

Breaking the Silence

Current discussion on sexual violence in Japan and in the West in connection with intersectional feminism.

Centre for East Asian Studies
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Japanese Feminism has been much influenced by the Western movements. Intersectional feminism, in Japan Critical International Feminism, started to gain ground simultaneously with the economic depression at the beginning of the 1990s, and now dominates the feminist narrative. However, intersectionality represents a specific ideology that causes more damage than solve problems, as it already has caused damage to women's and children's rights in the West. At the same time in Japan, more attention has been given to problems of sexual harassment and violence against women. Many victims stay silent, but some have broken it. Ito Shiori, a journalist, brought her rape case into open discussion. Ito also brought #MeToo-movement into Japan, and her case together with a sexual harassment case against Fukuda Junichi, then top bureaucrat in Finance Ministry, was topic in Japanese newspapers.

In my thesis I analyzed the narratives of two Japanese newspapers, Asahi Shimbun, a left-leaning newspaper, and Yomiuri Shimbun, a right-leaning newspaper, by using methodology designed to analyze language, content analysis. I focused on how the topic of sexual harassment and the #MeToo-movement were discussed within the analyzed articles. I discovered that both Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun seem to be against harassment and violence against women and do not hesitate to criticize different parties-while still remaining mostly professional. Furthermore, both newspapers discuss the #MeToo-movement in a very positive way, and especially Asahi Shimbun with its special column combines the black's civil rights movement of the 1960s and present day #WeToo-movement of Japan. These two newspapers lack the critical view of the current civil rights movement of the West, which differs considerably from its predecessor of the 1960s.

In addition to analyzing the articles and discussing violence against women in Japan, I also discussed the topic of intersectionality and its take on the issue of violence against women. Furthermore, I reflected its means of handling these issues and what kind of consequences it would lead to in connection with Japanese society. I concluded that if Intersectionality spreads within the society, it is highly probable that it will start to erode women's rights. My analysis, however, was limited and included only two cases. In the future it is important to continue this line of research. Since the intersectionality now dominates the academic feminism and it is hostile towards criticism, this topic is left almost untouched.

Keywords

Sexual harassment, sexual violence, Japan, journalism, intersectional feminism, women's rights.

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1 Introduction

“Silence will fall, when the question is asked”

(in Doctor Who, episode 8: Let’s kill Hitler 2011).

This is a quote from the British science fiction series *Doctor Who*. Even though my thesis has nothing to do with science fiction, this quote is perfect to describe my thesis topic, or rather; the reactions of some people towards it. When someone asks a difficult question-a sensitive question- it is usually followed by silence. Nobody wants to ask the question(s), or more likely; nobody dares to ask the question(s). It is self-preservation that prevents that. Nobody wants to lose their jobs or ruin their reputation merely by asking question(s). Ito Shiori¹, a Japanese journalist, broke the silence and asked the question. She spoke out about sexual harassment and violence that women face in Japan. The question was something that should not have been asked. Asking, let alone answering, difficult question(s) usually leads to either silence or backlash. Instead of debating about the question itself, the person who initially asked it, will be attacked personally and sometimes even demonized. This happens not only in Japan, but in the Western world, as well.

The topic of this thesis is deep and multilateral. I started my thesis project by focusing on the topic of harassment and sexual violence towards women, because I consider these among the biggest problems that women face today. This is what the Ipsos questionnaire about gender-issues also concluded (I will discuss it in this thesis). However, during courses in Gender Studies I learned that the Western intersectional feminists have contradictory relationship with this topic. There is a backlash against women’s rights in the West with rising figures of sexual harassment, but the intersectionals seem to be more eager silence any attempt to discuss the problem, rather than solving this problem. In fact, this form of feminism was referred to as “anti-feminist” at the beginning, which seem appropriate term since they resist any other form of feminisms (Brooks, A. 2003 [1997]; Rampton, M. 2008). These intersectionalists, also known as “progressive left”, “woke people”, or “Social Justice Warriors”(SJWs) follow ideology that has highly influenced by postmodernism. This practice also reflects on feminism everywhere in the world, including Japan. In fact, it has become the mainstream feminism.

The term “social justice” dates back almost two hundred years and have had different meanings throughout its existence. Philosopher John Rawls formed a theory of social justice, in

¹ In this thesis I will write the Japanese names starting with the last name, as it is custom in Japan, but other names I will write starting with the first name, because it is more natural.

which he presented that socially just society would be a society in which a person-given a chance-would be equally happy with any social or identity background. (Rawls, J. 1999 [1971].) However, these intersectional feminists and other woke people hardly ever refer to Rawls. Instead, they have openly anti-liberal and anti-universal approach to social justice, which is rooted in their critical theory. The basic idea of this theory is to reveal hidden biases and under examined assumptions, the so called “problematics”. (Brooks, A. 2003 [1997].) Intertwined with postmodernism, they have specific doctrinal interpretation of the meaning of “social justice”. In this thesis I call this “Social Justice Movement” (Pluckrose, H. & Lindsay, J. 2020:13-14). It is also known as “wokeism” (because their own belief that they are “awakened” to see societal injustice) (Merriam-Webster Dictionary (no date)) and they prescribe a strict orthodoxy. (Helo, A. 26.11.2021.)

Intersectionalism has also gained popularity within the Western media, making it biased and even promoting its own agenda regardless of facts as we will see further on. In Japan, however, there are different kinds of problems that restrict investigative journalism. With the press club system, while granting the journalists access to information within ministries, agencies and other kinds of organizations, it also binds them. The information are mostly given to them as such, and they don’t need to engage into investigative journalism. (Kingston, J. 2017.)

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss the impacts of a specific Western ideology, intersectionality, on Japanese women. My focus will be on the feminisms and human rights for women and how intersectionality affects these issues. Starting from the Meiji period (1868-1912), Japan has been much influenced by the Western countries, and since the end of the World War II, especially from the United States of America.

Since the dominance of the intersectional feminism in academia, especially in Gender Studies, there are only few researches done that are critical of intersectional feminism, especially its take on women’s rights. My thesis attempts to do exactly that. Moreover, the Western scholars specializing in Japanese society have not yet taken this intersectional feminism and its influence into account, when studying Japan. This intersectional feminism has already penetrated into Japanese feminism and it is already visible in activism, and therefore it is important to do a comparative research on its impact on the Western and on Japanese society.

My research question is: how the Japanese newspapers-Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun discuss sexual harassment and violence as well as how the international #MeToo-movement is connected with these two Japanese cases. In order to answer the research question, I will analyse how sexual violence and harassment is been debated in two Japanese newspapers; the Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun, and how both the victims and the accused are been treated

and what topics are highlighted and what topics are being dismissed. My main focus will be on the two cases; Ito Shiori-case and Fukuda Junichi-case. These both cases involve journalism, sexual harassment and violence. Journalism and women's rights issues include topics that are treated usually with silence, victim blaming or even fierce attacks on the person, who spoke out. These two cases, however, differ from other cases simply because the victims spoke out. Furthermore, I will also discuss how intersectional feminism would do with the problem of sexual harassment and violence.

In chapter 2 I will discuss the relevant books and articles on theories on violence against women, women's movements in Japan as well as media culture and journalism. In chapter 3 I will first discuss the theory of postmodernism, and then (the historical) events that lead to the popularity of these theories such as intersectionalism. In chapter 4 I will discuss modern intersectional feminism, its main thesis as well as the consequences of its applications. Then I will briefly discuss its position towards the issue of violence against women. Then, I will discuss the #MeToo-movement. The ideas that the intersectional feminists are thriving is also visible in the #MeToo-movement, which has spread across the world. The movement has important considerations, but it contains contradictions, as well. I consider these phenomena important to discuss, because one of the main figures of #MeToo-movement in Japan, is Ito Shiori, whose case I will discuss.

In chapter 5 I will then discuss violence and sexual harassment against women as well as women's movements and feminisms in Japan. Firstly, I will discuss women's movements and the development of feminisms. Secondly, I will discuss aspects of violence against women in Japan. Thirdly, I will discuss the two main cases of this thesis; the Ito Shiori-case and Fukuda Junichi-case. I consider these two cases important for number of reasons. Firstly, is that these two cases are well-known and secondly, these cases have had an impact on Japanese society, what makes these cases different is that they broke the silence.

Ito has been on the headlines many times because of her accusations of rape. Her case is only one of many that involve violence and victim blaming. Many rapes in Japan are left unreported because of victim blaming. Although Ito experienced considerable backlash and negativity, her case did eventually impact Japan's rape law since it was changed soon after Ito had gone public with her allegations (Ito, S. 2018; Kawahara, M. 25.10.2017). The change in the rape law leaves much to be desired, but it is a start. Furthermore, Ito published a book, *The Black Box* (Ito, S. 2021), in which she discusses the problems involving the treatment of a victim of sexual violence. Junichi Fukuda, on the other hand, was a top official at the finance ministry, who resigned after alleged accusations of sexual harassment (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 19.04.2018). This case, too, had a huge impact on

the debate on sexual harassment, which rose rapidly after these allegations came to public (Daimon, S. & Aoki, M. 22.04.2018).

In chapter 6 I will discuss the media culture and journalism of Japan. I will briefly mention the issues caused by intersectionalism on Western partisanship, in order to provide comparisons. I will focus on Japan and its media culture and point out some of the key issues and problems within it. Then, I will introduce the papers of interest; Asahi Simbun and Yomiuri Shimbun, two of the biggest newspapers in Japan. I chose these two newspapers, because they represent different views on the government; whereas Asahi is further from the government, Yomiuri is closer to it. In addition to that, Asahi is considered politically more on the centre-left (Fackler, M. 2017:40) and Yomiuri more on the centre-right (Sawa, Y. 2018).

In chapter 7 I will first discuss the methodology and content analyses. Second, I will discuss the data I will be analysing. As primary source I use online newspaper articles from these two newspapers; Asahi and Yomiuri Shimbun. Due to the extensive number of available articles, it is impossible to include them all in my thesis, thus I will also discuss the selection of the relevant articles. In chapter 8 I will analyze the debates, and discuss my findings in chapter 9 in connection with theory. In conclusion I will draw everything together, for the last time, and consider the future.

2 Literature

Many academic publications are in favour of the theories that have originated from postmodernism, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. 2017), *Words That Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech, and the First Amendment* (Lawrence III, C. R.; Matsuda, M. J.; Delgado, R.; Crenshaw, K. W. [eds.] 2018 [1993]) and *Post-structuralism and question of history* containing articles from different academics (Attridge, D.; Bennington, G. & Young, R. [eds.] 1991 [1987]). However, one book that also contains criticism towards postmodernism, especially its applicability into feminism is *Feminism/Postmodernism* containing various viewpoints in the form of articles on the subject (Nicholson, L. J. [ed.] 1990). However, the publication is already old and it needs to be updated into present day situation. Ann Brooks' book on postmodernist feminism, *Postfeminisms: Feminism, cultural theory and cultural forms* (Brooks, A. 2003 [1997]), gives a good introduction to the theme, however, besides being old, it does not critically examine the negative impacts of this form of feminism have on women.

Feminist scholars have written various times on the history of feminisms, such as Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, that is comprehensive guide to modern [intersectional] feminism. Shorter, but intense introductory has written by Martha Rampton in her article *Four Waves of Feminism* (Rampton, M. 2008) and Rebecca Campbell and Sharon M. Wasco in their article *Feminist Approaches to Social Science: Epistemological and Methodological Tenets* (Campbell, R. and Wasco, S. M. 2000). Regarding the intersectional feminism, both Kimberlé Crenshaw with her theory on intersectionality (Crenshaw, K. 1989) and Judith Butler with her book *Gender Trouble* and on her discussion on terms 'gender' and 'sex', and their relation with each other (Butler, J. 1990), have contributed hugely to intersectional feminism. Kimberlé Crenshaw also published an article *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics* (Crenshaw, K. 1989).

Unlike them, Robin DiAngelo has not influenced the formation of intersectional feminism; on the contrary, her book has become the best example of these toxic theories. She published a book *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism*, in which she categorises and treat people on the basis of their race, gender and sexuality (DiAngelo, R. 2018), the way that is considered racist by some people. These different theories originated from postmodernism have long before DiAngelo been affecting feminists' view on sexual harassment and violence, as C. J. Pascoe shows in her book *Dude, You're a Faq: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*. First she argues that sexual harassment is bad, and then condemns the act of boyfriend trying to protect his girlfriend from being harassed. She refuses any kind of chivalry, and instead claims that it is negative and problematic. (Pascoe, C.J. 2007.) This shows of how contradictory these feminists are. Furthermore, some publications about sexual harassment and violence against women give the reader a simplified view on this important topic. These researches have good viewpoints, however, they lack some aspects of the topic. Jackie Kirk, Jeanne Ward and Lisa Ernst have conducted a research on theory of sexual violence in a book *Broken bodies, Broken Dreams: Violence Against Women Exposed* (Kirk, J.; Ward, J. & Ernst, L. 2005). Sara E. Davies and Jacqui True have also conducted their research in an article *Connecting the Dots: Pre-existing Pattern of Gender Inequality and the likelihood of Widespread and Systematic Sexual Violence*, in which they connect gender inequality and gender-based violence (Davies, S. E. & True, J. 2017).

Feminist journalist Susan Brownmiller's book *Against our will: Men, Women, and Rape*, was the first to define rape as a political problem (Brownmiller, S. 1993 [1975]). It also seriously changed the views of rape and made the difference also in the rape law (Cohen, S. 07.10.2015), and

is still one of the classics within the field of Gender Studies. While Brownmiller's book defined the term "rape culture" (Brownmiller, S. 1993 [1975]), which has been used ever since, Luke Gittos, a criminal lawyer, who has been working with the victims of rape, questions the concept itself in his book *Why Rape Culture is a Dangerous Myth: From Steubenville to Ched Evans*. One of his main concerns is that while discussing the "rape culture", it undermines the responsibility and acts of the rapist itself. (Gittos, L. 2015.) Furthermore, the debate on "rape culture" has shown how toxic the topic has become and how there is only one way to discuss the issue. Susan Brownmiller's contribution is important because she was the one to highlight the problem that many women face. However, it is always good to debate these topics in order to find the best solution for these problems.

On the topic of Japanese society, politics and economy there are many publications, such as *Japanese Politics Today From Karaoke to Kabuki Democracy* (Inoguchi, T. & Purnendra, J. [ed.] 2011) containing various articles including *Welfare Policy* (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011) and *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Politics* (Gauder, A. [ed.] 2011) containing various articles including *The rise (and fall?) of social equality: the evolution of Japan's welfare state* (Kasza, G. J. 2011). Conrad Shirokauer and Donald N. Clark have written on histories of East Asian countries in their book *Modern East Asia: A Brief History* (Shirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004). Sirin Sung and Gillian Pascall have written about the connection of the welfare state and gender in East Asia (Sung, S. & Pascall, G. 2014).

Various researches have been written on the history of women's movements in Japan. Most recent publication containing articles from different scholars is *The Routledge Companion to Gender and Japanese Culture*. It is comprehensible book with its take on various themes of contemporary Japanese society. (Coates, J.; Fraser, L. & Pendleton, M. [eds.] 2019.) Both Sachiko Kaneko and Jan Bardsley have written about the historical perspective in women's issues in Japan (Kaneko, S. 2011; Bardsley, J. 2007). Eto Mikiko has written a comprehensive article on modern women's movements with the connection to politics (Eto, M. 2005). Ki-young Shin's article *The women's movements* is a good introduction to variety of women's activism in Japan. Shin discusses in her article about the history of different movements that have emerged in Japan. She separates the traditional women's movements and radical leftist feminist movement because of their different purposes. (Shin, K.-Y.-Y. 2011.) Also Vera Mackie and Shigematsu Setsu have both been doing research on the radical left-wing feminist movement *ûman ribu* (Mackie, V. 1988 & 1995; Shigematsu, S. 2012), but Mackie's take on the subject is too positive; she empathizes with the leftist view the state merely as negative way that only oppresses women, whereas the individual

radical activists are seen only in positive way. Mackie does make some good points, but seen the state only through negativity, is not very objective (Mackie, V. 1988) and unlike Mackie's text implies, the state has done some improvements that have also benefited women (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011; Schoppa, L. 2011). Shigematsu, on the other hand, views *ûman ribu*- the movement in more critical way, although she is still sympathetic to these activists. She has published a thorough book about the movement with a deep and critical analysis. (Shigematsu, S. 2012.)

Apart from the women's movements, there are various studies conducted within the gender related issues, such as low birth rate, balance between work and family, economic inequality, family planning and child rearing, marriage versus single life, sexual minorities as well as women in politics have thoroughly been discussed (Cook; E.M. 2018; Kingston, J. 2014; Htun, T. T. 2014, Matsuura, K. 2011; Takeda, H. 2011: 212-222; Kasza, G. 2011; Shirahase, S. 2011:46-75; Dales, L. 2015; Ezawa, A. 2011; Sawabe, H. 2011; Kamano, S. & Khor, D. 2011, Sugiura, I. 2011 and Welker, J. 2017; Martin, S. L. 2011). J. Keith Vincent has written about Japanese feminist, who highly influenced on bringing the Western intersectionalist feminist into Japan, for example by translating books (Vincent, J. K. 2017). Joyce Gelb compares in her book *Gender policies in Japan and the United States: comparing women's movements, rights, and politics* gender politics between Japan and the United States giving more aspect to the issues (Gelb, J. 2003). Jennifer Chan-Tiberghien in her book *Gender and Human Rights Politics in Japan: Global Norms and Domestic Networks* has taken a different aspect of this issue of women's movements and the discourse of women rights between Japan and other countries; Instead of just comparing different countries, she analyses the impact of the international debates on women's issues and rights on Japanese society. She has done thorough research on the topic and her analysis is deep. She has found both negative and positive aspects of the issue, relating the reasons to the bigger picture of the Japanese society itself. (Chan-Tiberghien, J. 2004.)

Yamaguchi Tomomi discusses in her article, *Impartial Observation and Partial Participation: Feminist Ethnography in Politically Charged Japan*, how in the late 1990s the backlash against feminism really took off, after the 1995 Beijing UN women's conference with the advancement of feminism being institutionalized in Japan. (Yamaguchi, T. 2007: 583–608.) It was there, that the famous phrase "women's rights are human rights" were spoken (Rodham Clinton, H. 1996). Yamaguchi brings up the fact that some politicians, who were in power at the time, have shown support for "anti-feminism". (Yamaguchi, T. 2007: 583–608.) However, as Martha Rampton explained in her article on *Four Waves of Feminism*, the reason for this "backlash" was the feminists themselves and their own backlash towards men (Rampton, M. 2008). Ito Kimio has

written about the American culture wars and how it has penetrated Japan already in the 1990s (Ito, K. 2014:137-151). However, her book chapter is short and she oversimplifies the causes, the issues as well as roots of this phenomenon, which has now increased tremendously. It does show that this American-based phenomenon is significant in Japan.

While various researches have been conducted on women's rights' movements, and their histories, women's roles and their sexual orientation, little research has been conducted on harassment and violence that women face. And when research is done, it also reflects the leftist worldview, focusing on criticizing the system and the structures of oppression and this view is also visible in the feminist studies on Japan. Thus, I introduce book from Ito Shiori, *The Black Box*, which she wrote about her experiences with the police on her own case concerning sexual violence (Ito, S. 2021). Ito published her book in October 2017 and it has already been translated into several languages. Another book written by Kojima Keiko, a well known Japanese TV and radio figure and public commentator, discusses about sexual harassment. In her book, さよなら！ハラスメント (Farewell! harassment), Kojima interviews different people in each of her chapters, thus bringing up different aspects of harassment, each in different areas of life, such as harassment in the world of sports, and in the Ministry of Finance (Kojima, K. 2019; Ferguson, K. 2017).

There are some academic research conducted on the issue of sexual violence and harassment. For example, Mitsutoshi Horii and Adam Burges have published an article *Constructing sexual risk: 'Chikan', collapsing male authority and the emergence of women-only train carriages in Japan*, in which they discuss the phenomenon of "women-only carriages" (Horii, M. & Burges, A. 2012). The debates about the sex-tourism of Japanese men as well as the issue of "comfort women" are frequently brought up relating to Japanese political landscape and academic articles (Shin, K.-Y. 2011; Ito, K. 2011). Linda Hasunuma and Ki-Young Shin have published an article, in which they compare the #MeToo-movement in Japan and South Korea (Hasunuma, L. & Shin, K.-Y. 2019).

Also media studies have similar problems, and as Laurie Anne Freeman argued, the studies have being marginalized at universities (Freeman, L. A. 2000:6). The fact, that-with few exceptions-academia mostly lack of critical publications is worth to acknowledge. Unlike studies on Western media, various studies on Japanese media have been published within the academia. For example, In *Press freedom in contemporary Japan* edited by Jeff Kingston (Kingston, J. 2017), Aurelia George Mulgan writes in the chapter *Media muzzling under the Abe administration* about the Prime minister Abe Shinzo's pressure on mainstream media (George Mulgan, A. 2017). Katja Valaskivi has published a book chapter *Japanin media tsunamin jälkimainingeissa* (Valaskivi, K.

2014), and D. Eleanor Westney a book *Mass Media as Business Organizations: A U. S.-Japanese Comparison* (Westney, D. E. 1996), Susan J. Pharr has written about *Media and Politics in Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* and *Media as Tricksters in Japan: A Comparative Perspective* (Pharr, S. J. 1996a & 1996b). Laurie Anne Freeman discuss in her book *Closing the Shop: Information Cartels and Japan's Mass Media* Japanese media structures in details. Her book is good example of the thinking of a graduate of Western academia. For example she argues that the Japanese journalists should be more like Western journalists, engaging into partisanship. However, as I will discuss this approach of partisanship later, I will prove that it is problematic. (Freeman, L. A. 2000.) Igor Prusa discusses in his article *Mediating scandal in contemporary Japan* the main aspects of media scandal in contemporary Japan. Prusa's article is deep and handles the topic from different viewpoints. However, he relies almost completely on the postmodernists thinkers and does not show any criticism on the matter. (Prusa, I. 2017.)

As these researches show, especially within academia the research has become increasingly homogenous and the solutions for various problems seem very simplified.

3 Background

3.1 Postmodernism

The roots and initial incitement of postmodernism are centuries deep, and their extreme scepticism, subjectivism, and relativism have resulted from a two-centuries-long epistemological battle against pro-reason intellectuals. (Wolin, R. 2004:1-15.) Postmodernism is not only difficult to define, but also difficult to summarize because it has not been unitary movement. However, it is the French postmodernists who were focused on social, revolutionary and deconstructive approaches against modernism, which they rejected. (Nordin, S. 1999:434-445; Bohman, J. 2019 [2005]; Lyotard, J.-F. 1997.) Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard and Richard Rorty were the “fathers” of this postmodernism and they set the direction of it together with other intellectuals from different fields of study in the 20th century (for example Foucault, M. 1986 [1972]). Because Leftist thought was the dominant political thought among the twentieth-century scholars in academia, the fathers of postmodernism were all far-left. In fact, all the major names in the postmodernism were Left-wing intellectuals. (Wolin, R. 2004: 154-158; Bohman, J. 2019 [2005]; Jameson, F. 1981.)

It is important to know that postmodernism was born in specific circumstances and for specific purpose. In the next subchapter, I will discuss those developments deeper, but it is worth to mention that both the First and the Second World War had made some people in the West anxious about technology and its power. The left-wing intellectuals became to doubt both liberalism and Western civilization altogether, because of having allowed the rise of fascism. (Wolin, R. 2004: 17; Lyotard, J.-F. 1991.) However, they had even greater problems; after the World War II the welfare and consumerism started to increase in Western countries (Vonyó, T. 2018; Crafts, N. & Toniolo, G. [eds.] 2002 [1996]; Grenard, F. 2011:204-205) and their liberal enemies were doing fine, but -in striking contrast- every single socialist country had experienced economic failure one after another- the Soviet Union, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia, and Mozambique. They needed to defeat their liberal enemies in the West, so they tried terrorism, but failed as many of the red terrorists ended up in prisons or dead. (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]: 87, 170; Guelke, A. B. 1994.)

However, the rise of consumerism had made some Western people to fear the loss of meaning. Furthermore, former imperial subjects started to migrate into Western countries, for example to England, France and West-Germany. (Schnapper, D. 1994: 127-139; McCormick, J. 2003:54-58.) The leftist then changed tactics, in order to attract these people to join them, and here postmodernism is useful. As Stephen Hicks argued: “Postmodernism is the academic far Left’s epistemological strategy for responding to the crisis caused by the failures of socialism in theory and in practice”(Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]: 89).

I will now briefly discuss the theory of postmodernism. I will not, however, discuss the terminology or taxonomies between postmodernism, poststructuralism or deconstructionism. While acknowledging that there are some differences between the terms, the detailed analysis would take too much space, especially when in this thesis I will concentrate more on the influences of postmodernism on current activism, education and culture. Helen Pluckrose and James Lindsay have pointed out six major concepts; two core principles and four major themes, which will help us to identify postmodern thinking and the way it functions;

The two core principles are:

-**The Postmodern Knowledge Principle:** Radical scepticism about whether objective knowledge of truth is obtainable and a commitment to cultural constructivism.

-**The Postmodern Political Principle:** A belief that society is formed of systems of power and hierarchies, which decide what can be known and how.

The four major themes are:

-The Blurring of Boundaries

-The Power of Language

-Cultural Relativism

-The Loss of Individual and the Universal”

(Pluckrose, H. & Lindsay, J. 2020: 31.)

It is important to note, that their inspirational and philosophical source is the philosophy of Marxism (Derrida, J. 1994; Bohman, J. 2019 [2005]). However, there are both similarities and differences between postmodernism and Marxism, as they both share the same philosophical predecessor Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (Derrida, J. 1994; Hegel, G. W. F. 2018 [1807]; Wolin, R. 2004). Many postmodernist intellectuals criticized Marxism, for example Derrida criticized Marx on abandoning the question of ‘reality’ (Derrida, J. & Moore, F.C.T. 1974: footnote). Furthermore, when Marxism-on one hand- claims that power is exercised straight and visibly from above (for example Marx, K. & Engels, F. 1969 [1848]: 98-137), postmodern theory-on the other hand-claims that power permeates all levels of society, and is practiced by everyone in daily life and in discourses. Instead of an individual, it is the social system and its inherent power dynamics that is seen as the cause of this oppression. According to postmodernists, this system is not necessarily a result of a consciously coordinated conspiracy, but rather a result of self-perpetuating systems that benefit some groups more than others. (Lyotard, J.-F. 1984[1979].)

Postmodernists are obsessed with language and it is the key to their methods (Lyotard, J.-F. 1984[1979]; Lyotard, J.-F. 1993:237-247; Derrida, J. 1976; Foucault, M. 1986[1972]). Furthermore, they have integrated postmodern epistemology, which revolves around language, with postmodern politics. They argue that language merely connects with more language, and never with existing

reality, and therefore there is no standard to use to distinguish the true from false. (Derrida, J. 1976; Foucault, M. 1986[1972].) Moreover, Jacques Derrida claimed that the speaker's meaning has no more authority than the hearer's interpretation, and Roland Barthes's concept of the death of the author (Barthes, R. 1967), which Derrida adapted, and thus made the author's intentions irrelevant. Since they believe that discourses both create and maintain oppression, they have to monitor and deconstruct every discourse carefully. (Derrida, J. 1976.) Furthermore, because they believe that language constructs social reality, they censor or punish ideas and speech which they consider harmful to the groups they claim to protect (Helo, A. 26.11.2021).

Postmodernists deconstruct reason, truth and reality, because of their belief that Western civilization had used those in order to bring oppression, dominance and destruction. Furthermore, as Jean-François Lyotard argued; reason and power are the same, and that both of those led to and are, at the same time, such as *prisons*, prohibitions, and the public good. It then becomes a strategy for activists to oppose them both. (Lyotard in Friedrich, R. 1999:46, italizing added.) Furthermore, by rejecting the reason and individualism, on which the whole Enlightenment world has been built upon, postmodernism also attacks every consequence of the Enlightenment philosophy, including liberal forms of government, as well as science and technology (Foucault, M. 1986[1972] and 1973[1966]; Lyotard, J.-F. 1997:74-75; Rorty, R. 1982:175; Lentricchia, F. 1983:12).

However, at the same time-according to postmodernism's cultural relativism- the West cannot criticize, nor even help, any aspects of other cultures (for example Lyotard, J.-F. 1997:74-80; further advanced by-for example; Spivak, G. C. 1988; Said, E. W. 1995[1978]). This claim does not concern countries such as Japan, as I will later show. This is due to two reasons; the concepts are deliberately being blurred and used wrongly, and postmodern theory in itself has contradictions, which do not matter because they do not believe in rationality, objectivity or science. Postmodern attitudes and approaches can hold two contradictory statements at the same time. On the one hand, they insist on subjectivism and relativism, on the other hand they argue that their theories are correct. For example, they first claim that all truth is relative; but then they argue that postmodernism tells the truth as it really is. They keep arguing that, while all cultures should be equally respected; however, Western culture is only one to be criticized. What they actually are after over the long haul is to criticize only the liberal capitalist culture. (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]:184, 189; Wolin, R. 2004:222-223.)

As stated, postmodernism is critical of objectivity and therefore opposes positivism and empiricism, those epistemological positions characterizing the "hard" sciences, for example;

physics and biology (Foucault, M. 1986[1972]; Burr, V. 2015[1995]:2-3), because they claim that science had been organized to serve the interests of the powerful people who established it; the white Western men (Lyotard, J.-F. 1984[1979]). Combining the left-wing idea that oppressive power structures restrain humanity, people are told to deconstruct, challenge, problematize and resist every way of thinking that support this oppressive structure (Nordin, S. 1999: 434-445).

Postmodern Theorists have intentionally complicated and problematized almost all socially significant categories. Their purpose was to problematize any objective validity of those categories (for example “woman” and relations between sexes; Derrida, J. 1971; 1976; 1982: 66-72 and 2005: 139-157; Niiniluoto, I. 2002 [1999]: 249), radical example of this are the terms “gender” and “sex” as the first has replaced the latter even in fields not related to gender identification (Burr, V. 2015[1995]:2-3; Butler, J. 1990). Moreover, they reject the general concept of two sexes; man and woman (Burr, V. 2015[1995]:2-3). By problematizing these binary terms is among their strategy of blurring of boundaries.

Postmodernists claim that social-linguistic groups have constructed the identities of the individuals, and which vary tremendously across the dimensions of different categories, such as race, sex, ethnicity and wealth. Moreover, they emphasize the relations of conflict between these different groups that are solved through direct or indirect use of force. That, then, leads to submission, oppression of one group and dominance of the other group (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]:6.). For example, Lyotard stated “Arab Muslim culture has suffered the humiliating domination of the Western powers (Lyotard, J.-F. 1997:76). They are against universalism, as they believe that equal rights for everyone regardless of class, gender, race and sexuality is, at best, naive. At worst, they believe that it is yet another way to exercise power-knowledge, an endeavour to enforce dominant discourses on everyone (Helo, A. 26.11.2021).

During its existence, postmodernism not only evolved but also has penetrated into humanities and social sciences (Hammersley, M. 2005), where it has gained increasing influence over culture and activism (Spivak, G. C. 1991 [1987]:58; Nicholson, L. J. 1990: 1-18). According to Richard Delgado, Jean Stefancic, James Bohman, Martha Rampton and Linda J. Nicholson, postmodern theory highly influenced post-colonial, queer and critical race theories in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Bohman, J. 2019 [2005]; Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. 2017:4-5; Rampton, M. 2008; Nicholson, L. J. 1990:1-18). The new theorists reconstructed the way of knowledge, truth and societal structures according to their own narratives, many of which adopted the values of the left

political activism. Moreover, they started to form their own community based on left-wing morality. (Bohman, J. 2019 [2005]; Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. 2017). [Intersectional] feminist research today is an example of this 'partisan approach' within academia. The [applied] postmodernists argue that they "cannot" [or want not] abandon their values, which are so thoroughly embedded to them through their family, education, religion, as well as their own community and the media they follow. Together with extreme relativists, they even argue that objectivity is delusion and it should be abandoned in social research. (Denscombe, M. 2010 [2009]: 12, 89-90.) It is worthwhile differentiate between one's attempt to achieve objectivity and one to know the truth or leave it totally unnoticed. Research produces knowledge claims and politics visions.

Postmodernism evolved, first in the 1980s and 1990s, when it became tool for [S]ocial [J]ustice (Nicholson, L. J. 1990). In the early 2010s a second important mutation happened, when it started to focus on controlling the language and discourses. This profound scrutiny of language and drive for evermore stricter rules for terminology concerning identity has been gaining ground. (Pluckrose, H. & Lindsay, J. 2020: 42-43; 61-62.) I will discuss these in depth in chapter 4.1.

3.2 The crisis of capitalism and the rise of totalitarianism

In Japan, enthusiasm towards Western science and technology date back to Tokugawa period (1603-1867) and that of Dutch Learning, and from the beginning of Meiji period (1868-1912) the intellectuals were highly influenced by the Western Enlightenment, especially emphasizing reason as a mean for achieving progress. They translated Western literature; for example, John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* was published in 1871, and Rousseau's *The Social Contract* in instalments between 1882 and 1884. Many intellectuals, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, believed in progress, and thus thought that democracy was ultimate destiny for historical development. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004: 155-157.) This Westernization, however, also attracted resistance, in which the old formula "Eastern ethics; Western technology" proved to be popular. Social Darwinism (survival of the fittest) was used to justify the strengthening of the nation by having a command of the teachings and techniques of the West. However, contrary to natural law and its moral rules, it made strength itself a moral criterion, thus justifying involvement in aggressive expansion in addition to just defending its borders. Yet another form of extremism began gaining popularity during the 1910s and 1920s, when the teachings of anarchism [a political theory believing that every form of

government- including laws, police, and other authorities- is both harmful and unnecessary (Nenonen, K.-M. & Teerijoki, I. 1998: 636; Dirlik, A. [no date]; Merriam-Webster Dictionary)], particularly the idea that the state was inherently oppressive, became to compete with Social Darwinism. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:157-159, 207, 212-235.) Also, protests emerged in China (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004: 208) and Revolution ignited in Russia in 1917 (Nenonen, K.-M. & Teerijoki, I. 1998: 314). However, the Japanese bureaucrats were able to tackle the threat of anarchism by initiating welfare policies (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011:145).

The 1920s started with a strong belief in technology and progress, but it ended with the Great Crash in 1929 followed by the Great Depression. Both communism and fascism gained tremendous support in different countries, where depression had discredited capitalism. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:193; Hall, J. W. 1993 [1971]:324.) Furthermore, both the Depression and the crisis of capitalism had fuelled the crisis of liberal democracy, which was made ineffective in various countries in Europe, and the accelerating repetition of fear and hatred risked turning furies rhetoric into violence, as in the form of bloody civil war in Spain (1936-1939) (Brodie, M. 2018: 1-18). The socialists saw the situation as an opportunity (Hooks, S. 1988; Burnham, J. 1941: 36). In the age of collectivism, intellectuals from both left and right found violent solutions extremely appealing, and in the age of financial crisis, the authoritarian state all of a sudden was seen as a natural order in various European countries (Brodie, M. 2018: 1-18).

In Japan the centrist political parties were unable to solve problems that had started in the 1920s and thus could not prevent people from being attracted towards extremisms, both on the left and the right. By the end of the decade the world depression with its enormous negative effects deepened the crisis and under these pressures Japanese politics moved towards extremisms. In this case, the extreme right had won the extreme left. In 1931 Japanese armed forces overran southern Manchuria. It was the incident, which marked the beginning of Japan's entanglement into world's political turmoil, and eventually taking part in the Second World War (1939-45) with its horrible crimes against humanity. (Hall, J. W. 1993 [1971]:324-348.)

During the war, the socialists in the West were hoping that the national socialists (fascists and Nazis) and capitalists would "kill each other off", but the capitalists came out of it as winners. Only the Soviet Union was left to lead the world towards socialism. Western liberal democracies not only endured both the Great Depression and World War II, but emerged stronger than ever before. The defeat of National Socialists in Germany, Fascist in Italy and Japanese Imperialists had

both good and bad sides for the left; hated enemy was gone, but now they were alone to fight against the capitalist West, which not only recovered from the Second World War, but also experienced fast economic growth. (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014 [2004]: 134, 141- 143.)

After the War, the United States occupied Japan from 1945 to 1952, and although, Japanese welfare system had been more advantaged than the American, they made some changes into the society, that promoted welfare and public health (Reischauer, E. O. 2014 [1965]: Appendix III). Furthermore, since regaining independence in 1952, Japan's economic growth accelerated with an extent that by the 1970s the country had turned into one of the world's industrial giants, and this growth was part of a bigger transformation that affected people's daily life. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:370.) While the average welfare of people in the capitalist countries increased, in the communist countries it decreased (Leisering, L. 2012: 1-11).

The communist Soviet Union with its economical stance seemed to surpass that of the West in 1953-1963 (Katsenelinbolgen, A. 1980). However, then became Nikita Khrushchev's shocking revelations of the Soviet Union, where Josif Stalin had millions of his people murdered and tortured. Some people were sent to labour camps or otherwise subjected to inhuman deprivation -all in the name of socialism. (Courtois, S. et al. 1999 [1997].) These revelations first brought about moral crisis within socialist Left, then caused schisms over the suitable response to them. Since it was no longer possible to believe in the morality of the Soviet Union, the leftists turned their hopes to other communist countries, first to China under Mao. (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]: 135-150.) In China, however, in 1957 started an anti-Rightist campaign, in which people were sent to labor camps, the following year started the Great Leap Forward, which is said to be an economic disaster with the result of massive famine, and finally the radical phase of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) with its public humiliations, tortures, killings and imprisonments (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:333-342). The leftists turned their hopes to Cuba, then Vietnam, and finally Nicaragua. But their hopes were soon crushed one by one, all crushing socialism's ability to claim a moral approval. (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]: 135-150; Derrida, J. 1994:14 on his disappointment with Marxism; Courtois, S. 1999 [1997]:1-31 on the crimes of communist regimes.)

Thus they had two choices; whether to accept the evidence and abandon socialism, or to stand by their ideology and to attack the entire idea of evidence and logic. According to Stephen Hicks, some of them chose to limit reason; intellectuals like Foucault, Lyotard, Derrida, Rorty and

Fish. Furthermore, philosopher Herbert Marcuse, the father of the New Left, leaned heavily on the early Frankfurt School, which saw that Marxism was too wedded to reason. (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]: 86-90, 157; Dahlem, M. W. 1986: 5-6.) Since they did not have any positive example of socialist country, they instead focused mostly on criticizing the liberal capitalist countries. They believed that the capitalist exploitation of the proletariat would only increase, and then the proletariat would realise their oppression, and finally would start a revolution. All the intellectual leftist had to do was to wait, but no matter how long they waited, the proletariat did not start a revolution in the West. They needed to look for another strategy, and they needed leadership to diagnose with details the problems that capitalism had, then offer solutions for those and act resolutely and ruthlessly in order to achieve socialism, including saying the masses what they needed to hear along with the instructions of how and when to act. (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]: 135-150; Derrida, J. 1994:14 on his disappointment with Marxism; Courtois, S. 1999 [1997]:1-31 on the crimes of communist regimes.) They already had developed a new ethical standard, from need to equality, and had started to argue that instead of absolute poverty, capitalism caused relative poverty. Making the concept popular, Michael Harrington among others, claimed that the proletariat would feel *psychological* oppression when they felt they could not have same quality of life than the rich people had. Another strategy was to concentrate on issues of women and ethnic minorities. (Harrington, M. 1997[1962]: 355; Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]: 151-152.)

In Japan, the socialist opposition parties were waiting for their change to beat the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) party, but they were too weak (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:374-375) until the late 1960s, when it challenged its leaders in welfare policy. However, the LDP hastened to claim those policies and responded by raising welfare benefits as well as introducing child allowances at the beginning of the 1970s. While many other countries had favoured the leftist parties on welfare issues, in Japan the LDP party strengthened its dominance within these issues. (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011:146-147; Reed, S. R. 2011.) Even the oil crisis in the Middle East in 1973, which caused a recession in Japan during 1974-1979, was not enough to bring crisis within the nation as their system showed notable resilience. Furthermore, great majority of the population considered themselves middle-class. The labour movement, on the contrary, was losing its members because of the move away from “smoke-stack industries”. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:376.)

However, Japanese society had changed rapidly during the post-war era with its urbanization, youth culture, and Western-mainly American-influences, together with consumerism,

individualism, and the breaking of the traditional family of many generations living together. Yet, for some people this change was too slow. They felt alienated by this social system that still expected the individual to be a part of a group, whether family or company, and objected the social hierarchy. They were a disparate group, including career women tired of glass ceilings, people who had to rely on the economic support from their parents, and people looking for purpose in life—something deeper than consumerism. Their frustration was often shared by students and radicals alike, waiting for a more egalitarian society. However, most of them managed to work out their problems, and many gradually accepted the society. Most of the population, on the contrary, did not feel the anxiety and welcomed the changes. Still, while appreciating the increase in material wealth, they had some doubts about the future. Thus, many sought purpose in religion and managed to satisfy their spiritual hunger. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:381-382; Reader, I. 1995[1991]:233.)

During the 1980s, however, the Japanese economy overheated (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:377-378) and the bursting of the bubble economy in 1991 caused the economy to fall into recession, followed by unemployment higher than in decades. Furthermore, the government had to cut down the proactive work policies, which had increased employment in economic sectors, which had been inefficient. Also the employers started to hire more temporary and part-time workers than long-term employees. Since 1991 the Japanese government has had difficulties of maintaining its commitments on welfare. (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011: 143, 155.) The leftist saw this as too high price for development, blaming the capitalist state and the elites. Furthermore, the death of the emperor in 1989 had drawn attention to the past Japanese imperialism and the war. Many high government officials tended to downplay Japan's role in wartime atrocities, including the forcing of Korean women into sexual slavery, and even claiming that Pacific War had been righteous. All these attitudes made people uncomfortable, both in Japan and abroad. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:388-389.)

The government debt as a percentage of GDP has been increasing since 1992 (Trading Economics [no date]). During the whole 1990s Japanese economy stalled, and although it was not as badly hit by the “Asian Crisis” of 1998 as South Korea, it did suffer tremendous losses. At the end of the 1990s its economy started to show signs of recovery, but due to the lack of trust in it, the stock market declined again in 2001. Both the West and Japan faced recession. In Japan poverty increased, but most people were still capable of maintaining a satisfactory lifestyle, and kept their faith in the government. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:389-391.) However, socialists in

Europe had already been anxious for the collapse of capitalism for decades (McClelland, J. S. 2003 [1996]: 549) and now they had a change. The financial crisis, which had started in the USA in 2008, spread around the world causing more people to lose their faith in capitalism (O'Halloran, S.; Groll, T. & McAllister, G. 2019: 1-44). It also made the employment situation even worse in Japan (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011:156; Wakasugi, R. 06.01.2009).

Around the same time with the economic crisis and the reduced trust of people in political institutions (Fagerland Knoknes, V.; Jacobsen, T. G.; Grønning, L.-M. 2015), the third wave feminism started to spread into wider society within the Western countries. This renewed feminism promised to solve the problems of society, even the smallest one. (Rampton, M. 2008.) Japan also absorbed these influences, as I will show later. Historically Japan had been successful in keeping people away from the attractions of socialism and anarchism. Its welfare programs have been based on Western models and many of their traits originate before 1945. Furthermore, both social values and conservative policy sponsors have frequently produced welfare programs. In many cases, the welfare programs were initiated in order to improve the conditions of the working people as well as to keep them away from these isms. For example, the country's Health Insurance Law of 1922, which is argued to be the first non-Western social insurance program, sought to reduce the workers' interest in socialism and anarchism, especially after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917) and the domestic Rice Riots (1918). (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011: 144–145.)

In the West, even though conservatives and liberals also generated welfare, it was the Socialist Democratic parties that expanded public welfare in various countries after the Second World War. In Japan, however, labour and the leftist parties have never been in power for long periods of time, and therefore it was the conservative policymakers who lead welfare policy. Thus, after the war Japanese government has done many improvements in welfare programs, and especially after 1980s, it had implemented laws to ease the situation of women in the workplace, such as the Gender Equal Employment Law (1985). However, it has fallen short with its laws. Even though it strengthened the Law in 1997 by implementing penalties on employers who discriminate against women workers, and in 2005 by adapting Basic Plan for Gender Equality which supplemented these laws, it still partly failed in its mission. Furthermore, beside the economic problems, also increasing longevity and declining fertility challenge the Japanese welfare system, and in recent years the economic hardships have shifted the public away from neoliberalism towards egalitarian ideals. (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011: 144–151, 154, 157.)

According to Gregory J. Kasza and Takashi Horie there are no easy answers to present welfare problems in Japan. It is suggested, however, that the making of the welfare state after the Second World War was grounded on the metaphorical social contract between workers and managers. While the former forsook their radical plans to destroy people's property, the latter accepted welfare policies, which gave most workers both health care and a comfortable pension. Thus, the welfare state's continued feasibility could now be depended on the making of a similar contract between younger and older generations. (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011:155-158.) Furthermore, amidst the economic crisis, Japan has had some changes within its political field that also affects the handling of the current crisis, as in September 2020 a new Prime Minister was elected after Abe Shinzo's resignation. Suga Yoshihide, head of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, replaced Abe as Japan's new Prime Minister. (Westcott, B. & Wakatsuki, Y. 16.09.2020.) However, only a year after Suga resigned (partly) due to the dissatisfaction of his way of handling of corona crisis, and his place was taken by Kishida Fumio (from LDP) (Ilta-Sanomat [no name] 30.10.2021). It remains to be seen what Kishida and his cabinet can achieve, and what kind of an attitude he will take towards this intersectionalism.

4 Intersectionalism in the West

4.1 History: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly

Joyce Gelb argues that international feminism has had a huge impact in Japan (Gelb, J. 2003:1-7; 147). Therefore it is important to discuss some of the issues involving present day intersectional feminism. However, many intersectional feminists have questionable output; while keen on discussing, for example, unisex toilets, they seem to ignore these actual, bigger problems that women face, such as violence against women. How we have come to this situation, where they ignore or even defend violence against women? As I agree on the notion that the feminist movements have never been unite, but rather always having tensions and counter-points (Rampton, M. 2008; Hawkesworth, M. & Disch, L. 2016: 1-15), in this section I will concentrate on that part of the movements that has let to modern day intersectionalism.

As Rebecca Campbell and Sharon M. Wasco argue; there are many feminisms. They have divided those as follows: liberal, radical, socialist and womanist feminisms, which the last three have been mainly influenced by leftist ideas and/or Marxism. (Campbell, R. and Wasco, S. M.

2000:773-777.) Although, Gender-critical feminists, usually referred with negative connotation as “trans-exclusionary radical feminists” (TERFs) are mostly left-wing radical feminists, who are the targets of the intersectionalist feminists (Valcore, J.; Fradella, H.F.; Guadalupe, X.; Ball, M. J.; Dwyer, A.; DeJong, C.; Walker, A.; Wodda, A. & Worthen, M.G.F. 2021:687-706). Unlike Campbell and Wasco, Martha Rampton in her article has divided feminism according to different “waves”, occurring in different time periods (Rampton, M. 2008). I follow Rampton’s division, starting from the second wave onwards, because these left-wing feminisms all have roots in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Moreover, the improvements of the rights of women that increased during the second wave feminism (also Rampton, Martha 2008). However, it is worthwhile emphasizing that the identity politics of today differs entirely from that of Martin Luther King. It is anti- Western and does not forgive or reconcile. It teaches the contrary to what liberal education ought to do. (Helo, A. 26.11.2021; Sensoy, Ö. & DiAngelo, R. 2017: 19; Howell, A. & Ritcher-Montpetit, M 2019.)

Moreover, intersectionality, which focuses on identity politics and system of oppressor and oppressed, belongs to the “far-left.” This is also how they describe themselves. Furthermore, they not only oppose the right, but also often accuse both the moderate leftists and universal liberals of holding right-wing ideas. (Pluckrose, H. 15.02.2017.) In order to understand the current situation, it is important to know the roots and that it all began with good intentions.

The second wave feminism began in the late 1960s connecting the anti-Vietnam war-protests and other civil rights movements together with the growing self-consciousness of different minority groups across the world (Croce, N. (ed.) 2014:53-54). One of the figures that sparked the movement was Betty Friedan, a feminist writer and activist (Horowitz, D. 1996: 1-42). This new radicalism spread among college students and the Left more widely not only in the Western countries, but also in Japan. Moreover, anarchism affected feminism, applying anarchist principles to their analysis, for example, rejecting the state and insisting on direct action. (Croce, N. [ed.] 2014:53-54.) They all advocated for changing the system completely, because of their belief that their society was sexist, racist, as well as classist (Campbell, R. and Wasco, S. M. 2000: 777). At that time, they also adopted the ideas of the New Left (Rampton, M. 2008).

The father of the New Left, Herbert Marcuse was also the leading philosopher of the movement, importing the thoughts of the Frankfurt School to the English-speaking world, particularly to North America. Marcuse was in his metaphysics and epistemology examining Hegelian thoughts, but politically, however, he was adapting Marxism (Farr, A. 10. 04.2019

[18.12.2013]). Similar to Karl Marx, he held the belief that proletariat's purpose was that of a revolutionary class, who would overthrow capitalism (Marcuse, H. 1969a & 1969b). Furthermore, environmental issues, women's issues as well as minorities' issues were taken to be used as weapons against capitalism. (Croce, N. [ed.] 2014; Weigand, K. 2001.)

In his 1965 essay "Repressive Tolerance" Marcuse claimed that tolerance and free speech only empowered the people who already were powerful, in his own words: "This sort of tolerance strengthens the tyranny of the majority". Thus, indiscriminate tolerance was "repressive" because it blogs political agenda and suppresses the less powerful people. Instead, he called for discriminatory tolerance. Since he claimed that the left was weaker (the good) and the right (the bad) was stronger, he advocated intolerance against the right-wing movements and tolerance of the left-wing movements. Therefore, he called for indoctrination and repression against everything and everyone right-wing or conservative, and for the denial of their basic rights. Furthermore, Marcuse concluded that the repression could be the salvation of socialism, because rational technocracy of the capitalism suppresses human nature so much, that it bursts out in irrationalisms, such as criminal behaviour, violence, racism, and every other pathology of the society. He claimed that by encouraging these irrationalisms the new revolutionaries are able to 'smash' the system: "the break through the false consciousness may provide the Archimedean point for a larger emancipation-at an infinitesimally small spot, to be sure, but it is on the enlargement of such small spots that the chance of change depends" In order to do that, they need to search for energies and people on the margins of society; practically everyone and everything the power structure of capitalism still had not managed to "dominate" completely. He further claimed that every marginalized and outcast element will not only be irrational and immoral, but also criminal, particularly as defined by capitalists, and those were the ones they need. (Marcuse, H. 1970 [1965].)

By adopting the ideas both of New Left and anarchism, the second wave feminism was increasingly radical. Its theory was based on a mixture of neo-Marxism and psycho-analytical theory, and thus it linked the subjugation of women with wider critiques of "patriarchy", "capitalism", "normative heterosexuality", and women's role as wives and mothers. It attracted women of colour and developing nations, looking for "solidarity" and arguing "Women's struggle is class struggle" thus speaking of women as a social class. They made up phrases such as "identity politics" in order to emphasize that race, class, and gender oppression were linked together, and began a concentrated mission to abolish "sexism" within all sectors of society. (Rampton, M. 2008.)

In the 1980s the radical New Left activism had lost its appeal (Farred, G. 2000: 630), and the second wave feminism quieted down from the public only to retreat into the academic world in the 1990s. Moreover; women's rights had been met in various ways. Another reason for their retreatment was the conservatives' backlash campaign, particularly against the feminism's "alleged" connection with male-bashing and extremism. (Rampton, M. 2008.) They needed to do something, and that was when Intersectionality was born (Pritchett, W. E. 2005:33) along with the third wave feminism (Rampton, M. 2008; Hawkesworth, M. & Disch, L. 2016: 1-15). In 1989, the term intersectionality was introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a law professor at UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles). Crenshaw drew attention to a legal case in which black women were discriminated against in recruiting situation, and made a rational point that their treatment in the United States of America was not captured by either the discrimination against black or discrimination of women, since both black and women were hired, but not black women. Crenshaw argued that it was not enough to focus on only one category of identity, but it was necessary to focus on the intersections of both categories, for example "black" and "woman". Intersectionality is a theory that believes that power matters and that people, who have various intersecting identities, can face different kinds of disadvantages, which are hidden from other people. (Crenshaw, K. 1989: 139-167.)

However, Crenshaw further developed the critical race theory, which Derrick Bell had first commenced, and opposed the mainstream liberalism, focusing on identity instead. Critical race theory with its ideas is deeply influenced by the USA racial history even outside the States. According to this theory, racism is always present everywhere, in every interactions between people. Furthermore, it always works against people of colour and benefits the white people. They see the system itself as racist, and therefore every white person, whether truly racist or not, is a racist because being part of the system. It is mostly invisible except for people who either experience it or have been trained to see it (wokeism). (Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. 2017: 7-8, 127; hooks, b. 1990; Crenshaw, K. 1989:139-167; Bhabra, G. 2017.) Moreover, Professors such as Joe F. Feagin and Barbara Trepagnier claim that only white people can be racists (Feagin, J. F. 2013 [2009]:ix-x; Trepagnier, B. 2016 (2010):4). Thus, they deliberately misuse known concepts, including "racism"-prejudice on the basis of race. In fact, by bringing race back and openly advocated identity politics, they revitalized the conditions of racism. (Helo, A. 26.11.2021.)

Crenshaw argued that identity politics was empowering, and thus intersectionality has an immense emphasize on identity, especially on ethnic and racial identity (Crenshaw, K. 1989: 139-

167). And over time intersectionality became dominant within the Social Justice framework (Helo, A. 26.11.2021). Intersectionality is now woven into many courses at major colleges and universities, and students are taught diagrams of matrices of privilege and oppressions of various kinds; white privilege cause black oppression, male privilege cause female oppression, heterosexual cause LGBTQ oppression, able-bodied cause oppression against the disabled and so on. They consider anything good or valued, which any group possesses, to be some form of privilege. (Haidt, J. 17.12.2017.) However, discrimination, for example against sex and ethnicity, has been illegal within the Western legal system since the late 1960s and early 1970s (Banton, M. 2003 [1996]; Havinga, T. 2002: 75). In the United States, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made discrimination based on race, ethnicity, national origin, religion and sex illegal (Hersch, J. & Bennett Shinall, J. 2015).

The students are taught these binary dimensions of oppressor and oppressed and they are being prepared for fight. It gives meaning and purpose for their lives. In intersectionality every binary dimensions of oppressor and oppressed are both interlocking as well as overlapping. And they must fight together their common enemy, which they represent in the shape of a pyramid or matrix of oppression (Figure 1). On the top they picture the straight white, and able-bodied Christian or Jewish or –even: atheist - man. (Haidt, J. 17.12.2017; Weldon, S. L. 2008: 193-196.) Then the next on the oppressor list is straight white, and able-bodied Christian or Jewish or –even: atheist - woman. In Japanese case it would be straight Japanese man, and afterwards straight Japanese woman, as the radical feminist *ûman ribu*-movement in Japan had placed themselves accordingly; almost “white” above the other Asian women (Shigematsu, S. 2012:XXIII) and then the pyramid would continue. In their ideology, they judge people based on the colour of the skin, gender, and sexuality, and treating them as competitors against one another in a zero-sum competition in which victimhood is a virtue (San Marco, A. 15.10.2020; Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]:136). The term “victimhood culture” was first introduced by two sociologists, Bradley Campbell and Jason Manning in 2014. They interpreted this culture as a new moral order that had appeared on university campuses that embraces and even sanctifies victimhood (Campbell, B. & Manning, J. 2018) and conflicts with the older “dignity culture” that still dominates the West. Dignity culture assumes that people have dignity and worth regardless of what other people think about them and therefore they are not expected to take minor slights too seriously (Lukianoff, G. & Haidt, J. 2019 [2018]: 209-210).

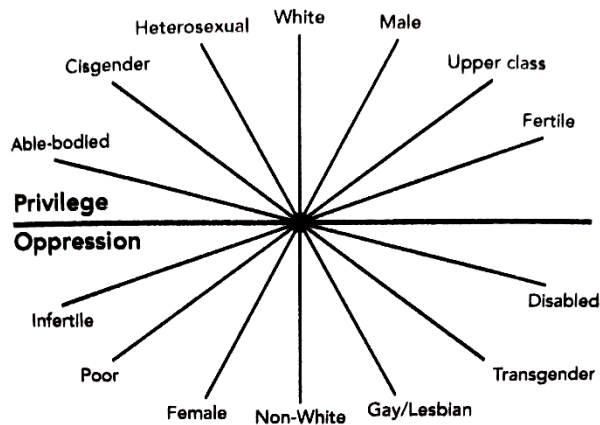


Figure 1. This simplified matrix of oppression has seven intersecting axes, but it gives an idea of their ideology. This figure was created by Lukianoff and Haidt. (Lukianoff, G. & Haidt, J. 2019 [2018]:69.)

The third wave of feminism further took influence by postcolonial and postmodern thinking (Mendoza, B. 2016: 100-121; Nicholson, L. J. 1990) by intellectuals such as Lyotard, Foucault and Derrida, who argued that language, particularly discourses, constructed social reality and hierarchies of privileged and marginalized groups (Gandhi, L. 1998; Mendoza, B. 2016: 100-121). The early postmodern ideas not only turned more political in critical theory connected with identity but also built a powerful element in activism, in which intersectionality –connecting the identities of gender, race, sexuality and disability together-is useful. They also adopted the postmodernists’ scepticism towards Western institutions and science, and called for “other ways of knowing” and cultural relativism. (Mendoza, B. 2016: 100-121; Kvale, S. 1996: 20; Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. 2017.) Postcolonial theory advocates the deconstruction of the West as it sees it. It revolves around Western colonialism, and the students are only taught to look for oppression in these terms. It has intentional double standard, as while criticizing the West it completely ignores the human rights abuses against women and sexual minorities in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia (for example Said, E. W. 1995 [1978]; Human Dignity Trust; United Nations For LGBT Equality; Al-Ali, N. 2016: 10-27). They only conclude that the human rights abuses happening are the result of Western imperialism, ignoring the real reasons, such as the countries’ own patriarchic cultures. Furthermore, they are explicitly activist-orientated and also engage in historical revisionism, often with political agenda. (Hutcheon, L. 1989; Said, E. W. 1995 [1978]; Fanon, F. 1986 [1952]; Brooks, A. 2003 [1997].) They can also indicate a diversity of standpoints (Griebing, B. N. [no date]). A standpoint

theory is a belief that person's identity and position in society affect the knowledge of that person (Bhambra, G. K; Gebial, D. & Nişancioğlu, K. [eds.] 2018:1-3).

Furthermore, many of the previous constructs were destroyed, such as "universal womanhood," human body together with gender and sexuality as well as "heteronormativity", thus the third wave feminists pushed back against their predecessors. They readopted the feminine, and revealing outfit, which the first two waves of the movement had criticized, and began to use terms like "slut" and "bitch" to describe themselves. Their view of the sexualized human body was familiar and safe. (Rampton, M. 2008.) Already in 1933 French philosopher Georges Bataille [who had huge influence on Foucault, Lyotard, and Derrida and his formulation of deconstruction] argued that "primitive" actions, including perverse sexual activity, could restore solidarity and would disrupt the status quo (Bataille, G. 1985: 118).

This view has led to some professors and teachers to teach and to promote porn. For example, at New York University professor Chris Straayer, at Wesleyan University professor Hope Weissman's taught a course "Pornography: Writing of Prostitutes" (Hunter, B. 26.08.2001), Professor of history and gender studies Hugo Schwyzer taught class called "Navigating Pornography" (Butler, J. 29.03.2013). Annie Sprinkle, who herself admitted being "a whore" with years of working as a prostitute and porn star, was a PhD candidate teaching class revolving porn as "art" (Clewley, R. 21.01.2002). However, as a study by Brooke A. de Heer, Sarah Prior and Gia Hoegh indicates, there is a relationship between pornography consumption and sexually aggressive behavior (de Heer, B. A.; Prior, S. & Hoegh, G. 2021). Some professors even excuse and encourage pedophilia, for example at Boston College, Professor Ken Ohi (Boston College/Morrissey College of Arts and Science/English Department Faculty [no name]; Ohi, K. 2005), at University of Missouri-Kansas City political-science professor Harris Mirkin (Zoschke, N. 11.10.2011; Kind, M. 09.05.2002) and at Baylon University Professor Philip Jenkins (Wills, G. 13.02.2002; Jenkins, P. 2001) by using linguistic means to justify these practices; by arguing-for example- that paedophilia, incest, and rape are all "social constructs." (Jenkins, P. 2001.)

The intersectional feminists also rejected the notion of "gender binary" seeing "women only" spaces as an exclusionary. They are multination and multicultural, and they dislike "simple answers" or "artificial categories of identity, gender, and sexuality." Instead, they celebrate different ethnicities and sexual orientations (Rampton, M. 2008).

By the time of the fourth wave of feminism started to emerge [around 2012], intersectionality had already become dominant within feminism. Furthermore, the introduction of “Like” button in Facebook and its copying into Twitter helped the politicization and polarization online easier (Sumner, E. M.; Ruge-Jones, L. & Alcorn, D. 2018; Haidt, J. & Lukianoff, G. 29.10.2021). In fact, many intersectional feminists reject any other form of feminism (#FreeMsAngie @madgeofhonor 05.02.2017; UN Women 01.07.2020). Furthermore, they were dissatisfied with the third wave of not accomplishing enough, and they had the need for a strong “in-your-face” combat. They were not interested only in the “struggles” of women, but rather called for “gender equity”. (Rampton, M. 2008.) They see gender as socially constructed, leaning on the works of Candace West, Don H. Zimmerman and Judith Butler (West, C. & Zimmerman, D. H. 2002:3-24; Butler, J. 1990). Furthermore, they are increasingly adding more identity categories in their theory, and thus, making it more complicated (Brown, M. 2011:1-10), most recently the trans identity.

The blurring of boundaries and the intense focus on language are very important to queer theory. Furthermore, as it is focused on deconstructive techniques and hold the idea that knowledge is a construct of power. The theory also highly emphasizes trans activism and it is present in many Social Justice Scholarships, including intersectional feminism. Not only that queer theory differs fundamentally from the liberal feminism and prior activism of sexual minorities, but it is also aggressive in its activism. (For example, Johnston, L. 2018.) Some people are now turning against homosexuals and Asians (Fitzgerald, A. 02.05.2019; Chung, J. 07.09.2017 [24.08.2017]; Lowbridge, C. 26.10.2021; C, S. 11.11.2018; Reedies Against Racism 02.11.2016; Martínez Valdivia, L. 27.10.2017). SJWs even defend musicians, who sing about murdering gay people, simply because those musicians are black (Tatchell, P. 13.05.2016).

Moreover, they are arguing that intersectional feminism with its emphasis on both critical race and queer theories as well as anti-ableism is the only feminism that truly embrace the experiences and listens to the needs of marginalized groups (Weldon, S. L. 2008: 193-196). However, since it is based on very specific theories, thus in order to be intersectional, one has to focus on all of the various categories of marginalized identities simultaneously, and to believe those all to be marginalized. Merely being a woman or even a feminist is not enough for them. They demand that everyone supports critical race and queer theories, trans equality and anti-ableism discourses. The problem for them is that, these “marginalized” people might not be knowledgeable about or even interested in supporting all the categories of marginalized identities of the

intersectional ideology. (Pluckrose, H. 15.02.2017; Pew Research Center 04.06.2013; Pew Research Center 06.06.2013.)

Within intersectionalism, an individual's identity not only has to be connected to one's group identity, but also has to be expressed within intersectional framework. Person of colour, who does not think the way someone of his/her race or ethnicity ought to, is treated with hatred (as what always happens to heretics) (Jones, B. 11.06.2015). For example, Tony Sewell, a Doctor, who happens to be black, was verbally attacked by Postcolonial studies Professor Priyamvada Gopal after he released (together with his research team) a report, which concluded that there is no systemic racism against minorities within Britain (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities 2021). Gopal questioned whether he did even have a doctoral degree, and when that did not go well, he was compared to Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels (Gopal, P. 01.04.2021). Also other black people, who are not thought to give their full support for Black views, including Black Lives Matter (BLM)[which has its own, Marxist agenda (Black Lives Matter [no name] a and b)] are often labelled as "Uncle Toms" or "coons". (The Guardian (no name) 21.05.2021 [22.05.2020]; Outspoken Marc 03.02.2017). Former Muslim, feminist, and human rights activist Maryam Namazie was harassed and her discussion on Islamist extremism was disrupted at the university campus at Goldsmith's University, London, by Goldsmiths Islamic Society. The university's Feminist Society later supported the actions by these individuals harassing her (Pells, R. 04.12.2015; Aftab, A. 04.12.2015.) Some SJWs frequently attack people, and getting them either fired, "cancelled" or subjected to public shaming (Campbell, B. & Manning, J. 2018; McWhorter, J. 29.11.2016).

[Intersectionality] thus undervalue shared human rights and experiences, as well as individuality, and instead has immense focus on group identity and its own narrow ideology, thus placing individuals in truly strict collectivist positions which have been existing only in highly conservative cultures. They are intolerant towards different viewpoints, individualistic approach or different feminists on issues involving women. (Campbell, B. & Manning, J. 2018: 12-16, 64-65, 127-134; Hirschmann, N. J. 2010.) It seems that ever since gender studies adapted intersectionalism, there have been more problems than solutions. Men are now seen only as problems -except those from marginalized groups-(Niblock, S. & Bindel, J. 2017: 577-591; Smith, C. 15.05.2018; Shahvisi, A. 19.08.2019; Niinimäki, T. 13.07.2020; Penny, L. 06.02.2018; Walters, S. D. 08.06.2018), and any notion toward gender differences are aggressively rejected (Valcore, J.; Fradella, H.F.; Guadalupe, X.; Ball, M. J.; Dwyer, A.; DeJong, C.; Walker, A.; Wodda, A. & Worthen, M.G.F. 2021:687-706) it has become very interdisciplinary and it can only be studied in a

particular way; by applying gendered analysis from intersectionality, queer theory and postcolonial theory, all of which apply from postmodern conceptions of knowledge, power and discourses. (Rampton, M. 2008.) Since the fourth wave of feminism, polarization has been increasing. According to a survey, 70 percent of Americans estimated that the relations between black and white people were unproblematic; in 2020 the percentage had dropped to 40 percent (The Economics [Editorial] 04.09.2021).

Stephen Hicks argue that, because of the collapse of the objectivity and science ideals in the Anglo-American tradition, and by emphasising their passions, some of the activists will act more impulsively. Having lost themselves as individuals, some SJW activists instead seek group identities, but having only few things in common with various groups, they will compete with each other. Having abandoned neutral standards as well as peaceful conflict resolution, some of them are thus the most likely to have hostility towards difference of opinions and towards honest debate, and instead engaging in name-calling. (Hicks, S. R. C. 2014[2004]: 78, 82-85; also Piper, G. 14.10.2020.) This has lead to witch hunts, disinvitations, lists of banned words, and violent riots as well as forced resignations, that are happening at universities in the Western countries almost daily (Campbell, B. & Manning, J. 2018; McWhorter, J. 29.11.2016; Helo, A. 26.11.2021). Despite the fact that average person knows the real definition, some activists use the term “nazi” both casually and nonstop to shame, defame and silence people (McWhorter, J. 29.11.2016; Schill, M. H. 03.10.2017; Pluckrose, H. 07.11.2017) -for example- who argued that men are average taller than women (Sexton, J. 14.03.2018), and for them marriage is a “comfortable [Nazi] concentration camp” borrowing the phrase from Friedan (Jarmuth, M. 2008: 128; Horowitz, D. 1996), they now even call non-living objects as “racists” and “white supremacists” (Colton, E. 10.08.2020; Bartneck, C.; Yogeewaran, K.; Ser, Q. M.; Woodward, G.; Sparrow, R.; Wang, S. & Eyssel, F. 2018).

Some of the woke-people are concerned with “microaggressions”; instead of physical violence, microaggression means mostly words or phrases that could be interpreted offensive even when the speaker did not intend to offend (Campbell, B. & Manning, J. 2018: 1-12). And because there is no college that can erase every single microaggression and misunderstanding, the battle will be eternal. Words and ideas are responded usually with intimidation and even physical violence at the progressive universities and regions in the USA. (Haidt, J. 17.12.2017.) As a result, many people have stressed their concerns over this students` hypersensitivity to potentially difficult ideas and language as well as its implications at the universities, which should be places of learning and debating ideas (Campbell, B. & Manning, J. 2018), as many students are now for restricting speech

(Knight Foundation 13.05.2019; College Pulse, the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) & RealClearEducation 2020; Villasenor, J. 18.09.2017). Many feel now uncomfortable expressing their views on campus and many practice self-censorship (Helo, A. 26.11.2021; Karemo, T. 18.11.2017 [07.04.2016]; Friedersdorf, C. 30.06.2017).

Moreover, the ideas from intersectional feminism have spread from universities back into the public domain. Some extreme-but rare-cases have led with sexualisation of children and allowing male-born rapists access female spaces merely by self-identification (Saavedra, R. 11.09.2020; Dellatto, M. 20.08. 2020; Ciuffreda, V. 2020; The World News (no name) 14.09.2020; Topping, A. 09.09.2018; BBC Reality check team 13.08.2018; Ministry of Justice 2016/17; Ryan, J. 29.11.2018; Roach, A. 12.04.2020; Cox, J. 18.11.2018; Bainbridge, P. 13.05.2014; Sims, P. 17.07.2018). This is due to queer theory. The theory sees categories of sex, gender and sexuality as socially constructed, and ignores biology almost completely. It also challenges the connections between sex, gender and sexuality. They allow person to adapt any sexuality and even change it any time. (West, C. & Zimmerman, D. H. 2002: 3-24; de Lauretis, T. [ed.] 1991; Landén, M. & Innala, S. 2002.) Thus, in this way of expressing queerness is about giving political project with an agenda of challenging what is called “normativity” (“that some things are more common or regular to the human condition, thus more normative from a social [thus moral] perspective than others”) (Rampton, M. 2008). Their intention is to conflate these two meanings and use its moral understanding strategically to create problems with its descriptive meaning. They treat the term “normativity” pejoratively. (West, C. & Zimmerman, D. H. 2002: 3-24; de Lauretis, T. [ed.] 1991; Landén, M. & Innala, S. 2002.) However, also Trans women can be called “fascist” as well as “trans phobic” if these trans women do not buy the narrow far left ideology (Rose, J. 21.03.2020; Cult of Dusty 05.12.2019; White, B. 14.11.2019).

As Kimberlè Crenshaw et al. argued; no scholarship can be independent and neither should it attempt to be. They claimed that Critical Race Theory (CRT) [-of which intersectionality is an extension-] aims to understand racist oppression only because it wants to overcome it. (Lawrence III, C. R.; Matsuda, M. J.; Delgado, R.; Crenshaw, K. W. 2018 [1993]: 1-6.) However, these theories with their straightforward solutions may not see the deep causes of the diverse problems of racism, sexism and other discrimination. However, we are now in situation where the theoretical system of these theories is immense and well structured within universities; it is, as Rampton put it: “support[ing] a new broad-based activism in the home, in the workplace, and in the streets”. (Rampton, M. 2008.)

4. 2 Violence against women and children

As Jackie Kirk, Jeanne Ward and Lisa Ernst stated in their research; Rape is one of the least convicted of crimes in the world (Kirk, J.; Ward, J. & Ernst, L. 2005). Sexual violence create both serious short- and long-term physical problems for women; sexual and reproductive health problems, as well as mental problems such as depression, post-traumatic stress or similar anxiety disorders, and even suicide or attempts of suicide. This results in huge social and financial costs for not only women, but also for their families as well as societies. (World Health Organization 09.03.2021.) According to WHO, in 2013 one third of women had experienced physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetimes. WHO with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the South Africa Medical Research Council analysed existing data from population-level surveys from 161 countries and areas worldwide. (World Health Organization 09.03.2021.) According to the part focusing on Europe in report Gender Equality Index 2017, the percentage of women, who had experienced sexual harassment since turning 15 years old, was 55 percent (Gender Equality Index 10.10.2017).

Ipsos (Global Market Research and Public Opinion Specialist) conducted research on the global attitudes towards gender equality between 21.12.2018 and 04.01.2019. The research was done in collaboration with the Global Institute for Women's Leadership at King's College London and International Women's Day. Internationally, 18,800 adults were interviewed about their opinions on topics relating to gender equality. According to the research sexual harassment, sexual and/or physical violence as well as domestic abuse were seen among the biggest problems facing women worldwide. However, at the same time only about 33% of the interviewed answered that they would describe themselves as a feminist. (Ipsos 07.03.2019; Young, C. 24.07.2014.) While there are number of reasons not to embrace feminism, I will now discuss some of the issues with intersectional feminism that might make someone reject feminism.

As discussed briefly, college campuses have been promoting sex, and students who participate on teacher-student sex fear that their grades would fall (Scott, J. 15.05.2003). This is power harassment. Power harassment is defined as pressuring, non-violent threatening or persuading someone to sexual act with person with more power (Finlex [no date]; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services OASH-Office on Women's Health [no date]) in these cases; the professors pressuring the students to sexual encounters with them in exchange of a good grade or to graduate (Calderwood, I. 14.05.2015 [11.05.2015]; Murphy, K. & Pilcher, J. 22.02.2018).

This group pressure, especially when coming from peers, at worst, can lead to phenomenon where women take unnecessary risks and are more vulnerable to become victims of sexual violence. As a study conducted by Russell D. Clark and Elaine Hatfield also seems to indicate sex differences between male and female. In their research, they did two experiments, in which both male and female volunteers of average attractiveness approached total strangers (48 men and 48 women) with one of three requests. One of the questions was "Would you go to bed with me?" While 69-75 percent of men were willing to do so, women were not. Not a single woman agreed to this proposition. (Clark, R. D. and Hatfield, E. 1989:39-55.) Furthermore, the universities in America and Britain seem to increase their intolerance towards different opinions. Goldsmith's University in London cancelled Kate Smurthwaite's- who is feminist stand-up comedian- show simply because she opposes decriminalisation of prostitution (McVeigh, K. 08.08.2017 [02.02.2015]). Although a study on prostitution that clearly shows that this practice has huge negative impacts on women (Matthews, R.; Easton, H.; Young, L. & Bindel, J. 2014), intersectional feminists totally ignore it, as well as the victims of human trafficking, which includes forced prostitution. These often young women and even girls are treated merely as sex objects. (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2016: Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2016.) Moreover, some universities have started to support "sex work" for their students to fund their education. For example, Canadian professor and prostitute herself, Naomi Sayers also an alumni in the Department of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at Western University, encouraged young women into prostitution (Sayers, N. & Hunt, S. 22.01.2015; Sayers, N. [no date]). In 2014, Edinburgh University's student union even made up a new term; "whorephobia" in order to silence any criticism. University of Leicester even published "Student Sex Work Toolkit" for students and staff in order to help them enter prostitution. Some students claim that university has pushed them in this line of "work", and one student said that she was harassed by her academic supervisor after she had turned into prostitution. (Boyle, S. 28.03.2021; University of Leicester [no date].) As the first wave and partly second feminisms were against prostitution because it objectifies women and put them into unnecessary risk, these fourth wave feminists are now destroying their accomplishments (Rampton, M. 2008).

Furthermore, gays and lesbians are being targeted especially if they do not find trans men or trans women attractive, respectively. Quite the contrary, they are labelled as transphobic. (Lowbridge, C. 26.10.2021; C, S. 11.11.2018; Tannehill, B. 14.12.2019.) Same harassment is also targeted to anyone, claiming that "If you're not open to dating a transgender person you're transphobic" (Aba & Preach 27.03.2018), or if one does not find this aggressive and intolerant obese woman attractive, she accuses one of being fatphobic (WOKETok 27.05.2021), ignoring her own

behaviour, which could be interpreted as sexual harassment and bullying. Meredith Talusan claims that heterosexual men not finding her two “gender nonconforming” friends, who look like biological men in the pictures, attractive, it is because of transphobia (Talusan, M. 22.06.2017). This is due to their denial of basic biology. With their stand on heterosexuality they ignore the reality of humans as sexually reproducing species, and with their stand on homosexuality they ignore the fact that it is not merely a lifestyle choice, but a biological reality. (Pluckrose, H. & Lindsay, J. 2020:110.) It should be emphasized that these trans activists are not representing all trans people, and some of these activists are not even trans themselves. Many transpeople are not supporting this “activism”, which only represents narrow far left ideology (White, B. 15.07.2020). Furthermore, there is some indications that the rapid onset of gender dysphoria (sudden appearance of gender dysphoria [severe uneasiness in one’s biological sex] without any previous indicators) among teenage girls may be partly due to peer pressure (Littman, L. 2018: 1-44; Zucker, K. J. 2019: 1983–1992), however, these researches are fiercely attacked and attempts to silence them are frequent (Zucker, K. J. 2019: 1986–1987; Hutchinson, A.; Midgen, M. & Spiliadis, A. 2019: 79-80).

Furthermore, pressuring someone to date a person they do not find attractive (whatever the reason) can be seen as sexual violence and is thus against the law. According to U.S. Department of Health and Human Services OASH-Office on Women’s Health, has stated that: “**Sexual coercion is unwanted sexual activity that happens when you are pressured, tricked, threatened, or forced in a nonphysical way.** Coercion can make you think you owe sex to someone”...”No person is ever required to have sex with someone else.”...”Sexual coercion can be a type of sexual violence” (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services OASH-Office on Women’s Health [no date].) The reality is that people have preferences when choosing potential partner. Sexual selection is evolutionary mechanism with some variations in different cultures and languages. Differences exist between men and women due to times before contraception, and women are usually more selective than men. After all, it was woman, who had to take the responsibility and take care of the offspring, while man could easily run away (Gottschall, J.; Martin, J.; Quish, H. & Rea, J. 2004; Zhang, L.; Lee, A. J.; DeBruine, L. M. & Jones, B. C. 2019; Trivers, R. L. 1972:52-95; Clark, R. D. & Hatfield, E. 1989: 39-55; Buss, D. M. 1989; Wiesner-Hanks, M. E. 2014 [2008]).Centuries before the French Revolution [and even beyond] women were not allowed to choose their husbands. It was their parents, who made the choice for them-even without their consent. The more traditional and patriarchal culture, the more women were controlled. (Wiesner-Hanks, M. E. 2014 (2008): 55-100.) Only during the first wave feminism, which began from the second half of the 19th century onwards,

people started to argue against forced marriages (Abrams, L. 2002: 267-272; Evans, R. J. 2013 [1977]; also Gerson, Gal 2002: 794–810). Especially John Stuart Mill [1806-1873] brought women's rights into open discussion (Mill, J. S. 2000 [1869]). Thus, some intersectional feminists (with other SJWs) pressuring people to date certain people is not only sexual harassment but also erases the accomplishments of the first and second wave feminism, thus working against women's rights. Martha Rampton did admit that the third wave onwards, the feminists have been going against their predecessors (Rampton, M. 2008).

Furthermore, the responses of some of intersectional feminists' for anyone, who defend women's rights for women only-spaces, are "toxic" (Bindel, J. 16.10.2021, also Maycock, M. 2021:1-3). Meghan Murphy, a gender critical feminist, who fear that by accepting a tiny group of people as women only because they claim so, and thus risk the rights and safety of every woman, has become a target of threats and boycotts from some of the intersectional feminists (Brean, J. 28.10.2019). While only a small group of ideologues see Murphy's opinions as transphobic, and not as female-defensive, these people are controlling the rules of public discourse and gain support from politicians, leftist thinkers and media. Her case also highlights the media's role of departing from professional journalism (Kay, B. 2020 [24.10.2019]).

Increasing number of prisons now accepts prisoners' own declaration of their gender and replace them accordingly (Maycock, M. 2021). In Britain male rapists are allowed to move to women's prisons merely by identifying as females. According to government survey, there are 125 prisoners, who identify as transgender, in England and Wales. 60 of them have been convicted of at least one sexual offence. This suggests that some of those convicted rapists, merely pose as trans women wishing to get access to women's prisons-and women. (Maycock, M. 2021: 1-19; BBC Reality check team 13.08.2018; Ministry of Justice 2016/17.) For example; after being transferred into women's prisons, a convicted of paedophile Karen White (born Stephen Wood, also known as David Thompson), described as a sexual "predator", raped two female prison guards while serving the sentence for the rapes of two women. Paedophile Michelle Lewin (born Shaun Pudwell) was transferred to women's prison regardless of previously grooming underage girls. Jessica Winfield (born Martin Ponting) was also moved to prison for adult and young female offenders despite having assaulted two girls. (Ryan, J. 29.11.2018; Roach, A. 12.04.2020; Cox, J. 18.11.2018; Bainbridge, P. 13.05.2014; Sims, P. 17.07.2018.) In the USA, Janiah Monroe (born Andre Patterson) was transferred into women's prison despite having sentenced for multiple violent crimes, including having strangled to death his jail cellmate while still in male's prison. Monroe then threatened staff and other inmates, harassed multiple women and in addition, allegedly raped

one woman. While she was reporting the incident, the staff forced her to recant the rape allegation. (United States District Court For The Southern District Of Illinois 19.12.2019.) After the incident, Monroe is now referred to as “he” (Illinois Department of Corrections [no date]). There are also indications that some of the people identified as ‘trans women’ while in prison and moved to the women’s prisons, continued their lives as males after being released from the prisons (Maycock, M. 2021), however, this aspect needs further research. As Frances Crook, the chief executive of the Howard League for Penal Reform, argued; “It is a very toxic debate” and that prisons have been bullied into these decisions, which had harmed women (Topping, A. 09.09.2018).

Kristi Hanna, sex abuse victim, was forced to accept preoperative transgender woman as her roommate at women’s shelter in Toronto. When she shared her distress to the staff, she said she was told: “We’re all about inclusion and it’s unfortunate that you feel this way... Deal with it or leave.” She inquired her rights from local human rights support centre, but they blamed her for discriminatory behaviour because she had called her roommate “a man”. Hanna was only pointed to a room without a door that would close, so she decided to leave the women’s shelter. (Brean, J. 02.08.2018.)

In Rotherham England between 1997 and 2013, approximately 1400 young girls were sexually abused-even gang-raped in grooming gangs, in which majority of perpetrators were Pakistani (Jay, A. 2014:2) Many authorities, who knew about these incidents, were willing to ignore the fact that adult men groomed children as young as 11 years of age. Most of them remained silent in fear of being called “racist”. If somebody started to ask questions or call attention to these incidents for further investigation, he/she would be silenced by name-calling and labelling. Many academics in the context of the British grooming gangs were acting the same: accusing people of racism when wanting to discuss the problems of child abuse (Niblock, S. & Bindel, J. 2017: 577-591). This same has happened in Finland, as well, when asylum seekers groomed Finnish children and raped them in the city of Oulu. (Hodge, M. 06.12.2018; Mattila, S. 14.01.2019; Yle [no name] 09.05.2019). In 2004, the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSF) conducted a study on violence against women. They interviewed 10, 264 women aged 16-85, including German and immigrant women from Turkish and Russian background. They concluded that while 25 percent of German women reported partner physical violence, 38 percent of Turkish women did so. (Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth 2004.) It is not uncommon that these intersectional feminists and other SJWs bend to the ways of the most patriarchal visions, leaving women to suffer the consequences. It is also not uncommon to hear victim blaming when the perpetrator is of colour. As Jackie Kirk, Jeanne Ward and Lisa Ernst

argued; it is often the case that the victim herself is blamed for wearing “indecent” clothing or walking alone in a dark or other way distaining her. Moreover, the stigma of rape attaches to the victim in many ways. Because of both the victim-blaming and limited alternatives, many victims are forced into silence, and never speak about their experiences. And thus they get no medical treatment or psychological support. (Kirk, J.; Ward, J. & Ernst, L. 2005.) Accusations of racism make the victims even more reluctant to speak (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021: xiii, xvii, 67-69).

Moreover, in Europe, violence against women is on the rise (Clark, D. 10.07.2020; Clarke, S. 2015; The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention [Brå] 2020; Eurostat 2018; Adamson, G. 2020; Statista Research Department 06.11.2020; Service statistique ministerial de la sécurité intérieure 2019; Koskinen, M. 14.12.2018; Service statistique ministerial de la sécurité intérieure 2019.) Especially after 2017 sexual violence has increased. The French Interior Ministry suggested that this phenomenon could be the result of the #MeToo-movement (Ministère de l’Intérieur 31.01.2019), however the rise of these crimes have been so subsequent that the movement nor the change in criminal law does not alone explain those figures (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021: 25-48; Table A, and Figures B 1 and B 2 in annexes), for example, in London between 2012 and 2018 the number increased each year, with deepest increase of about 1.5 thousand happening in 2016 - 2018 (Clark, D. 10.07.2020), sexual violence reported in Denmark more than doubled between 2015 and 2018, in France it increased from 50.06 per hundred thousand in 2015 to 73.82 in 2018, in Sweden the numbers were 156.32 and 190.45 and in England and Wales 184.81 and 274.81 respectively (Eurostat [no date]; Table A and Figures B1-B2).

Ayaan Hirsi Ali did research on the impact of mass immigration from muslim countries in 2015-2016 on women’s rights in Europe. She was able to found out that, although not all immigrant men, some did engage in harassment and assault of women and girls in public places (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021). The numbers of sexual crimes increased due to this immigration, and immigrants are overpresented in those crimes. In Austria, in 2018 55 percent of the suspects of rape were not Austrian citizens. In 2017 asylum seekers were suspects in 11 percent of the rape and sexual harassment cases, despite making less than 1 percent of the total population (Kriminalitätsbericht 2017), in Denmark, the number of convictions for rape committed by non-Western immigrants is around 40 percent and 15 to 33 percent of groping convictions, despite the fact that they make less than 13 percent of the population. Also, the percentage of non-Western and/or asylum seekers in sex crimes in Sweden, France, Germany and Finland are overpresented (Kerpner, J.; Weigl, K. & Staaf, A. 06.05.2018; Ljunggren, P.; Frisk, J. & Johansson, U. 11.10.2018 [23.08.2018]; Bundeskriminalamt 08.05.2018; Tilastokeskus [no date]; Hirsi Ali, A. 2021:29-34).

Although, after the incidents of group harassment of women in many cities in 2015, laws were made against sexual harassment, the “progressives“ offer excuses for the increased cases, but as Hirsi Ali had pointed out; none of their explanations can explain this negative phenomena against women. She examined various data from different sources and pointed out that due to immigration from countries, where women have less rights, have caused negative impact on women’s rights in Europe. (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021.) As the focus of this thesis is the negative impact of intersectionalism on women’s rights, I will now concentrate on that aspect on Hirsi Ali’s findings. She noticed that while she was doing the research, many institutions and governments of Europe were reluctant to give information. Many did not collect any data on the ethnicity, immigrant status or other features of the assailant, and those who did, did not release those statistics. Also while she was attempting to look at individual court cases at court houses, she found out that the information on the place certain case would be handled, was very hard to get. That same impression she got when she interviewed different authorities, ordinary people and victims of sexual harassment. All of them told the same; these crimes were hushed away and anybody attempting to discuss the matter, was labelled right away as “racist“. (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021, also Niblock, S. & Bindel, J. 2017: 577-591.)

Furthermore, as the assailants were unknown to the victims, the percentage of getting caught was low, and even if the criminal was caught, it did not necessary led to prosecution. (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021.) About 10-20 percent of the reported sex crimes do not lead to conviction simply because either the police or the victims have difficulties identifying the perpetrators. In 2017 in Sweden almost 39 percent of reported rape crimes were dropped due to the fact that the suspect was not identified. In 2018 in the United Kingdom police arrested suspects only 43 percent of rape crimes. Swedish police whistle-blowers had told that due to increasing number of homicide and other violent cases, resources have been taken from investigation of rape crimes. Police sometimes even deliberately ignore these types of crimes. (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021:80; Brottsförebyggande Rådet 2017; House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee 2018; Neuding, P. 10.10.2017; The Local [no name]17.07.2018). Those cases that did end up in court, the judge-although more than enough evidence for the conviction-in many cases either lowered the sentence or released the suspect. As Hirsi Ali argued, these judges seemed to have empathy towards the accused, but not towards the victim, many of whom had experienced brutal attack. (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021: 81-82, 87-88; Viljakainen, M. 21.11.2017.)

Hirsi Ali concluded that the governments, politicians-among many female-, and authorities were all reluctant to tackle the sexual crimes against women. “Arguably the most powerful way to maintain a taboo on the cultural aspects of sexual violence ist to claim that talking about the facts

will fan the flames of racism, empower populists, and divide society“ (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021:131-132; for example of this approach is researcher Suvi Keskinen, advocate of intersectional feminism.) Radical socialists in Germany have even identified this migrant crisis as their opportunity to “deal blow to capitalism” and therefore uses “refugee” rights as a tool in order to advance their ideology. (Pautz, H. 2017.) At the same time as the #MeToo-movement has shed light on the huge problems of sexual harassment against women, women are encouraged to come forward with their stories, women who attempt to speak about these horrible crimes they have faced, accusation of “phobia“ and racism are put forward by these intersectional feminists. In many suburban districts women are almost absent due to fear of molestation. Harassment in public places during all hours a day has increased, and the victims are selected randomly, anyone can be attacked; girls as young as 9 years old, and women as old as in their 80s, European women as well as women with immigrant background. Harassment can take place in public transportations, on stations, in public swimmingpools, on the streets, in shops, behind buildings, beaches, public toilets, and practically everywhere in public places, even in laundry rooms and dormit houses for people with disabilities. Women experience harassment, groping, stalking, rape and even gang rape by strangers of immigrant background. Taharrus Gamae-rape game in arabic-has come to Europe. It means that woman or women are surrounded by a group and harassed, groped or even raped in public places. (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021; The Local [no name] 17.07.2018, Dale, N. & Saari, T. 12.01.2016; Leubecher, M. 09.04.2019; Annala, Päivi 07.02.2020; Latvala, J. 25.10.2021; Ranta, N. 25.10.2021.) Angela Merkel, who opened the doors for this mass immigration (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021: 92), do not herself suffer from the consequences of her own decisions. The public does.

4.3 The #MeToo-movement

“The latest emergence of intersectionality has now surfaced in the form of the #MeToo movement” (Leung, R. & Williams, R. 2019: 352).

The "Me Too" movement was started by activist Tarana Burke in 2006 in the United States of America. Burke came up with the phrase for survivors of sexual violence among the black community. (Leung, R. & Williams, R. 2019: 350.) But only in October 2017 the movement spread worldwide, after the report on Harvey Weinstein came out and actress Alyssa Milano asked in Twitter to tweet 'me too' "If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted". She received thousands of replies. (Gollom, M. 08.01.2020.) Harvey Weinstein, a former movie producer, was accused of

several women of harassment, rape and sexual violence. 24th of February 2020 he was given guilty verdict for “a criminal sexual act in the first degree and third-degree rape.” (BBC [no name] 24.02.2020.) R. Kelly scandal, on the contrary, shifted the focus back to the black women’s experiences of sexual violence. Because of the #MeToo-movement, many victims have been encouraged to come forward with their experiences, sharing their stories and finding support among their peers online. Generally, the movement has paid attention to the vastness of sexual harassment and violence. However, this #MeToo-movement has its own problems, as Rebecca Leung and Robert Williams argue in their articles. (Leung, R. & Williams, R. 2019.) In the following I will show one of the problems, which is that the cases are not always treated equally.

Much attention has been given to the misdeeds of prominent men in entertainment industry, politics, education and finance; however, far more abundant cases of rape, assault and harassment committed by recent immigrants in Europe have been left almost untouched (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021: 61). Even those cases in Hollywood have not been treated equally. For example, the case of the producer Roman Polanski, who in the 1970s admitted raping a 13-year old girl, ran away from the law to America. And in Hollywood he had been able to continue his career as if nothing had happened. (Fisher, L. 30.09.2009.) Only after the scandal of Harvey Weinstein came out, many people were shocked, and expressed their disapproval of his behaviour. Some, however, defended him. In 2008, filmmaker Marina Zenovich even made a documentary about Polanski where she claimed that he was “the victim of gross juridical misconduct during his case”. Since then, especially many more allegations against Polanski had surfaced; his defenders have been silent. (Freeman, H. 30.01.2018.) Woody Allen is yet another example, similarly to Weinstein (BBC [no name] 24.02.2020), he had been accused of sexual harassment which continued for decades. The accusers claimed that he had harassed them when they were still children. (Fallon, C. 10.05.2017.) However, he has his supporters, for example Scarlett Johansson told she would be up for working with Allen again (Trepany, C. 16.12.2019) and his present wife, who is also his ex-wife’s adopted child (Schollenberger, K. 21.02.2021). It is noteworthy to mention, that one of the women accusing him, was also his adopted child (Miller, J. 07.02.2014). Whether the allegations are true or not, he did marry the adoptive child of his former sweetheart (Schollenberger, K. 21.02.2021).

Unlike the intersectional feminists claim, women can harass men, as in the example of an American actress Rosario Dawson, and a feminist, who groped Paul Rudd’s [American actor] private parts on stage at the Independent Spirit Awards in 2011. The whole incident had begun when Rudd groped their colleague Eva Mendes, thus sexually harassing her, and this behaviour got

Dawson upset. However, instead of telling him to stop, she started to grope him. First, Dawson argued that harassment is wrong, but then committed it herself. Furthermore, as she admitted, she did not do it only because of “revenge”, but because having dreamed of doing something like that to Rudd. (Littlejohn, G. 27.02.2011.) When women expose themselves to men or even grope them, it is seen as “feminist”, and no one has even thought to criticize that practice. At the same time men exposing themselves are considered criminals. These women are considered feminists and their actions are seen as “empowerment of women.” (Manninen, T. 06.06.2019; Vilen, N. 01.05.2020.)

Furthermore, this kind of overrated sexuality was-and still is- part of entertainment in Hollywood. Thus it is worthwhile to ask, whether Hollywood is the right place for setting ethics for the rest of the world. Especially modern day films and TV-series are full of sexual content. And as Joe Dillier argues; Hollywood is motivated by cash. “The industry has been rocked by the #Me Too-movement, which revealed that despite their grand notions of equality, the town is full of predators that espouse one thing but practice another.” (Dillier, J 10.12.2019.) Moreover, the same Alyssa Milano, who was so eager to call attention towards women’s rights, has later started to demand that the police should be defunded (Key, P. 06.10.2020). As shown in the statistics, decrease of number of police officers has lead to the increase of violence/criminality (National Commission on COVID-19 and Criminal Justice 2021), which also negatively affects women. The fact is, that Milano herself lives in highly guarded house, and she can afford security if necessary (Ortiz-Lytle, C. 22.09.2020). But, that is not the case for average woman. It seems doubtful that Milano is serious about women’s rights, merely she is for “radical reconstruction of society” (Key, P. 06.10.2020). Hollywood has taken Social Justice activism into its mission; with actresses posting in pictures together with Time’s Up activists, such as Burke (Guardian [no name] 08.01.2018), are active on social media with Social Justice issues-such as Milano, and Oscars can now be handed only to movies, which meets a set of diversity target (Smith, K. 09.09.2020).

As for the political arena on the #MeToo-movement, it also appears to have controversial issues. Brett Kavanaugh, who was first appointed to the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit in 2006 under President George W. Bush, was nominated by President Donald Trump in 2018 for the Supreme Court. (New York Times [no name] 10.07.2018 [09.07.2018].) At that time, Professor Christine Blasey Ford, a registered Democrat as well as financial supporter of leftist political organizations, came forward with her allegations of attempted rape by Kavanaugh in 1982 (Politico [no name] 26.09.2018). However, those people, whom she claimed were present at the party where the alleged attempted rape had happened, and who she claimed to be witnesses, did not recall even

being at that particular party. One of them was her own “lifelong friend”, who stated that she do not even know Brett Kavanaugh. (Everett, B. 23.09.2018 [22.09.2018].) Nonetheless, Ford took a lawyer Debra Katz, who was well-known opponent of the Trump administration (Martin, E. 11.10.2017), to champion her case (Stanley-Becker, I. 24.09.2018). Not long after Ford had made her allegations, also Deborah Ramirez and Julie Swetnick, who was represented by Democrat swindler and convicted criminal Michael Avena, accused Kavanaugh of sexual harassment that took place years prior (BBC [no name] 26.09.2018). It was then that #BelieveAllWomen surfaced and became everyone’s slogan (Clark, A. 27.09.2018). Without any evidence, and more than 35 years after the alleged crime had happened, Ford came forward with her allegations-coinciding with Kavanaugh’s nomination. She was supported by many anti-Trump Democrats, including Milano (Messamore, W. E. 07.04. 2020). Professor Ford’s statements seem to have many inconsistencies. However, she made huge amount of money with her GoFundMe-appeal from her supporters; 647 610 US Dollars [checked 21.06.2021] (Team Christine Blasey Ford 18.09.2018). However, when Joe Biden was accused of sexual assault by Tara Reade, Milano defended Biden. On the one hand, Milano believes all women (the Kavanaugh-case), on the other, she denounces #BelieveAllWomen (the Biden-case) (Messamore, W. E. 07.04. 2020).

It is also possible that some women falsely accuse a man. For example, university student Temitope Adenugba at Oxford Brookes University falsely claimed that the cleaner working there had raped her. In the course of investigations, her accusation were proven wrong; she lied in order to get more time finishing her studies at the university (Airs, T. 03.07.2020). It is known that some percentage of allegations of sexual violence and rape are false, but the exact numbers are in debate (De Zutter, A. W.E.A, Horselenberg, R. & van Knoppen, P. J. 2017).

After Professor Ford came to public, the slogan #BelieveAllWomen became popular (Cherkasky, C. [no date]). However, Kamala Harris, Democratic and now Vice-president of United States, told that “she was proud of” Jacob Blake, an alleged rapist. He is accused of breaking into woman’s house, sexually assaulting her, and later returning to harass her. She called the police, but he resisted the arrest by taking a knife, when police shot at him. As Blake was in a hospital, Harris went to meet him and his family. Harris told the press, what a fine family they are. Whether the allegations prove to be real or not, Harris went on to admire the alleged rapist. (The Spectator [no name] 09.09.2020.) Also, these intersectionals defend women when they harass men. Leftist female professor at New York University, Avital Ronell, was found guilty of sexual harassment of her

[now former] male student. However, feminists supported her, including Judith Butler. (Alexander, H. 14.08.2018; North, A. 14.08.2018).

5 Japan, violence against women and feminisms

5.1 The turning tide of women's movements and feminism in Japan

The Japanese social structure has many similarities with the Western counterpart, after the modernization started in the second half of the 19th century. (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004: 130-147.) Regarding to women's liberation, women first started to demand equal rights in the 1870s, but they soon faced backlash (Kaneko, S. 2011: 3-14). However, during the Meiji Restoration, some intellectuals, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, on occasion, did call for greater equality between the sexes, championed monogamy, and argued that women should be allowed to educate themselves and to hold property (Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:156). In the 1910s, the Bluestockings of Japan, a group of women who were active in women's issues, started to publish their magazine on variety of topics that affected women. Together with the Bluestockings, the "new woman" was born in Japan, and [mostly upper class] women could enjoy freedom and education. (Bardsley, J. 2007.) In 1946, the newly written Constitution gave women the rights to vote (Kunihiro, Y. 2011: 360-375) and equal rights in marriage (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet [no date]). During the first half of the 20th century, women formed various organizations and took actively part in solving problems of the society. Most of their activism came from their roles as wives and mothers, as their organizations focused on problems such as food safety, nurseries for young children and even environmental threats. Due to their activism, much of these issues were improved. Moreover, these movements positively emphasized women's experiences and viewpoints in many societal issues. However, not everyone was satisfied with these organizations, simply because the traditional gender roles were left unchallenged. (Shin, K.-Y. 2011: 177-181.)

The new radical left movement, *ûman ribu* (women's liberation) was born in that context, to change this situation. The movement had its origins in the late 1960s and early 1970s anti-Vietnam War and student movements, as well as the New Left radicalism, and some of them engaged in criminal and violent activities. (Shigematsu, S. 2012: XIII-XXIII, 140.) It opposed the traditional

women's movements and resisted the constructed gender roles and housewife-ization of women and attacked the state itself. The *ûman ribu* activists started to organize demonstrations for the liberation of abortion law. (Shin, K.-Y. 2011: 177-181.) Their notion of the family system was that it reproduced discrimination and saw liberation "as the struggle against and beyond the *binary* confines of *competing empires of capitalism and communism* and conceived of itself as part of the ongoing multitude of liberation struggles organizing across the globe". (Shigematsu, S. 2012: XVI–XXIII, italizing added). They saw Japanese women as complicit in colonization, and therefore racialized the position between ethnic-majority Japanese women against minority women in Japan, as well as other postcolonial Asian subjects, and positioned *ribu* women as relative "whites" within a national context but nonwhite in global context-against "other white women in a global economy of race"(Shigematsu, S. 2012:XXIII). *Ûman ribu* was not only a social movement, but it also constituted a political identity and a living philosophy. Although, the *ûman ribu* was a non-Western movement, the activists identified with the USA-based radical leftist and feminist movements of the 1970s (Shigematsu, S. 2012: XVI-XIX) and their radical critique took influence from the rhetoric of the Marxist student movement (Lenz, I. 2006:95).

Also, the concept *Feminism* was adapted from the West and started to make its way into academic world, establishing women's studies in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Many of the founders distanced themselves from the radical leftist *ûman ribu* movement. (Shigematsu, S. 2012: XIX, 172-174.) The establishment of these studies occurred together with the increasing corporatization of the universities as well as with adaptation of a state feminism [state feminism, in this case, is liberal feminism which is approved by the government (for more information Mazur, A. G. & McBride, D. E. 2008: 244-269)]. This coincided with the reformation of a new liberal feminist bloc consisting of 52 women's groups that have worked together with the government in order to make reforms from 1975-the UN Decade for women- onwards. State feminism has been able to promote *liberal feminism* that champions equality between the sexes. (Shigematsu, S. 2012:175; Shin, K.-Y. 2011: 181, italizing added.) They critiqued both cultural and material practices of injustices that affected gender, and revised Japanese culture from feminist points of views (Lenz, I. 2006:95-96).

After 1980, Japanese feminisms became influenced by the global women's networks and gender policies (Lenz, I. 2006:92), for example the term "Marxist feminism" was imported from the West. The proponent theorist was Ueno Chizuko, who also furthered the development of other feminist theories in the country. (Ida, K. 01.02.2021: 27-43.) Approximately at the same time, also

the term “jendaa”, translated from the English word “gender”, was introduced by academic circles in Japan and replaced “woman” in feminist discourse during the 1990s (Lenz, I. 2006:93).

The institutionalization of women’s studies over the decades has been rooted into academic circles, with raging topics, having had diverse political effects and producing a “range of feminist positions”. While feminism and *ûman ribu*-movement in Japan were different concepts, some scholars such as Akiyama Yôko and Tanaka Kazuko, tried to take influences on both the radical movement and academic women’s studies (Shigematsu, S. 2012: XIX , 172-174). For example, the Western trend of seeing marriage in negative light and even as suppression of women, has been adapted into Japanese women’s studies, in which, from the late 1970s onwards, the home is seen as the place where *institutional and ideological pressures* fall upon women and children, and in which women are seen as its *proletariat*, and as a fount of *resistance* (White, M. 2011:130, italizing added). The translations of Western writings on the topic began in the 1980s (Elson, D. R. 16.02.2021:1-8). Whereas in the West, marriage was seen as “comfortable [Nazi] concentration camp” (Jarmuth, M. 2008: 128), Japanese feminist Tanaka Mitsui offered her analysis on housewives; they were forced into being maids in their homes but also played the roles of “slave traders” as they send their husbands back to the labour market (Tanaka, M. 1971), ideas very similar than of Western feminist Friedan. With this extreme language, they not only demonized marriage but also the husband and wife.

By the 1990s, women’s studies had been recognized as appealing for the prestigious academic publishing houses, which started to devote to the subject (Shigematsu, S. 2012: XIX , 172-174) Also the number of universities that offered Gender or Women’s Studies programmes in Japan grew from 268 in 1992 to 531 in 2002. Furthermore, in order to advance university programs and research centres, feminists and other people in Women’s Studies organized Japanese Women’s Studies Association. (Illo, J. F. I. 14.10.2010[2005]: 195-205.) During the decade, various different women’s group emerged, including an independent women’s labour movement developed in order to end the wage discrimination against women in labour force (Ida, K. 01.02.2021: 27-43; Khor, D. 1999:633-661), and the issue of violence against women started to get more attention (Shin,K.-Y. 2011: 181-182; Ito, K. 2011), latter which was highly influenced by shifting of women’s movements from national to international with intensified networks with feminist groups within Asia and worldwide. Especially Japan’s role during the Pacific War and the exploitation of Korean and other Asian women was highlighted as well as economic and sexual exploitation (sex tourism) of East Asian women. Their goal was to build connections, discourses and actions. (Lenz, I.

2006:93-98.) Furthermore, their analysis of the “comfort women” appears to reflect Marxist analysis, for example in the case of feminist Ueno Chizuko (Maugère, A. & Ueno, C. 2010: 377-378).

By becoming more globalized, Japanese feminists entered dialogue in global scale. They now saw gender as a socially constructed rather than based on biology. They also argued that socially constructed ‘gender’ legitimated inequality and domination, and started to call for ‘gender free’; abolition of normative gender roles. At the same time they started to see biology in negative light. (Lenz, I. 2006:97.) Key figure in this project was Japanese feminist Takemura Kazuko (1954–2011), who was also important figure of bringing the intersection of feminist and queer discussion from the USA to Japan from the 1990s onwards. Her translations of number of books of American feminist and queer theory, including Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble*, into Japanese was her way to push back against “misogyny” and “heteronormativity”. She also wrote about the imperialist past of both Britain and Japan and quoted Jacques Derrida. (Vincent, J. K. 2017: 251-266.) These queer activists [whether “researchers” or ground level activists] scrutinize language only to look for signs of sexism, racism, homophobia, transphobia and other prejudices (for example, Valcore, J.; Fradella, H.F.; Guadalupe, X.; Ball, M. J.; Dwyer, A.; DeJong, C.; Walker, A.; Wodda, A. & Worthen, M.G.F. 2021: 687-706). Besides the queer theory, also other postmodernist theories started to spread into Asia, influencing feminists, who use discourses adapted from the West (Illo, J. F. I. 2005:200-202). It lead to Japanese feminist, Ueno Chizuko, to defend child prostitution; girls aged 13 to 18, who sell themselves for money. Ueno claims that they are not professional prostitutes, and since they are not forced into it, it is fine. Furthermore, she acknowledges that many of these girls have mental health issues and were abused as a young child, but she does not criticize their treatment and abuse. The only objection she has is that these girls do not change the society. The fact that some of these girls were victims of child abuse is not the focus of her article. (Maugère, A. & Ueno, C. 2010: 381-382.) Also, trans issues have penetrated Japan (Dale, S. P. F. 2019: 60-68).

As the activists of *ûman ribu* argued, they considered themselves almost white (Shigematsu, S. 2012:XXIII). Race, as Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier argued, are seen as not a biological but cultural, social and political category by the Marxist scholars (Howell, M. & Prevenier, W. 2001:14,135). This same attitude has since then expanded into the real world by the intersectionalists, who argue that anyone opposing their views are labelled as “white feminists”, “white supremacist”, for example, associate professor of social and cultural analysis at New York University Christina Beltrán called Mexican and Latinos, who voted for President Trump, as “white”, because it is “multiracial” (Beltrán, C. 15.01.2021). By adapting Western far-leftist

narratives together with discourses on imperialism, Japanese are now seen as having taken part in “white supremacy” (Horne, G. 2004; Dower, J. 1993 [1986]).

The Critical Race Theory in America has led to discrimination against Asian Americans (especially those with East Asian/South East Asian background) on the grounds that they are acting “white”, simply by valuing hard work, doing well in education, being on time, which represents “whiteness” to Woke people. As a group, Asian Americans do economically better than any other group, and that is the problem for SJWs, as they see economic success as oppressive. (Raleigh, H. 09.03.2021; O’Neil, T. 27.02.2021; CACAGNY 23.02.2021.) Yale University has found guilty of discrimination of white and Asian student at admission (The United States Department Of Justice 13.08.2020), and while it is against the law to look at applicant’s race when selecting students, Harvard University had admitted to the practice (Carapezza, K. 12.11.2020) of racism (discrimination or hatred from a person, community, or institution against a person/people due to their race). Furthermore, hate crimes against Asian are increasing-not by white supremacists as the far leftist attempt to claim, but mostly by minorities (CBS SF BayArea (no name) 08.02.2021; Yu, B. 09.02.2021; Raleigh, H. 09.03.2021).

As Shigematsu observed while she was researching on the *ûman ribu* movement; feminists can become highly invested in their authority and are not afraid to use violence (Shigematsu, S. 2017:212), I will show in the media chapter how some Western SJWs use language to justify violent attacks on anyone who disagrees with them. And as for women in America, woke people have now reduced women into “birthing people” (Brown, S. 07.06.2021; Lewis, M. J. 2021: 30- 34) erasing emancipation of women of the first and second wave feminism.

4.2 Sexual harassment and violence against women

In Japan, as in many East Asian countries, tradition and modernity co-exist (Sung, S. & Pascall, G. 2014: 6). On the one hand, the country is still influenced by Confucian traditional gender roles, even though weaker than in South Korea. This aspect affects women’s status, making it less than men’s. (Palley, M. L. & Gelb, J. 1992.) Also Buddhism and Shinto shape the country’s view on societal issues, such as gender equality (Ito, K. 2014: 137-151). On the other hand, Western influence of gender equality has gained ground (Sung, S. & Pascall, G. 2014: 6). This aspect of traditional patriarchal culture also affects how women are being treated.

According to the statistics from Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, in 2018 the number of cases in Japan reported as “forcible indecency” was 5340. In 2003 the figure reached 10000, and since then has decreased. In 2018, there were 1307 reported cases of forcible sexual intercourse

(rape), less than in 1975, when it reached almost 4000. In 2018, numbers of protection orders issued in cases of spousal violence were 1700, the figures have been on decline since 2014 when the numbers were 2500. However, the number of consultations at Spousal Violence Counselling and Support Centres is slightly increasing every year, in 2018 it were 114 481. These two figures could indicate that the counselling has helped to decrease numbers of spousal violence. The numbers of consultation on stalking cases were 21556, and slightly fell from 23079 in 2017. However, the cases have been increasing on average since 2002, from cases 12024. In 2018, the number of consultations about sexual harassment was 7639. (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2020.) However, the real figures of these crimes are unknown, since not all victims report these crimes nor seek help. According to a survey by industry insiders, around 80 percent of people have experienced sexual or power harassment within the last decade in creative industry such as anime, movies and theatre. Most of the victims did not report the harassment due to fear of harming their own career. (Kyodo News (no name) 24.03.2021.)

Sexual harassment is a term that has no unified definition. But in this thesis I will include both physical and verbal harassment. Touching someone's private parts is, of course, a clear case of sexual harassment. With verbal harassment, it is not so clear. The following court case gives an example of verbal harassment. In 2015, the Supreme Court of Japan disclosed its decision in case on sexual harassment, and upheld the disciplinary action of the company in question against its two managers for repeated sexual harassment of their female employees. This was the first case on connection with verbal sexual harassment. The events took place already in 2012, when they started to make inappropriate comments to their female employees. For example; "cornering a female employee who was working alone in the office on multiple occasions to discuss the age and occupation of the manager's mistress, his own sexless marriage, his growing libido" and in the other case; "commenting on the female employee's "...salary, the fact that permanent employees make more money, and that she should do "night work" to earn more money." In February 2012, the one manager was suspended for 30 days and the other for 10 days. They were also demoted by their company. In court, they argued that the punishment was exorbitant and therefore "an abuse of their rights to discipline", because, as they claimed;" the women did not indicate that they found the comments offensive." (Stevens, G. & Kadota, E. 05.08.2015.) However, it can be difficult to complain against this inappropriate behaviour to the perpetrator, because it can cause more aggressiveness against the victim. And, as the article continues the story; the men also lied that they did not know the company's policy against sexual harassment, even though they had found to have

been in the workshops on sexual harassment prevention, but without any change in their behaviour towards female employees. (Stevens, G. & Kadota, E. 05.08.2015.)

Still in 2019, the definition and actions against harassment is far from complete. On June the 21st of 2019 Japan voted in favour of the first international convention on harassment and violence in the workplace. However, Japan still needs applicable domestic legal provisions on this matter. Japan had already passed a law in May obliging firms to prepare consultation sections so that they can start to deal with suspected power harassment. But before that it still needs to define what power harassment consists of, and to decide penalties against the offenders. Furthermore, the business sector is opposed to this, and as it ended up that, the business representative voted against, while the labour representative and two government representatives voted in favour of the law. It is still unclear when Japan can ratify the convention. (Yoshitake, Y.; Sawaji, T. and Murakami, K. 22.06.2019.)

This convention confines terms *violence* and *harassment* as "a range of unacceptable behaviours and practices that result in, or are likely to result in physical, psychological, sexual or economic harm." Besides sexual harassment, his definition takes other forms of harassment into account, as well. However, as Yoshitake et al. argued; it has number of issues to be solved before it can take effect. Firstly, before Japan even can ratify the convention, it will have to make laws which ban sexual violence and harassment in workplaces and implement penalties. Secondly, at least two nations have to ratify it. And even after that they will need to wait a year until the convention will take effect. To make this easier for the business sector to prove, experts have suggested that penalties could be defined as provisions instead of fines or penalties. The provisions then would define the basis on which to grant compensation to the victims. However, the business sector is even opposed to that. (Yoshitake, Y.; Sawaji, T. and Murakami, K. 22.06.2019.)

Hasunuma Linda and Shin Ki-young argue that Japanese mass culture and "pornographic society" sexualize women and girls and thus also erotizes sexual violence (Hasunuma, L. & Shin, K.-Y. 2019: 104). I will now discuss more closely one form of sexual harassment, which is usually linked with Japanese society (Wrigley, F. 08.09.2014), although similar cases can be found in various big metropolitan areas around the world (Devi, G. 04.03.2019; Calutrava, C. & Aristeidou, O. (no date); Binding, L. 19.04.2018; Hirsi Ali, A. 2021:74-78). In Japan it is called *chikan*, which means groping or uninvited sexual touching. The term is often used with the connection of harassment happening on trains and subways in the big cities. Especially during the rush hours

many women had been groped, and most of the victims are usually young high school or university students. (Horii, M. & Burges, A. 2012.)

Over 75 per cent women have been groped, but less than 10 per cent report it to the police. According to the Tokyo Police Department, 1750 cases of groping or molestation were reported in 2017, of which 50 per cent happened on trains and 20 per cent in train stations. (Guevara, D. 15.10.2019; Dayman, L. 08.05.2018.) There have been similar surveys, in which the percentage of experiencing groping varies from 28, 4 % to around 70 % (Horii, M. & Burgess, A. 2012). There is huge difference in those figures, and it is hard to tell the right figure. I would assume that the low figures can be partly explained of the fact that some women do not want to discuss about their experiences. Because according to a 2010 online survey conducted in 2009 in Japan, from 2221 women, who responded to the survey, 304 of them had experienced groping. 89.1 percent of the victims did not report the incident. Also, some women tried to underrate the grouping (Ito, M. 30.07.2016.) Mostly the crimes are left unreported. With the atmosphere of silence, these young women only learn to tolerate this and perhaps think this is “normal”. The victims of sexual harassment are experiencing difficulties and backlash, because, as Krug et al. argued; some people are forced by social conventions or pressures to keep silent about their experiences (Krug, E. G.; Dahlberg, L. L.; Mercy, J. A.; Zwi, A. B. & Lozano, R. [ed.] 2002: 3-19).

The solution for the groping in the trains has been the introduction of the so-called “women-only” train carriages, but those do not remove the problem in itself. (Horii, M. & Burgess, A. 2012.) However, many feminists are against this because it “marginalizes women” even more. It is ironic then that due to the mass immigration in Europe, public transportations have become increasingly hostile towards women and harassment happens now all too frequently. In 2016 Mitteldeutsche Regiobahn, German train company, introduced the “women-only” carriages. (Hirsi Ali, A. 2021:74-78; Henderson, B. 28.03.2016) These carriages are now only places where women can escape the harassment. However, in addition to these carriages, there should be other measures to tackle this problem more effectively. Emma Dalton, who criticised the objectification of women in Japan, concluding that it was due to “patriarchal” society and “sexism”, which I partly agree. She analyses sexual harassment in Japan within the leftist narrative, including analysis of the numbers of women in power, and is highly critical of sexualizing of women. (Dalton, E. 2019.) However, it is worthwhile noticing that women when they get into powerful positions do not always push for women’s rights.

Since April 2019, victims of sexual violence and the supporters have been gathering once a month in public places to protest to changes to the law. Behind these demonstrations is a movement

called “Flower Demo”, a nationwide grassroots movement, which started because consecutive district court acquitted four defendants of sexual assault cases in March 2019. (Tamura, M. 05.03.2020.)

4.3 Women who broke the silence

Ito Shiori and the birth of the #WeToo-movement

In April 2015, Ito Shiori had dinner in Tokyo with Yamaguchi [Noriyuki], who was working, at the time as a reporter in Tokyo Broadcasting System Television Inc. (TBS) (Goto, R. 06.12. 2017). Ito had met to him in order to discuss her job search (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017). That night she was intoxicated, and after having passed out at a hotel where she was taken, she was raped. (Goto, R. 06.12. 2017.) Later the same month she filed a criminal complaint, and Tokyo's Metropolitan Police Department investigated Yamaguchi suspecting him of “quasi-rape,” (meaning that the individual is incapable of resistance because of inebriation.) Her case was taken to Tokyo District Public Prosecutors Office, but it dropped the case in July 2016, arguing that they did not have enough evidence for an indictment (Goto, R. 06.12. 2017) even though, the taxi driver who drove them to the hotel, testified that Ito had asked to be let out at the nearest train station, and added that Ito had been too drunk (Rojkov, A. 18.12.2019). However, in these criminal cases prosecutors have to have a flawless case in order to win (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019).

In May 2017 Ito complained to the Committee for the Inquest of Prosecution. At that time she revealed her name and face to the public, for the first time (Asahi Shimbun [no name] 18.12.2019). The Committee consists of a panel of citizens who review the expedience of prosecutors’ judgments and can force lawsuits. However, the Committee turned Ito’s appeal down in September. (Goto, R. 06.12. 2017.) Disappointed with the decision, Ito then filed a civil lawsuit against Yamaguchi (Asahi Shimbun [no name] 18.12.2019). On the contrary to criminal cases, civil cases do not require an airtight case in order to win (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019). On Dec. 18th of 2019 the Tokyo District Court ordered Yamaguchi to pay compensation to Ito (Asahi Shimbun [no name] 18.12.2019). This time the court came to conclude that Ito indeed had lost her memory because of being so intoxicated that even walking to the hotel proved to be difficult. Moreover, they concluded that not only Yamaguchi had brought her to the hotel against her will,

but also did not get her consent in the hotel room either. They further noted that Ito went to see a doctor on the same day and asked help from her friends and police a few days later. (Asahi Shimbun [no name] 18.12.2019.)

Ito criticized the police for the way they handled the case. In several newspapers she told how unprepared and unwilling the police authorities are to handle a rape case. She had secretly recorded every conversation she had with the police. On the basis of those recordings, it is clear that the attitudes of the authorities need considerable correction and improvement. (Ito, S. 2018; Kawahara, M. 25.10.2017.) This case has had serious consequences to Ito. Beside the damage done by the rape, Ito has been harassed ever since she came public with her allegations (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017). She has received the utmost persistent and hostile verbal attacks, particularly online (Asahi [Editorial] 20.12.2019). The negative attitude towards her went so far that she had to move away from Japan. (Ito, S. 2018; Kawahara, M. 25.10.2017.) “I could no longer live like before due to the bashing after I went public with my story,” Ito told “But the one who must go into hiding should not be the rape victim. I would like to make a positive change [to circumstances surrounding rape victims] by speaking up.” (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017.)

Even though Ito experienced considerable backlash and negativity, her case did eventually impact Japan’s rape law (Ito, S. 2018; Kawahara, M. 25.10.2017). Criminal Law was revised and it took effect in July 2017. Under the new law the minimum sentence for sexual assault offenses is now a five years in prison, instead of the old three years in prison. Furthermore, rape is now a prosecutable offense even in cases in which victim does not press charges. However, as Ito pointed out, the revised law still needs for further debate: “But it remains the same that victims cannot make their case unless they can prove that they were attacked and threatened so badly that they could not offer resistance,” (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017). In Ito’s case, she could not have fought back because of her condition. Yamaguchi argued that she “was very drunk”, but-as lawyer and the secretary general of Japanese NGO Human Rights Now Ito Kazuko explained- “if you know a person gets drunk, you shouldn’t [have sex]”...”it’s rape.” “Nonconsensual sex is rape” as Ito herself argued. (Holingswoth, J. 23.12.2019.)

In those circumstances the #WeToo-movement started in Japan in 2017; as a petition campaign, that supported Ito Shiori. Instead of #MeToo, which emphasizes one’s own experience, #WeToo became more used as it emphasizes the support for the victims of sexual harassment/violence. (Mori, K. & Shoko, O. 09.05.2018.) The #WeToo-movement began to attract attention, and women in the media industry joined to start a study group. Ito, too, became a member of this group, which main purpose is to build a society where sexual assault and harassment are not

tolerated. (Mainichi Shimbun [no name] 05.03.2018.) However, the movement has been developing slowly in Japan, and many victims of sexual violence and harassment have either stayed silent or spoke anonymously. Female professionals have been more active on demanding changes in law. (Hasunuma, L. & Shin, K.-Y. 2019.)

Ito also published a book on her experience, called “the Black Box” later that year (Mishima, A. 12.04.2019). In her book, Ito discusses the reasons why Japan has not been very open to adapt the #MeToo-movement from the West. She also argued that online environment, in which the #MeToo-movement is vocal, is toxic for women. (Ito, S. 2019: 220-222). Ito is currently suing people, who pushed “like” button on Twitter on Tweets that question her story on the rape (Niiya, E. 21.08.2020; The World News [no name] 20.08.2020). However, suing someone over liking a tweet in Twitter may in the long run erode freedom of speech and create atmosphere of fear, and eventually could turn against women’s rights (BBC [no name] 12.12.2018; Pluckrose, H. 24.10.2017; Tobin, J. S. 17.09.2020; Urbanski, D. 12.06.2020; Pallotta, F. 10.06.2020; Balkissoon, D. 28.10.2019; Mounk, Y. 27.06.2020; Sridhar, P. 19.06.2020 [15.06.2020]). Instead, as Ito already pointed out, women can better be protected by changing the law, creating more help centres for rape victims and hiring more female police officers as well as educating the police on how to handle these cases (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017).

Fukuda Junichi-case

Fukuda Junichi, a top Finance Ministry bureaucrat, resigned on April the 18th 2018 over sexual harassment allegations. When announcing his resignation as an administrative vice finance minister Fukuda stated that “Considering the current situation, it is difficult for me to carry out my official duties.” This all started when the Shukan Shincho, a weekly magazine, published a report alleging that Fukuda made several sexually suggestive remarks to a female journalist, who were interviewing him (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 19.04.2018; BBC [no name] 19.04.2018). According to an article, Fukuda made frequently sexually suggestive remarks, including "May I touch your breasts?" to many female reporters. His inappropriate behaviour led to the fact, that one of the reporters recorded some of his comments, which were then released. (Yomiuri Shimbun [Editorial] 21.04.2018.)

However, the reporter in question faced difficulties when she wanted to come out with her allegations. Working for TV Asahi, she consulted her superior, but it did not lead to any actions. First, her superior denied her her request to report her case as news, and, second, he did not report the incident to the company management, either. Because of the behaviour of her superior, she took

her story to the weekly magazine. And only then the coverage of the story by this magazine brought the sexual harassment case to light. (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.) As *Yomiuri Shimbun's* editorial argued, TV Asahi's response to the harassment of their own journalist should not be ignored. Company should have taken action, but instead it ignored and failed to protect their employee. (Yomiuri Shimbun [Editorial] 21.04.2018.)

When this sexual harassment case was published, Finance Minister Aso Taro came to Fukuda's defence and became defiant. "There is no crime called sexual harassment," Aso told several times. (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 24.06.2019.) According to Japanese law, it is as Aso explained (Hasunuma, L. & Shin, K.-Y. 2019). However, Aso also stated that sexual harassment can be avoided by replacing women journalists with men journalists (McNeill, D. & Matsumoto, C. 07.08.2018). Since Aso's actions regarding the Fukuda-case and the controversial sale of land owned by the state to private school operator, he has become "under fire" (Asahi Shimbun, [no name] 13.6.2018) and the calls for him to step down has increased (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 24.06.2019; Yomiuri Shimbun [no name] 24.04.2018a; Yomiuri Shimbun [no name] 24.04.2018b.) Aso also asked whether the perpetrator had no human rights. However, he was able to continue his career, despite continuing making controversial statements on issues revolving around gender, gender relations and women. (Nakagawa, S. 12.01.2020.)

However, the government took action against sexual harassment. Prime Minister Abe Shinzo told that "Sexual harassment is a clear infringement on human rights," in the committee meeting on 12th of June 2018. "Implement the countermeasures, and please put every effort to prevent sexual harassment, aid victims and stop recurrence." The government completed countermeasures against sexual harassment. Noda Seiko, internal affairs minister and state minister for gender equality, was given the task of listing those measures which included in a committee promoting female empowerment, run by the Prime Minister. The list of actions for high-ranking government employees included anti-sexual harassment seminar, studying the concept of sexual harassment and the way to deal with complaints against bureaucrats. They also decided to start a discussion forum between ministries and their press clubs. However, the workshop was not compulsory for all employees. (Asahi Shimbun [no name] 13.06.2018.) Women journalists also took action against sexual harassment by forming an informal network called Women in Media Network in Japan (WiMN) (Hasunuma, L. & Shin, K.-Y. 2019:105). And, although, these measurements are a good start, but not sufficient in the long run to fight against sexual harassment.

6 Media culture and journalism

As Laurie Anne Freeman argued: “PERHAPS NO INSTITUTION in democratic society has the same Janus-faced image as the media.” On the one hand, media is believed to act for the public’s benefit. Their task is not only to transmit important news to the public, but also to guard against the political and financial centers of power. For the latter role media is often considered “the fourth estate” in democratic country. On the other hand, to access the information needed for the role as “the fourth estate”, media has to locate within the same centers of state power it guard against. Thus media is exposed to probable cooptation by those powers that have an effect on their capability to stay independent and objective. (Freeman, L. A. 2000:3.) In fact, media is not neutral conveyor of information, but instead hold multiple institutionalized linkages with other actors of society and the state that serve to limit, constrain (Entman, R. M. 1989:10) or, even amplify media’s role by affecting the messages they transmit (Freeman, L. A. 2000:7).

Before discussing the Japanese media, I will briefly discuss how the intersectionalism has influenced Western media. This is done purely with the intention of comparison. Although, this subchapter is brief and cases are limited, it does give some ideas of the various impacts that this ideology can do within media.

6.1 The Western partisan media

Western media have since the 1990s had an additional demand besides acting as public watchdogs and providing objective information within its own agenda setting (Pharr, S. J. 1996b:20); As professor of Political Science at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques in Rennes Erik Neveu argues; journalists also had to make sense of the problems of different social groups by “interpret[ing] politics by leaving out objectivity!” (Neveu, E. 2007 [2002]: 25). Today, as the mutated postmodernist theories have spread into the media corporations resulting even deeper partisan journalism, has further deepened the gap away from professional journalism. This leads to mistrust to the news. According to Knight Foundation, in 2017 Americans believed that 62% of the news on television, newspapers and on radio was biased, and 80% of the news on social media was biased. In fact, this mistrust in the news media is deeper than it was a generation ago. Furthermore, this report also reveals the mistrust between the Democrats and the Republicans, and the deep division within the nation. Many people see that the media has failed its job as the “fourth estate”. (Knight

Foundation 2018.) This phenomenon also affects journalists, since many feel they cannot express their opinions properly (Levine, J. 13.02.2021).

It is obvious that journalists' political leaning plays role in this. According to a survey conducted among Tampere University students, 1023 of students who answered, 912 informed which party they would vote; the most popular party was the Green Party (37,1 %), then the Left Alliance (22, 4%), and then National Coalition Party (17,3%). Among students, who study journalism, the Green Party was the most popular (47, 7%), and among students, who study social sciences, the Left Alliance was the most popular (46, 9%), and the Green Party the second most popular (36, 5%). (Avonius, M.; Kaunisvaara, J.; Kestilä-Kekkonen, E.; Koivisto, T.; Leinonen, N.; Rantala, V.; Ruotsalainen, T.; Tiihonen, A.; Vahvelainen, S.; Westinen, J. 2016.) In 2020 Ville Mäkilä did research on the values and political opinions of students studying journalism. He sent a questionnaire to students, and 93 responded. According to his research, the students were mostly left-leaning, and 31% of the students would vote for the Green Party and 26% for The Left Alliance. (Mäkilä, V. 2020.) When compared to the rest of the population with 10, 1 % adherence to the Green Party and 8, 2 % adherence to the Left Alliance (Pilke, A. 02.12.2021), it is clear that these journalists-together with many university students studying especially the "soft sciences"- do not represent the mainstream population. Furthermore, according to researcher Anu Kantola, the younger generation of the Finnish journalists are more interested in writing about their opinions than about objective news (Kantola, A. 2013). Also, in Britain, the mainstream media do not represent the average British public (McNair, B. 2007 [2002]:189-202). Since 2015 there has been a huge increase of words, which denote certain prejudice types relating to identity, such as race and gender, within the news and opinion articles within the American media (Rozado, D.; Al-Gharbi, M. & Halberstad, J. 2021).

As Laurie Anne Freeman argues, media derive their power from the messages they channel, and retain that power regardless whose interests they serve. Moreover, they have influence over political and social agenda-settings as they legitimize specific political and social groups and their discourses while delegitimizing others at the same time. (Freeman, L. A. 2000:7-8.) The mainstream media were anxious to cover "hate crimes" and death of an Irakian asylum seeker, which all proved to have been hoaxes (Lehtonen, M.-O. & Lempinen, J. 11.11.2019; Maxouris, C. 09.12.2021; Byrne, S. 06.03.2019; Gonzalez, S. 29.02.2019; Kilpeläinen, K. 03.11.2019; Salminen, S. 14.11.2019), launching smear campaigns against people they dislike-for example the Kentucky high school students, who suddenly became targets of hate and death threats after the mainstream media made false claims about them (Strassel, K. 13.10.2019; Flanagan, C. 25.01.2019

[23.01.2019]; Farhi, P. 24.07.2020; Hignett, K. 22.01.2019; Milano, A. 20.01.2019a; Milano, A. 20.01.2019b; Flanagan, C. 25.01.2019 (23.01.2019); Mervosh, S. 19.01.2019; The Colorado Herald [no name] 23.01.2021) -while using different narratives to advance their agenda, for example portraying the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 in very positive light (Reid, J. 31.05.2020; Schwartz, I. 14.08.2018; Hughes, T. 04.06.2020; Law Enforcement Today [no name] 30.05.2020, Picture 1, compared to the negative side of it; for example Sharp, T. 24.09.2020; Jun, N. [no date]; Anglesey, A. 28.04.2021; Korhonen, L. & Kauppinen, I. 31.05.2020; CrimethInc [no name] 06.10.2020; CrimethInc: About CrimethInc; Stockman, F. 30.09.2020; Sacca, P. 03.10.2020; Urbanski, D. 05.10.2020; Cullors, P. 14.12.2020; Steinbuch, Y. 25.06.2020), and portraying during the migrant crisis of 2015 and 2016 the immigrants as victims, and as “lottery win” for Finnish society. Furthermore, attempts to critically discuss the topic were quickly silenced as “racist”. (Asunta, M. & Seppänen, E. 2020: 405-430.) Even their research on the mainstream media was mostly handled with hostility, especially from the academia (Asunta, M. & Seppänen, E. 2020), which is not surprising as the media studies has been largely marginalized within academic research (Freeman, L. A. 2000:6), and when research is conducted, it is from perspective of the intersectionalism (Asunta, M. & Seppänen, E. 2020). As a PhD student of media and film related area in England described her studies as being surrounded by gender and race critical theory. Her studies are dominated by postmodern intersectional theory, in which everything is seen as a tool of “patriarchy” and everything is tend to be analyzed by how racist or sexist it is. Those theories are even forced onto historical works, which are taken from their original contexts. “I feel jaded that I am in an environment that claims to care so much about diversity except when it comes to opinion or social class”. (Pluckrose, H. 24.10.2017.) Moreover, many intersectional journalists and intersectional feminists started verbal attacks against journalists, who reported the Pakistani grooming gangs in Britain (Niblock, S. & Bindel, J. 2017: 577-591).



Picture 1: Screenshot taken of a news report as the MSNBC reporter claims that what is happening in front of a police station in Minneapolis are “mostly [peaceful] protest”. (Hull, C. 29.05.2020.) Notice the building on fire.

Furthermore, Jasper Jackson, (now) former assistant media editor of *the Guardian*, wrote an article called “Is It OK to punch a Nazi?”, in which he claimed “There are moral and practical reasons why using force to stop a far-right march is justified”(Jackson, J. 16.08.2017; the Guardian (no date)). In this article, Jackson is promoting violence and even justifies it. And he is freelance journalist of the British daily newspaper- the Guardian. Same does CNN’s Chris Cuomo, when arguing that all violence is wrong, *however* “all punches are not equal morally” he argued and continued to claim that actually hitting “a bigot” is right thing to do (Schwartz, I. 14.08.2018, italizing added). I disagree with Cuomo. First of all, it is never acceptable to use violence. Second of all, as previously discussed, these people are quick to label others, even as “nazis” . Thus, claiming “ it is ok to punch a Nazi” as Cuomo and Jackson are calling for, in practice means that they can violently attack anyone as long as they claim him/her as a “Nazi” or a “bigot”(or racist or [any]phobic). In Germany, far-leftist people are already committing violent attacks on people they have labelled as “far-right”. Moreover, they have caused damage to innocent bystanders, but as they argue themselves; they do not care. (MDR Sachsen (no name) 28.04.2021; MDR Thüringen (no name) 28.04.2021; Naber, I. & Pfahler, L. 28.02.2021a; Naber, I. & Pfahler, L. 28.02.2021b.)

Moreover, it is not just “the Nazis”(meaning dissidents) these people are after, but also men. For example, feminist Emily McCombs, an editor Huffington Post, tweeted that her resolutions for 2018 were to “cultivate female friendships” and “band together to kill all men” (Pullman, Joy 04.01.2018). Journalism is a “matter of rhetorical forms” and “choices of argumentation” and therefore easily being manipulated by the ideologies of each media organization. Moreover, language is not only a way of communication, but also a way of power. (Fisher, W. R. 1984:1-20.) The mass media is strong due to their central part in socially constructing the reality, and they do this on daily basis. (Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. 1966:815; McQuail, D. 1987: 51.)

6.2 Japanese media culture

Many of the formal media institutions were imported from the West during the Meiji era (1868-1912), and therefore Japanese media resembles those of other advanced and industrialized democracies with its free press. Freedom of the press was written in the Japanese Constitution (1947). (Freeman, L. A. 2000: xvi.) In theory, its Article 21 grants total freedom of speech. Thus

both newspapers and magazines can freely publish whatever they choose, unlike television and radio, which are under regulation of the Broadcasting Law. This Law states that due to the highly public nature of television stations, they ought to remain politically fair. (Altman, K. K. 1996:181.) This freedom of speech also means that magazines can freely publish pornographic content.

Japanese media is seen as neutral force. According to Japanese study on the trustworthiness of the media, only about 20 percent of people surveyed noticed partisan bias of any kind. (Pharr, S. J. 1996a:5; Pharr, S. J. 1996b:22.) Unlike media in many Western countries, Japan's strength comes from the unifying interests of public and private sectors, which are bind together by huge network of ties (Freeman, L. A. 2000:12).

The circulation of newspapers is high compared to the rest of the world, although, in recent years it has dropped. Since the biggest newspapers are similar regarding the content (Valaskivi, K. 2014:197), many households subscribe to more than one newspaper (Freeman, L. A. 2000:17), which are commonly delivered at peoples' homes (Valaskivi, K. 2014:197). Japan's biggest daily newspapers are Asahi, Mainichi, Nikkei, Sankei and Yomiuri Shimbun. Igor Prusa argued that these newspapers are strikingly homogenous (Prusa, I. 2017:7), however-as I have compared Asahi and Yomiuri Shimbun-I have noticed some special features that differentiate the two newspapers from each another. I will discuss this aspect in later chapter.

Still, many readers buy magazines for an alternative. Beside the weekly tabloids such as Sunday Mainichi and Shūkan Asahi, which are owned by one of the big daily newspapers and are thus rather conservative, there are various sensationalist sports papers, such as Sankei Supōtsu or Supōtsu Nippon. Japan has over 100 weeklies (*shūkanshi*), a handful of biweeklies, and around 3 500 monthly magazines (*gekkanshi*) (Legewie, J. 2010.) Similar to many other advanced countries, also Japan has norms and conventions on reporting, which sometimes lead to self-censorship (Pharr, S. J. 1996a:13).

Each of the Japan's biggest daily newspapers at least partly own commercial TV and local TV station, and radio stations, as well as other non-media subjects, while representing powerful media oligopolies at the same time. This is called the "information cartel" and it resembles the business model of *keiretsu*. (Prusa, I. 2017:4; Freeman, L. A. 2000.) Information cartels are institutionalized rules, which guide the relations between the press and official sources that serve to restrict what kind of news will be reported. Those same rules also guide who and how many will handle the reporting. Thus, by strengthening the close relations with their sources while limiting the rivalry between journalists, they have redefined the relations between political elites and the media. (Freeman, L. A. 2000:4.)

There are three institutions in this cartelization process, commonly known as the “three K’s”: press clubs (*kisha kurabu*), Japanese Newspaper Association (*Nihon Shimbun Kyōkai*) and media business groups (*keiretsu*). Linkages between these different groups are arranged by a well-established net of press clubs, which have bases in most of the big business, state, as well as in political organizations. Thus these clubs meet not only to control access to the news but also to their presentation. Even though their precise number is unknown, the estimation is between 800 and 1100, including over 100 clubs in Tokyo alone. (Freeman, L. A. 2000: 12, 15.)

Prusa describes the structure between newspapers and their sources as “collusion”, and it is embodied within the reporters’ club system. The clubs are administrated by the Japanese Newspaper Association, which gives access to sources as well as facilitates relations between the media and the sources. Complicated rules affect their operation and the handling of gathered information, and particularly during scandals their role are important. As a matter of fact, most of the news articles originate from press conferences or background meetings held within the government, big companies, or big labour unions. The journalists often form a mutual trust with their official sources, such as the police and the prosecutors. This mutual trust, together with the restricted membership of the clubs and sanctions if one violates in-group norms, has a huge effect on the control of the flow of scandals. Also other unofficial standards of self-restraint (*jishuku*) control when scandals are to be released, limit the whole newsgathering process, and lead into a rather homogenous coverage. Moreover, various official discussions, interviews as well as press conferences are commonly prepared with transcripts and list of questions (*burasagari*), which are handed to the respective authorities beforehand. As a result, the mainstream media submit to elite sources by means of reporting stated principles (*tatemaie*), and not by means of real journalistic intentions (*honne*). That is why it is sometimes criticized for doing PR for Japanese authorities. (Prusa, I. 2017:4-5.)

While analysing media scandals, it is important to acknowledge that hiding of facts as well as deception is among the most essential elements in “backstage performance” of a politician. This can also suggest that some information is concealed from the public in order to avoid uncovering information that might be unfavourable to politicians. In the past, the elites were always “naturally” unwilling to uphold the policy of revealing information. Likewise, attempting to appear neutral, the Japanese mainstream media adapt characteristic frames within the seemingly objective news reporting, while engaging in self-censorship. Moreover, the reporters’ club system is largely controlling political reporting, including the choice of words used in power-sensitive news. That

way the official reporters gain access to politicians and thus outpacing the regional and foreign presses as well as the freelance journalists. (Prusa, I. 2017:6-7; Feldman, O. 1993.)

It is the weeklies that are often the prime movers of scandals. Because of over 90 percent of their sale occurs at newsstands, their existence is mostly due to their scandalous appeal. Furthermore, being excluded from the restrictive club system gives them the opportunity to freely engage in a more “speculative journalism”. (Prusa, I. 2017:7.) As Fukuda-case showed, the mainstream media is reluctant to reveal scandals, and it only rarely confronts political controversies. In addition to that, it is not likely going to actualize any sort of investigation that would reveal political or business secrets. Furthermore, the more power the object has, the more reluctant editor of a newspaper is to publish the story and more damage the reporter gets if the story fails. (Liebes, T. & Shoshana, B.-K. 2004: 1153-1170.)

One additional way of avoiding responsibility for the mainstream media, is to repost pictures or quoting articles originating from non-Japanese sources or domestic weekly magazines. Without checking the facts, they start the article with a line “according to an article in...” (*...ni yoru to*), which indicates that the article is quotation and not their own. (Prusa, I. 2017:12.) However, this is a clear way to show the reader of the origin of the source and the fact that it is not checked. In Western media, on the contrary, sometimes the “news” are written as facts without fact checking and any implication to otherwise.

Professor Freeman argued that the Japanese media have frequently avoided searching for scandals involving the elite as well as editorially from taking “partisan political stances”, and thus their neutrality maintains their high circulation and readership. She also claims that this neutrality is closely connected to insiders “*who rarely challenges the status quo*”. (Freeman, L. A. 2000:19, italizing added.) However, as the previous chapter showed the ugly side of this “partisanship” in news reporting, when journalists call for violence and report false news that lead to death threats sent for the media’s target. This is not anyone’s advantage.

As Susan Pharr stated, the press’ base in the metropolitan areas has close connections with a left-wing intellectual tradition, and that is thought to advance the leftist bias of some newspapers (Pharr, S. J. 1996b:22). This bias is not merely a thought, but very noticeable when analysing the news. I will later analyse the Asahi Shimbun in more detail, but here I take some examples of this bias. These articles resembles those of Western partisan opinion pieces rather than real news (Mori, M. 08.10.2014; Asahi Shimbun [no name] 20.04.2018a).

Also this same bias can be seen within the Western media researchers. Freeman describes Ellis Krauss’s description of NHK evening news, as he analyses the clothing and expressions of the news

readers, as a "thorough discussion" (Freeman, L. A. 2000:17-18; Krauss, E. S. 1996: 89-132). It is unclear, what the clothing or facial expressions of the news readers have to do with analysing or criticizing the news. The news facts remain the same regardless of news readers clothing. Furthermore, Krauss then criticizes motherhood; "The female anchor smiles more often, but would pass unnoticed among younger middle-aged *mothers* at a PTA meeting in Japan" (Krauss, E. S. 1996:92, italizing added). Krauss' "analysis" seems inappropriate for a researcher. In addition to comments on clothing, whether someone smiles, has children or not has no bearing in this case. Especially when analysing the context and reliability of the news itself. Yet, Freeman thinks this as "thorough discussion". By mentioning mothers, Krauss resembles the narratives of the feminists. Ever since 1960s, motherhood has been more often viewed critically among the left-leaning feminists (Rampton, M. 2008; Shigematsu, S. 2012).

Another example of this bias is Aurelia George Mulgan's article. George Mulgan discuss in her article *Media muzzling under the Abe administration* how the Abe's government had tighten its grip on media. Although interfering with the media coverage is a worldwide phenomenon within governments, George Mulgan argues that during the Abe administration of Japan, the interference has increased. These developments have been criticized by many experts and academics, even by the conservative Yomiuri Shimbun (George Mulgan, A. 2017: 17-19.) While George Mulgan is rightly critical of Abe's tightening grip on the media and its attempt to stop releasing of critical articles on certain subjects, such as the Wartime Comfort Women (George Mulgan, A. 2017; Takeda, H. 28.04.2015), George Mulgan herself goes much further than merely being critical. According to George Mulgan, Abe administration was pressuring media organizations. Her accusations include the following: "interpreting media criticism as "unfair" coverage [...] labelling criticism of the government and its policies as media "bias," threatening media organizations with action under the Broadcast Law ", while at the same time she accuses the government of breaking the exact same laws in addition to human rights violations. (George Mulgan, A. 2017:17-20.) George Mulgan then argues that this bias, which is clearly visible in left-wing media such as Asahi Shimbun, is merely "criticism". As I have analysed the Asahi Shimbun articles on Fukuda-case, Asahi is not only critical, but seem to have strong views of the government. Is it then wonder, that the government is suspicious against this newspaper, as George Mulgan argued (George Mulgan, A. 2017:20). Professor at Kyoto University, specializing in media history and popular culture, Satô Takumi has stated his concern over this polarization and "sharp criticism" against the government after 2015. This polarization is seen in connection with several government's controversial decisions, such as moves to reactivate idled nuclear power plants regardless of opposition.

According to Satô, many newspapers beside Asahi started to take stronger stand in various issues concerning politics and thus increasing polarization within the society, between the newspapers and in the relations with the government. (Satô, T. 12.01.2016.)

It seems, thus, that both Western media researchers on Japan as well as the Japanese left-wing media have bias. While, on the contrary, the conservative right-wing media engage more in self-censorship. However, as Freeman argued, main newspapers in Japan are both quality-oriented (not sensationalist) and popular (in regards to readership numbers). These aspects together are important in order to produce both serious and widely read news. (Freeman, L. A. 2000:19.) And as I argued before, Japanese media has problems, however, the Western media has much bigger problems. Japanese media should be allowed to write about difficult subjects such as the Comfort women, however, keep in mind their objectivity. The signs of this mutated postmodernism have increasingly started to appear in Japanese news, especially in the English language news (Buie, N. 16.10.2020; Buie, N. 21.12.2020).

6.3 Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun

Both Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun belong into “the big three” daily newspapers in Japan with their wide influence and circulation (Encyclopaedia Britannica a, b). Yomiuri Shimbun sold 8.1 million and Asahi Shimbun sold 5.6 million daily newspapers in 2018 (Sawa, Y. 2019). Mainichi Shimbun is the third of this “big three”. All three newspapers have five regional morning and evening editions as well as one English version in Tokyo. Beside the national news, they also give much space for foreign news. (Encyclopaedia Britannica a, b.)

Asahi shimbun was founded in 1879 in Ōsaka. Asahi Shimbun had one of the largest readerships in the world in the early 21st century. Nowadays, Asahi Shimbun is popular especially among the upper and middle classes. The paper is well known for its political coverage and foreign news, for which it has correspondents in major cities in both Western and Asian countries. *Its views have been described as “liberal and progressive”*. (Encyclopaedia Britannica a; McNeill, D. 2021: 1, italizing added) However, as I mentioned before, when someone or something shifts further to the left, one stops being liberal and starts being illiberal, as have happened to the most of the leftist in America alongside their media. During my analysis I discovered some bias within the Asahi newspaper, but I still would consider it quite liberal. However, according to the survey, people trust more in Yomiuri Shimbun than in Asahi Shimbun (Sawa, Y. 2019), which is no surprise considering Asahi’s obvious bias, as it is known for being a long-time opponent of the government with its focus on the left (Fackler, M. 2017:40).

Yomiuri shimbun was founded almost at the same time as Asahi Shimbun; in 1874.

Yomiuri Shimbun is not only the largest of the “big three”, but also its editorial style has been rated as the most sensational, at least according to Encyclopaedia Britannica. Furthermore, in order to increase the circulation of the newspaper, Yomiuri Shimbun had even established the first professional baseball team in Japan. (Encyclopaedia Britannica b.)

Yomiuri Shimbun has successfully been able to combine the two different newspaper traditions, one of which originated from traditional Japanese model and the other of which originated from the Western model. The so-called Ôshimbun publications were, on one hand, adapted from the Western model and were politically orientated, but the so-called Koshimbun publications were, on the other hand, highly illustrated with contemporary stories and half-fictional crime series. (Westney, D. E. 1987: 159-161.) Yomiuri Shimbun borrowed its journalistic style from William Randolph Hearst, a famous American newspaper publisher in the early 20th century (Encyclopaedia Britannica c).

Unlike Asahi Shimbun, Yomiuri Shimbun is popular among the working-class (Encyclopaedia Britannica b) and it is right-leaning, conservative (Sawa, Y. 2018; McNeill, D. 2021:1). In the next chapter I will discuss the articles of these two newspapers and do the analyses.

7 Methodology and data

7.1 Methodology

Since my primary sources consist of written texts, by carefully studying the language is the best way to analyse them. According to postmodernism the social world is the creation of human mind and it can be studied through studying language and beliefs that humans produce while interacting with each other. (Burr, V. 2015(1995):52-72.) So, instead of one true reality, the world consists of multiple realities created by humans themselves (Denscombe, M. 2009: 123).

I will analyse the selected newspaper articles by using content analysis. Content analysis is a qualitative research technique (Hsiegh, H.-F. & Shannon, S. E. 01.11.2005:1277), that study recorded information in forms of texts, media, or physical items (Iowa State University). It is used in various disciplines (Hsiegh, H.-F. & Shannon, S. E. 01.11.2005; Iowa State University), and it has three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, or summative, which all are used to interpret meaning from the content of research data. The major differences between these three approaches lie in coding schemes, the origin of codes and threats to trustworthiness. I will be using

conventional directed approach, in which analysis begins with a theory [in this case: study of mutated postmodernism], or important research findings to guide when deciding initial codes for the analysis. (Hsiegh, H.-F. & Shannon, S. E. 01.11.2005:1277-1288.)

7.2 Research data

In this subchapter I will discuss the search on the newspaper articles of Asahi and Yomiuri Shimbun. Furthermore, I will discuss the Tables, in which I have gathered the information regarding the newspaper articles. I chose these newspapers as my primary sources because of their representation of public discourse, and as their position as public forums. Moreover, these two newspapers represent different political views, and thus can have slightly different approach to these cases. They also have wide readership, and therefore can potentially influence variety of people.

I have accessed these online articles through Asia portal from the University of Turku library. Asia portal is where the online archives of the both Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun are located. Both of the newspapers have both the Japanese and the English version available, however, most of the articles are in Japanese, and only some are in English. I chose the articles based on the topic, not on the language. My search entries were `Ito Shiori` and `Fukuda Junichi`, both in English and Japanese.

Newspaper	Topic	English	Japanese
Asahi	Fukuda	30	167
Asahi	Ito	9	71
Yomiuri	Fukuda	9	130
Yomiuri	Ito	4	5

Table 1: The search results of the articles first by newspaper, then by topic and lastly by language.

In Table 1 I have gathered every article that the search gave. It makes 277 articles in Asahi Shimbun and 148 articles in Yomiuri Shimbun, all together 425 articles. The timeline was for Ito 01.01.2017-31.12.2019 and for Fukuda 01.01.2017-30.10.2019. Originally, the timelines were the same for both cases, but since there was a turn in Ito's case, I extended the timeline to include that final turn. I acknowledge that these timelines are too long, because these events came to public only after May 2017; in the case of Ito, in May 2017, and in the case of Fukuda, in April 2018. The reason for this long timeline, was to check how much articles were written about Ito and Fukuda

overall outside these cases. However, there were only 12 articles, and all of them about Fukuda. Asahi Shimbun had written 7 articles and Yomiuri Shimbun 5 articles about Fukuda before the scandal.

However, I will not include all these articles in my research. I have excluded those articles with only little or no information on the cases. Furthermore, because some articles appeared twice in my search, I will exclude the duplicates. I have selected 109 articles for more detailed examination, and analyse the context of these articles. The selected articles consist of 41 English and 68 Japanese articles as shown in Table 2:

Newspaper	Topic	English	Japanese
Asahi	Fukuda	30	32
Asahi	Ito	5	5
Yomiuri	Fukuda	5	27
Yomiuri	Ito	1	4

Table 2: The selected articles first by newspaper, then by topic and lastly by language.

In table 2 I have put together every article I selected from the newspapers. The selection criteria varied depending on the language; since the much smaller portion of the English language articles, I included all of the relevant articles in my analysis. However, since a wide portion of the Japanese language articles, I had to limit the number of articles in my analysis. In addition to excluding articles that only mention the case, I have excluded those articles that were republished, since I already had the original articles published before. Also, I excluded articles less than 400 characters, because longer articles provide more details than the shorter ones. In all cases I have included the editorials, since these articles provide more insight into the opinion of the particular newspaper on the case. However, it is worth to know, that amongst these 109 articles only 13 are editorials.

In Tables 3- 10 (in annexes) I have listed the selected articles by date, including the name and length of the article and whether the name of the journalist/writer is mentioned or not. In *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the name of the writer of an article was absent in all except for two articles all together. This was not the case of *Asahi Shimbun*, which mentioned the name of the writer in 26 articles. Furthermore, editorials are marked. Also, the number of editorials differed between the two newspapers; while *Yomiuri Shimbun* had only 2 editorials all together, *Asahi Shimbun* had 11 editorials.

I have created one table each for both languages and case per newspaper. The Tables are in alphabetical order; starting first by language and then by newspaper, lastly by case. As the Tables 3-10 show, the selected Japanese articles are longer on average than the English articles, because the limitations I had made on the Japanese articles. Furthermore, editorials tend to be longer than the average articles.

Newspaper	Topic	English	Japanese
Asahi	Fukuda	2	1
Asahi	Ito	1	2
Yomiuri	Fukuda	1	1
Yomiuri	Ito	1	1

Table 11: The number of instances the #MeToo-movement was mentioned or discussed in articles.

In Table 11 I have put together every instance the international #MeToo-movement was either mentioned or discussed in the selected articles. I excluded two articles, which mentioned only that people were holding #MeToo-signs. I also excluded one article, which discussed the American civil rights movement of the 1960s, because it differs considerably from the current American Social Justice Movement. However, I will discuss that article later. Thus, from 109 articles only 10 mention or discuss the #MeToo-movement. However, it is worthwhile acknowledging, that I did not include the #MeToo-movement in my original search of these articles. I only concentrated on the two specific cases of Fukuda and Ito. My purpose was to see, how often the international movement was connected with these Japanese cases.

8 Analysis

I analysed 35 English language and 37 Japanese language articles from *Asahi Shimbun*, and 6 English language and 31 Japanese language articles from *Yomiuri Shimbun* for my thesis (Table 2 in chapter 6.2). It is important to acknowledge that my search on these articles happened earliest in 2019, but originally the articles were published in 2017 or 2018. Thus, there might have been more articles on these cases, but some of them might have been removed before I started my search. My research question is: how the Japanese newspapers-*Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* discuss

sexual harassment and violence as well as how the international #MeToo-movement is connected with these two Japanese cases. I have compared the two newspapers with each other to see how their coverage differs of one another.

Overall picture of formality and similarity

I discovered that the language was formal in both newspapers, and various articles resembled one another in style and story line. This aspect is also what the researchers on Japanese media have discovered. (Pharr, S. J. 1996a: 5; Pharr, S. J. 1996b: 22.) Especially when compared with the media in many Western countries with their mutated postmodern turn (Pharr, S. J. 1996b:20; Neveu, E. 2007 [2002]: 25; Kantola, A. 2013; Rozado, D.; Al-Gharbi, M. & Halberstad, J. 2021), Japanese media can be said to represent professional journalism with the object of acting as a watch dog. As Freeman argued, Japan's strength comes from the unifying interests of public and private sectors (Freeman, L. A. 2000:12).

Although, *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* had similarities in their coverage of these two cases, there were also differences. Especially the articles written by anonymous staff writers appeared neutral, and concentrated merely on telling the course of events, and publishing new article once they gained new information. While most of the articles appeared neutral, some articles with the writers name were also opinionated. Editorials, unlike the articles from anonymous staff writers, were clear on their own opinions, and therefore differed between the two newspapers. Due to the imbalance of the editorials, the opinions of *Asahi Shimbun* became more obvious with its multiple editorials.

Besides giving the readers the full story of these two cases, some articles emphasizes different aspects; criticizing the Abe administration and sexual harassment, while emphasizing the victims as well as viewing the American #MeToo-movement only in positive light. One article discussed the American civil rights movement of the 1950s with the connection of Fukuda-case. In some articles these themes were intertwined. In the following section, I will discuss these articles more in detail and do the content analysis.

Criticizing the Japanese government

Both *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* wrote similarly on Fukuca-case; by mostly stating the events that had occurred and what measures had been taken against sexual harassment,

criticizing the Abe administration on their way of handling the case and especially Aso Taro. One article from *Asahi Shimbun* concluded that despite the Fukuda scandal among other scandals, the Abe administration's approval rate has increased (*Asahi Shimbun* [no name] 21.05.2018). However, an article from *Yomiuri Shimbun* wrote that the Fukuda-case has been one of the reasons for decline of popularity of Abe's administration (*Yomiuri Shimbun* [no name] 24.04.2018).

Yomiuri Shimbun's editorial "Editorial: Sexual harassment case puts focus on human rights, journalism ethics" on Fukuda-case gives detailed account on the issue with thorough criticism, especially on the Finance Ministry's way of handling the case. After writing about the behaviour of Fukuda towards several female reporters, the editors stated that sexual harassment is against human rights: "Sexual harassment is a grave violation of human rights. If the allegations against Fukuda are true, his actions were completely unforgivable." (*Yomiuri Shimbun* [Editorial] 21.04.2018.) In this paragraph, the editors take the same position as some feminists. The phrase "women's rights are human rights" was used in 1995 in Beijing UN women's conference with the advancement of feminism being institutionalized in Japan. (Yamaguchi, T. 2007: 583–608; Rodham Clinton, H. 1996).

The editors write that the request from the Ministry to the media organizations that any woman who had been harassed, should come forward with their name. The editors criticize this request: "Ministry response poor. The Finance Ministry's handling of this matter is incomprehensible." They continue to describe how difficult that would be for the victims: "Lodging a complaint of sexual harassment requires courage. That is even more the case when the alleged perpetrator has shown they are prepared to file a lawsuit. Adding to this, the mental burden of coming forward to a legal office on the ministry's side would be considerable. The ministry's investigation method can only be described as devoid of consideration for the victims." (*Yomiuri Shimbun* [Editorial] 21.04.2018.) In this paragraph, the editors take the position of the victims and emphasize how the Ministry's request would affect negatively on them.

Asahi Shimbun's editorials on Fukuda case showed their strong views on the Abe administration, for example: in "Editorial: Sex harassment allegations latest blow to Abe administration" they connect this harassment case with the administration's ability to govern: "Sexual harassment allegations against the top Finance Ministry bureaucrat have cast doubt over the Abe administration's ability to govern the nation." (*Asahi Shimbun* [Editorial] 17.04.2018.) This argument is strong, but they do not give the reader more detailed information on how they have come to this conclusion.

They then criticize Aso for his inability to handle the allegations and to take action: “Finance Minister Taro Aso’s surprisingly wishy-washy response to the controversy shows no recognition of the seriousness of the situation.” (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 17.04.2018.) As previously mentioned; Aso made several inappropriate statements on the matter. He was then criticized by the media as well as by the opposition (McNeill, D. & Matsumoto, C. 07.08.2018).

They further criticize the government’s handling of the matter: “The way the Ministry is handling the matter indicates how far it is *divorced from common sense* [...] *The pathetic state of the Ministry*, which controls the nation’s budgets and taxation, *poses a serious threat* to the survival of the administration.” (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 17.04.2018, italizing added.) When compared to *Yomiuri Shimbun*’s coverings of the same topic, *Asahi Shimbun* has much stronger views of the government than *Yomiuri Shimbun*. While *Yomiuri* is very critical, for example: “The ministry’s investigation method can only be described as devoid of consideration for the victims.” (Yomiuri Shimbun [Editorial] 21.04.2018), *Asahi* cast doubt over the entire administration and their ability to even lead Japan (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 17.04.2018).

Another *Asahi Shimbun*’s editorial “Editorial: Sex harassment debacle is latest crisis staining administration” on Fukuda-case strongly criticize the government and its inadequate manner of handling of the case: “the Abe administration’s *disturbingly disorganized* and undisciplined handling of the matter” (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 19.04.2018, italizing added). As previously discussed, in times of financial crisis, people’s trust in political institutions have decreased (Fagerland Knoknes, V.; Jacobsen, T. G.; Grønning, L.-M. 2015), which also has been the case in Japan. Since 2015 many newspapers have started to take stronger stand against the government. (Satô, T. 12.01.2016.)

They further continue to criticize Fukuda: “Given the snafu over the scandal, Fukuda clearly deserves to lose his job. But his resignation should not allow the government to proclaim the scandal to be over.” (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 19.04.2018.) As mentioned previously, many newspapers have started to take stronger stand in various issues concerning politics and thus increasing polarization within the society, between the newspapers and in the relations with the government. (Satô, T. 12.01.2016.)

They then mention women’s rights and Fukuda’s violation towards those: “If the allegations are true, Fukuda committed an unforgivable act of disparaging the rights of a woman.” (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 19.04.2018.) As mentioned previously, in the times of financial crisis, intersectional feminism has been gaining ground in many Western countries, with its promise to solve the problems of society, even the smallest one (Rampton, M. 2008), from where it began to

spread into Japan (Kasza, G. J. & Horie, T. 2011: 144–151, 154, 157; Lenz, I. 2006:93-98) with its focus on issue of violence against women (Shin, K.-Y. 2011: 181-182; Ito, K. 2011). However, as discussed previously, there are limitations of the intersectional feminism's take on sexual violence.

Asahi Shimbun's article "Politicians dodge ministry's sexual harassment clampdown" criticizes the government way of handling the Fukuda-case. They first quote Abe Shinzo and what he said about sexual harassment: "Sexual harassment is a clear infringement on human rights [...] Implement the countermeasures, and please put every effort to prevent sexual harassment, aid victims and stop recurrence." Then secondly, they wrote that the Ministry was planning a forum, which included the media, to further discuss these issues. However, as they quote Monna Naoki, professor emeritus of media studies at Rikkyo University, who condemned the involvement of the media: "This case is a problem of the ministries themselves, and the countermeasure required here is toughening their actions on sexual harassment" Said Monna. "I think it is irrelevant to include discussions with the media." (*Asahi Shimbun* [no name] 13.06.2018.) This forum, which the Ministry had planned, had been widely criticized by both newspapers.

On the contrary to their writings of the Abe administration, *Asahi Shimbun* never criticized the opposition. This also is the case with *Yomiuri Shimbun*. However, *Asahi Shimbun* writes more about the opposition. *Asahi Shimbun's* article on Ito-case "Ex-TBS reporter denies rape lawsuit filed by journalist" also mentions actions that have resulted from the case: "Diet members established a nonpartisan group to ensure rape investigations, including Ito's case, are conducted properly and to review the concept of the Committee for the Inquest of Prosecution. At its first meeting, about 20 opposition lawmakers attended" (Goto, R. 06.12.2017.) Ito's case, as previously discussed, received much attention in Japan and abroad. This article discussed the opposition lawmakers' response to her case.

Asahi Shimbun's article "#MeToo takes off as opposition lawmakers raise papers in protest" written by Yamagishi on Fukuda-case first mentions the #MeToo-movement with the connection of the opposition lawmakers and their protest. The article begins with Yamagishi's short introduction that the #MeToo-movement is spreading in Japan with the protest of the opposition lawmakers: "The #MeToo movement is fast gaining fraction in Japan, with opposition party lawmakers raising papers bearing the anti-sexual harassment slogan at a joint hearing in the Diet on April 20." (Yamagishi, K. 20.04.2018.) Yamagishi wrote about the opposition lawmakers' response to Fukuda's case (Yamagishi, K. 20.04.2018), while Goto wrote about the opposition lawmakers' response to Ito's case (Goto, R. 06.12.2017). Both articles are merely describing the actions of these lawmakers and lacking any kind of criticism. This aspect is worthwhile

acknowledging, when compared to Western media and their criticism towards the opposition or anyone, who does not share their viewpoints (Neveu, E. 2007 [2002]: 25; Kantola, A. 2013; Asunta, M. & Seppänen, E. 2020; Strassel, K. 13.10.2019: Milano, A. 20.01.2019a; Milano, A. 20.01.2019b; Flanagan, C. 25.01.2019 (23.01.2019); The Colorado Herald [no name] 23.01.2021). However, as this analysis is limited to the cases of Fukuda and Ito, and thus the lack of criticism towards the opposition cannot be generalized.

Yamagishi then focuses on the opposition lawmakers, their protest of raising papers bearing the #MeToo-slogan at a hearing in the Diet on April 20th, and their views on sexual harassment: “Kanako Otsuji, Lower House member of the CDP [Constitutional Democratic Party], said, “We don’t want a society where victims of sexual harassment are forced to bear it. We will never leave victims on their own.” Yamagishi also quotes another member of CDP with same views as Otsuji. (Yamagishi, K. 20.04.2018.) During both of the cases, some people, including some members of the opposition, have been raising their voices to emphasize these aspects that affect women negatively (Mishima, A. 12.04.2019; Yomiuri Shimbun [no name] 17.04.2018).

Yomiuri Shimbun’s editorial “Editorial: Sexual harassment case puts focus on human rights, journalism ethics” also criticized the way TV Asahi had reacted to the allegations from their employee as well as Fukuda himself. (Yomiuri Shimbun [Editorial] 21.04.2018.) On the contrary to *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun* almost never criticize the way TV Asahi handled the allegations of their own female reporter and how they refused to publish the story of her being victim of sexual harassment. The articles that discuss TV Asahi mostly focus on its actions criticizing the administration. For example, in one article they focus on TV Asahi’s disapproval against sexual harassment: “TV Asahi Corp. on April 19 delivered a letter to the Finance Ministry protesting the alleged sexual harassment of its female reporter by the Ministry’s top bureaucrat, calling for a thorough investigation into the matter [...] in the letter to the Finance Ministry, TV Asahi states:”In the process of interviews, there was a considerable amount of sexual harassment behaviour such as using obscene words [...]The female staffer has been very shocked mentally.” The article did not criticize the TV Asahi’s initial reaction and failure to protect their own employee. (Asahi Shimbun [no name] 20.04.2018.) In an article “TV Asahi now defends giving sex-harassment tape to magazine”, the writers highlight that TV Asahi is supporting their employee and is against sexual harassment, only briefly mentioning that earlier TV Asahi was against releasing those recordings. The article also mentions that TV Asahi has “become target of criticism”. (Minato, A. & Mano, K. 25.04.2018.) *Yomiuri Shimbun* does criticise TV Asahi in two of its articles, in which one is written

by two professors. I will analyse that article later. *Yomiuri Shimbun* is *Asahi Shimbun*'s rival, and also criticises *Asahi* on Fukuda-case.

As was the case of *Asahi Shimbun*'s staff articles on Fukuda case, *Asahi Shimbun*'s editorials also almost never criticize TV Asahi's role of the case, except in one article: "it appears that she [Fukuda's victim] provided the tape to the weekly magazine as a last resort when she realized that the TV station was not going to protect its employees. If any party deserves blame, it was the broadcaster, not her." The same article then continues: "The Internet is abuzz with slanderous posts against the reporter. [...] "Contributing" to this sort of online verbal abuse are recent words and actions of certain politicians and bureaucrats." (*Asahi Shimbun* [Editorial] 25.04.2018.) Also in this article from *Asahi Shimbun*, they make accusations, but do not give details to the readers so that they could search for more information on these allegations against these "certain politicians and bureaucrats".

The #MeToo-movement in the selected articles

The #MeToo-movement was mentioned only in 10 articles, but when it was discussed, it was mostly discussed positively, as I will show in the following section. I take some of those articles into closer discussion:

In *Asahi Shimbun*'s editorial the #MeToo-movement, sexual violence and Ito's case are intertwined. The article "Editorial: Ito's court battle for justice has highlighted Japan's ills", begins with the editors stating that the case has become symbol of sexual violence and harassment against women as well as the hardship of victims speaking out. "The Tokyo District Court on Dec. 18 ordered a former TV reporter to pay 3.3 million yen (\$30,100) in compensation to a freelance journalist who accused him of raping her in a ruling on a case that has come to symbolize a deep-seated social problem." (*Asahi Shimbun* [Editorial] 20.12.2019.) As this last part of the sentence show, the editors of *Asahi Shimbun* discuss Ito's case as an example of a problem, which not only concerns the society as a whole, but also that is a serious problem. The article continues five paragraphs later by stating that this case also highlights the aspect of negative attitudes towards the victims of sexual abuse. "In a news conference after the ruling he [Yamaguchi] made some remarks that reflect serious social problems. In maintaining his innocence, Yamaguchi quoted a woman whom he claimed to have interviewed as saying, "A real victim (of a sexual crime) would not laugh in a news conference." This is tantamount to saying that victims of sex crimes should live a life of quiet suffering. This kind of distorted idea and perceptions about sex crimes have made life even more difficult for victims who are struggling to overcome the profound trauma they are suffering."

(Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019.) As discussed in previous chapters, many victims of sexual violence are afraid to come forward with their allegations due to victim blaming. This is the case in both Western countries and Japan, with different arguments for targeting the victim, but with the same goal in mind: to silence her.

The editors of *Asahi Shimbun* further continue about how blaming the victim makes victims even more afraid to come to the public with their allegations. “Many victims who have summoned the courage to come forward and accuse their offenders have suffered additional pain and anguish as they are criticized for being partly to blame. In addition to the agonizing experience itself, victims of sexual harassment or assault also have to deal with other pain if they try to break their silence.” Then they mention the #MeToo-movement as a way to decrease sexual harassment and violence and letting voices of victims to be heard without backlash. “Movements to change this vicious situation and reduce sex crimes have emerged in various parts of the world, with most high-profile one being the “#MeToo” movement.” (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019.) However, as discussed in previous chapters, the American-based movement seems to highlight some cases while at the same time ignoring some other cases. Despite the movement, sexual harassment and violence has been on the increase in Europe. The #MeToo-movement can be described as “high-profile” as the editors of *Asahi* argued, but even then the cases have not been treated equally. Even Milano, who started this movement in 2017, has also made contradictory statements. The fourth wave feminism, with intersectionality, is behind this movement, and since it focuses only on some aspects of social ills, it ignores others.

The editors of *Asahi Shimbun* continue to describe the demonstrations against rulings that acquitted defendants in sex crimes in Japan. “In Japan, a series of rulings that acquitted defendants in sex crime cases has provoked a public outcry, triggering a wave of protests against the criminal law called “Flower Demonstrations,” which have been spreading across the nation.” (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019.) As discussed previously, Japanese law still requires an airtight case in order to convict the defendant. Also, the victim has to fight back the assailant. (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017.)

They write about how Ito has become the target of verbal attack: “As a result, Ito has become a target of extremely persistent and virulent verbal attacks, mainly on the internet” (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019.) As previously discussed, the introduction of “Like” button on Facebook and its copying into Twitter helped the polarization online easier (Sumner, E. M.; Ruge-Jones, L. & Alcorn, D. 2018; Haidt, J. & Lukianoff, G. 29.10.2021). Ito is now suing people over liking some Tweets that question Ito’s story (Niiya, E. 21.08.2020; The World News [no name]

20.08.2020). However, as discussed previously this action could over time erode freedom of speech and create atmosphere of fear, and eventually could turn against women's rights (BBC [no name] 12.12.2018; Tobin, J. S. 17.09.2020; Urbanski, D. 12.06.2020; Pallotta, F. 10.06.2020; Balkissoon, D. 28.10.2019; Mounk, Y. 27.06.2020; Sridhar, P. 19.06.2020 [15.06.2020]).

Then they make an argument that Ito's critics are from the right: "*Critics who are sympathetic towards Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's administration have come to support Yamaguchi, who has written a book on Abe. In a right-leaning magazine, an article that demeans and defames Ito has been published.*" (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019, italizing added.) However, they do not give details on how they have come to this conclusion, and they do not specify which magazine and which number they are referring to, so that the reader could check the information him/herself. Now the accusations are left vague. They finish the article by concluding "It is a vital challenge for Japanese society to promote this trend and protect the dignity of victims." (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019.) The editors highlight the importance for the Japanese society to reduce violence against women and stop victim blaming.

They finally end the article by stating that Japanese society has began to take harsher line towards sexual harassment and violence "Japanese society has been taking an increasingly tougher stance toward sex crimes despite some backlash [...] It is a vital challenge for Japanese society to promote this trend and protect the dignity of victims." (Asahi Shimbun [Editorial] 20.12.2019.) As both Ito's and Fukuda's cases have impacted the stance on sexual harassment and violence. However, as Ito Shiori argued, there are still improvements to be made in regards to sexual violence and the protection of the victims (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017).

Yomiuri Shimbun's article on Ito focuses mostly on the American #MeToo-movement, even though Ito's case is connected with it. However, her case is merely mentioned. In "BOUND TO PLEASE/reporters tell of breaking high-impact story of sexual abuse" most of the article concentrated on the American reporters, Jodi Kantor and Megan Twohey, and their investigation on Harvey Weinstein case and the book *She Said*, which they wrote on their work on the case. The article mentions Ito's case and highlights her courage to speak publicly. Yung-Hsiang also wrote how Ito's decision to speak publicly made her the face of #MeToo-movement in Japan. "[W]hat she did next [after prosecutors dropped her case in July 2016] that made Ito into Japan's symbol of the #MeToo movement: She spoke up." (Yung-Hsiang, K. 07.12.2019.) As Yung-Hsiang explained, Ito Shiori is well-known internationally because of her case and her book *Black Box*, which have been translated into several languages.

Then Yung-Hsiang discusses the American movement and how the silence around Harvey Weinstein-case was broken. “on Oct. 5, 2017, New York Times reporters Jodi Kantor and Megan Twohey’s first article slew of sexual harassment and other accusations against American film producer Harvey Weinstein was published. In the article’s wake, Weinstein’s company collapsed, the #MeToo movement gained momentum, Time’s Up activists rose up during the movie awards season, and others were accused like Weinstein, who is awaiting trial on sexual assault charges. Kantor and Twohey won a Pulitzer Prize.” (Yung-Hsiang, K. 07.12.2019.) As previously discussed, Hollywood has taken Social Justice activism into its mission (Guardian [no name] 08.01.2018; Smith, K. 09.09.2020), however, they behave differently than they preach (Dillier, J 10.12.2019).

Yung-Hsiang then discusses who spoke about Weinstein and why they proved sexual harassment and violence is a worldwide phenomenon: “Weinstein’s outside influence in the film industry stemmed from the time he and his brother ran Miramax [...] Gwyneth Paltrow [...] is a key source who, for reasons detailed in the book, did not at first speak on the record. Fellow actress Ashley Judd did go on record in that first article on Weinstein’s longtime pattern of alleged sexual harassment. “[T]hat his accusers were famous women...proved this was a universal problem,” Kantor and Twohey write.” (Yung-Hsiang, K. 07.12.2019.) The phrase “[T]hat his accusers were famous women...proved this was a universal problem” does not prove anything. Merely by being famous is not a guarantee that proves something is a worldwide phenomenon. It does, however, attract more attention.

He then describes his expression on the book and the unchanging issues of sexual harassment: “A range of emotions come forth when reading the accounts of what the accusers said Weinstein did and the stories of those who protected him. Like me, other men should read this book. [...] The last few chapters focusing on Christine Blasey Ford’s sexual assault claim against then U.S. Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh, however, are notable for showing what had and hadn’t changed. “(Yung-Hsiang, K. 07.12.2019.) In this part, the journalist shows his fascination towards the book he reviewed and is very positive towards the #MeToo-movement in Hollywood. However, as previously discussed, Ford’s accusations against Kavanaugh have inconsistencies. Furthermore, the article seems to assume that the Kavanaugh-case happened after the Weinstein-case, as he writes “sexual assault claim [...] against [...] Kavanaugh [...] are notable for showing what had and hadn’t changed”. However the alleged attempted rape happened decades ago, and thus referring to ‘passing of time’ remains unclear. Even if Yung-Hsiang ment that Kavanaugh-case happened before than the Weinstein-case, the sentence is still unclear. This is due

to the fact that Weinstein began his inappropriate behaviour decades ago and thus referring to the 'passing of time' still remains unclear.

Yung-Hsiang continues to describe the event where some famous people met to discuss the problems of sexual harassment and violence. In the next paragraph he discusses the experience of Rowena Chiu, who is Asian American: "The epilogue is the masterstroke of this book. The reporters asked some key sources to meet, and Paltrow hosted the group in January 2019. At this get-together, former Miramax employee Rowena Chiu, who had not spoken on the record for the articles, said: "There are very few...Asian voices that come forward with this kind of story. I think certainly within the U.S. we have a whole culture around a model minority that doesn't make a fuss, that doesn't speak up.""(Yung-Hsiang, K. 07.12.2019.) As the paragraph indicates, Asian Americans are "the model minority" within the USA. However, as previously discussed, because they are "model minority" and often succeed in life, they have become targets of violent crimes and discrimination (CBS SF BayArea [no name] 08.02.2021; Yu, B. 09.02.2021; Raleigh, H. 09.03.2021; The United States Department Of Justice 13.08.2020).

In this article all these women are connected with their professionalism and their persistence on bringing the cases of sexual abuse into public. "Another former [Miramax] employee, Laura Madden, one of those who spoke on the record in the first New York Times story, summed up the meeting by saying, "The point is that people have to continue always speaking up and not being afraid."" (Yung-Hsiang, K. 07.12.2019.) However, people in Hollywood do not treat every case the same way, as Milano has showed. On the one hand, Milano believes Ford and her accusations against Kavanaugh-case, on the other, but not Reade's accusations against Joe Biden. (Messamore, W. E. 07.04. 2020). And as Kamala Harris has showed, she admires alleged rapist (The Spectator [no name] 09.09.2020).

The article ends with a statement, which take the focus back to Japan "That includes people in Japan, both women and men have to speak up to make sure issues such as sexual harassment and rape aren't silenced."(Yung-Hsiang, K. 07.12.2019.) The article begins with Japan and ends with Japan, while focusing on Hollywood. Thus it connects Hollywood and the American #MeToo-movement to Japan. The article pictures the American #MeToo-movement as positive movement, in which every woman can voice their allegations and get support. What the article lacks is criticism.

Yomiuri Shimbun published an article "How firms should handle sexual harassment" on Fukuda-case. It was written by two academics; emeritus professor Uzaki Masahiro, who is specialized in the Constitutional and laws concerning media, and Professor Kamei Katsuyuki, who

is specialized in risk management. Their main focus is on women's rights and sexual harassment, but they also mention the #MeToo-movement. The article is divided into two parts; the first section is written by emeritus professor Uzaki and the second section is written by professor Kamei. Both of these scholars criticize the way TV Asahi had handled the allegations of sexual harassment from their female reporter. They also connect this case to wider topic on how companies should handle cases where their employees come forward with their allegations of sexual harassment. (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.)

Emeritus professor Uzaki criticizes Fukuda's behaviour: "Fukuda, who has been accused of repeatedly making sexually harassing remarks to the reporter, can be considered to have been taking advantage of his position, which is abhorrent behaviour by a public official." (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.) Fukuda's behaviour can be considered both power harassment and sexual harassment. As Uzaki wrote "Fukuda has been taking advantage of his position" is the essence of the term "power harassment" (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services OASH-Office on Women's Health [no date]).

Uzaki then turns his criticism towards TV Asahi. This article is the most critical of TV Asahi and its response to the allegations of sexual harassment from their own employee. Uzaki writes: "At the same time, TV Asahi must also bear heavy responsibility, as it failed to protect its reporter, who had been sexually harassed. The superior whom the female reporter consulted with was asked to report the harassment as news, but the official concluded that reporting it was difficult for reasons such as concern that "the reporter could be identified and suffer secondary damage."'" (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.) As previously discussed, victims of sexual harassment and violence have difficulties to voice their experiences. They are usually ignored or discouraged to speak or their experiences are downplayed. These attitudes towards the victims make victims more reluctant to speak. (Kirk, J.; Ward, J. & Ernst, L. 2005; Hirsi Ali, A. 2021; Brean, J. 02.08.2018.) According to a survey by industry insiders in Japan, around 80 percent of people have experienced sexual or power harassment within the last decade in creative industry. However, most of the victims did not report the incident, because of fear of damaging their own career. (Kyodo News (no name) 24.03.2021.) Uzaki comes to the conclusion that the superior wanted to silence this victim. "As the superior is said to have not reported the matter to company management, it can't be helped but to conclude that the superior hushed up the scandal." (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.)

Uzaki also considers the ethical side of a reporter taking the story to another news media and not her own. "It is a fact that the reporter's action resulted in coverage of the story by the weekly magazine, and thus became the decisive factor in bringing the sexual harassment case to light.

However, it must also be said that handing news information that requires high levels of confidentiality to a third party constituted a deviation from journalism ethics, which stipulates that sources of information should be protected and that news information should not be used for any purpose than the aim of reporting.” (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.) As previously discussed, Japanese media culture has rules, which restrict various aspects of newsgathering and reporting (Prusa, I. 2017:4-5). Japanese media is contrary to the media in many Western countries, for example Finland, where the younger generation of journalists are more interested in writing about their opinions than about objective news (Kantola, A. 2013; Neveu, E. 2007 [2002]: 25).

Uzaki concludes his part by arguing that due to lack of actions from TV Asahi, the reporter took her story to a magazine. “I believe that TV Asahi’s inappropriate response led to the actions of the reporter. This is apparently not the only case where a reporter has been sexually harassed by the person who was the subject of an interview. There are limitations to the actions that an individual can endure. I believe it is necessary for companies, or even the entire media industry, to take measures such as creating guidelines for dealing with sexual harassment by interviewees.” (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.) Emeritus Professor Uzaki discusses how the inability of her employer to act made her hand the case to another media. The phrase is sympathetic towards the victim.

Professor Kamei emphasizes the fact that the reporter in question had enough courage to come forward with the allegations: “In this incident, the female reporter stated her allegations of sexual harassment by Vice Finance Minister Fukuda to her superior. I assume this required courage.” (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.) As discussed previously, many victims do not report the incident at all. For example, according to the Tokyo Police Department, from over 75 per cent women who had been groped on trains or stations, less than 10 per cent report it to the police (Guevara, D. 15.10.2019; Dayman, L. 08.05.2018).

Professor Kamei also criticizes TV Asahi and its failure to protect their female employee: “The possibility of female reporters who conduct one-on-one interviews with male interviewees being sexually harassed is an issue that could have been predicted. These days, there are many companies that make rules on how superiors should respond in cases when a subordinate reports claims of sexual harassment.” (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.) Professor Kamei raises an important aspect; because it is known that many women are being sexually harassed (For example, in Europe the percentage of women, who had experienced sexual harassment since turning 15 years old, was 55 percent [Gender Equality Index 10.10.2017] and in Japan, for example around 80 percent of people have experienced sexual or power harassment within the last decade in creative

industry [Kyodo News (no name) 24.03.2021]), thus it would not be too difficult to avoid situations where women are put to danger—such as one-on-one conversations with male interviewees.

Kamei also discusses the #MeToo-movement in the United States and its activists on social media, and how it has spread around the world: “Last year, triggered by allegations of sexual harassment in the United States, numerous celebrities and everyday people complained about their own personal experiences with sexual harassment through Twitter and other social media in the #MeToo movement, which spread widely. We can expect an international trend of not condoning sexual harassment to continue to grow stronger. It is a requirement of the times to protect staff who claim to have suffered sexual harassment [...] Resolute measures must be taken to ensure that no employee is forced to silently bear such harassment.” (Uzaki, M. & Kamei, K. 25.04.2018.) Professor Kamei views this American movement against sexual harassment as positive and believes that it will get stronger, so that more women are able to come forward with their experiences of sexual harassment and violence. Kamei also argues for actions to be taken against sexual harassment and creating an atmosphere for anyone who has suffered this.

An article of *Asahi Shimbun* on the Fukuda-case “TV Asahi now defends giving sex-harassment tape to magazine” written by Minato Akiko and Mano Keito discuss the change of TV Asahi’s opinion of the releasing of the recordings: TV Asahi Corp. said its reporter’s handover to an outside party of secret recordings of sexual harassment by a powerful bureaucrat served the public’s interest, reversing its earlier position that her actions were “inappropriate” and “regrettable.” (Minato, A. & Mano, K. 25.04.2018.) This paragraph shows the neutrality of language, and TV Asahi is handled without criticism, unlike the government’s handling of the case in editorials (*Asahi Shimbun* [Editorial] 19.04.2018).

Minato and Mano discuss the releasing of the tapes as positive for the society, because it pays attention to sexual violence. They further continue to discuss the outcomes of this case: “The scandal led Fukuda to submit his letter of resignation on April 18”. They also mention the #MeToo-movement in Japanese context: “The scandal also led to a surge in the #MeToo movement among politicians and civil groups who say Japan has not done enough to combat sexual harassment” (Minato, A. & Mano, K. 25.04.2018). Their article emphasizes the positive outcome of the releasing of the tapes, the importance of raising voices against sexual harassment as well as connecting the #MeToo-movement in a positive way with this Fukuda-case.

Some of the Japanese language articles on the #MeToo-movement are very similar with the English language ones. In those articles, the origin of the movement is mentioned as well as its international appeal. For example, in an article by *Yomiuri Shimbun* on the Fukuda-case they write that

the #MeToo-movement started last year as several actresses accused the famous producer of sexual harassment and violence on Twitter.

セクハラ被害を訴える動きは世界的に広がっている。昨年、複数の著名な女優が米ハリウッドの大物映画プロデューサーの行為を告発。これを機に、多くの著名人や一般人が「#MeToo（私も）」として、自身の被害をツイッターなどで告発する運動が起きている。(Yomiuri Shimbun (no name) 19.04.2018.) The paraphrase itself is very short, but it was inserted into a news article on Fukuda, thus the writer was considering it important enough to mention.

Asahi Shimbun's article mentions the #MeToo-movement in their article on Ito. Journalists Kabayashi Sawao and Ito Erina discuss the origin of the movement, its spreading around the world and then its impacts on Japan. They write that there is a growing movement to say “no” to sexual violence. In 2017, the #MeToo movement, which started from Hollywood, focused on highlighting the sexual violence. The movement spread around the world. In Japan, about 30 "flower demonstrations" were held in about 30 locations nationwide on the 11th of this month to protest sexual violence.

性暴力に対して「ノー」の声を上げる動きは広がっている。2017年に米ハリウッドを震源に広がった#MeToo運動では、性被害が世界各地で告発された。日本でも毎月11日には全国約30カ所で、性暴力に抗議する「フラワーデモ」が開かれた。(岡林佐和、伊藤恵里奈 19.12.2019.) As previously mentioned, the “Flower Demonstrations” are demonstrations, where victims of sexual violence and the supporters protest to changes to the law. Behind these demonstrations is a nationwide grassroots movement “Flower Demo” (Tamura, M. 05.03.2020). Another very similar article, the editorial of *Asahi Shimbun*, connects Ito’s case, the #MeToo-movement and the Flower Demonstrations together and shortly explain these cases (朝日新聞 [Editorial] 20.12.2019).

Asahi Shimbun's article on Fukuda, the journalists write that the #MeToo-movement, which began in the United States, pays attention to sexual harassment and violence. In Japan, the sexual harassment report of the top administrative staff of the Ministry of Finance, who has been criticized for the Moritomo Gakuen issue, has attracted attention. They then wonder to what extent will the message of "#MeToo" spread.

米国で始まったセクハラや性被害を告発する運動「#MeToo」。日本では森友学園問題で批判が高まる財務省の事務方トップのセクハラ報道をきっかけに、注目されるようになった。テレビ朝日の記者以外にも被害を訴える女性はいる。「私もされた」の声はどこまで広がるのか。(上田耕司、亀井洋志、松岡かすみ、大塚淳史、岩下明日香,

黒田朔、横田一11.05.2018.) In this paragraph the journalists are interested in what extent the #MeToo-movement will spread in Japan. This could suggest doubt, or genuine wish that the movement will spread. Either way, they demonstrate the importance of the movement in connection with raising voices against sexual harassment.

One article, which did not include the #MeToo-movement, but connected the Fukuda-case with American civil rights movement of the 1950s is also worthwhile discussing. The article is part of their Vox Populi, Vox Dei daily column, which discusses various different topics, for example, Martin Luther King Jr. in column published on April 19th. *Asahi Shimbun* claims that “[t]he column provides *useful perspectives* on and *insights into* contemporary Japan”. Its article “VOX POPULI: Reporter’s case exposes Japan’s failure to deal with harassment” focuses on the importance of activism. (*Asahi Shimbun* [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018, italizing added.)

The column begins with introducing an incident, which later became one of the most famous acts in the black’s civil rights movement in America: “The civil rights movement was in its incipient stages when Rosa Parks (1913-2005), a black Montgomery, Alabama, woman, refused to give up her bus seat to a white passenger on Dec. 1, 1955.” (*Asahi Shimbun* [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018.) As discussed previously, black people were segregated until the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which made discrimination based on race, ethnicity, national origin, religion and sex illegal (Hersch, J. & Bennett Shinall, J. 2015).

Then the column explains why Parks acted the way she did: Parks “acted with firmness and quiet dignity. In explaining her conduct in her autobiography, she observed that the more the blacks put up with segregation, the worse they were treated.” (*Asahi Shimbun* [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018.) As written: “she acted with firmness and quiet dignity” in the 1950s against racial discrimination. However, as discussed in previous chapters, this modern day Social Justice Movement can take violent turn, as some of the activists argue that speech can be silenced with the use of violence (Campbell, B. & Manning, J. 2018: 1-12; Haidt, J. 17.12.2017), and thus differs from the movement of the 1950s in this regard, as well.

The column then connects the American case to Fukuda-case: “The circumstances and the nature of the issues Parks had to fight were obviously entirely different from what a female TV Asahi Corp. reporter has just gone through in today’s Japan. But I am sure the course of action the latter chose to take must have been just as daunting.” (*Asahi Shimbun* [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018.) The column frequently uses the pronoun “I” even though the writer is not mentioned. It only states that these columns of Vox Populi are written by “veteran Asahi Shimbun writers” (*Asahi Shimbun* [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018).

The column continues to make comparisons to the Parks-case: “According to TV Asahi, the woman asserted to her superior that the network should report sexual advances made to her by Junichi Fukuda [...] But when the network did nothing, she took her case to the *Shukan Shincho* weekly magazine. She reportedly came to the realization that victims of sexual harassment will be forced to continue to suffer in silence as long as the doings of high-profile figures, such as Fukuda, remained protected from the public eye. I can well imagine how tough it must have been for her to reach her decision. “ The phrase from Fukuda-case: “*She reportedly came to the realization that victims of sexual harassment will be forced to continue to suffer in silence*” is very similarly described as Parks’s explanation on her decision to act: “In explaining her conduct in her autobiography, *she observed that the more the blacks put up with segregation, the worse they were treated.* “(Asahi Shimbun [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018, italizing added.)

The column also criticizes the way the Abe administration handled the case: “The fact that the Finance Ministry called on victims to come forward and identify themselves illuminated a pathetically farcical aspect of Japanese society. “(Asahi Shimbun [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018.) This writer shows clearly his criticism towards this action of telling the victims of sexual harassment to come forward with their names, which would –as previously mentioned-cause them more stress. He also indicates that this aspect of not considering the victims and their suffering is a wider problem within Japanese society.

The column yet again discusses the American civil rights movement and highlights the importance of Park’s action: “In the mid-century United States, Park’s action galvanized the famed Montgomery buss boycott, a seminal campaign in the civil rights movement.” (Asahi Shimbun [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018.) Japan has been influenced by Western countries, especially after the Second World War the United States has had huge impact on Japanese society, as discussed in previous chapters (Reischauer, E. O. 2014 [1965]; Schirokauer, C. & Clark, D. N. 2004:370). Also feminism in Japan had been influenced by the Western counterparts, especially around the birth of the third wave feminism (Shigematsu, S. 2012: XIX, 172-174; Lenz, I. 2006:92-93; Ida, K. 01.02.2021: 27-43; Elson, D. R. 16.02.2021:1-8; Vincent, J. K. 2017: 251-266). Therefore it is natural to find stories from the West, especially American ones in articles on Japanese cases.

The column ends with highlighting the significance of civil activism: “In a manner of speaking, what starts out as just a “dot” can become a “line” and eventually evolve into a “plane”. And when that happens, a new era dawn.” (Asahi Shimbun [Vox Populi] 20.04.2018.) This phrase is very similar to what Herbert Marcuse wrote in his *Repressive Tolerance* with the connection of

that rational technocracy: capitalism suppresses human nature so much, that it bursts out in irrationalisms and thus by encouraging these irrationalisms the new revolutionaries are able to `smash` the system: “the break through the false consciousness may provide the Archimedean point for a larger emancipation-at an *infinitesimally small spot*, to be sure, but it is *on the enlargement of such small spots that the chance of change depends*” (Marcuse, H. 1970 [1965], italizing added.)

Conclusions

To conclude the analyses: Both the newspapers appeared to be against sexual harassment, criticizing the government on Fukuda case, highlighting the positive aspects of the #MeToo-movement, when it was mentioned. Some of the articles even suggested that American culture and civil movements are something to take inspiration from. Overall picture of both the #MeToo-movement and other civil rights movements were only seen as positive way to change society. Moreover, both newspapers also criticized the abusive comments on the victims of sexual harassment/violence and stated that changes towards these issues are vital.

In the *Asahi Shimbun* in Fukuda-case, the female journalist was working for TV Asahi, which initially refused to see any problem. Only after the story had been released by the weekly magazine *Shukan Shincho*, *Asahi Shimbun* started to write about the story, mostly criticizing the government at the same time ignoring its own part in the story. The few times *Asahi* wrote about its own involvement, it was mostly defending itself and labelled the criticism as unfair. Furthermore, *Asahi Shimbun* seems to have strong views on Abe administration, which they show especially in the editorials. Fukuda-case also indicated *Asahi Shimbun*'s contradictory interest on standing against sexual harassment. Also, the small number of articles on Ito's case compared to the number of Fukuda's case could suggest that they were more interested in criticising the government than on highlighting the importance of women's rights.

The Yomiuri Shimbun, on the other hand, was too cautious in its criticism in Fukuda's case. Although, it did criticize the government on handling of the case as well as Fukuda and Aso, but the criticism was lame. *Yomiuri Shimbun* also highlighted the importance of women's rights, but only occasionally. It could have done more so. Furthermore, it almost neglected Ito's case. As I have shown in chapter 4.4 Ito's case drew controversial attention, and many questioned her story and even attacked her on the social media. In that atmosphere, it could have been difficult to write about the case. However, the newspapers' job is to report news even when that news is difficult. *Yomiuri Shimbun* takes too cautious role and should be more open to report news in critical way. It should

take more issues on women's and minority's rights, with professional way and extend its news coverage.

As stated before, Japanese news reporting is said to be fairly neutral [critical but objective], and compared to the contemporary Western partisan media, it can be claimed so. However, as I have shown, *Asahi Shimbun* cannot claim to be entirely neutral, since it has some biased views regarding the government. Furthermore, the selection of newspaper articles were limited, since it covered only two cases, which dated before the year of 2020, when riots and looting in the USA took place, and since then the Western media and these SJWs had taken more extreme position and- as mentioned before-also Japan has been influenced by these incidents (Illmer, A. 27. 08.2020; Takahashi, R. 14.06.2020; Buie, N. 16.10.2020; BLM Tokyo homepage). Therefore it is not entirely representative of the present day situation.

9 Discussion

In my analysis of the two newspapers, *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, I concluded that while Japanese news reporting is fairly neutral (fairly objective, but still remaining critical, and without biases) compared to the contemporary Western media. Furthermore, both newspapers seemed to be against sexual harassment and violence against women. However, I also concluded that *Asahi Shimbun* mostly ignored its own part in the Fukuda-case and failed to be critical in that regards. Thus its position against violence against women is somewhat contradictory. However, because this data was fairly limited, it is difficult to make further conclusions on the matter.

Both newspapers also discussed the #MeToo-movement in positive way without criticism. The articles which discussed that topic, treated both the #MeToo-movement and other civil rights movements as positive way to change society. Some of the articles even indicated that American movements should be something to learn from. Thus these articles indicate that these Japanese newspapers regard the American movements only in positive way and seem to open to the possibility of those spreading into Japanese society. However, as I have pointed out in earlier chapters, these movements have negative side. Moreover, the civil rights movements of the black people in the 1950s is very different than the current American Social Justice Movement, in fact, it is more the opposite of it. It embraces victimhood.

The "victimhood culture", which is now spreading within the Western societies, and there is indications that it is also spreading into Japan together with intersectional feminism. This "culture of victimhood" (Campbell, B. & Manning, J. 2018; Lukianoff, G. & Haidt, J. 2019 [2018]), where

claiming someone as a victim, has not only become increasingly advantageous but also fashionable (Sullivan, D.; Landau, M. J.; Kay, A. C. & Rothschild, Z. K. 2012; Ok, E.; Quian, Y.; Strejcek, B. & Aquino, K. 02.07.2020:1.) Victim signalling is an open and intentional expression of person's disadvantages, suffering, oppression, or personal limitations, and is maximally effective at getting resources (for example money, respect or compassion) when connected with virtue signalling. Virtue signalling is defined as symbolic act, which can lead other people to come to favourable conclusions about the signaller's morality. (Ok, E.; Quian, Y.; Strejcek, B. & Aquino, K. 02.07.2020.) The victim status can be used as morally justifying deception, intimidation, and even violence by alleged victims for their own gains (Ok, E.; Quian, Y.; Strejcek, B. & Aquino, K. 02.07.2020). The Western left leaning mainstream media has already began integrating intersectionality into its "news" coverage, and launching smear campaigns against people they dislike (for example; Strassel, K. 13.10.2019; Breitbart 26.03.2019; Hignett, K. 22.01.2019; Milano, A. 20.01.2019a; Milano, A. 20.01.2019b; Flanagan, C. 25.01.2019 [23.01.2019]; Mervosh, S. 19.01.2019), report on "hate crimes", which later proved to have been hoaxes (Maxouris, C. 09.12.2021; Byrne, S. 06.03.2019; Gonzalez, S. 29.02.2019; Kilpeläinen, K. 03.11.2019; Salminen, S. 14.11.2019), and some journalists even openly call for violence (Jackson, J. 16.08.2017; the Guardian [no date]; Schwartz, I. 14.08.2018). Even though, these two Japanese newspapers are still very far from those Western partisan media, if the column Vox Populi, Vox Dei spreads and its basic idea is adapted into wider range of news topics, this could mean that the fairly neutral-but critical- news articles becomes more and more opinion pieces. That change eventually could lead to journalists to take sides without thorough investigation into the case itself and thus leading to false conclusions. This change does not make women's position any better.

This strategy of focusing on "oppressed" began already after the World War II within the historical and social science research at universities in the West, when a largely unorganized group of historians adopted and revised Marxist theory to found new kind of progressive history in the English-speaking West. The school also gave birth to African American history, ethnic history as well as women's history, which also acted as means of a political movement. (Howell, M. & Prevenier, W. 2001: 112-113; Weigand, K. 2001:6.) Some leftist scholars and activists focused on women's and ethnic minorities' issues in order to attack the state [and its people](Weigand, Kate 2001:6). Since it was difficult to actually fight the state, they needed to find means to making the state change its side (McClelland, J. S. 2003 [1996]: 562-563). In Japan, after the establishment of women's studies in the 1970s, they largely adapted Eurocentric paradigms of feminist knowledge production (Shigematsu, S. 2012:175), and after the 1990s, they adapted the version of the

intersectional feminism together with its narratives (Lenz, I. 2006:93-98; Maugère, A. & Ueno, C. 2010: 377-378; Dale, S. P. F. 2019). It would be important to look into those narratives, since those are integral part of the theories of the intersectionalism with its postcolonial, anti-Western and [anti-Japanese] rhetoric, disregarding the fact that various societies engaged into imperialism, colonialism, slavery and mass-rapes (for example Smith, A. 1972).

The cases of Ito and Fukuda have shown the need to discuss women's issues and especially violence and harassment against women within wider society as well as within the media. Both these cases have already influenced some changes on how to deal with sexual harassment and violence. The law has been changed (Ito, S. 2018; Kawahara, M. 25.10.2017), and measures against sexual harassment has been implemented (Asahi Shimbun [no name] 13.06.2018). However, these changes are still inadequate and it takes time before most problems are solved. Furthermore, it is not wise to embrace the current Western Social Justice Movement, because-as shown in previous chapters-it will cause more harm than good. It claims to be for "oppressed", including women, but its results in the real life have caused women to suffer (for example Brottsförebyggande Rådet 2017; House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee 2018; Neuding, P. 10.10.2017; The Local [no name]17.07.2018; Kerpner, J.; Weigl, K. & Staaf, A. 06.05.2018; Ljunggren, P.; Frisk, J. & Johansson, U. 11.10.2018 (23.08.2018); Bundeskriminalamt 08.05.2018; Tilastokeskus [no date]).

The intersectional ideas would reverse the progress already accomplished in Japan. For example, within the topic of sexual harassment, while Japan had concluded that someone suggesting "nightwork" is considered as sexual harassment (Stevens, G. & Kadota, E. 05.08.2015), some the Western universities are promoting prostitution for their students (Boyle, S. 28.03.2021; University of Leicester [no date]). For example, Canadian professor and prostitute herself, Naomi Sayers also an alumni in the Department of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at Western University, encouraged young women into prostitution (Sayers, N. & Hunt, S. 22.01.2015; Sayers, N. [no date]; Socialmoth13.06.2021). While researchers of Japan Hasunuma Linda and Shin Kiyoung argue that Japanese mass culture and "pornographic society" sexualize women and girls and thus also erotizes sexual violence and thus have negative affect towards women and the way sexual harassment and violence is seen (Hasunuma, L. & Shin, K.-Y. 2019: 104), since the third wave feminism in the West, intersectional feminists have started to view the sexualized human body as something worth promoting (Rampton, M. 2008), that aspect has led to some teachers and professors to teach and to promote porn. For example, professors Chris Straayer, Hope Weissman (Hunter, B. 26.08.2001), Professor of history and gender studies Hugo Schwyzer (Butler, J.

29.03.2013) and Annie Sprinkle, a prostitute, a “porn star” and a PhD candidate (Clewley, R. 21.01.2002). However, as a study by Brooke A. de Heer, Sarah Prior and Gia Hoegh indicates, there is a relationship between pornography consumption and sexually aggressive behavior (de Heer, B. A.; Prior, S. & Hoegh, G. 2021).

While Japanese society are now beginning to be more open to homosexual people (although, there is still work to be done), due to intersectionality some people in the West has started to harass them (Lowbridge, C. 26.10.2021; C, S. 11.11.2018; Tannehill, B. 14.12.2019). While in Japan, Ito Shiori argue for creating more help centres for rape victims (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017), at women’s shelter in Toronto, sex abuse victim was forced to accept preoperative transgender woman as her roommate (Brean, J. 02.08.2018). While in Japan Minister Aso’s question “whether the perpetrator had no human rights” (Nakagawa, S. 12.01.2020) was widely criticized (Asahi Shimbun [no name] 19.04.2018b), ISIS survivor Nadia Murad’s speech on Canadian university campus was cancelled due to the fear that it “could fuel islamophobia” (Kennedy, D. 27.11.2021).

Also, since many characteristics, for example valuing hard work, doing well in education, being on time, and which most Japanese people embrace, represents “whiteness” to Woke people and thus have started to discriminate against (East) Asians. (Raleigh, H. 09.03.2021; O’Neil, T. 27.02.2021; CACAGNY 23.02.2021; The United States Department Of Justice 13.08.2020). Furthermore, hate crimes against Asian are increasing in the West (CBS SF BayArea [no name] 08.02.2021; Yu, B. 09.02.2021; Raleigh, H. 09.03.2021). Thus, the idea of solving problems of violence and harassment against women will not be solved by intersectionalism. It had been born in specific historical circumstances to respond certain issues and thus its viewpoints are narrow and restricted.

In addition to regression on women’s rights, intersectionality would bring even more problems into the Japanese society. Instead of intersectionality, problems of women facing harassment and violence could be solved by other means. As Ito argued, changes needs to be done in many areas, such as the rape law still needs updating (Kawahara, M. 25.10. 2017). And as Gal Gerson argued, there is still need for liberal feminism, because of the still persistent violence against women (Gerson, Gal 2002: 794–810).

Furthermore, the problems of intersectionality should openly be discussed. However, due to bias views within academia, critical studies of intersectionalism is now being neglected (also Malia, M. 1999 [1997]). There is a need for academics to engage into investigating and doing research on

ideologies such as intersectionalism, and its effect on women's rights both within the West as well as within Japanese society.

10 Conclusions

During decades, especially after the third wave feminism and the adoption of the mutated postmodern theories including postcolonialism and queer theory, harassment and violence against women has been increasing in the West. Furthermore, since their denial of biological reality and pushing their queer theory, homosexuals face increasing intolerance and backlash of their rights. Moreover, also East Asian people have become to face increasingly hostile attitudes and even racism. With their penetration into news media world, some journalists are now calling for violence.

Moreover, any attempt to discuss these problems is being aggressively denied by name-calling, threats and cancelling any event that would have stressed these issues. The intersectional feminists and other SJWs analyse everything according to mutated postmodernist theories, which blame everything on imperialism, racism, sexism and (any kind of) phobia. This is their only way to analyse, and everyone is pressured to follow their narrow orthodoxy, and even questioning these ideas will be attacked furiously. However, instead of using these narrow theories, which seem to polarize society, academic research should be about truth seeking and trying to remain objective.

This intersectionalism has already spread into Japanese feminism and it dominates the narrative with its postcolonial and queer theory. In Japan, it is called the “critical international feminism” with its concentration on certain issues, especially Japanese colonial past. However, in Japan (as elsewhere in the world) sexual harassment and violence is persistent and keeps women down, and yet it still difficult topic. Most of the cases never go to court, because many women choose to be silent. The atmosphere is to blame the victim, and therefore makes it difficult to discuss the problem. There are, however, some cases that had broken the silence; Ito Shiori-case and Fukuda Junichi-case. Ito's case, ultimately improved the rape law. Moreover, Ito's case coincided with the USA-based #MeToo-movement, which has highlighted the problems of sexual harassment that women face. The movement, although with double standard, have gained worldwide attention, and has spread also to Japan.

As my analysis on the newspaper articles of Fukuda and Ito cases from Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun have shown, both these newspapers view this #MeToo-movement as purely positive, without critically researching the incidents and reflect whether this movement could be adapted as it is into Japanese society.

As has happened in the West, these intersectional feminists use the problems of “marginalized” people as a tool in order to get into power, and once there, they will neglect those people, as has already happened to women and homosexuals. If the feminists with the same ideology get into power in Japan, the country might follow the West and take a turn to worst for women’s and children’s rights.

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Annex 1

Table A

Statistics: Sexual Violence (per 100 000 people)

Years: 2009-2018

Countries: 9 European countries, which have been mostly impacted by mass immigration; France, Germany, Sweden, England and Wales, Denmark, Norway, and other countries with immigration but with lesser amount; Finland and Austria.

Source: Eurostat-Recorded offences by offence category - police data

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/crim_off_cat/default/table?lang=en

Recorded offences by offence category - police data (online data code: CRIM_OFF_CAT)		Settings: <i>Default presentation</i>						
Source of data: Eurostat								
Table								
TIME	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	
GEO								
Denmark	34.12	32.90	42.08	46.13	66.46	83.41	95.83	
Germany (until 1990 former territory of the FRG)	45.16	43.88	43.28	42.20	45.23	42.19	49.02	
Spain	19.24	19.10	20.36	16.14	18.79	20.34	24.89	
France	41.03	42.34	46.95	50.06	56.24	62.25	73.82	
Austria	48.05	44.72	41.90	40.57	50.53	48.48	50.16	
Finland	59.87	55.06	51.82	50.66	58.10	55.49	64.16	
Sweden	170.56	155.83	175.33	156.32	179.48	188.83	190.45	
Norway	71.72	69.80	73.34	84.37	106.70	107.16	109.45	
England and Wales	69.06	82.57	137.79	184.81	210.19	258.05	274.81	

Special value:
(-) not available

Disclaimer

Annex 2

Figure B 1

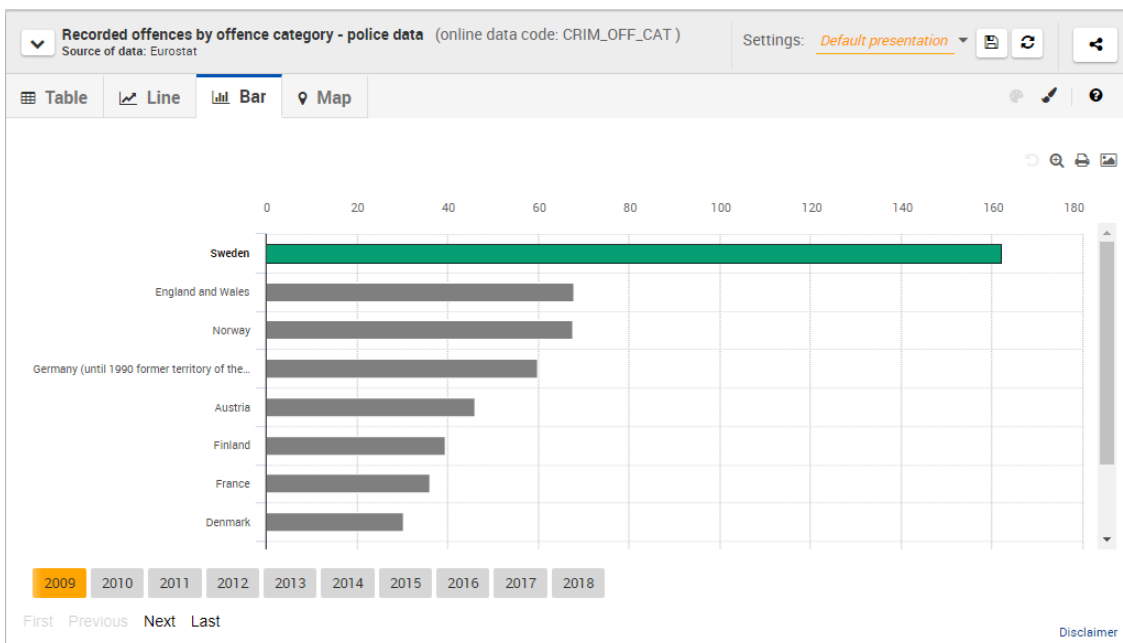
Statistics: Sexual Violence (per 100 000 people)

Year: 2009

Countries: 9 European countries, which have been mostly impacted by mass immigration; France, Germany, Sweden, England and Wales, Denmark, Norway, and other countries with immigration but with lesser amount; Finland and Austria.

Source: Eurostat-Recorded offences by offence category - police data

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/crim_off_cat/default/table?lang=en



Annex 3

Figure B 2

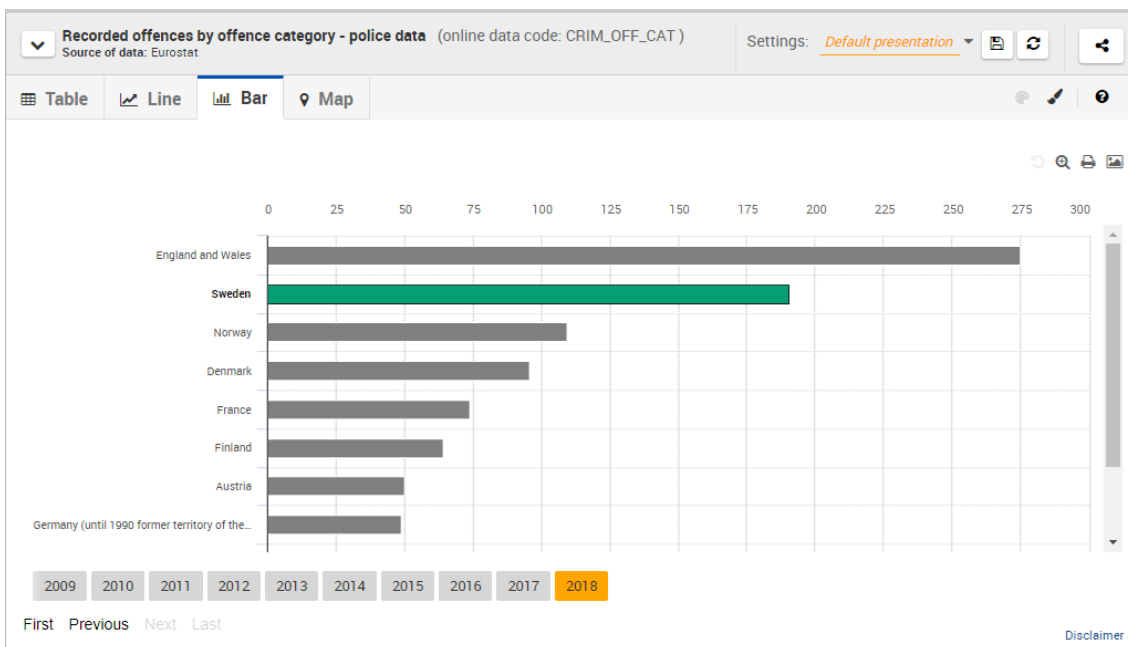
Statistics: Sexual Violence (per 100 000 people)

Year: 2018

Countries: 9 European countries, which have been mostly impacted by mass immigration; France, Germany, Sweden, England and Wales, Denmark, Norway, and other countries with immigration but with lesser amount; Finland and Austria.

Source: Eurostat-Recorded offences by offence category - police data

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/crim_off_cat/default/table?lang=en



Annex 4

Table 3

The English language articles of Fukuda-case by Asahi Shimbun.

Date	Name of the article	Name of the writer(s)	Length
13.04.2018	Aso: No inquiry of harassment claim against top official	Not mentioned	441
16.04.2018	Vice finance minister denies harassment of female reporter	Not mentioned	345
17.04.2018	EDITORIAL: Sex harassment allegations latest blow to Abe administration	Editors of the newspaper	603
17.04.2018	Ministry asks sex harassment victims to step forward	Doi, Shimpei & Maruyama, Hikari	468
18.04.2018	Ministry will further harm victims of sex harassment	Not mentioned	744
18.04.2018	Top Finance Ministry official resigns, denies sex harassment	Not mentioned	137
19.04.2018	EDITORIAL: Sex harassment debacle is latest crisis staining administration	Editors of the newspaper	708
19.04.2018	TV Asahi: `Sex harassed` reporter taped conversations	Not mentioned	658
19.04.2018	Go now, Aso: Finance minister called on to quit by opposition	Not mentioned	348
20.04.2018	VOX POPULI: Reporter's case exposes Japan's failure to deal with harassment	Not mentioned	440
20.04.2018	#MeToo takes off as opposition lawmakers raise papers in protest	Yamagishi, Kazuo	239
20.04.2018	Diet proceedings stalled after LDP says no to Aso's resignation	Not mentioned	432
20.04.2018	TV Asahi files protest with ministry over sex advances claim	Not mentioned	631
23.04.2018	LDP lawmaker: Diet protesters 'far from sexual harassment'	Not mentioned	261
24.04.2018	Punitive action held off against top	Not mentioned	452

	Finance Ministry official		
24.04.2018	LDP lawmaker blasts reporter's whistle-blowing over harassment	Not mentioned	257
25.04.2018	EDITORIAL: Fukuda scandal hardly signifies society where women can shine	Editors of the newspaper	555
25.04.2018	TV Asahi now defends giving sex-harassment tape to magazine	Minato, Akiko & Mano, Keita	722
27.04.2018	Finance Ministry recognizes sex harassment by resigned official	Not mentioned	312
08.05.2018	Aso's remark on sex harassment fuels demands for resignation	Not mentioned	517
09.05.2018	EDITORIAL: Aso has no place in Abe's 'society where women can shine'	Editors of the newspaper	506
09.05.2018	Tampering with official records individual matter, says Aso	Ito, Maiko	184
10.05.2018	Finance Ministry higher-ups get schooling in sex harassment	Kuribayashi, Fumiko	436
12.05.2018	Aso, under fire for sex scandal remark, finally eats his words	Kasai, Tetsuya	433
15.05.2018	Chastened Aso apologizes to victim of sexual harassment	Ito, Maiko & Kasai, Tetsuya	354
21.05.2018	Survey: Cabinet fails to resolve Abe scandals but approval rate up	Not mentioned	596
01.06.2018	Noda win's Abe's support in battle against sexual harassment	Minami, Akira	183
13.06.2018	Politicians dodge ministry's sexual harassment clampdown	Not mentioned	600
24.06.2019	EDITORIAL: Aso must go, even though Diet rejected motions against him	Editors of the newspaper	777

Annex 5

Table 4

The English language articles of Ito-case by Asahi Shimbun.

Date	Name of the article	Name of the writer(s)	Length
25.10.2017	Journalist in alleged rape case calls for change in Criminal Law	Kawahara, Michiko	575
06.12.2017	Ex-TBS reporter denies rape in lawsuit filed by journalist	Goto, Ryoto	503
12.04.2019	Journalist Shiori Ito gets help with fight for damages over alleged rape	Mishima, Azusa	290
18.12.2019	Court orders ex-TV reporter to pay redress over rape of journalist	Not mentioned	504
20.12.2019	EDITORIAL: Ito's court battle for justice has highlighted Japan's social ills	Editors of the newspaper	637

Annex 6

Table 5

The English language articles of Fukuda-case by Yomiuri Shimbun.

Date	Name of the article	Name of the writer(s)	Length
17.04.2018	Finance Ministry official faces harassment probe	Not mentioned	473
21.04.2018	EDITORIAL/Sexual harassment case puts focus on human rights, journalism ethics	Editors of the newspaper	596
24.04.2018	Abe Cabinet approval rating slumps to 39% in new poll	Not mentioned	449
24.04.2018	Abe`s diplomatic efforts fail to boost support for Cabinet	Not mentioned	703
25.04.2018	How firms should handle sexual harassment	Opinion: Kamei Katsuyuki/Kansai University Professor	1035

Annex 7

Table 6

The English language article of Ito-case by Yomiuri Shimbun.

Date	Name of the article	Name of the writer(s)	Length
07.12.2019	BOUND TO PLEASE/Reporters tell of breaking high-impact story of sexual abuse	Kao, Yung-Hsiang	572

Annex 8

Table 7

The Japanese language articles of Fukuda-case by Asahi Shimbun.

Due to lack of enough space, I have omitted the information on date. The missing information can be found in references, primary sources.

Name of the article	Name of the writer(s)	Length (characters)
次官セクハラ報道、財務相は処分否定 事実確認もしない考え	栗林史子	593
財務省、音源確認へ 週刊誌が公開 福田次官セクハラ報道	Not mentioned	559
財務次官、セクハラ否定 財務省調査	Not mentioned	738
セクハラの調査、財務省協力要請 女性記者に 手法に懸念も	土居新平、丸山ひかり	1022
(社説) 財務次官問題 混乱は深まるばかりだ	Editors of the newspaper	949
財務相、セクハラ調査手法の正当性主張 野田総務相は「家族にも相談できない」 指摘	笹井継夫	521
次官、セクハラ全面否定 「会食した覚えはない」 財務省調査	Not mentioned	1978
「次官は説明を」 自公幹部が一致 セクハラ発言報道	Not mentioned	523
退場、疑惑は認めず 「会話の記憶はない」 福田次官、苦笑も交え報道対応	根岸拓朗、北沢拓也、 仲村和代、三島あずさ	2159
財務次官セクハラ被害、テレ朝会見 「社員、身を守るため録音」	Not mentioned	693
(社説) 財務次官辞任 幕引きにはならない	Editors of the newspaper	945
福田氏否定に批判の声 「セクハラ、理解してない」	Not mentioned	1672
麻生氏辞任要求で一致	Not mentioned	1293

野党、任命責任を追及 福田財務次官辞任		
(時時刻刻) 財務省、信頼失墜に拍車 かばい続け追加調査も配慮欠く 福田財務次官辞任	Not mentioned	2816
「全体としてみると違う」 福田次官、改めてセクハラ否定	Not mentioned	427
福田財務次官辞任 セクハラ発言報道で 本人は発言否定 「職責全うできぬ」	Not mentioned	1768
セクハラ否認、怒り噴出 官僚の認識、がくぜん／感覚、数十年前 のもの 財務省なお認定避ける	仲村和代、三島あずさ、 湊彬子、河村能宏	2690
麻生財務相「進退考えず」 セクハラ報道「事実か定かでない」	ワシントン＝笠井哲也	571
テレ朝、財務省に抗議文 セクハラ調査、徹底求める 福田次官、なお否定	Not mentioned	986
セクハラ、もう黙認しない 福田財務次官の処分、焦点	栗林史子、伊藤舞虹、 三島あずさ、吉沢英将、丸山 ひかり	1678
福田次官、処分先送り 政府、辞任を承認 退職金も留保	Not mentioned	1005
(社説) 福田次官辞任 「女性が輝く」の惨状	Editors of the newspaper	957
財務省、異例の2トップ不在 福田氏辞任、処分は先送り	Not mentioned	1202
福田前次官、減給処分へ 「セクハラあった」 財務省	Not mentioned	469
セクハラ認定、福田前次官減給 財務省	Not mentioned	481
(社説) 福田次官処分 これでは再生できない	Editors of the newspaper	971
「セクハラ罪っていう罪はない」 麻生財務相が発言、調査打ち切る考え	Not mentioned	497
講師「常識とズレている」 セクハラ問題、財務省幹部ら研修	栗林史子	741

テレ朝女性記者がセクハラ被害訴えても居直った、福田次官の“余罪” ワイド特集	本誌・上田耕司、亀井洋志、松岡かすみ、大塚淳史、岩下明日香／黒田朔、横田一	1623
「はめられたとの意見、本当に事実かも」 麻生氏、福田前次官のセクハラめぐり	Not mentioned	404
「はめられた」麻生氏が撤回 セクハラ問題	笠井哲也	734
次官セクハラ問題、麻生氏やっとな謝罪	伊藤舞虹	525

Annex 9

Table 8

The Japanese language articles of Ito-case by Asahi Shimbun.

Due to lack of enough space, I have omitted the information on date. The missing information can be found in references, primary sources.

Name of the article	Name of the journalist(s)/writer(s)	Length (characters)
「性被害者、救済の仕組みを」 伊藤詩織さんが手記、会見	河原理子	636
(書評) 『Black Box ブラックボックス』 伊藤詩織 (著)	評・斎藤美奈子 (文芸評論家) [Review by literary critic] SAITO Minako	903
元TBS記者に賠償命令 伊藤詩織さんへ合意なき性行為、認定 東京地裁	Not mentioned	900
伊藤詩織氏が勝訴「傷は癒えぬ」 元TBS記者からの「合意ない性行為」 認定 東京地裁判決	岡林佐和、伊藤恵里奈	2966
「生きていてよかった」 伊藤詩織さん、勝訴判決を報告 ／東京都	河原理子	572
(社説) 伊藤氏の勝訴 社会の病理も問われた	Editors of the newspaper	1034

Annex 10

Table 9

The Japanese language articles of Fukuda-case by Yomiuri Shimbun.

Due to lack of enough space, I have omitted the information on date. The missing information can be found in references, primary sources.

Name of the article	Name of the writer(s)	Length (characters)
次官セクハラ報道 財務省調査行わず	Not mentioned	451
セクハラ報道 次官注意 財務相 処分はしない方針	Not mentioned	638
次官セクハラ報道 与野党が説明要求	Not mentioned	422
「次官セクハラ」財務省調査 外部に委託 与党には辞任論	Not mentioned	1083
「被害者申し出ないと」 セクハラ疑惑 財務相 福田氏を擁護	Not mentioned	594
次官セクハラ」外部調査 財務省方針 本人は疑惑否定	Not mentioned	540
セクハラ報道 財務省の調査全文	Not mentioned	1875
セクハラ疑惑 福田氏 テレ朝調査批判 財務省内 「国民感覚とずれ」	Not mentioned	1267
福田財務次官 辞任へ 「職責果たせず」 セクハラは否定	Not mentioned	814
テレ朝「セクハラは事実」 記者、週刊誌に録音提供 報道局長会見	Not mentioned	659
「おわび」頭は下げず 福田氏辞任へ 崩れる信頼 財務省ため息	Not mentioned	915
財務次官セクハラ問題 篠塚報道局長 第三者に情報 本人は反省	Not mentioned	1127
麻生氏「進退考えていない」 福田氏疑惑 抗議文「大きな字で」	Not mentioned	467
「セクハラ」 テレ朝が抗議文 財務省	Not mentioned	834

調査法見直しも		
〔社説〕財務次官辞任 問われる人権配慮と報道倫理	Editors of the newspaper	925
財務省「立ち直れぬ」セクハラ疑惑 福田氏改めて否定	Not mentioned	724
テレビ朝日提出 抗議文の全文	Not mentioned	413
財務省、福田氏再調査へ セクハラ疑惑 テレ朝の抗議で	Not mentioned	817
福田次官の辞任承認 退職金保留 処分なら減額 セクハラ疑惑	Not mentioned	661
福田次官 処分前の辞任に批判 「謝罪もない」野党反発	Not mentioned	863
自民に麻生氏責任論も セクハラ疑惑 福田次官の辞任承認	Not mentioned	649
福田次官 セクハラ疑惑残し退場 テレ朝社長「対応を反省」	Not mentioned	1018
福田前次官 処分へ 財務省 減給20%6か月 退職金減額	Not mentioned	492
福田前次官を処分 財務省セクハラ認定 減給20%6か月	Not mentioned	505
財務省、続く信用失墜 福田前次官 世論に追い込まれ処分	Not mentioned	1572
セクハラ問題 調査打ち切り 野党批判 財務省発表 福田氏なお否定	Not mentioned	465
麻生氏 「はめられた」撤回 前次官セクハラ問題巡り	Not mentioned	470

Annex 11

Table 10

The Japanese language articles of Ito-case by Yomiuri Shimbun.

Due to lack of enough space, I have omitted the information on date. The missing information can be found in references, primary sources.

Name of the article	Name of the journalist(s)/writer(s)	Length (characters)
性暴力被害 相談407件 センター開設7か月 県警認知24件と大差=富山	Not mentioned	1453
性暴力ないまちへ シンポ 県条例の周知目指す=福岡	Not mentioned	447
元TBS記者に330万円賠償命令 女性暴行訴訟で東京地裁	Not mentioned	538
性的被害を認定 「傷は癒えない」 元TBS記者に賠償命令	Not mentioned	550