



Title	UNRAVELING GENDER IN REPRODUCTIVE ISSUES : AN ANALYSIS OF NEWS REPORTS ON THE CONTRACEPTIVE PILL IN THE POSTWAR PRESS
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論文内容の要旨

Introduction

From different parts of the world men and particularly women, have been discussing to what degree they may ideologically and concretely influence attitudes, values and practices in the sphere of human reproduction. Some of the critics are oriented for instance, towards population control programs that fail to take into account individuals' perceptions of their health needs and how people fit within a larger set of aspirations for social and economic empowerment in their imposition of authoritative measures or restricting birth control alternatives, including abortion. One of the results was the introduction of reproductive rights into human rights debates international forums in the last century. Particularly, feminist health and women's rights movements and networks have debated for decades over the degree that personal and women's rights movements and networks have debated for decades over the degree that personal and social determinants permeate women's reproductive decisions, sexual and maternal experiences, contraception, abortion and childbearing. In addition, some argue that a women's reproductive career is not only socially determined but also lifelong and highly gender-specific in the male dominated context of many societies today. The discourse surrounding human reproduction has many social implications and as does the definition of gender in the patriarchal order.

As one birth control alternative, the discourse around oral contraceptives offers an example of the complexities and conflicts of social interests involved as Watkins shows in the American case where the spread of the pill changed the conception of sex, medicine and technology. It can indeed be proven that the politics of the birth control culture related to the pill created a set of particular concerns and interest among average individuals and certain interest groups. Common people, as users, have something to add to the discussion about the pros and cons of oral contraceptives. Women's and men's sexual practices, beliefs and values are also affected by age, civil status, life cycle, economic conditions, religious, ethnic identity or other social circumstances regarding reproductive controls. With regard to social and economic power, birth control is also big business. Due to the fact that oral contraceptives are a medical issue, doctors and specialists can use their status as experts to judge this contraceptive in order to create or maintain their power. Moreover, the governments is

responsible for the regulation of the drug market and the planning of health policies while the pharmaceutical companies profit from sales of the pill and put a lot of time and effort into negotiations over compliance with government regulations.

There was much medical controversy over the safety of oral contraceptives in the sixties (whichy has never been resolved), but there are also powerful benefits that can outweigh the risks. In the United States and other Western countries, the growing public controversy over the safety of the pill clashed with its early popularity. As a result of extensive pharmaceutical research, much was learned about the potential adverse effects as well as the potential health benefits of hormonal contraception. However, it can be said that the reputation of contraceptives in general as well as the pill, are very much subject to local folklore concerning their safety and side effects. Many factors influence how people evaluate or think about contraceptives. In the case of Western developed countries, the pill means for many women more command over reproduction than ever before, and an increased consciousness over their right to control their own reproductive capacity. However, in Japan, the field of reproductive controls and its relation to the pill differs greatly.

Background to the contraceptive pill debate

The history of the oral contraceptive pill is very unique in Japan. In 1960 it gained legal approval and since then, high and medium dose formulations have been sold by prescription but only for gynecological treatment. During these years, Japanese society was highly sensitized to drug-related scandals and the government was severely criticized and repeatedly sued for compensation. In that context, hormonal contraceptives were also judged regarding safety and as a result, their approval was postponed in the mid sixties and again in the nineties. During these decades, the reasons given for the refused approval of the pill for use as a contraceptive were possible negative social impacts due to dangerous side effects, a loosening of public morals, changes to Japan's economy, the spread of AIDS and more recently, the pollution of the environment and ecosystem.

As one of the most important social actors in the provision of birth control methods, the medical profession has had a great effect on the role of the pill in Japanese society. Unlike other developed countries where physicians have shown much interest in women's reproductive health, including the provision of contraceptives, the Japanese medical community has not been particularly supportive of the promotion of any method of contraception. First of all, doctors have had almost no participation in any birth control activity since the Second World War. On the other hand, from 1948, only qualified physicians have been able to perform legal abortions and therefore have a monopoly over this very lucrative business. In general, it can be said that the medical profession has not been particularly supportive of any change in the governmental policy about oral contraceptives until the mid-eighties.

Among women's groups, contraceptives have not been seen as an important feminist matter. There was only a small group called Chupiren who demanded the approval of the pill in the seventies. Since the eighties, some feminists and health-related networks have argued that the pill is one of many other methods indispensable for Japanese women's reproductive rights. However, it has been said that the feminist movement rejected the pill as a priority because of such things as a fear of its side effects and other health risks, a strategy to maintain (or fight against any change in) the abortion law instead of fighting for oral contraceptives, an opposition to increasing woman's burden in the belief that the pill causes an unequal responsibility in reproductive matters between the couple, among other reasons.

In January of 1999, the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare officially approved Viagra, in an unusually short time for a foreign drug. This anti-impotence medicine, potentially life-threatening as well as having other side effects, was approved in only six months. As a result, women's groups and those in medical

circles criticized the ministry's differentiated drug policy against the pill. Six month later, in June of 1999, the low-dosage pill was officially permitted for hormonal contraception by prescription.

Objectives and Methodology

The aim of this study is to examine the ongoing definition of sexual difference that shapes almost all Japanese women's lives and also to explore the power of the media to construct this difference via their role in "making sense of the world" which is clearly visible in the debate of the pill.

The debate about a new birth control method, such as the pill, will show certain basic dimensions common to any discussion about a birth control method. One dimension is related to the world of social values and practices which are strengthened or put into question with the introduction of a birth control method. Another dimension is related to those to whom society ascribes legitimacy as speakers about the subject, such as doctors, researchers, health policy planners, women's groups, or pharmaceutical companies. Following this, it is also important to show what kind of criteria are appropriate to judge a birth control, as for example economic, scientific, political or social criteria. Then, the images of women using a birth control are also important to consider. If the pill has such a negative image, is it because the pill contradicts a socially accepted sexual life style for Japanese women? Moreover, considering the pill as one birth control choice, it is also valuable to examine how Japanese reproductive rights are defined. A debate of a birth control method also portrays how gender roles and reproductive issues are socially constructed. In this way, the media debate can reproduce or reexamine the traditional way of seeing contraception as a woman's issue and therefore her responsibility, or how women's sexuality is encapsulated in the social order or not. Another dimension is related to the nature of this contraceptive; the pill being a medical contraceptive, the debate can also reveal how the socially legitimated controllers of birth control education and contraception distribution shape the way women make informed decisions about contraception, manage women's sexuality and empower women autonomously on reproductive matters. Finally, analysis of debates about birth control show which social issues are strengthened as well as what social and political topics people are reluctant to discuss.

The empirical core of this study is the analysis of all the reports in the Asahi Shinbun about the pill from the first article published in 1955 up to the approval of the pill – more than 150 news releases including hard news and series. The content of the news stories, which has structure, order, viewpoints and values, are examined through an analysis of the news sections or columns, the headlines, the lead, the macro-structure, the argumentation, the news sources and visual devices of the news text. I used a combination of quantitative methods on hard news and other isolated pieces of news, and qualitative methods on series – or long articles providing background, editorials, opinions and interviews – published in parts over a series of days.

Main Findings

From the mid-fifties to the early nineties, news about oral contraceptive pills appeared in a "medical discursive frame". The term "discursive frame" refers to a set of arguments or interpretations that give meaning to the issue of oral contraceptive pills. The Japanese press, in reporting about this new birth control method, produced and reproduced a medical discursive frame and influenced and established the criteria where this discussion would be developed. This medical discursive frame evaluated the pill negatively and resulted in a closed or restricted area of discussion that was impossible to overcome.

This "medical discursive frame" in the Japanese case has repercussions on the definition of gender and reproductive issues because it creates discrimination between lay knowledge and scientific knowledge, sets medical science up as non-gendered, perpetuates biomedical approaches to women's health, strengthens traditional definitions of contraceptive choices and reinforces a socially-controlled way of considering sexuality and

procreation.

The medical discourse defined reproductive health as measured in terms of physical symptoms in women's bodies while the choice of a contraceptive should be a calculation of benefits and disadvantages in the user's life. The legacy of this medical definition of a healthy woman is also the result of male dominance in medical science and is related to the engendered culture of old and predictable dichotomies related to women's and men's roles.

The press was also an exemplary reproducer of the gendered division of roles in society. These conservative views of gender roles implied narrow definitions of "woman" and "man", because a real discussion or understanding of reproductive issues would mean a discussion of sensitive and controversial subjects, such as basic conditions to guarantee women's sexual freedom, sexual education or teenage sexuality. These issues were excluded by the press when reporting about oral contraceptive pills, right up to the nineties.

In the nineties, these exclusions appeared to be erased for the first time. The "medical discursive frame" about hormonal contraception changed in the nineties into what can be called a "market discursive frame." This refers to the current situation in mass media industries, which in their interrelationship with capitalism and technology, shape and construct an emerging mass consumer society. In this frame, news about Viagra as well as contraceptive pills reported both drugs as consumption commodities. The press appears to have been transformed into a kind of advertising industry pushing the large-scale production and dissemination of goods. Old restrictions related to moral questions, political implications or cultural myths seem to have disappeared and all consumers' needs are equalized in this market discursive frame.

Comparatively, it is the realm of individual freedom and consumer choice which dominates press discourses of both the contraceptive pill and Viagra in the late nineties. Both these drugs help to satisfy a need or desire of the user. In any case, Viagra helped the pill to reach the same status as a form of merchandise because both of these pharmaceutical technologies came to be understood in "personal" terms. It is the extreme individualism of the current capitalist system which underlined the reports of these drugs in the press at the end of the century.

Comparing the discourses around these two drugs in relation to the gender of their users, it is clear that the newspaper reports fortify the current division of gender roles related to sexuality. Viagra is portrayed as satisfying one of the most primary requirements for a "male" identity and women are controlling their reproductive capacity. The press logic results in an equality of consumer choices to be informed and respected in their desires and needs, as long as both maintain the current division of roles regarding reproductive issues.

Reporting about the pill, the market discursive frame affects gender and reproductive issues in that it causes a depoliticization of the concept of reproductive rights, produces a capitalist conception of medicine, and presents gender in a more conservative way than the medical frame.

Finally, this depoliticized way of reporting has resulted in an extremely conservative definition of gender. With Viagra, there were no scientific and cultural obstacles to its uses and a social recognition of strength as part of men's identities was unquestionably encouraged. With oral contraceptives, the disciplinary power of the media produced the same result; women, regardless of civil status, age, or economic conditions are supposedly satisfied by the new birth control in order to fulfill their social role as agent in reproductive decisions. I am not suggesting that all the changes that have taken place within the press are for the worse, but it seems clear that the media intersects Japanese women's concerns with a very narrow definition of gender. In this context, what was basically a feminization of press coverage fails to challenge the current arrangements of power, or the various social sites where the control of woman via sexuality and reproductive capacity are taking place.

論文審査の結果の要旨

本論文は、日本におけるリプロダクティーヴ・ヘルス／ライツ（性と生殖をめぐる健康／権利）問題について、メディア、特に新聞紙上に映し出されたピルの問題に焦点を絞って、分析を加えたものである。

この一〇年ほどの国際的なリプロダクティーヴ・ヘルス／ライツについての議論の広がりのなかで、日本社会は、他の国と比べて、ある意味できわめて「特徴のある」傾向をもっている。というのも、中絶の法的な許可がいち早くなされた国である一方、ピル（経口避妊薬）に対しては、もっとも根強い抵抗をし続けた国であるからである。

本論文は、こうした日本におけるピル受容への抵抗の構造を、利害団体や政府の動き、サリドマイド事件をはじめとする薬害事件の反応などの社会的な動向や、中ピ連などの女性運動の動きやそれへの反発といった諸現象と結び付けつつ、主に新聞紙上に映し出された言説／表現を対象に、光をあてたものである。

論旨は一貫しており、また新聞紙上のピルをめぐる言説の分析の手法も鮮やかである。今後の日本のリプロダクティーヴ・ヘルス／ライツやジェンダー政策にとっても、多くの示唆を与えており、博士（人間科学）の学位の授与に十分に値するものと判定する。