly needed is an awareness raising campaign to support the enactment of laws which protects women from violence.

On India

RAJALAKSHMI, Parthasarathy (Lady Doak College)

Indian social reality is intermeshed with diverse cultures that are reflected in variant gender relations ranging from patriarchal forms to matrilineal practices. This gender discourse focuses on five major factors that have influenced Indian psyche in evolving and internalizing gender concepts. They are Indian mythology; Religion; History; Literature; and Mass Media. There is a certain unity in Indian culture in spite of its multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-communal and class setup and Indian mythology is a primary ethos of Indian society. Religious beliefs and traditional practices contributed to the establishment of male superiority and marginalization of women. But it is also the history of foreign invasions that situated the degradation of women's status. Representation of gender in some of the popular Indian Literature brings

out the stereotyped male and female images as well as their changing identities. Indian mass media are problematic as they seek popularity through the images of sex, violence, and stereotypes. In such cultural settings, many women have kept dignifying their roles rather than transcending them. However, they are living in a world that has never been before, and it is first necessary to banish the bogies of their inner hidden world.

PRAGATWUTISARN, Chutima (Chulalongkorn University)

Little research has been done on gender issues in Thai society until recently. Not surprisingly, the last few decades have seen much scholarly and activist attention paid to Thai women but less attention has been given to gender. This paper deals with an aspect of gender that has been underrepresented by Thai scholars, namely the representation of gender in modern Thai literature. Though Thai literature from the Revolution to the present portrays an image of modern women, what exactly is meant by "modern women" varies from one period to another. The beginning of the civilizing reforms has brought about the education of women but the image of "modern women" has remained that of housewives, albeit educated. Socio-economic changes from the 60s onwards affected women's images, since women were encouraged to work outside to help support the family. The ideal image then became that of a good companion who also keeps traditional values. The 70s saw the emergence of active democratizing movements, and the image of politically active, idealist women appeared. Contemporary images, of strong liberated women who reject traditional roles, are affected by international women's movements. However, their portraits are not always favourable, thus showing the social ambivalence towards such women.

Know Her Through Her Hair: Notes on the Construction/ Reconstruction of the Filipina in Art and Literature

BARRIOS, Maria Josephine (University of the Philippines)

The paper looks into firstly how the Filipino woman has been constructed in Philippine culture, and secondly how the Filipina has been reconstructed by women artists and writers, creating characters and sketches that challenge stereotypes. The paper argues that Filipino women have been trapped into categories by the experiences of colonialism, imperialism and globalization: 1) the suffering mother such as Mater Dolorosa as influenced by the Catholic religion imposed by Spanish colonization; 2) the martyr wife and mother who bears her husband's infidelities and her children's shortcomings; 3) the "bayad-utang" or debt payment – a woman sent to work in the house of the landlord or as a domestic worker to pay off family debts; 4) the prostitute with the golden heart, a character influenced by the romance mode; 5) the mistress who is both acknowledged/unacknowledged in Philippine society; 6) the strange/unfamiliar woman – the woman alone, the crazy woman, the rebel. Using the "hair" as metaphor, the paper shows how the woman's physical appearance is equated with her virtue or lack of it and with her acceptability/unacceptability in Philippine society. For example, the Mater Dolorosa image is usually shown with

her hair neatly tied in a bun, the debt-payment woman with seductive long hair up to her waist (usually tied during day but flowing at night), the prostitute with big hair; the modern woman with bobbed hair; and the overseas worker with dyed hair. These woman characters in Philippine literature, art, cinema and theater have been countered or reconstructed largely through the efforts of feminist writers and artists.

Spiritual Violence in Vietnamese Families

Phan Huyen Thu (Film Producer, Poet)

Vietnam was originally the country where women have relatively high status and equal rights to men. The most worshipped goddess is the Holy Mother, Lieu Hanh, whose sexual power is thought to be vital in the farming society of Vietnam. Many prominent female figures and reigns can be found in Vietnamese history, though the introduction of Confucianism in 15th century China changed the situation. It was only after WWII that women were allowed to participate in social activities as men. Women have slowly regained respect during the 60 year-long wars with France and America, and today's Vietnam sees many female leaders in every field, including politics. Economic growth also has brought changes in the family system, and an increase of single, independent women, but men's concept of desirable women remains epitomized by the "3Ns" in Vietnamese, i.e. a bit dutiful, a bit beautiful and a bit silly, which troubles today's Vietnamese women between two choices: conform to the "3Ns" and get married or keep one's own independence and exert some assertiveness. It is of great concern that those who choose the latter often have to suffer in their private lives, being maltreated or punished by their partners.

Discourse Policies of 20th-Century Chinese Women's Fiction

YANG, Lixin (Nangjin Normal University)

The development of 20th-century Chinese women's fiction went through three stages. The first stage, from the May 4th Movement to the 1940s; the second stage, the 'New Period' that began in the late 1970s and the early 1980s; the third stage, from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. Women writers in the first stage celebrated maternal love and won the right to express themselves within the milieu of patriarchal culture. They defied the image of the weak mother and laid the groundwork for constructing women's own tradition, while they successfully gained access to mainstream culture. But the absence of sexual discourse indicated that the writers were still constrained by feudal morality, and they failed to address the issue of gender roles in family and society. In the 1980s, with the restoration of humanistic values and the influence of western feminism, Chinese women became more conscious of sexual issues. The recurrent image of 'sick women' in 'New Period' women's fiction is a form of body metaphor that revolts against the reality and the culture. In the 1990s, stories about sex and the female body flourished under the strong influence of Hélène Cixous, but by the mid-1990s, 'the body' became another exploitative field to cater to banal erotic desires and the commercialism of patriarchal society. Then the focus was moved to 'personal writing,' which, however, comes

under criticism because of its repetitive narcissism and its lack of relativity. The change of discourse policy thus shows not only the development of 20th-century Chinese women's fiction, but also its weaknesses and predicament.

I want to fly upon traditions' wings

Phan Huyen Thu (Film Producer, Poet)

In today's Vietnam, the generation gap is a serious problem; the older generation insists upon the maintenance of traditional values, while unaware of the new problems and new sets of values facing the younger generation. Especially the controversy revolves around the issue of sex. The "Tho tre" or "Young poetry" movement, of which I myself am a part, reflects the new sets of values, using new styles and dealing with new themes such as their personal experiences. It tries to revolutionize sex through new usage of language. It attracts the younger generation as well as fierce criticism. My main concern is more on the creation of a new language, though sex is also one of the focal points. The Vietnamese language is infinitely copious and beautiful, rich in sounds, melodies and images. However, the alphabets we use do not correspond sufficiently and Vietnamese poets have ignored the polysemic characteristics of the language too long, thus caused the loss of beauty in the language. I resurrect some ancient words, putting them side by side with a brand new word. I try to describe feelings of the modern life by classic phrases and concepts. By combining modern words with the beauty of the Vietnamese traditional language, I believe I can come up with the expressions suitable for today's Vietnam.

Japanese Names and Gender

HIBIYA, Junko (International Christian University)

This presentation analyzes the trend of names in Japan after 1945 and its gender implications. The period is categorized into four groups, 1)1945-59, 2)1960-74, 3)1975-89, 4)1990-2004. The top few on each list show the gender tendency in each respective period. For instance, in the period 1) and 2), the male names are often composed of one Chinese character and 3 syllables. The characters chosen are that of success, promotion, advance, health, and intelligence. On the contrary, the female names are mostly composed of two Chinese characters (one meaningful and another meaning "child"). The characters used are for happiness, peace, love, honesty, and generosity. In the period 3), the male names with the characters meaning "big" or "wide" shows how the society cherished the idea of scale in men. The period 4) sees the appearance of genderless names. And the characters used are often related to nature.

How is Woman's Body represented by the Japanese Cultural Administration?: Gender Representation of Sculptures in Public Space

NISHIYAMA, Chieko (Tokyo International University)

In Japan, sculptures have been installed in public spaces since the Meiji Era. From

then up until World War II, they were mainly of male historic figures to aid in the creation of a nationalist and militarist ideology. The few female sculptures were limited to stereotypes of a wife helping her husband's career or of a mother sacrificing herself for her child. After the war, the newly established goals for postwar Japan was reflected in male and female sculptures that represented "peace," "economic growth," "health," and "development." Also, many mother-child sculptures were installed, as they were the symbols of peace, and also of maternal love itself. Since then, the number of sculptures is on the increase, while, after the period of rapid economic growth, the ideology shifted to the promotion of art. And the main figures portrayed are of young women in nude.

The sculptures we can see today are a mixture of pre-war and post-war products, and there are clear differentiations of gender in them. The characteristics of gender in those sculptures are: 1) women are in nude, men in clothes; 2) women are young, men are at various age; 3) women represent nature, men are culture; 4) women are nameless and universal, men are individuals; 5) women's space is below (earth), men's above (sky); 6) women are stasis, men are action, tension, and power; 7) mother-child sculptures are common, but father-child ones are rare. In addition to these, women are often eroticized and sexual connotation can be found.

As is shown, public sculptures are sites for the propagation of gender stereotypes under the guise of cultural promotion. The Japanese cultural administration has been adopting policies to further the objectification of women's body.

The Neo-Colonial Globalized Body: Notes on the Filipino Woman's Body in Philippine Art and Literature

BARRIOS, Maria Josephine (University of the Philippines)

The paper argues that the contemporary Filipino woman's body can be described as both neo-colonial and globalized. The paper traces how the body has been transformed by Spanish and American colonization starting in the 16th century when Roman Catholic religion dominated Philippine life and condemned the body to be a "temple of sin" and thus should be hidden and untouched. This was characterized by the layers of clothing Filipinas had to wear during the Spanish colonial period in spite of the tropical heat. At the turn of the 19th century, when Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States, the Filipina body then became both a commodity and the receptacle of commodities. As the Filipina body was used to advertise liquor and cigarettes, it also had to continue to conform to Western standards of beauty through beauty products such as make-up, shampoos and conditioners, and the latest fashion styles and accessories. At present, the Filipina body not only continues to be influenced by neo-colonization (thus the proliferation of whitening products and South beach diet providers). The paper looks into websites showing "beautiful" potential Filipina brides," and patient/caring care-givers and domestic workers. In the former, the Filipina body is exoticized while in the latter, the Filipina's docility is emphasized. Thus, even with globalization, the "lessons" of colonization lives on.

Representing Sex and Sexuality in South Korea

LEE, Hyangjin (University of Sheffield, UK/Rikkyo University, Japan)

This study adopts a cross-cultural analysis of Japanese and Korean cinemas, in order to evaluate the unique and common characteristics of gender representation. A comparison of Japanese and Korean cinemas merits for this research with their close historical relationships. In particular, the shared 'Confucian' cultural traditions, the rapid Westernization process driven by external forces and the intensive experiences of the state-led modernisation process attest the contexts in which the cinematic discourses are situated. The films chosen for this study are four nonsensical comedies about the unpredictable behaviour of ordinary people who contradict themselves with the commitment to traditional community-oriented human relationships and their exposure to, or pursuit of, 'Western' ideals: *Death, the Japanese Style* (*Ososhiki*, 1984) and *Tampopo* (1986) made by Itami Juzo, *Farewell, My Darling* (*Haksaeng Bugun Sinwi*, 1996) and *301, 302* (1996), made by Park Chulsoo. In discussing the identity crisis in contemporary Japan and Korea represented in the four films, this study focuses on women's sexuality and role conflicts represented from male points of view. The creative and experimental imaginations of Itami and Park in interpreting the family melodramatic assets in the Japanese/Korean cinematic traditions are encapsulated in the symbolic usage of food and space division between the different genders. The various images of heroines portrayed disclose the contradictory needs of the patriarchy in adopting the ideals of tradition and modernity. Especially, the motifs of food combined with the codes and conventions of sexuality are used to express the absurdity of the colonial and post-colonial experiences of the people who seek to cope with the changes.

Women's Sexualities in Malaysia: Site of Contestations

WONG, Yuen Mei (University of Malaya)

In Malaysia, women's sexualities have become the site of cultural and political contestations. When examined closely, we will be able to identify the complex and intricate play of local, national and global forces on the body of women in Malaysia. In the mainstream media, women's sexualities become the nexuses of consumer culture and popular culture. Women's bodies are widely sexualized and objectified, and women's sexualities are the sites of desire, pleasure, and objectification. On the other hand, the struggles over political and cultural autonomy are often figured in relation to the women's bodies, especially women's sexualities. Political and religious groups consolidate its identity by projecting the sexual practices and gender behaviours it deems abhorrent. Women's sexualities are then subjected to various disciplining forces and regulations. Political expression itself becomes sexualized and women's sexualities become politicized. Ironically, the display and discourse of the women's bodies engender greater bodily self-consciousness as well as self-scrutiny among women themselves. Women attempt to change, explore their sexualities and identities through self-expression and contestation. This paper looks at the polemics, contradictions and paradoxes arise from the interplay of the various socio-political

forces mediating the women' s bodies and sexualities.

The Politics of Gaze: the Relation between the Gazer and the Gazed

FUKAZAWA, Junko (Minato-ku Community Human Service Center, Tokyo)

In the spring of 2005, a man was arrested for keeping several women in confinement with a dog-collar for long and short periods of time. His behaviour is seen as a simulation of a certain game, in which you train a woman as if she is a domestic animal to obey you. In the midst of today' s Japanese society, where women' s sexualized images are everywhere, this case cannot be put away by saying it is only 'a peculiar case of an 'odd person who cannot distinguish fantasy from reality.' Nobody cannot deny the influence of mass visual images brought to us ifrom newspapers, TV, magazines, advertisements, videos, the internet, and games which pervade our daily activity and thoughts, as well as the concepts of gender and sexuality.

I have been analyzing the images of women in the media from the perspective of discrimination against women for more than 25 years. Since 1995, I held several workshops to decode the meanings behind the images of women, provided by the media and consumed by the public. Though the policies of equal opportunities was installed, the images provided by the media have continued to emphasize the gender role, and women as sexual objects for men, i.e., the sex to be looked at. There has been little change in the quality or quantity of those images. The change that has occurred is that visual images of men have started to be provided for men themselves. These images are used to promote commodities, such as fashion, accessories, cars, sporting and travel goods. They create the desire of self-realization among especially young men, by offering a model to aspire to.

Then, do women start to consume the male images just as men consume female images? To do that, they need to recover the subject of the gaze, because the act of looking can only be learned through cultural repetition.

Naming the Unspeakable: Reading Rape in Anchan' s *On the Mouth of the World*

PRAGATWUTISARN, Chutima (Chulalongkorn University)

Sexual abuse has not been a topic of literary study until recently. The scarcity of sexual abuse narratives does not mean that sexual violence is rare in Thai society, however. In fact, one of the most important characteristics of narratives about sexual abuse is the tension between the desire of the abuse survivors to tell their stories and the anxiety that their narratives cannot be told. Here the issue of sexual abuse is inseparable from the issue of language, which is not only a medium of expression but a means by which the meaning of abuse is constructed and contested. This research paper examines why sexual violence has been unspeakable in Thai society by looking at the representation of rape in *On the Mouth of the World* (2003), the latest novel by Anchan, a SEA Write award winner. Although *On the Mouth of the World* is a novel about Ang, it is Jon, the male narrator, who is the author of Ang' s story and who interprets and evaluates her from his point of view. In his narrative, Jon constructs Ang either as a good girl or a bad girl, a dichotomy that reflects his anxiety about her sexuality and his need to subjugate it. By insisting on telling her story and assuming

a role unrecognized by patriarchal society, Ang disrupts Jon's romantic notion of a hero rescuing a woman in distress, and prevents his story from achieving the satisfactory closure of a linear narrative. Ang's death at the end thus symbolizes the patriarchal violence against women whose stories are not assimilated into existing cultural narratives. Ang's voice, articulated from the strangely familiar world of the abuse victim, tells the story of a powerless and terrified victim of sexual abuse rather than a bad girl with perverted sexual desire.

De/Re Mythification in the short stories of Shashi Deshpande and Ambai

RAJALAKSHMI, Parthasarathy (Lady Doak College)

Feminist writers have long been interested in myth, arguing for either the recovery or invention of empowering myths for women. This paper discusses the treatment of Indian mythical themes and characters by contemporary Indian women writers, Shashi Deshpande and Ambai. Deshpande and Ambai make use of myths as an important literary device. The great epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are loaded with texts and subtexts that perennially supply universal themes to the Indian creative writers. For generations, men have been in control of their cultural myths by creating as well as interpreting them. Interestingly many women writers today are found to question the truth behind some of the gender implications and societal values advocated by the ancient myths and reconstruct the mythical characters by deconstructing their stereotyped images. Their stories may be considered postmodern because they offer a double reading of traditional myths and their simultaneous subversion. Both writers draw upon the Hindu mythological themes and characters not for the representation of ideal behavioural paradigms as they are commonly used by the Indian society, but to expose the discriminatory patriarchal ideologies. They establish the idea that to bring any substantial change in the thinking process of a nation as a whole, a reinterpretation of the myths is quite necessary as it is a powerful medium that connects regions, generations and genders.

Passion, Immorality or Resistance Literature? :Redefining Women Sexualities in Indonesian Literature

VENNY, Adriana (Chief Editor of Journal Perempuan)

In such a very patriarchal society as Indonesia, women are often repressed to certain gender roles. It has been difficult for women to express their ideas and sexualities, but some female writers have started to speak up against what was considered in the past as taboos, though they are labeled as an immoral stream of literature. In this paper I would like to analyze three female writers who offer resistance to taboos and stereotyped morality: Ayu Utami, Djenar Maesa Ayu and Oka Rusmini. Utami's stories deal openly with women's sexuality from a woman's point of view. Ayu's stories deal with the issues of sexual violence. Rusmini, poet, writer and journalist, consistently commits to resistance, encouraging women not to be fatalistic as victims, but to be survivors.

Where do Combat Princesses go? The Changing Image of Women in Japanese ANIME MURASE, Hiromi (Yamaguchi University, Adjunct Instructor)

The image and characterization of women in Japanese ANIME are becoming more and more varied as the industry itself strives in the world market. The traditional stereotypical characterisation of “docile, submissive, self-sacrificing, negative” girls is rarely seen today. For instance, the “combat” heroines are not the girls to “be protected” but “to protect”, and are characterized as active ones who follow their own will. They have been particularly favoured among the newly created tradition of stories with active female protagonists. Their characteristics such as activeness, non-isolation, ability of self-realization, are the easy emblem of the independent women of today.

However, we need to take into account their parodies that treat these combat heroines as sexual objects, and also the recent trend called “MOE” in which the consumer segmentizes the heroines into many factors and favours only a few. This “MOE” trend is seen in both men and women, and, therefore, cannot be simply labelled as the objectification of women, hence discrimination against women. But it is also true, that some ANIME for girls are actually created to be consumed in the “MOE” trend. Such ANIME appears to be innocent dramas of combat heroines who are active, positive, pretty and independent, but behind the scenes, the wholeness of the heroines or the stories themselves are rendered completely irrelevant, and the segmentized parts of their bodies (i.e., hair or eyes) are consumed as erotic objects. It is unknown how it affects girls when they find out their adored heroines are, in fact, cut up like this and consumed as a sex toy. But, at least, one can claim that it does not contribute to making the lives of the girls any easier.

CGS International Workshop 2005

Human Security and Gender in Asia: Humanities Perspectives
— Gender Representation in Asia —

Co-organized by:

International Christian University, Center for Gender Studies
21st Century Center of Excellence Program
"Research and Education for Peace, Security and Conviviality"

Place:

International Christian University

Date:

16 – 18 September, 2005

16th (Fri)

9:00 – 9:20 Opening (Administration Bldg, No 206)

9:20 – 11:20 Session 1 Overview of Gender Representation (Administration Bldg, No 206)

Chairperson: Tanaka Kazuko
Japan (Kitahara Megumi)
Japan2 (Kitada Sachie)
Korea (Lee Hyangjin)
China (Yang Lixin)

11:20 – 11:35 Break

11:35 – 12:55 Session 2 Overview of Gender Representation (Administration Bldg, No 206)

Chairperson: Hibiya Junko
Malaysia (Wong Yuen-Mei)
Indonesia (Adriana Venny)
India (Parthasarathy Rajalakshmi)

13:00 – 14:50 Cinema Luncheon (Alumni House 2 F)

13:00-13:20 Lunch

13:20-14:20 "30 years of Sisterhood"

14:20-15:00 Talk and Discussion (Yamagami Chieko, Seyama Noriko)

15:10 – 17:00 Forum Theatre Performance (New Diffendorfer Memorial Building)

Consider Gender in Daily Life through a theatrical performance.

(Assisted by Forum Theatre, Takemori Shigeko, Hanasaki Setsu, Narusawa Tomio)

17:30 – 19:00 Session 3 Overview of Gender Representation (Administration Bldg, No 206)

Chairperson: Shaun Malarney
Thailand (Chutima Pragatwutisarn)
Philippine (Maria Josephine Barrios)
Vietnam (Phan Huyen Thu)

17th (Sat)

9:20 – 11:00 Session 4 Language, Expression and Power (Administration Bldg, No 206)

Chairperson: Jean-Pierre Besiat
Yang Lixin
Phan Huyen Thu
Hibiya Junko with students

11:00 – 11:20 Break

11:20 – 12:30 Session 5 What is Art?: Body, Beauty and Gender (Administration Bldg, No 206)

Chairperson: Kato Etsuko
Nishiyama Chieko
Maria Josephine Barrios

12:30 – 13:30 Lunch

13:30 – 15:30 Session 6 Representing Sex and Sexuality (Administration Bldg, No 206)

Chairperson: Shimizu Akiko
Lee Hyangjin
Wong Yuen-Mei
Fukazawa Junko
Chutima Pragatwutisarn

15:30 – 16:00 Break

16:00 – 17:30 Session 7 Toward a New Horizon: Redefining the Concept of Gender
(Administration Bldg, No 206)

Chairperson: Ito Aki
P. Rajalakshmi
Murase Hiromi
Adriana Venny

18:00 – 20:00 Reception at Dining Hall
(Students' performances, Japanese Drum, Original Dance)

18th (Sun)

Asian Film Showcase —Telling Tales Differently (Science Hall 220, N-kan 220)

9:00 – 10:20 "Venus" and "Tokyo Stupid Girls" and "Khoa" with Directors' Talk

10:20 – 11:40 "A Wedding Gift" with Director' s Talk

11:40 – 13:00 "Nu-Shu" with Director' s Talk

13:00 – 13:50 Lunch

13:50 – 15:20 Panel Discussion with Directors: Telling Tales differently
(Science Hall 220, N-kan 220)

Chairperson: Saito Ayako

15:30 – 17:00 Summary Session (Administration Bldg, No 206)

Chairperson: Ikoma Natsumi

CGS 第二回国際ワークショップ

アジアにおける人間の安全保障とジェンダー：人文科学の視点から
——アジアのジェンダー表象——

共催

国際基督教大学ジェンダー研究センター
21世紀 COE プログラム「平和・安全・共生」

開催場所

国際基督教大学

日時

2005年9月16日～18日

プログラム**9月16日(金)**

9:00-9:20 オープニング (本部棟 206号室)

9:20-11:20 セッション1 アジア各国のジェンダー表象概論1 (本部棟 206号室)

司会 田中かず子

日本 北原恵 (甲南大学文学部)
北田幸恵 (城西国際大学人文学部)
韓国 イ・ヒャンジン (シエフィールド大学)
中国 ヤン・リクシン (南京師範大学)

11:20-11:35 休憩

11:35-12:55 セッション2 アジア各国のジェンダー表象概論2 (本部棟 206号室)

司会 日比谷潤子

マレーシア ウォン・ユエンメイ (マラヤ大学)
インドネシア アドリアナ・ヴェニー (ジャーナル編集長)
インド パルタサラティ・ラジャラクシュミ (ビディ・ドーク大学)

13:00-14:50 シネマ・ラシチヨシ (アラムナイ・ハウス2階)

13:00-13:20 ラシチ

13:20-14:20 『30年のシスターフッド』

13:20-14:50 山上千恵子監督、瀨山紀子監督のトークとディスカッション

15:00-17:00 フォーラム・シアター・セッション (新D館多目的ホール)

学生達が日常のジェンダーを演劇化し参加者達とフォーラムを持ちます。

協力 フォーラム・シアター、竹森茂子、花崎摂、鳴沢富雄

17:30-19:00 セッション3 アジア各国のジェンダー表象概論3 (本部棟 206号室)

司会 ショーン・マラーニ

タイ チュティマ・ブラガットウティサーン (チュラロンコン大学)
フィリピン マリア・ジョセフィン・バリオス (フィリピン大学)
ベトナム ファン・フエン・トゥ (ドキュメンタリー映画監督・脚本家)

17日(土)

9:20 - 11:00 セッション4 言葉、表現、パワー (本部棟 206 号室)

司会 ジャン＝ピエール・ベジア
ヤン・リクシン (南京師範大学)
ファン・フエン・トゥ (ドキュメンタリー映画監督・脚本家)
日比谷潤子 (国際基督教大学)

11:00 - 11:20 休憩

11:20 - 12:30 セッション5 アートとは何か?: 身体、美、ジェンダー (本部棟 206 号室)

司会 加藤恵津子
西山千恵子 (東京国際大学)
マリア・ジョセフィン・バリオス (フィリピン大学)

12:30 - 13:30 ランチ

13:30 - 15:30 セッション6 性とセクシュアリティの表現について (本部棟 206 号室)

司会 清水晶子
イ・ヒャンジン (シェフィールド大学)
ウォン・ユエンメイ (マラヤ大学)
深澤純子 (港区コミュニティーカフェ・ヒューマンサービスセンター)
チェティマ・ブラガットウティザーン (チュラロンコン大学)

15:30 - 16:00 休憩

16:00 - 17:30 セッション7 新たな地平線へ: ジェンダー概念を再定義する (本部棟 206 号室)

司会 伊藤亜紀
ノルタサラティ・ラジャラクシュミ (レディ・ドーク大学)
村瀬ひろみ (フリーライター)
アドリアナ・ヴェニー (ジャーナル編集長)

18:00 - 20:00 レセプション (学生による和太鼓演奏、創作ダンス上演) (食堂)

18日(日)

アジアのフィルム・ショーケース: 新しい物語の地平をめざして (N 館 220 号室)

9:00 - 13:00 映画上映と監督のトーク

9:00 - 10:20 『venus』 監督 ソン・インソク他
『Tokyo Stupid Girls』 監督 根来 祐
『Khoa』 監督 ファン・フエン・トゥ
10:20 - 11:40 『The Wedding Gift』 監督 イ・ジョンファ
11:40 - 13:00 『女書』 監督 ユーチン・ヤン

13:00 - 13:50 ランチ

13:50 - 15:20 質疑応答、ディスカッション (N 館 220 号室)

司会 斎藤綾子 (明治学院大学助教授)
パネリスト 根来 祐
ファン・フエン・トゥ
イ・ジョンファ
ユーチン・ヤン

15:30 - 17:00 まとめのセッション (本部棟 206 号室)

司会 生駒夏美

働く女性の日米ワークショッププロジェクト: 二回のワークショップを終えて CGSセンター長 田中かず子

I. はじめに

「働く女性の日米ワークショッププロジェクト」は、デトロイトのウェイン州立大学とICUがプロジェクトの受け入れ大学となり、2004年度から2年間国際交流基金日米センター (Japan Foundation, the Center for Global Partnership (CGP)) の助成を得てはじまった。2005年度には、日本国際基督教大学基金 (Japan ICU Foundation) から助成金を得ることができた。第一回ワークショップは2004年9月にデトロイトのウェイン州立大学で開催し、第二回目は2005年7月にICUで開催した。第三回目は2006年3月に再度ICUで開催予定であるが、その前に二回のワークショップを振り返り、まとめと展望を報告しておきたい。

II. 働く女性の日米ワークショッププロジェクトの背景:

プロジェクトの目的:

このプロジェクトは、参加者全員にとって利益となるような実用的なプロジェクトと一緒に取り組むことで、(1) 国際的な女性労働者ネットワークを構築し、強化していくこと、そして(2) ネットワークを構成する個々の組織団体自体を強化するという二つの大きな目標をもってはじまった。その実用的なプロジェクトとして、今回は組織のメンバー同士が学びあえる教育マニュアルをつくることにした。

プロジェクトが出発した背景:

特に90年代以降、経済のグローバル化が加速度的に進み、労働市場の規制緩和が進んだことによって、女性の雇用環境が急速に悪化してきた。すでに日本女性雇用者の半数以上が非正規で働いており、近年さらに有期雇用化がすすみ、不安定で低賃金な仕事が増加している。男性もこの影響を受けているが、女性のほうが圧倒的に非正規化の影響が大きい。しかも、グローバル化がすすんだ世界において、女性たちが自分たちの働く環境を改善していくためには、もはや一国内だけでは対処できなくなってきており、働く女性たちが国境を越えてネットワークを広げていく必要性が急速に高まった。そのような危機感が、このプロジェクトの背景にある。

一方国内で日本の女性労働者の組織が直面している問題は、個々の女性労働者が抱える問題を解決することに時間とエネルギーを取られてしまったり、新メンバーの参加が停滞したりして、組織や運動が拡大していかないことである。女性ユニオン東京でも、そのメンバーは250人前後で推移している。働く女性を支援する女性ユニオンや団体などは、既存の労働組合から袂をわかって新しく活動を始めた組織である。それゆえに、活動資金などの資源が脆弱であり、個別の相談に対応する人が特定され情報が偏在し、対等で民主的な関係で出発したはずなのに、組織内に力の不均衡な関係がでてくるようになり、入会者も自分の問題が解決すると退会してしまうなど、民主的な組織作りや組織の活性化が滞りがちな状況に陥っていた。このような状況を打破し、活力ある組織化を進めるための模索が始まっていた。

このプロジェクトは、ウェイン州立大学で教えているハイジ・ゴットフリードさんと、「連帯のインク (Solidarity Ink)」というNPOを立ち上げたライターのアン・ザカリア・ウォルツシュさんが出会い、CGPからの助成金を確保して実現した。そもそものきっかけは、ア

アメリカの労働運動の経験があるザカリア・ウォルツシュさんが来日された時、アメリカにはない形で活動している女性ユニオン東京に大変興味を持ったことにあった。女性ユニオン東京の直面している問題を理解する中で、アメリカの労働運動の教育プログラムを日本で使ってみたらどうか、またアメリカの女性労働者も日本の経験から学ぶことが大きいのではないかと思い立ち、女性ユニオン東京に誘いかけたのだ。女性ユニオン東京の人たちに、彼女の熱い思いを伝えた、02年の暑い夏の日のことを思い出す。

ゴットフリードさんは、当時パートタイムなど女性の非正規雇用化の問題に取り組み、日本とアメリカ、ドイツなどとの比較研究をしていらしたことを知っていたので、私はザカリア・ウォルツシュさんにゴットフリードさんを紹介した。ウェイン州立大学は、全米でも有名な労働教育センターがある大学で、日本でも労働運動に関心のある研究者や活動家には良く知られている大学である。このような経緯で同じ関心を持っている二人が出会ったことにより、このプロジェクトの構想が急速に膨らんでいったのである。人と人の出会いが次々につながって、それが大きな運動に発展していくという、好例であろう。

当初日本側の参加者たちからも、経済のグローバル化が進む中、働く女性たちは国境を越えてネットワークを作る必要があるとしても、なぜ「日米」なのかという質問がよくでた。これは、ワークショップの助成金を申請した基金が、日米センター（CGP）という日米共催プログラムを助成する機関だったからだ。日米に限定せず、当然アジアにおける、また世界における女性労働者のネットワークを視野に入れている。今回のプロジェクトでも、第二回目には、香港からのファシリテーターとして、メーベル・オーさんをお迎えするなど、日米の枠を超えたネットワークの展開が始まっている。さらに、このプロジェクトに参加しているメンバーの有志は、2005年10月に韓国の女性労働者の組織や団体を訪問し、働く女性たちの組織化と教育に関する意見交換をしてきた。その際、韓国でも日本で作ろうとしているような教育マニュアルを作って組織化を進めてきていることがわかった。民主的な組織化を進めるために必要とされている教育内容は、基本的に各国共通していることが認識されることになった。

直面する問題と教育マニュアル：

女性ユニオン東京は、第一回ワークショップで自分たちが直面する問題について報告することが求められていたので、2004年の夏合宿を利用して自分たちの活動の問題点を徹底的に検証した。その結果、「一人ひとりの組合員のエンパワーメントをして有機的なネットワークを作っていくことができている」という結論に達した。具体的には、特定のスタッフへの依存が大きく、一人ひとりのエンパワーメントになっていないこと、若いメンバーも増えているのに、経験を伝えることができていることなど、ユニオン拡大の障害物が明らかになった。個別紛争の処理に終わっている活動をみなおして、社会的に大きな影響力を発揮できるようになるためには、一部のスタッフに依存するのではなく、メンバー同士が教育しあえるような教材マニュアルが必要であるという気づきにつながった。

ここでいう教育マニュアルというのは、女性労働者の組織メンバーが活動的で連帯感がありエンパワーされたメンバーとなるために、必要な基礎的スキルや知識を提供する教育プログラムのことである。民主的な組織では、メンバーに必要な情報はみなで共有することが不可欠である。移民の国アメリカでは、異なる背景の人たちが行動を同じくするために、手順など明文化したマニュアルが必須であったので、これまで膨大なマニュアル作りのノウハウが蓄積されてきた。アメリカの大学では、労働教育センターのある大学もあり、労働組合のメンバーのための教育プログラムを発展させてきた。また、女性労働者も自分た

ちのための教育マニュアルを作り、スキルを身につけるやり方に磨きをかけてきた。このプロジェクトは、日本の女性労働者の組織や団体のメンバーがそのノウハウを学び、自分たちのための教育マニュアルをつくることを目的としている。そして、そのマニュアルづくりという実践を通して、自らがエンパワーし、そのことによってそれぞれの組織内のメンバー間のネットワークを深め、さらに組織間のつながりを深めるというダイナミックな企画でもある。

日本側の参加者：

今回の女性労働者ネットワークに参加している組織団体は、女性の労働組合だけではなく、女性労働者のための団体も含まれている。日本からの参加者は次のような団体や組織に所属している：働く女性の人権センターいこる、北海道ウィメンズユニオン、女性ユニオンプラス、女性ユニオン東京、アジア女性資料センター、名古屋ふれあいユニオン、せんしゅうユニオン、おんな労働組合関西、均等待遇アクション21、CAWネットジャパン、女性労働問題研究会、ワーキング・ウイメンズ・ヴォイス、そして出版メッツ。北海道から九州までをカバーする女性労働者のNPOが、このように一同に会するなど、3、4年前には想像もできないほどの画期的なことであった。

Ⅲ. 第一回ワークショップ in デトロイト

第一回ワークショップは、2004年9月24日と25日の二日間、ゴットフリードさんが教鞭をとるウェイン州立大学で開催された（当日のスケジュールは、文末に添付）。第一回目のワークショップでは、日本と合衆国の間で情報の共有をはかることが第一義的な目的であった。日本からの参加者は、女性ユニオン東京、おんな労組関西、女性の人権センターいこる、北海道ウィメンズユニオン、ワーキング・ウイメンズ・ヴォイス、女性労働問題研究会など新しい運動を担ってきた組織で中心的に活躍している人たちであった。合衆国からの参加者も、労働組合女性連合（CLUW）のG. ジョンソン、全米勤労女性協会（9to5）のL. メリック、全米自動車労組女性部のC. スイフト、そしてウイメンズ・ユニオン・スクールのT. イーウィング、デュポール大学労働教育プログラムのE. ローゼンバークなど、そうそうたるメンバーであった。

一日目はザカリヤ・ウォルツシュさんが冒頭に「合衆国と日本の労働運動の再構築について」というタイトルで熱く語り、「合衆国における女性労働者の意識」というセッションでは、合衆国における女性労働者に関する労働運動の歴史的背景などの報告があった。午後の「日本の女性労働者の労働組合」というセッションでは、日本の労働組合、特に女性労働組合の現状について、日本側から報告があった。

二日目には、「合衆国の女性労働問題」と、「日本の女性労働問題とその挑戦」というセッションを設けて、それぞれの国で女性労働者が直面している問題について理解を深めた。最後に、「合衆国における労働教育と労働組合組織力開発」のセッションを設け、労働教育のプロたちからそれぞれの特色ある活動について報告してもらったが、日本の女性ユニオンや女性団体が自らの活動を活性化させるために有効な手段について多くの示唆を得ることができた。

日本側の参加者が得た大きな成果は、二つあった。一つは、このワークショップに参加するために、各女性ユニオンや団体が、それぞれの直面する問題点を検討する作業を行ったことである。特に女性ユニオン東京は、夏の合宿を使ってこれまでの活動における問題点を徹底的に検討した結果、自分たちの抱える問題を明確にすることができた。もう一つは、

合衆国における具体的な活動を知ることによって、自分たちの直面する問題を相対化することができた点である。

IV. 第二回ワークショップ in 東京

第二回目は、2005年7月22日から24日まで、ICUで開催された。この第二回目のワークショップが開催されるまでの10ヶ月間に、日本では参加メンバーを増強して、2004年11月と2005年3月に二回会合を開催した。そして、教育マニュアルの具体的なテーマを、コミュニケーションスキル、エンパワーメントスキル、そして組織化スキルの三つに絞り込んだ。この三つのテーマにそって、合衆国から三人のファシリテータを迎えて、それぞれのミニワークショップを開催し、教育マニュアルについて実体験することになった（ワークショップのスケジュールは、本文末に掲載）。

各ファシリテータは、それぞれ担当するテーマに関し、事前に適切な教育方法と教材を準備し、ワークショップの日本側参加者は双方向的な教育、徹底的に参加型教育の実験を体験した。そして、このワークショップに実際に参加することによって、教育マニュアルを作成するということはどういうことなのか、どういふふうにマニュアルは使えるのか、自分たちはなにをやろうとしているのか、初めてはつきりと把握することができた。

小グループにおける参加型教育の実践なので、各グループのサイズは通訳をいれて10人以下であった。コミュニケーションスキルのグループ（ファシリテータ：E. ローゼンバーグ）は、人前で話す話し方から、組織の内部でのファシリテーションスキル、また差別と戦うということを攻撃的ではなくアートで表現し、コミュニティの人たちに訴える方法など、実践を通して学ぶことができた。第二の組織化グループ（C. エーデルソン）では、組織を活性化し拡大していくためのスキルとして、一対一のコミュニケーションスキルを身につけ、組織のメンバー間のつながりを深く掘り下げ、そして若い人たちや新メンバーが自由に活動できるような場を造っていくためのスキルを実践した。そして、エンパワーメントスキルのグループ（T. イーウィング）では、参加型成人教育で最も重要なことは参加者の「尊厳」の重視にあることが強調され、ブレインストーミング、モノログとダイアログ、共同作業などを体験しながら、それぞれの人がもつ可能性を引き出す方法を学んだ。

二年間の助成金を得て開催する3回目のワークショップは、2006年3月にICUで行うことが決まっている。そのときには、今回ミニ・ワークショップにわかれて経験したワークを、今度は全員が経験し、それをもとに日本の現状にあったトレーニング・プログラムの作成に向けて、試行錯誤をはじめることになるだろう。2日間半のワークショップでは十分に参加型教育を理解しえなかったところもあるので、三回目のワークショップではファシリテータの人たちにその点を中心にフォローアップしてもらい、もう少し深く理解できる機会になるよう計画する予定である。

V. 2回のワークショップに参加して：

このプロジェクトの目的は、女性労働者の組織や団体がさらに組織を活性化し拡大させていく手段としての教育マニュアルを自分たちの手で作ることだ。そのために、第二回のワークショップでは合衆国からプロのファシリテータを呼び、小グループによる参加型の教育実践を体験する機会をもった。このワークショップの一番の成果は、参加者自身がエンパワーされ、コミュニケーションスキルをつけ、組織の拡大や活性化は1対1の関係性、信

頼関係を築くことから始まることを、自らのケースとして実感したことであろう。参加者が実践的な教育経験から体得したスキルは、日本の現状に合った教育マニュアルづくりに反映されるに違いない。

この教育マニュアル作りという共同作業を通して、全国の女性ユニオンや団体が顔の見える関係を作ることができた。今後この関係が、二年間のワークショッププロジェクトが終了したあともさらに拡大し、柔軟でかつ強固な全国的ネットワークの展開につながっていくことが期待される。

The US-Japan Working Women' s Workshop Project: Report on the First and Second Workshops

I. Introduction

The US-Japan Working Women' s Workshop Project, hosted jointly by Wayne State University and ICU, was started in 2004 with funding from the Japan Foundation's Center for Global Partnership (CGP). In 2005 we also received a grant from the Japan ICU Foundation. Our first workshop was held in September 2004 at Wayne State University in Detroit and the second in July 2005 at ICU. Here, I would like to summarize and report on the results of these two workshops before the third workshop which is scheduled for March 2006 at ICU.

II. Background

Objectives of the Project:

This project began with two major objectives - (1) to set up and build on an international network of female workers and (2) to strengthen each individual group within the network. As part of its aim to be of practical benefit to all its participants, the project focused on the creation of a learning manual through which the members could learn from each other.

Origins of the Project:

Working conditions for women have rapidly deteriorated with the rise of economic globalization and deregulation of the workplace, especially after the 1990s. Already, over 50% of the female workers in Japan are not in full-time employment. Moreover, the trend toward fixed-term employment in recent years has led to an increase in jobs of poor stability and low pay. Although men have also been affected by deregulation, the effects on women have been much worse. Furthermore, in this world of rapid globalization, there is an increasing need for working women to form networks across national borders in order to improve their working environment.

Working womens' groups in Japan are faced with problems which limit the expansion of their organizations and their activities, such as time and energy being spent mainly on resolving the problems of individual workers and the stagnation of new membership. For example, even the Tokyo Women' s Union (arguably one of the most visible and active unions for women in Japan) has less than 250 members. Women's unions and other groups which support working women are organizations that originally broke away from the existing labour unions and initiated new activities. However, funding and resources are limited, skills and knowledge are unevenly distributed and there are problems with the specification of people for resolving individual cases. Despite having started off on an equal footing, the building of democratic, vital organizations has become plagued by problems from within, such as unequal power relations and the resignation of members upon the resolution of their own problems. Thus, there is a growing movement to find ways to overcome such problems and to revitalize these organizations.

This project was realized through the meeting and collaboration of Wayne State University lecturer Heidi Gottfried and Solidarity Ink founder Ann Zacharias-Walsh,

with funding secured from the CGP. The initial idea for the project was conceived by Ms. Zacharias-Walsh when she became interested in the activities of the Tokyo Women's Union which were so different to her own experience with labour movements in the U.S. While striving to understand the issues faced by the Tokyo Women's Union, she began to wonder whether the learning programs developed by American labour movements could be used in Japan. She also felt that there could be much that American women's workers could learn from the Japanese experience. I still recall her earnest proposal to the Tokyo Women's Union, for which I acted as interpreter, on a hot summer's day in 2002.

Wayne State University is famous in the U.S. for its Labour Education Center and is even well known in Japan by researchers and activists involved in labour movements. I introduced Ms. Zacharias-Walsh to Dr. Gottfried who I knew was at that time involved in comparative research of Japan, the U.S. and Germany, in the rising trend toward irregular women's employment such as part-time work. From there, the project continued to grow and develop. Thus, this project is a prime example of how great movements can be fostered through successive encounters and connections between individual people.

So why 'US-Japan' ? While recognizing the need for working women to build networks across national borders in a world of increasing economic globalization, this was a question asked by many of the Japanese participants in the initial stages of the project. This was because funding received for the project was from the US-Japan Center (CGP), an organization which funds joint US-Japan programs. However, the perspective is not limited simply to Japan and the U.S., but considers networks of working women in Asia and the world. Thus, this project also initiated the development of networks beyond the US-Japan framework, for example, by welcoming a facilitator from Hong Kong, Mabel Au in the second workshop. Furthermore, a number of our participants visited women's labour organizations in Korea in October 2005 to exchange views on working women's organizations and education. The group learnt that there was a similar movement in Korea to develop learning manuals and promote labour organizations. They also realized that the kind of learning programs necessary for the development of democratic organizations are essentially the same in each country.

Issues Addressed/ Learning Manual:

For the first workshop, the Tokyo Women's Union was asked to report on the various problems they faced. At a 2004 summer retreat, they examined in detail the problems of their activities and came to the conclusion that they lacked the empowerment of each of its members to develop a well-structured, systematic network. The obstacles to the expansion and growth of the union became clear. There was a tendency to depend too much on specific members rather than a focus on empowering each individual member, and experience was not effectively passed on to the growing numbers of younger members. It was necessary to rethink their activities which were centered too much on resolving individual disputes and to consider how the union could have greater influence and impact in society at large. For this aim, they realized that there was a need for a learning manual which could be used by their members to teach each other.

The 'learning manual' discussed here refers to an educational program which teaches the fundamental skills and knowledge to develop members in working women's organizations who are vital, active, and empowered with a sense of solidarity. In a democratic organization, it is essential for all the members to share the information necessary to themselves. The U.S., being a nation comprised of immigrants, has accumulated extensive know-how on manual creation through their need to find ways for people of diverse backgrounds to work together. Many American universities have labour education centers and have developed education programs for labour organizations. Moreover, working women have also created and improved upon learning manuals for themselves. This project aims to pass on that know-how to working women's organizations and groups in Japan so that they can create their own learning manuals. It is a dynamic project which will empower each of its participants through the practical experience of the manual creation process; this will then lead to the strengthening of networks between members within their groups and ultimately between the groups as well.

Participants from Japan:

The groups participating in this working women's network project are not restricted to women's labour unions but also involve groups for working women. The Japanese participants come from diverse groups: Ikoru Center for Working Women's Rights, Hokkaido Women's Union, Women's Union Plus, Tokyo Women's Union, Asia Women's Resource Center, Nagoya Fureai Union, Senshu Union, Kansai Women's Labor Union, Equal Treatment Action 21, CAW Net Japan, The Society for the Study of Working Women Issues, Working Women's Voice, Publication METS. Thus, the project brings together NPO's of working women throughout the nation from Hokkaido to Kyushu. It is a great initiative which could not have been imagined three or four years ago.

III. First Workshop, Detroit

The first workshop was held over two days, September 24 and 25, 2004, at Wayne State University (the workshop schedule is attached below). The primary objective of this first workshop, was the sharing of information between Japan and the U.S. Participants from Japan were those who have been taking a central, active role in new movements, including members of the Tokyo Women's Union, Kansai Women's Labor Union, Ikoru Center for Working Women's Rights, Hokkaido Women's Union, Working Women's Voice, and The Society for the Study of Working Women Issues. Participants from the U.S. included many eminent names such as Gloria Johnson from the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Linda Merrick from the National Association of Working Women (9 to 5), Carla Swift from the Women's Division of the United Auto Worker's Union, Tess Ewing from the Women's Union School, and Emily Rosenberg from the DePaul University Labor Education Program.

On the first day, Ms. Zacharias Walsh first spoke on the topic "Rethinking Labor Movements in the U.S. and Japan." This was followed by a session, "Working Women's Awareness in the U.S.", at which we learned of the historical background of working women's labor movements in the U.S. In the afternoon session, "Working Women's Labor Unions in Japan", the Japanese delegation spoke about labor unions, particularly women's labor unions, in Japan.

The sessions on the second day, "Working Women's Issues in the U.S." and "Issues and Challenges for Working Women in Japan", aimed to further understanding of the problems faced by working women in the respective countries. At the final session, "Development of Labor Union Organizations and Labor Education in the U.S.", professional labor educators informed us of their particular activities, which were very helpful in prompting new ideas on effective ways to fuel the activities of Japanese women's unions and organizations.

The workshop had two significant outcomes for the Japanese participants. Firstly, in preparing to participate in this workshop, each women's union or organization had to go through a process of examining the problems they faced. The Tokyo Women's Union in particular were able to reach a clearer understanding of their own situation at their summer retreat when they completely overhauled the problems of their organization. Secondly, by gaining concrete, specific knowledge of the U.S. situation, the groups were able to see their own problems from a more relative perspective.

IV. Second Workshop, Tokyo

The second workshop was held at ICU from July 22 to 24, 2006. Ten months before the workshop, more participants were recruited within Japan and meetings were held in November 2004 and March 2005. The themes for the learning manual were narrowed down to Communication Skills, Empowerment Skills, and Organizational Skills. Three facilitators were invited from the U.S. to conduct mini practical workshops on each theme for the learning manual. (The workshop schedule is attached at the end of this report)

Each facilitator came prepared with appropriate learning methods and materials for their particular theme. The Japanese participants of the workshop were not only given a taste of a new kind of participatory learning experience, they also finally gained a clear understanding of what was involved in creating a learning manual, how it could be used, and what it was that they were actually trying to achieve.

It was a hands-on learning experience based on small groups consisting of up to ten members, including the interpreters. The Communications Skills Group (facilitated by E. Rosenberg), focused on the practical application of public speaking skills and facilitation skills within an organization, as well as learning how to fight discrimination through creative expression rather than aggression and how to appeal to people in the community. The Organizational Skills Group (facilitated by C. Edelson) focused on ways to expand the members and activities of organizations by gaining one-on-one communication skills and strengthening the bonds between members within groups, and thereby creating a place in which young people and new members can be free and active. The Empowerment Skills Group (facilitated by T. Ewing). In participatory or hands-on adult education, the 'dignity' of participants is what is most emphasized. The group learned how to bring out the potential of each individual by practicing brainstorming, monologues and dialogues, and teamwork.

Funding for the project was granted for a period of two years. The third workshop will be held in March 2006 at ICU. This time all the participants will experience what was previously done in small groups and this will be directed toward developing a training program to suit the current Japanese situation. Thus, it marks the beginning

of an endeavour which will involve a great deal of trial and error. Since it was difficult to fully understand the concept of hands-on learning in a workshop of just two and a half-days, we would like the facilitators to follow up and focus on this at the third workshop.

V. Reflections on the First and Second Workshops

The aim of this project was to create a learning manual by and for working women' s organizations as a means of expanding the groups and their activities. Therefore, the second workshop provided an opportunity for a practical learning experience in the form of small participatory groups and the help of professional facilitators from the U.S. The greatest achievement of this workshop was that the participants themselves were empowered, gaining valuable communication skills and learning for themselves that the expansion of their groups and their activities begins with the development of trust and one-on-one relations amongst themselves. The skills gained by the participants through this practical learning experience will undoubtedly be reflected in the creation of a learning manual adapted to the Japanese situation.

Through the co-operative work of creating a learning manual, women' s unions and groups across the nation were able to develop relationships based on face-to-face contact. We hope that even after the end of this two year workshop project, these relations will continue to expand and grow into a strong, dynamic national network.

Kazuko Tanaka, CGS Director

働く女性の日米ワークショップ①プログラム
(2004年9月24日～25日 於 デトロイト・ウエイン州立大学)

第1日目 9月24日

- 9:00-9:10 歓迎のあいさつ マーガレット・ウインターズウエイン州立大学副学長
- 9:10-9:15 はじめに ハイディ・ゴットフリート、ウエイン州立大学
- 9:15-9:30 働く女性の日米ワークショップ：合衆国と日本の労働運動の再構築について
アン・ザカリアス・ウォルシュ
- 9:30-10:15 労働運動フェミニズムの歴史 ドロシー・スー・コブルラトガース大学
- 10:15-10:30 質疑応答・討論
- 10:30-10:45 コーヒーブレイク

合衆国における女性労働者の意識

- 10:45-10:50 はじめに セッション議長 エリザベス・ファウ
- 10:50-11:15 労働組合女性連合 [CLUW] グロリア・ジョンソン
- 11:15-11:40 全米勤労女性協会 [9 to 5] リンダ・メリック
- 11:40-11:50 質疑応答
- 11:50-12:15 全米自動車労組女性部 カーラ・スイフト
- 12:15-1:00 質疑応答・討論
- 1:00-2:15 昼食

日本の女性労働者の労働組合

- 2:15-2:20 はじめに セッション議長 田中かず子 日本とアメリカの労働組合の比較対
照 木下武男 女性労働問題研究会
- 2:45-3:10 女性ユニオン東京 伊藤みどり
- 3:10-3:35 おんな労組 [関西]：いこる 屋嘉比ふみ子・赤羽佳代子
- 3:35-3:50 質疑応答
- 3:50-4:00 コーヒーブレイク
- 4:00-4:25 北海道ウイメンズユニオン 近藤恵子
- 4:25-4:50 ワーキング・ウイメンズ・ボイス 佐崎和子・成瀬穂実子
- 4:50-5:00 質疑応答・討論
- 5:00-5:15 第1日目のまとめ

夜：ウエイン州立大学労働博物館（女性と社会正義展示会場）の見学・レセプション

第2日目 9月25日

合衆国の女性労働問題

- 9:00-9:05 はじめに セッション議長 ハイディ・ゴットフリート
- 9:05-9:30 同一価値労働同一賃金 ロニー・スタインバーグ バンダービルト大学
- 9:30-9:55 セクシュアルハラスメント ルイーズ・フィッツゲラルド
イリノイ大学、アパナーシャンペンキャンパス
- 9:55-10:10 質疑応答
- 10:10-10:35 請負、パートタイム労働 シンシア・ネグレイルイビル大学
- 10:35-10:45 質疑応答・討論
- 10:45-11:00 コーヒーブレイク

日本の女性労働問題とその挑戦

- 11:00-11:05 はじめに セッション議長 アン・ザカリアス・ウォルシュ
 11:05-11:25 スナップショット 日本の女性労働者の現状 居城舜子
 11:25-11:50 ケーススタディ 女性ユニオン東京の成長と生き残りへの阻害と挑戦 谷恵子
 11:50-12:15 質疑応答・討論
 12:15-1:30 昼食休憩

合衆国における労働者教育と労働組合組織力開発

- 1:30-1:35 はじめに セッション議長 ミッシェル・フェクトウ
 1:35-2:00 女性の労働組合学校 テス・イーウイング マサチューセッツ大学
 2:00-2:25 大学における労働教育 エミリー・ローゼンバーク デュポール大学労働教育プログラム
 2:25-2:45 質疑応答
 2:45-2:55 コーヒーブレイク
 3:00-3:25 エール大学事務職労働組合 [HERE Local 34] 代表 ローラ・スミス
 3:25-3:50 全米電機ラジオ機械工労組 [UE] リー・フリード
 3:50-4:30 質疑応答・ディスカッション
 4:30-4:45 コーヒーブレイク
 4:45-5:15 まとめと次の会議について

働く女性の日米ワークショップ②プログラム

(2005年7月22日～24日 於 国際基督教大学)

第1日目 7月22日

- 9:00-9:30 登録：本部棟
 9:30-10:30 開会 司会 田中かず子 (国際基督教大学ジェンダー研究センター長)
 9:30-9:45 開会あいさつ 田中かず子
 9:30-9:45 歓迎のあいさつ ビル・スティール (ICU 教養学部長)
 9:45-10:00 参加者自己紹介
 10:00-10:30 プロジェクトの概要 アン・ザカリアス・ウォルシュ
 (ソリダリティーイック, 国際基督教大学ジェンダー研究センター)

グループワークショップ

- ・第1グループ:基本コミュニケーションスキル;エミリー・ローゼンバーク [ERBII・301号室]
 - ・第2グループ:組織化のための基本スキル;キャロル・イーデルソン [ERBII・201号室]
 - ・女性のエンパワメント;テス・イーウイング [ERBII・304号室]
- 10:45-12:30 グループワークショップ:セッション1
 12:30-1:30 昼食 (学内)
 1:30-5:15 グループワークショップ:セッション2

第2日目 7月23日

- 9:00-12:00 グループワークショップ:セッション3
 12:00-1:00 昼食 (学内)
 1:00-3:30 グループワークショップ:セッション4
 3:45- 到達した成果の報告及び今後の作業計画の発表
 司会 ハイディ・ゴットフリート (ウエイン州立大学)

- 3:45-4:15 第1グループの報告
- 4:15-4:45 第2グループの報告
- 4:45-4:50 通訳休憩
- 4:50-5:20 第3グループの報告
- 5:20-5:45 オープン・ディスカッション（作業計画へのフィードバック）
- 5:45-6:15 まとめと閉会（次回へ持ち越し） ハイディ・ゴットフリート

第3日目 7月24日

- 9:00-11:30 アジアの女性団体のネットワーキング
- 司会 メーベル 區美賓（オー・メイ・ポー） 香港ピープル・アライアンス（HKPA）
- 11:30-12:00 まとめと閉会（次回への持ち越し）
- 司会 アン・ザカリアス・ウォルシュ

The US-Japan Working Women' s Workshop 1st program

Date: 24-25 September, 2004

Venue: Wayne State University, Detroit

Day 1 Friday, September 24

Introductions

9:00-9:10 Welcome :Margaret Winters, Associate Provost, Wayne State University

9:10-9:15 Introduction: Heidi Gottfried, Wayne State University

9:15-9:30 US-Japan Working Women' s Workshop: Reinventing Labor Movements in the U.S and Japan, Ann Zacharias-Walsh

9:30-10:15 History of Labor Feminism Dorothy Sue Cobble, Rutgers University

10:15-10:30 Q & A/Discussion

10:30-10:45 Coffee Break

Working Womaen' s Organizations in U.S.

10:45-10:50 Introduction : Session Chair Elizabeth Faue

10:50-11:15 Gloria Johnson, Coalition of Labor Union Women [CLUW]

11:15-11:40 Linda Merrick, National Association of Working Women[9 to 5]

11:40-11:50 Q & A

11:50-12:15 Carla Swift, United Automobile Workers Women' s Department

12:15-1:00 Q & A/Discussion

1:00-2:15 Lunch

Labor Unions for Working Women in Japan

2:15-2:20 Introduction: Session Chair Kazuko Tanaka,

2:20-2:45 Comparing /Contrasting Japanese and American Unions:
Takeo Kinoshita, Society for the Study of Working Women

2:45-3:10 Midori Itoh, Women' s Union Tokyo(WUT)

3:10-3:35 Fumiko Yakabi and Kayako Akabane, Kansai Women' s Union; ICORU

3:35-3:50 Q & A

3:50-4:00 Coffee Break

4:00-4:25 Keiko Matsushita, Sapporo Women' s Union

4:25-4:50 Kazuko Sazaki and Emily Naruse, Working Women' s Voice; 21st Century Union

4:50-5:00 Q & A/Discussion

5:00-5:15 Wrap-up of Day 1

Evening: Reception and guided viewing of the WSU Labor Archive' s exhibit on women and social justice

Day 2, Saturday September 25

Working Women' s Issues in the U.S.

9:00-9:05 Introduction: Session Chair, Heidi Gottfried

9:05-9:30 Comparable Worth : Ronnie Steinberg, Vanderbilt University

9:30-9:55 Sexual Harassment: Louise Fitzgerald, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

9:55-10:10 Q & A

10:10-10:35 Contract, Part-time Labor: Cynthia Negrey, University of Louisville

10:35-10:45 Q & A/Discussion

10:45-11:00 Coffee Break

Working Women' s Issues and Challenges in Japan

11:00-11:05 Introduction: Session Chair, Ann Zacharias-Walsh

11:05-11:25 Snapshot: Current situation of working women in Japan:

Shunko Ishiro, The Society for the Study of Working Women

11:25-11:50 Case Study: Obstacles and Challenges to WUT' s Growth and Survival :

Keiko Tani

11:50-12:15 Q & A/ Discussion

12:15-1:30 Lunch Break

Labor Education and Union Skills Development in U.S.

1:30-1:35 Introduction: Session Chair, Michelle Fecteau

1:35-2:00 Women' s Union Schools: Tess Ewing, WILD

2:00-2:25 University-Based Labor Education: Emily Rosenberg, DePaul University

Labor Education Program

2:25-2:45 Q&A/ Discussion

2:45-2:55 Coffee break

3:00-3:25 Laura Smith, UNITE-HERE Local34

3:25-3:50 Leah Fried, United Electrical Workers of America

3:50-4:30 Q & A/ Discussion

4:30-4:45 Coffee Break

4:45-5:15 Summary and Next Conference

The US-Japan Working Women' s Workshop 2nd program

Date: July 22-24, 2005

Venue: International Christian University

Day 1

July 27, 2005

9:00-9:30 Registration: Administration Building

9:30-10:30 Opening ceremony

Chair: Kazuko Tanaka, Director, ICU Center for Gender Studies

9:30-9:45 Opening Address Kazuko Tanaka

9:30-9:45 Welcome Address Bill Steele, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, ICU

9:45-10:00 Introduction of participants

10:00-10:30 Project Overview

Ann Zacharias Walsh, Solidarity Ink and ICU Center for Gender Studies

Group Workshops

- Group 1 : Essential Communication Skills; Emily Rosenberg ; [Rm 301, ERBII]
- Group II : Essential Organizational Skills ; Carol Edilson [Rm 201, ERBII]
- Group III : Women' s Empowerment ; Tess Ewing [Rm 304, ERBII]

10:45-12:30 Group Workshops : Session 1

12:30-1:30 Lunch (on campus)

1:30-5:15 Group Workshops : Session 2

Day 2

July 23

9:00-12:00 Group Workshops : Session 3

12:00-1:00 Lunch (on campus)

1:00-3:30 Group Workshops : Session 4

3:45- Presentations by each group: Report on results and future prospects

Chair: Heidi Gottfried, Wayne State University

3:45-4:15 Group 1 Report Summary of Theme

4:15-4:45 Group 2 Report Summary of Theme

4:45-4:50 Break for Interpreter

4:50-5:20 Group 3 Report Summary of Theme

5:20-5:45 Open discussion (feedback on plan of action)

5:45-6:15 Summary and Closing Address (Carry over to next workshop) :
Heidi Gottfried

Day 3

July 24

9:00-11:30 Networking for Women' s Associations in Asia

Chair: Mabel Au, Hong Kong People' s Alliance (HKPA)

11:30-12:00 Summary and Conclusion (Prospects for the next workshop)

Chair: Ann Zacharias Walsh

2005 年度ジェンダー研究センター（CGS）活動報告 The Center for Gender Studies, ICU

2005 年度ジェンダー研究センター（CGS）活動報告

■春学期

4月1日（金）

CGS ニュースレター 003 号発行

ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究プログラム (PGSS) 開始

4月13日（水）～15日（金）

CGS 春のオープンセンター（学生を招いての茶話会）

4月15日（金）

CGS ジャーナル準備号発行

4月18日（月）～CGS 春学期読書会

1. 「男性学、女性学」

編者：伊藤公男

期間：4月20日～（毎週水曜日）

2. 「クローゼットの認識論」

著者：イヴ・K・セジウィック

期間：4月21日～（毎週木曜日）

3. 「アンティゴネーの主張」

著者：ジュディス・バトラ

期間：4月18日～（毎週月曜日）

5月9日（月）

エベリン・リンドナー・レクチャー “Gender and Life Decisions in a Global Perspective”

講師：エベリン・リンドナー JICUF 客員教授

場所：本館 251 号室（PGSS 「ジェンダーと社会構造」コースにて）

5月27日（金）

ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究プログラム開設記念

上野千鶴子講演 「ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究になにができるのか？」

講師：上野千鶴子 東京大学大学院人文社会系研究所教授

場所：旧ディッフェンドルファー記念館オーデトリウム

6月6日（月）

CGS オープンレクチャー 『『性同一性障害』を通して性を考える』

講師：山内俊雄（埼玉医科大学 学長）

場所：本館 213 号室（PGSS コース 「ジェンダー研究へのアプローチ」にて）

6月16日（木）

CGS オープンレクチャー “Women in Power of Current Trend in Gender Studies in the

USA”

講師：Mary Hartman (Professor, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Director, Institute for Women’s Leadership at Douglass College, Rutgers University)

6月19日(日)～24日(金)

第9回国際学際的女性会議(韓国・ソウル)

(CGSより所員3名・副手2名・院生1名・学部生6名が参加。所員2名による The Future of Women’s Network in Asia: Academia and Beyond と称するワークショップを開催)

7月22日(金)～24日(日)

日米女性労働者 NGO ワークショップ

場所：国際基督教大学

共催：CGS・ウェイン大学(アメリカ)

(センター長田中かず子がファシリテーターとして参加。CGSは全面的にロジスティックを担当)

■ 秋学期

9月16日(金)～18日(日)

第二回 CGS 国際ワークショップ「アジアにおける人間の安全保障」

場所：国際基督教大学

9月20日(火)～ CGS 秋学期読書会

1. 「ジェンダー化される身体」

著者：荻野美穂

期間：9月21日～(毎週水曜日)

2. 「知への意思」

著者：ミッシェル・フーコー

期間：9月20日～(毎週火曜日)

3. Undoing Gender

著者：Judith Butler

期間：9月22日～(毎週木曜日)

10月5日(水)

CGS 所員・教員親睦会

場所：CGS(ERB301号室)

10月14日(金)～10月28日(金)

「日本における性行動や性意識に関するアンケート」

共催：「比較社会学特別研究」(田中かず子) 調査プロジェクトチーム・CGS

10月21日(金)

男女賃金差別裁判「公序良俗に負けなかった女たち」

講師：宮地光子(住友電工男女賃金差別訴訟弁護団主任弁護士)

西村かつみ(同訴訟原告)

場所：本館262号室

共催：CGS・就職相談グループ

10月26日（水）

運営委員特別会議

講師：川島慶子（名古屋工業大学助教授：18世紀フランス／ジェンダーと科学専門：同日に開催されたキリスト教と文化研究所特別講演会「科学史フォーラム」講師）

場所：CGS（ERB 301号室）

（来年度9月に開催予定の第三回CGS国際ワークショップのテーマが「ジェンダーと自然科学」のため、ジェンダーと科学が御専門の川島先生をお招きし、様々な助言をいただいた）

10月28日（金）

三鷹市広報誌「コーヒー入れて！」特集記事「話しことばの女性像・男性像」インタビュー

11月30日（水）

CGS ニュースレター 004号発行

■冬学期

12月8日（木）・9日（金）

CGS 冬のオープンセンター（学生を招いての茶話会）

12月13日（火）～ CGS 冬学期読書会

1. 「触発する言葉」

著者：ジュディス・バトラ

期間：12月13日～（毎週火曜日）

2. テキスト：「ジェンダートラブル」

著者：ジュディス・バトラ

期間：12月14日～（毎週水曜日）

2006年1月12日（木）～2月16日（木）

CGS ワークショップ

1月12日（木）上野千鶴子講演会ビデオ上映

1月19日（木）「公序良俗に負けなかった女たち」講演会ビデオ上映

1月26日（木）セクシュアリティ入門講座

2月9日（木）ICU LGBT サークル「シンポジオン」ワークショップ

時間：7限後 19:10ー

場所：ICU 本館 262

1月14日（木）

ジュディス・バトラ教授を囲む座談会

講師：ジュディス・バトラ（カルフォルニア大学バークリー校教授）

司会：田中かず子（CGS）

コメンテーター：岡野八代（立命館大学助教授）

齊藤純一（早稲田大学教授）

場所：ICU アラムナイハウス

共催：ICU COE プログラム「平和・安全・共生」

お茶の水大学 COE プログラム「ジェンダー研究のフロンティア」

ICU CGS

1月16日(月)

CGS オープンレクチャー

「言語上のネゴシエーション: 「オネエ言葉」と日本語のジェンダー(談話) 言説」

講師: クレア・マリィ (津田塾大学助教授)

場所: ICU 本館 172 号室

1月31日(火) ~ 2月3日(金)

ヤウ・チン JICUF Visiting Scholar (映画監督・台湾政治大学助教授) 招聘
関連行事

1月31日(火)

映画 "Let's Love Hong Kong" 上映会 & トーク

場所: ICU 本館 213 号室

講師: ヤウ・チン

共催: 日本国際基督教大学基金 (JICUF) CGS

2月3日(金)

「ヤウ・チン監督を囲む会」

場所: ICU 教育研究棟 (ERB) 347 号室

上映作品: I'm Starving (1999/12分 / 英語)

Suet-sin's Sisters (1999/8分 / 広東語 英語字幕)

共催: 日本国際基督教大学基金 (JICUF)

国際基督教大学 COE

CGS

2月6日(月) ~ 20日(月)

ジェンダー研究センター・Sumposion 共催 読書会

日時: 月・水・金 ランチ (12:50-13:40)

場所: ERB 301 ジェンダー研究センター

テキスト: 尾辻かな子著『カミングアウト~自分らしさを見つける旅』(2005, 講談社)

3月3日(金) ~ 5日(日)

「働く女性のための日米ワークショップ」

場所: 国際基督教大学本部棟・ERB II

共催: ジェンダー研究センター・東京女性ユニオン・ウェイン大学 (アメリカ)

3月8日(水)・10日(金) 18時

講演会「キリスト教と性的マイノリティ」事前準備勉強会

準備会 1

場所: ジェンダー研究センター

テキスト: リサ・ソール・ケーヒル「同性愛—道徳理論の事例研究として」

(ジェフリー・サイカー編『キリスト教は同性愛を受け入れられるか』森本あんり監訳、日本キリスト教団出版局、2002年、第5章)、ジェームズ・B・ネルソン「身体神学の典拠—テストケースとしての同性愛」(同上所収・第6章)

準備会 2

堀江有里 『『レズビアン存在』と『シスターフード』——日本基督教団・女たちの抵抗を事例に』 日本女性学研究会 『女性学年報』 第 23 号 136−154 頁

3 月 14 日 (火)

ジェンダー研究センターニュースレター 005 号発刊

3 月 16 日 (木) ~ 17 日

講演会 「キリスト教と性的マイノリティ」

講師：堀江有里 (日本教団牧師・「信仰とセクシュアリティを考えるキリスト者の会」代表)

講演 1 「キリスト教と性的マイノリティ：現状と課題～日本基督教団を事例として」

日時：3 月 16 日 (木) 14 時～ 17 時

場所：国際基督教大学 ERB 347 号室

講演 2 「神学的解釈と性的マイノリティ～『レズビアン』という生き方」

日時：3 月 17 日 (金) 15 時～ 18 時

場所：国際基督教大学 ERB 347 号室

共催：CGS, ICU COE, Sumposion

注

1. CGS 公式ウェブサイト「CGS Online」の情報更新は随時行っている。

AY 2005 Activity Report, ICU Center for Gender Studies (CGS)

■ Spring Term

Friday, April 1, 2005

-Publication of CGS Newsletter vol. 003

-Commencement of the Gender and Sexuality Studies Program (PGSS)

Wednesday, April 13 – Friday, April 15

- CGS Spring 'Open Center' (students invited for tea and discussion)

Friday, April 15

- Publication of the CGS Journal, preparatory issue

From the week of April 18

CGS Spring Term Reading Group

1. *Danseigaku, joseigaku* (Male studies, Female studies)

Editor: Kimio Itoh

Period: from April 20, (every wednesday)

2. *Epistemology of the Closet*

Author: Eve K. Sedgwick

Period: from April 21, (every thursday)

3. *Antigone's Claim*

Author: Judith Butler

Period: from April 18, (every monday)

Monday, May 9

Evelyn Lindner Lecture

Lecturer: Evelyn Lindner (JICUF visiting scholar)

Place: Room 251, Honkan

Friday, May 27

Special Commemorative Lecture for the Establishment of the Program in Gender and Sexuality Studies

"What Can Gender and Sexuality Studies Achieve?"

Lecturer: Professor Chikako Ueno, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Science, Tokyo University

Place: Auditorium, Diffendorfer Hall

Monday, June 6

CGS Open Lecture, "Reconsidering Sexuality through Gender Identity Disorder"

Lecturer: Professor Toshio Yamauchi, President, Saitama Medical School

Place: Room 213, Honkan (as part of the PGSS course "Approaches to Gender Studies")

Thursday, June 16

CGS Open Lecture, "Women in Power - Current Trends in Gender Studies in the USA"

Lecturer : Professor Mary Hartman (Director, Institute for Women' s Leadership at Douglass College, Rutgers University and Professor, The State University of New Jersey, Rutgers.)

Sunday, June 19 – Friday June 24

The 9th International Academic Women' s Conference (Seoul, Korea)

Participation by 3 committee members, 2 assistants, 1 graduate student, and 6 undergraduate students from CGS. Two of the CGS professors conducted a workshop entitled "The Future of Women' s Network in Asia: Academia and Beyond"

Friday, July 22- Sunday July 24

Japan-US Working Women' s NGO Workshop

Co-hosts : CGS and Wayne University (U.S.)

CGS was in charge of the logistics and Director Kazuko Tanaka acted as facilitator.

■ Fall Term

Friday, September 16 – Sunday, September 18

The 2nd CGS International Workshop, "Human Security in Asia"

Place: International Christian University

From the week of September, 20

CGS Fall Term Reading Group

1. *Jendaaka sareru shintai* (The Genderized Body)

Author: Miho Ogino

Period: from September 21, (every wednesday)

2. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*

Author: Michel Foucault

Period: from September 20 (every tuesday)

3. *Undoing Gender*

Author : Judith Butler

Period: from September 22, (every thursday)

Wednesday, October 13

CGS Party for Committee Members and Professors

Place: CGS, Room 301, ERB

Friday, October 14 – Friday, October 28

"Sex and Sex Awareness Survey in Japan"

Co-hosts: "Special Studies in Comparative Social Science" Survey project team (Kazuko Tanaka) and CGS

Friday, October 21

Gender Wage Discrimination Case, "Women Who Did Not Give In To Public Order and Morality"

Lecturer : Mitsuko Miyaji (Head Counsel for the Plaintiffs in the Sumitomo Electrics

Gender Wage Discrimination Case) and Katsumi Nishimura (Plaintiff in the above-mentioned case)

Place: Room 262, Honkan

Co-hosts: CGS and the Employment Assistance Group

Wednesday, October 26

Special Meeting of the CGS Committee

Lecturer: Assistant Professor Keiko Kawashima, Nagoya University of Technology; specialization: France in the 18th Century, Gender and Science; she was also a guest lecturer at the "Science History Forum" hosted by the Center for Christianity and Culture on the same day

Place: CGS, Room 301, ERB

Professor Kawashima was invited to advise us on next year's 3rd CGS International Workshop, scheduled in September, as the theme will be "Gender and the Natural Sciences"

Friday, October 28

Feature Article "Female/ Male Images in Spoken Language" in the Mitaka City Newsletter *Kouhii Irete!* (Give me Coffee!)

Wednesday, November 30

Publication of CGS Newsletter Vol. 004

■ Winter Term

Thursday, December 8 and Friday, December 9

CGS Winter 'Open Center' (students invited for tea and discussion)

From the week of December, 20

CGS Winter Term Reading Group

1. "*Burning Acts, Injurious Speech*"

Author: Judith Butler

Period: from December 13, (every tuesdays)

2. *Gender Trouble*

Author: Judith Butler

Period: from December 14, (every wednesdays)

Thursday, January 12 - Thursday, February 16, 2006

CGS Workshop

- Thursday, January 12 Video Screening of Chikako Ueno Lecture

- Thursday, January 19 Video Screening of "Women Who Did Not Give In To Public Order and Morality" Lecture

- Thursday, January 26 'Introduction to Sexuality' course

- Thursday, February 9 ICU LGBT Circle "Sumposion" Workshop

Time: After 7th period, 19:10 -

Place: Room 262, Honkan, ICU

Thursday, January 14

Round-table Discussion with Judith Butler

Lecturer: Professor Judith Butler, UCLA Berkeley

Facilitator: Kazuko Tanaka, CGS

Commentators: Assistant Professor Yayo Okano, Ritsumeikan University

Professor Junichi Saitō, Waseda University

Place: Alumni House, ICU

Co-hosts: ICU COE Program "Peace, Security, Co-existence" , Ochanomizu University
COE Program "Frontiers of Gender Research" , and ICU CGS.

Monday, January 16

CGS Open Lecture

"Language Negotiation: 'Onee Language' as Gender Discourse in the Japanese
Language"

Lecturer: Assistant Professor Clair Maree, Tsuda College

Place: Room 172, Honkan, ICU

Tuesday, January 31 – Friday, February 3

Invitation of Prof. Yau Ching as JICUF Visiting Scholar

Related events:

Tuesday, January 31

Film Screening and Discussion: Let' s Love Hong Kong

Place : Room 213, Honkan, ICU

Lecturer : Prof. Yau Ching (film director and Assistant Professor, Taiwan University of
Politics)

Co-hosts: Japan International Christian University Fund (JICUF) and CGS

Friday, February 3

"Round Table Discussion with Director Yau Ching"

Place: Room 347, ERB

Film Screenings : *I'm Starving* (1999/12min/English)

Suet-sin's Sisters (1999/8min/Cantonese, English Subtitles)

Co-hosts: Japan International Christian University Fund (JICUF), ICU COE and CGS

Monday, February 6- Monday, February 20

CGS and • Sumposion Joint Reading Group

Dates : Lunchtime (12 : 50-13 : 40) ,Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays

Place : CGS, Room 301, ERB

Text : Otsuji, Kanako. *Coming Out: A Journey of Self Discovery*, Kōdansha,2005.

Friday, March 3 – Sunday, March 5

Japan- U.S. Working Women' s Workshop

Place: Administration Building and ERB II, ICU

Co-hosts: CGS, Tokyo Women' s Union, Wayne University (U.S.)

18:00, Wednesday, March 8 and Friday, March 10

Lecture: "Sexual Minorities and Christianity" Preparatory Study Group

Date: Wednesday, March 8

Place : CGS

Text : Cahill, Lisa Sowle "*Homosexuality: A Case Study in Moral Argument*" in Jeffrey S. Siker, ed., *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate*, (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 61-75. Morimoto, Anri (trans) , *United Church of Christ in Japan Publishing*, 2002. Nelson, James B. *Sexuality and the Sacred: Sources for Theological Reflection* (ibid. Chapter 6)

Friday, March 10

Horie, Yuri. "Lesbian Existence and Sisterhood – A Case Study of Women' s Resistance and the United Church of Christ in Japan" in *Association of Women' s Studies in Japan, Josei gaku nenpō* (Women' s Studies Bulletin) Vol. 23, 136−p.154

Tuesday, March 14

Publication of CGS Newsletter vol. 005

Thursday March 16 – Friday March 17

Lecture: "Sexual Minorities and Christianity"

Lecturer : Reverend Yuri Horie (Minister, United Church of Japan and Representative of the Study Group for Religion and Sexuality)

Lecture 1 "On the Current Situation and Issues Concerning Sexual Minorities and Christianity : – A Case Study of the United Church of Japan"

Time : 14:00 – 17:00, Thursday, March 16

Place : Room 347, ERB, ICU

Lecture 2 "Sexual Minorities and Theological Interpretation: Life as a Lesbian"

Time : 15:00 – 18:00, Friday, March 17

Place: Room 347, ERB, ICU

Co-hosts: CGS, ICU COE, Sumposion

Notes:

1.Information on the CGS Website "CGS Online" is regularly updated

CGS2006 年度活動予定

尾辻かな子講演会

「虹色」の社会をめざして

日時：2006 年 5 月 23 日 12 時 30 分ー 14 時 30 分

場所：国際基督教大学

今日の日本において、性的マイノリティ（レズビアン・ゲイ・バイセクシュアル・インターセックス・トランスジェンダーなど）の人々は、依然として社会の差別・偏見・無関心に基づく困難な状況におかれています。しかし、これが人権問題として取り組むべき課題であることは、まだ十分に認識されているとはいえません。

今回の講演では、大阪府議会で最年少の女性議員として活躍している尾辻かな子さん (31) をお招きします。尾辻さんは 2005 年にレズビアンであることをカミングアウトして、同性パートナーシップへの法的保障（同性婚など）、就学期の性的マイノリティに対するメンタルヘルスケアなどのサポートの必要性などを議会の枠を超えて訴えています。

女性、若者、そして性的マイノリティの声を届けたい。政治の場に飛び込んだ尾辻さんがめざす「虹色」の社会とは？ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ・政治・人権・心理・教育・法などに関心のある、多くの方々のご来場をお待ちしています。

Kanako Otsuji Lecture

'Towards a Society that Celebrates Diversity'

Time: 12:30 – 14:30, May 23, 2006

Venue: International Christian University

In Japan today, sexual minorities such as lesbians, gays, bisexuals, inter-sexes, transgenders face many difficulties due to the discrimination, prejudice, or disinterest which still prevails in the society. This problem has not yet been fully recognised as a human rights issue.

For this talk, we invited Ms. Kanako Otsuji (31) who is the youngest female member of the Osaka Prefectural Assembly. Ms. Otsuji publicly came out as a lesbian in 2005 and has been active, both in and out of her Assembly duties, in working to secure more legal support for those in same-sex relationships (such as legal recognition of same-sex marriages) and establishing a psychological care system for school-age sexual minorities.

Wanting to give voice to women, youth, and sexual minorities – this was what led Ms Otsuji to jump into the political arena. So what is a 'society that celebrates diversity' ? We warmly welcome all of you who are interested in issues of gender, sexuality, politics, human rights, psychology, education, and law to come and listen and contribute your thoughts on this topic.

石田法子講演会

日時：2006年9月予定

場所：国際基督教大学

Noriko Ishida Lecture

Time: September 2006 (tentative)

Venue: International Christian University

国際ワークショップ 2006 – 自然科学的視点から –

日時：2006年10月6 – 8日

場所：国際基督教大学

CGS が 004 年から毎年行っている国際ワークショップ、第一回は「社会科学的視座」から、第二回は「人文科学的視座」から、それぞれアジアにおけるジェンダーと、広い意味での平和・安全・共生を扱ってきました。2006 年度の第三回は「自然科学的視座」から検討します。自然科学は自然界の普遍的法則を扱う学問とされ、ジェンダーとは一見無関係のように思われています。しかし、自然科学の持つ普遍性こそが今最もジェンダーという視点から再点検が必要な領域です。生命科学においてこれまで検討されることなく用いられてきたオス／メスという区別がどれほど男性／女性という現在の強固なジェンダー規範に大きく影響を与えたかと考えるべきでしょう。自然科学はまた、アジアという地域性と関連付けられることも稀です。例えばアジアにおいて土着でかつ固有の医療技術、知識は最近になってようやく医療行為の一環として認知されるようになりました。なぜならばここ一世紀医療行為とはアジアにおいて西洋医学のことにほかならなかったからです。生命科学、すなわち人間の性や生殖に関わる技術や知識（出産や避妊の技術、男女別医療など）は各地域に偏在しています。加えてその地域独自の技術や知識は、西欧型のそれとの間にも複雑な関係を保ちながら現存しています。これらの研究は、近年ようやく目を向けられ始めた分野といえます。今回のワークショップでは、このアプローチに新たな可能性を見出すために日本国内外から研究者や活動家などの専門家を招聘し、各国からの現状報告やトピック別セッションを行う予定です。詳細は夏前を目安に随時 HP にて発信していく予定ですので、ご確認ください。

International Workshop 2006 – Perspectives from the natural science –

Time: October 6 – 8, 2006

Venue: International Christian University

Since 2004, we have conducted an International Workshop each year. The first workshop focused on "Perspectives from the Social Sciences" and the second on "Perspectives from the Humanities". They each dealt with the issues of gender in Asia as well as peace, security and co-operation in the region. The third workshop, in 2006, will focus on "Perspectives from the Natural Sciences". As Natural Science deals with the universal laws of the natural world, it does not at first seem to be a discipline which has much in common with Gender Studies. However, it is precisely this universality present in the Natural Sciences which needs to be re-examined from a gender perspective. The male/ female division which has been used unquestioningly

in biology must be re-considered in terms of its influence on the gender framework between men and women today.

The Natural Sciences can also be re-examined from a regional viewpoint. For example, various indigenous medical skills and knowledge are recently becoming recognized as part of medical practice. In the past century in Asia, the perception of proper medical practice has been restricted to western medicine. Skills and knowledge regarding human sex and reproduction (childbirth, abortion, gender-specific medicine, etc.) are unevenly distributed across the regions. Thus, traditional skills and knowledge still co-exist in a complicated relationship with those of western medicine. This issue in recent years has become a focus of research as a new field. The upcoming workshop seeks to explore fresh possibilities for this approach. Researchers, activists and specialists will be invited from Japan and overseas and the program will include country-specific reports as well as sessions on different topics. Please check our homepage for further details which are scheduled to be released before the summer.

堀江有里講演会

日時：2006 年秋頃予定

場所：国際基督教大学

Yuri Horie Lecture

Time: Autumn, 2006 (tentative)

Venue: International Christian University

執筆者紹介

Author profiles

Hyangjin Lee

Lecturer in Korean Studies, University of Sheffield; Adjunct Professor, Koryo University, Korea

Cultural Identity, Political Culture and Mass Media in North and South Korea

Chutima Pragatwutisarn

Lecturer, Comparative Literature, Chulalongkorn University

Women and Minority Literature, Postcolonial Writing, Third World Feminism

Hitomi Murase

Yamaguchi University, Adjunct Instructor

Images of the Female Body in the Media

村瀬ひろみ

山口大学 非常勤講師

メディアにおける女性身体イメージ

Junko Fukazawa

NPO Human Service Center

Women and Art, Media and Gender

深澤純子

NPO ヒューマンサービスセンター

女性とアート、メディアとジェンダー

Parthasarathy Rajalakshmi

Professor & Head of the Department of English, Lady Doak College

Images of Men, Changing Trends in Gender Sensitization in Asian Countries

Mana Tanaka

Taleemshala Alternative Education Program, Indian Local NGO, Ibtada

Women and Poverty issues in Asia

田中真奈

タリームシャラ もう一つの教育プログラム、NGO

アジアにおける女性の貧困問題

Etsuko Kato

Division of International Studies, ICU

Cultural Anthropology/ Gender Studies

加藤恵津子

国際基督教大学、国際関係学科

文化人類学／ジェンダー研究

CGS 編集担当所員
CGS editorial staff

JUNG, Insung
鄭 仁星
Educational Technology and Communications
Division of Education, ICU

IKOMA, Natsumi
生駒夏美
Contemporary English Literature, Representation of the Body in British and Japanese
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ICU ジェンダー研究所ジャーナル Gender and Sexuality

投稿規定

2006年3月現在

1) ジャーナル概要

「Gender and Sexuality」は、国際基督教大学ジェンダー研究所が年一回発行するジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究分野の学術誌である。研究部門では、ジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究における実証的研究や理論的考察に関する論文を掲載する。フィールド部門では、活動家によるケーススタディ、組織・国内・国際レベルにおけるジェンダー関連活動に関する報告を掲載する。

2) 第二巻発行日： 2006年12月

3) 第一巻論文投稿締切： 2006年9月30日(土)当日消印有効

4) 原稿提出先： 国際基督教大学ジェンダー研究センター編集委員会

郵送： 〒181-8585 東京都三鷹市大沢3-10-2 ERB301

電子メール： cgs@icu.ac.jp

5) 応募要綱

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・本誌に投稿される原稿は、全文あるいは主要部分において、未発表であり、他誌へ投稿されていないものとする。

・原稿は、電子ファイルと印刷コピー両方を提出するものとする。

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・原稿投稿後、原稿に修正を加えた場合、修正原稿は電子メールに添付して提出すること。

・使用言語は日本語または英語に限る。

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・原稿(研究およびフィールド部門)は、図表、図版、参考文献および注なども含めて16000～20000字の長さで、Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association(2001年発行第5版)のスタイルで執筆すること。

・姓名・所属・住所・電話およびファックス番号は別紙による表紙に記載すること。審査過程における匿名性を守るため、原稿の他の部分では執筆者氏名は一切伏せること。

・タイトルは最長40字とする。簡潔明瞭で、主要なトピックを抑えたものであることが望ましい。

・500字の要旨およびキーワードを5つ以内、別紙にて添付すること。

・前掲の規定にそわない原稿は、改訂を求めて返却される。

・本誌が国際的に発表される学術誌であることを踏まえたうえで原稿を執筆すること。

c) 図表および図版

・図表は別紙で添付すること。本文内に取り込まないこと。

・図版は直接印刷に耐える画質のものを添付すること。

・本文中における図表・図版のおおよその位置を原稿上に示すこと。

6) 校正

校正用原稿が執筆者に送付された場合、校正のうえ、提出期限内に返送すること。

7) 審査過程

投稿原稿は編集委員会が指名する3人の審査者によって審査される。審査では独自性、学術性、論旨の明快さ、重要性および主題のジェンダー・セクシュアリティ研究に対する貢献度が考慮される。原稿の改稿が求められる場合、審査意見および編集コメントが執筆者に伝えられる。投稿の受理・不受理の最終判断は編集委員会が下すものとする。

8) 著作権

投稿を受理された論文の著作権は、他の取り決めが特別になされない限り国際基督教大学ジェンダー研究センター編集委員会が保有するものとする。自己の論文および資料の複製権および使用権に関して、執筆者に対する制限は一切なされないものとする。

9) リプリント

個々の論文のリプリントをジェンダー研究所に注文することができる。掲載された執筆者には一冊（複数執筆者がいる場合は3冊まで）の該当誌が送られる。

10) 注文

購読の申し込みは cgs@icu.ac.jp までに。

当規定は改定されることがある。

The Journal of the Center for Gender Studies, ICU
Gender and Sexuality
The Journal Regulation

as of March, 2006

1) About the Journal

Gender and Sexuality is published annually by the Center for Gender Studies at the International Christian University in Japan, focusing entirely on research and practice in Gender and Sexuality studies. The Research section features well-documented articles on the practical aspects of research as well as applied theory in gender & sexuality studies. The Field Reports section includes practitioner-based case studies and articles concerning the design and development of gender-related activities and applications at institutional, national and international levels.

2) Date of Publication for the first issue: December, 2006

3) Application deadline for the first issue: September 30 (Sat), 2006

4) Send to: The Editorial Board of the Center for Gender Studies,
 ERB 301, International Christian University
 3-10-2 Osawa Mitaka-shi ,Tokyo, 181-8585 Japan
 cgs@icu.ac.jp

5) Guidelines for Contributors:

a) Manuscript Submission

- Submission of a manuscript to this journal is understood to imply that it, or substantial parts of it, have not been published, accepted for publication, or submitted for consideration elsewhere.
- Manuscripts should be submitted electronically and in paper copy.
- Electronic submissions should be sent as e-mail attachments using a standard word processing program, such as MS WORD.
- Three paper copies of your manuscript should be submitted on A4 paper with double spacing, using one side only.
- The text on e-mail attachments must match the manuscript precisely.
- When the accepted paper is submitted in final form, please send it as an e-mail attachment.
- Papers will be accepted both in English and Japanese.

b) Manuscript Preparation

- Manuscripts (for both the Research Articles and the Field Reports sections) should be between 5,000 words and 7,000 words in length (including tables, figures, references, footnotes and pictures) and must conform to the style of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (5th ed., 2001).
- The name(s), affiliation(s), address(es), and phone and fax number(s) should appear on a separate cover page. To ensure anonymity in the review process, name(s) of the author(s) should not appear elsewhere in the manuscript.

- The title should be short (12 words maximum), informative and contain the major keywords.
- An abstract of 100-150 words and up to 5 keywords should be typed on a separate page.
- Manuscripts that do not conform to these specifications will be returned.
- Contributors should bear in mind that they are addressing an international audience.

c) Tables and Figures

- Tables must be typed out on separate sheets and not included as part of the text.
 - Figures submitted must be of high enough standard for direct reproduction.
- The approximate position of tables and figures should be indicated in the manuscript.

6) Proofs

Page proofs are sent to the designated author. They must be checked carefully and returned within a definite period of time.

7) Review Process

Submissions are refereed by three individuals identified by the Editorial Board. A manuscript is judged on the basis of originality, scholarship, clarity of discourse, and significance, as well as the degree to which the subject matter contributes to the field of gender and sexuality studies. Referees' notes and editorial comments are usually communicated to the author when revision is requested. The Editorial Board retains final authority in accepting or rejecting manuscripts.

8) Copyright

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10) Order

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*These regulations may be further changed or modified.

編集後記 生駒夏美

やっと、という感のある第一号。執筆者の方々、ならびに編集作業に従事してくれた CGS 助手の方々、また刊行に協力して下さった多くの方々に、深く感謝いたします。不慣れた作業の連続であったため、お届けするのが予定より遅くなりお待たせしてしまって大変申し訳ありません。今後はもっとスムーズな刊行を目指したいと考えています。今回は国際ワークショップの成果を生かし、表象系の論文やフィールドノートが多くなりましたが、ジェンダーとセクシュアリティを巡る問題に鋭くメスを入れる気鋭の論が集まり、読み応えがあるものとなったと自負しております。しかし今後、より一層多岐にわたるものを、院生や若手研究者、またアクティビストの皆さんからもどんどん投稿していただき、日本のアカデミーに一石を投ずるジャーナルに育てていただけたらと祈念しております。今後とも一層のご支援・ご教示を賜りますよう、お願いいたします。

Afterword from the Editors Ikoma, Natsumi

At long last, we present the first issue of the CGS journal! Our deep gratitude goes to the authors of the articles, the CGS assistants who have worked so tirelessly in editing the journal, and the many others who have helped us in various stages of our work. We apologize for the delay in publication, due to our own inexperience in this kind of endeavour. We hope to work more quickly and smoothly in future.

The present issue is comprised largely of papers in the field of representation studies and of notes from fieldwork projects. They represent the fruits of the International Workshop hosted by CGS and share a cutting-edge approach and sharp focus on the broader issues of gender and sexuality.

We eagerly await articles for future publications from activists, post-graduate students, and young researchers. It is our earnest hope that the CGS journal will become a strong, independent, critical voice in Japanese academia.

Finally, we would like to express our appreciation for your continuous support and advice on our journal.

Gender&Sexuality

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