

**VID**  
MISJONSHØGSKOLEN

**THE RISE OF WOMEN LEADERS IN THE JAPANESE WORKPLACE**

A Bushido Perspective

FOR THE COURSE:  
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BY  
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## Abstract

The primary purpose of the thesis is to understand the main challenges faced by women in leadership positions in Japan with the Bushido as a theoretical perspective. The other objectives of the project involve investigating the main challenges women come across to become leaders in the marketplace in Japan. For the project to achieve the objectives of the research, the methodology that will be adopted for the present study will be text studies, using a comprehensive literature review of leadership in Japan in the field of Social Sciences, descriptive data about the political, private sectors and societal challenges. The collected data from the text studies will then be analyzed in view of the aims of the project. I will apply the Bushido principles as analytical tool to analyze and deepen the understanding of Japanese women's roles as leaders in Japanese society. The Bushido consists in the codes that were followed by the samurais in Japan. These codes are deeply rooted in the society and influences the way women are seen and treated. The Japanese society is a collectivist culture that affects the way Japanese Women are understood and the challenges they find in the path to become leaders. Thus, the results from this reflection will be discussed in view of the relevant facts and figures presented. The author will provide an independent understanding of the Japanese Culture and the Bushido including their leadership style and the roles of women play in the society. Overall, the conclusion of the project will be presented based on the study findings and in the context of analyzed results.

## Acknowledgments

I owe my deepest gratitude to Jesus, my Lord and Savior. Author of my faith. I appreciate how God created diversity; I ended up in Norway writing a Master's thesis with focus to serve the Japanese woman in leadership, and I grew up in Brazil. When there is a celebration of diversity, the unity comes into place. Through this thesis I started to appreciate more of my Japanese background and see the positive attributes of the Japanese women.

It is with a grateful heart that I acknowledge the help of my supervisor, Terese Bue for her critical suggestions and important remarks.

I dedicate this Master thesis to my parents, Hiroshi Nakashima and Masumi Nakashima who taught me leadership by serving others. They taught me principles as serving with excellence, having a heart of gratitude, to see beauty and appreciate it around us. My mother is a strong woman with a soft heart and she showed me how a Japanese female leader can put the family in the first place, and see that as a full time job to be done with excellence. Thank you for dedicating your life to teach me how to love each other. My father always encouraged me to be my best version of the Nakashima's.

My father taught me that being a samurai descendent means to be loyal to the superiors, to honor and respect them wholeheartedly. In this way, I try to put my God first in my work as well.

I would not be able to find words to show my gratitude to my brother in Christ and good friend Laudecir Daniel Kern that supported me throughout the entire process, spending hours to encourage me, correct me and support me to finish this project. I appreciate the tea times that we had and the many tips you gave me as you write your Doctoral thesis. Your friendship is a gift from God to me in Norway.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One INTRODUCTION.....	1
Women as Leaders in a Contemporary Japan.....	1
Research Question and Aims.....	3
Research Method.....	4
The Theoretical Perspective of Bushido.....	7
Purpose of the Project.....	10
Significance of the Research.....	11
Chapter Two HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	12
The Japanese History.....	12
<i>Feudalism</i> .....	15
<i>The Meiji Restoration</i> .....	17
Chapter Three JAPANESE WOMEN.....	20
The Japanese Culture and Women.....	20
<i>On</i> .....	21
<i>Expectations from the Japanese Parents</i> .....	23
<i>Social Relations in Japan</i> .....	25
Chapter Four THE RISE AND CHALLENGES.....	27
Political challenges.....	28
<i>Government Regulations of Daycare and Nursery</i> .....	28
<i>Hidden children</i> .....	28
<i>Types of Japanese Daycare Centers</i> .....	30
Points system.....	33
<i>Strict Immigrations Laws</i> .....	34
<i>Overpopulation and Population Decline in Japan</i> .....	35
<i>Social Security and Tax Breaks Discrimination by Gender</i> .....	35
Female Representation in the Government.....	36
<i>Historical De-emphasis of Female Leadership</i> .....	36
Where Women Reign.....	37

Where Women Are Few.....	38
<i>Lack of Female Representation in the Government</i> .....	38
<i>The Importance of Women in Leadership</i> .....	38
<i>Taking as inspiration Tomoe Gozen</i> .....	38
Chapter Five THE PRIVATE SECTOR.....	40
Classifying Work Opportunities by Gender, Statistical Discrimination and Wage Gap.....	40
<i>Ippan-shoku and Sōgōshoku</i> .....	44
<i>Pay Gap, Part-time vs Full-time Benefits</i> .....	46
<i>Inflexible Employment Contracts</i> .....	46
<i>Ambiguous Paternity Leave Standards</i> .....	47
Chapter Six THE FEMALE ROLE.....	49
Fathers and Family.....	51
Low Mentorship.....	52
Chapter Seven CONCLUSION.....	54
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	58

## Chapter One

# INTRODUCTION

### **Women as Leaders in a Contemporary Japan**

When it comes to the topic of Japanese women, the first thought that might come to a western mind can be a lady wearing a kimono doing a tea ceremony. This image of a geisha or a delicate type of woman who is dedicated to take care of her children and masters the *ikebana*, an art flower arrangement technique. From this background the topic of Japanese women in leadership positions has gained a stronger focus from the past decade, because of the importance of their position and role in the workplace and for the society.

Each day the topic on Japanese women gains space in international media. Notably, an article from Washington Post from August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014 comments on how the Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe has the goal to elevate the amount of women in leadership positions in the business realm by 30 percent by 2020.<sup>1</sup> At the Diplomat magazine, another article mentioned how Abe has been looking to increase the women's workforce participation rate, adding plans for more childcare assistance to lighten the burden for the working mothers.<sup>2</sup> However, the *Nippon Hoso Kyokai* (NHK), one of the most popular TV channels exposed the issue by saying that Japan is positioned way behind on global measures of gender equality and women's empowerment. Its aging population and small workforce obligated the government in trying to give women opportunities to play a bigger role in the nation.<sup>3</sup>

The decision to increase the number of women in the Japanese workforce has come with various challenges. Such challenges are based on what the society has marked by the high level of gender exclusion. For example, across the world, there is unequal treatment of women, and to some societies they are less valued in terms of access to power and control of resources.<sup>4</sup> According to the World Economic Forum report, the country is placed in 104<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Anna Fifield, "Japanese Leader Abe Wants More Women to Work. So He's Got Big Plans for Day Care.," *August 1, 2014*, accessed December 28, 2015, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/japanese-leader-abe-wants-more-women-to-work-so-hes-got-big-plans-for-day-care/2014/08/01/8dcd84f5-c4b2-4e39-a1e0-125eaa57309b\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/japanese-leader-abe-wants-more-women-to-work-so-hes-got-big-plans-for-day-care/2014/08/01/8dcd84f5-c4b2-4e39-a1e0-125eaa57309b_story.html).

<sup>2</sup>Kyla Ryan, "Poll: Japanese Women Don't Want to Lead," *July 10, 2015*, accessed January 5, 2016, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/07/poll-japanese-women-dont-want-to-lead>.

<sup>3</sup>NHK, "Women's Transformational Power," *September 7, 2015*, accessed January 5, 2016, <http://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/newsroomtokyo/aired/20150907.html>.

<sup>4</sup>J. Seager, A. Wilson, and J. Jarrett, *The State of Women in the World Atlas*, Penguin Reference Books (London: Penguin, 1997), 16. D. J. Goodman, *Promoting Diversity and Social Justice: Educating People from Privileged Groups*, Second Edition, Teaching/Learning Social Justice (Taylor & Francis, 2011), 121.

place out of the 142 countries assessed in the Global Gender Gap Report of 2014.<sup>5</sup> Japan is a nation that has roots with the samurai culture which is heard throughout history and many people associate it automatically with the country. This island of Japan has a distinct culture compared to the western world and their leadership style is unique; based on the Bushido.

The term Bushido refers to “the way of the warrior”; that marked the ascension of Japanese nationalism and the essence of what Bushido is: to die, meaning that the warrior dedicates his life to be ready to fight and die for the lord.<sup>6</sup> This samurai code of ethics still penetrates today’s societal dynamics, business command of chains, and the educational systems. The Bushido also shapes the way how women act and are treated by men. In this ethical system, the hierarchical structure imposes the men’s dominance power over women and children and places emphasis in loyalty and respect for authorities. Moreover, the Bushido shapes the way women act and are treated by men.<sup>7</sup> It is, therefore, relevant to consider how this mindset works nowadays with regard to the challenges to increase women participation in business.<sup>8</sup>

The curiosity to deepen my understanding about the Bushido and Japanese women in leadership played a major role in the development of the present project. I noticed how the social dynamics of Japanese leaders are different from the Brazilian style, which was my upbringing. My father raised me up often reminding that we are samurai descendants and that we were to live according to royalty and in nobility. He would give me examples of the elements of the code of the samurais as: respect to the elder, do things with excellence and precision. The Japanese worldview of the woman is a conjunction of the Buddhism and Confucianism values which influenced the Bushido. The Bushido will be explained in details in this work since it is the theoretical frame used to discuss the theme. Being exposed to these two worldviews made me be able to relate well to both the Asian, community culture and the western, more individualistic oriented cultures.

When it comes to Japanese women in leadership positions, it almost sounds like a contradiction to a Japanese woman descendent. They are taught to learn how to be good servants to our families and not to take the lead but rather be lead.<sup>9</sup> The Bushido has a strong

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<sup>5</sup>The World Gender Gap Report, “Japan,” 2014, accessed January 5, 2016, <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2014/economies/#economy=JPN>.

<sup>6</sup>Yamamoto, Stone, and Tanaka, *Bushido : The Way of the Samurai*, 13.

<sup>7</sup>Brett & Kate McKay, “The Bushido Code: The Eight Virtues of the Samurai,” *September 14, 2008*, accessed August 23, 2016, <http://www.artofmanliness.com/2008/09/14/the-bushido-code-the-eight-virtues-of-the-samurai/>.

<sup>8</sup>The Economist, “Female Power,” *December 30, 2009*, accessed August 15, 2016, <http://www.economist.com/node/15174418>.

<sup>9</sup>Yoshiko Ugawa, “Women: Lead the Way to Righting the Work/ Life Imbalance in Japan,” *February 26, 2016*,

male oriented characteristic since it was written to the male warriors. Considering also the Confucian principles that adds to the male oriented culture in Japan, female leaders have no place in society. The Confucian principles are explained later in this chapter. That implies that the Japanese culture supports the male dominated workforce. Moreover, the Diplomat makes reference in an article that Japanese society has a patriarchal approach which women are seen as housewives and child bearers.<sup>10</sup> Such decision comes with challenges in a society that is marked by the high level of gender differentiation and exclusion for women.

Considering the present culture in Japan about women in workforce and leadership roles, this project provides a platform to discuss gender based issues in the workplaces. Further, this project provides important issues to discuss the rise of women as leaders in Japan, given the need for the country to keep being a leader in the marketplace in the world. Japan is a strong nation that keeps growing and the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe defines as critical to reflect upon how their culture relates to the societal and organizational settings and to the concept of female leader effectiveness and how it impacts the economy.

In the overall picture, the concept of a good Japanese leader is contextual, it is essential to take in the consideration of the values and beliefs of the country in order to understand what a good leader is about. Thus, the present project provides the opportunity to discuss and reflect on the challenges that Japanese women face as leaders in the marketplace. Specifically, Japanese women face various challenges whenever they come up with the opportunity to take leadership positions.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, some women experience difficulties in contributing to the work force in Japan and in trying to help develop the country with their insights.<sup>12</sup>

### **Research Question and Aims**

To be able to understand the theme of Japanese women in leadership position, it is crucial to take into account the historical heritage and the modifications that took place in society. The Contemporary Japanese women are influenced by the Tokugawa samurais bureaucrats.<sup>13</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer affirms that after the Second World War, Japan is different in many

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accessed August 23, 2016, <http://www.jnpoc.ne.jp/en/insights/essays-civil-society-in-japan/women-lead-the-way-to-righting-the-work-life-imbalance-in-japan/>.

<sup>10</sup>Ryan, "Poll: Japanese Women Don't Want to Lead."

<sup>11</sup>Rajindar K. Koshal et al., "Female Workers in Japan: Opportunities & Challenges," in *Journal of International Women's Studies*, vol. 6, 2004, 137–48, 146.

<sup>12</sup>The Economist, "Holding Back Half the Nation," *March 29, 2014*, accessed August 23, 2016, <http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21599763-womens-lowly-status-japanese-workplace-has-barely-improved-decades-and-country>.

<sup>13</sup>Bill Gordon, "Tokugawa Period's Influence on Meiji Restoration," *February, 2000*, accessed August 25, 2016, <http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/papers/jhist1.htm>.



ways with the development of industries like, shipbuilding, coal mining, electric power and fertilizers.<sup>14</sup> As a result, the present thesis will describe in Chapter two how the historical heritage and the following changes in the society affected the challenges that women face regarding positioning themselves as leaders in society.

The thesis aims at finding what are the main challenges faced by women in leadership in contemporary Japan, taking into consideration the Bushido principles as the glasses to apply the material. In terms of the leadership style in the honor and shame based culture, that was introduced around the Samurai era and continues to affect the lives of women in this collectivist culture still today.

The primary research question is: What are the main challenges faced by women in leadership in contemporary Japan with Bushido as a foundation?

In respect to the question above, this thesis will describe the impact of the Bushido understanding of female leadership. The thesis will look to understand how the way of the Samurai greatly influenced the Japanese lifestyle of the women.

The thesis aims to look at the challenges of Japanese women in leadership through: 1) The Japanese culture and society, describing the foundation of ethics in the Bushido; and, 2) The political, private sectors and societal challenges faced by women in the workplace in contemporary Japan.

The Bushido will be used as a theoretical framework to provide a comprehensive understanding of the contemporary situation of Japanese leadership style. Such understanding will enable the researcher to evaluate the influences on gender exclusion of women in the workforce and leadership positions. Further, the contemporary leadership style will be assessed in the context of the present societal and cultural values in Japan.

## **Research Method**

The present thesis will be based on a comprehensive literature review of leadership in Japan in the field of Social Sciences. Since it is a complex theme, my intention is to draw an understanding about the situation, looking through and describe the history of Japan and the values of the Bushido. Further, the thesis will describe the outcome and challenges of the Japanese women in leadership nowadays.

Text studies, known as well as document analysis, are the methods used in the thesis in finding information in books so I am able to give a detailed account of the challenges faced

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<sup>14</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 126.

by Japanese women in leadership. Documents are the source for this study. I understand that there is no neutrality in them because the History of Bushido is written through an active actor. I will make use of the “process school” and of the “semiotic school” to understand the texts. The process school has a focus in highlighting the exchange of information as simply broadcasting information. The semiotic school makes uses of the transmission of the message to create a meaning and it is used according to the condition people give to the message. In this matter, I will try to understand the signs of the Bushido so, I can study the codes of the Bushido and the systems that were created by it in the Japanese culture and in the lives of the Japanese women.

In the academic field, this theme is part of the broader Social Science area. The research will study the connection between the Japanese collectivist culture found in the Bushido to comprehend how it affects the way Japanese Women are understood, and the challenges they find in the path to become leaders.

The literature review will be important to provide an understanding of the Japanese worldview regarding the topic of leadership. The main references behind this research are: Oleg Benesch’s book *“Inventing the Way of the Samurai”*. Oleg Benesch takes in consideration in his book, the way people were affected by the development of Bushido in the Japanese History. He describes the seriousness of Bushido from the samurai and its influence up to the twentieth century. Tsunetomo Yamamoto’s book *“Bushido”*, is a classic and a foundational book to comprehend the values of the code of samurais. These books were used for the theoretical framework which is the Bushido, in the theories section. The Bushido is labeled as as the soul of Japan and in the book described in details including the eight virtues most spoken in the samurai culture, it is an important subject used as the lense to understand the Japanese women role.

Edwin O. Reischauer’s book *“The Japanese Today”*, Edwin O. Reischauer was the former United States Ambassador to Japan and Professor at Harvard University and the book has a focal point in the contemporary Japanese community, culture, the political arena, and the management system. It displays a well put historical background of the country. Ruth Benedict is an anthropologist recognized by leading the way to describe Japanese culture as a foreign that never lived in the country. In her book, *“The Chrysanthemum and the sword”*, she displays in a detailed manner about the Japanese culture and the relations that people have, citing examples of the context of the Japanese women which have roots in the Bushido. Mary Brinton’s book *“Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar*

*Japan*”, Mary Brinton collected data from the government and from the marketplace to study the Japanese women behavior. With her book it is possible to make links from the Bushido framework to how the Japanese women behave today. These books are foundational to describe the historic Japanese background in chapter two and The Japanese Culture and Women in chapter three.

Updated reports from the Japanese Health Care system, Japanese National Institute of Population and Social Security, World Economic forum, The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and actual articles from international media channels like Japanese newspapers as Japan Times, Asia Nikkei are key components and foundational sources to describe the substantial political challenges focusing in the day care situation in chapter four and the private sector challenges with focus in gender discrimination in chapter five. The material used to describe the Japanese women's conditions in the marketplace are the basis to reflect on the challenges, which are discussed in chapter six with focus on the female role and to draw the Conclusion in chapter seven.

Notably, the references were selected based on: first, due to their relevance to the understanding the Bushido code and to find out the current situation of women in Japan; second, because these books and reports from the Japanese government are contemporary and reliable, addressing the reality of the nation and real issues. Third, they provide the opportunity to make a parallel between the views of women from the samurai, Meiji era up to the Japanese modern women. Lastly, they provide a delimitation for the present master thesis in view of the vastness of the subject-matter.

According to its aims, this thesis will describe how the authors can contribute to a better understanding of the Japanese Culture and the Bushido, their leadership style, and the role of women in their society. The concepts from the thesis will serve to describe the practical problems that the Japanese women encounter in leadership positions nowadays.

The present thesis acknowledges the availability of other ways to deal with the present theme, either by using another type of methodology, approach or even different authors and literature as main sources. My choices are due to the richness of the context from the authors that are considered specialists in Bushido and in Japanese culture. Thus, the present thesis is an attempt to further this learning process of understanding and describing the main issues that Japanese women find as they go up the ladder to become leaders.

## **The Theoretical Perspective of Bushido**

This thesis is not limited to a singular discipline. It is important to note that a thesis on Japanese women in leadership is a new theme and it requires the contribution of different fields as Anthropology, Economics, Sociology and History. Therefore, this thesis has a variety of disciplinary perspectives. The historical aspect of the thesis will provide an understanding of the position of the women as a work force and later the obstacles to reach the positions of leadership.<sup>15</sup>

It is crucial to understand the principles of the Bushido and the way the Japanese female leadership approach relates to that. The leaders in Japan dictate how a society will be constituted; the management behavior of the Japanese is distinct because it is based on the Bushido. It is important to understand how the principles of the Bushido influence this leadership style.

A leader is not born, but as the Bushido teaches, he is developed through time with discipline and willingness to learn to be the best warrior to serve his master. The way to become a good leader is based on how well he learned how to serve.<sup>16</sup> The principles of Bushido, that came around 1603, are being used for leadership training in the business realm and applied in their everyday lives. These codes are essential to understand the Japanese way of living. One example is the element of integrity which requires a person to be true to himself and to his opponent. The Japanese people are also known since from the feudal era up to now, to do things with excellence and we have the opportunity to learn more by going deeper in the history of Bushido.<sup>17</sup>

Japan has a unique cultural identity that comes from the Samurai era. The concepts of the way of the Samurai have shaped this country in a way that still influences every area of society. Brian Moeran affirms that the group model of Japanese society assumes that people prefer to act within the context of a group and that such a group framework will be hierarchically organized and run by a paternalistic leader. The psychological process underlying this structure is called “amae,” or “passive love.”<sup>18</sup>

This nation, formed by warriors, has a particular approach when it comes to community living. The Shogunate ruled from 1603 to 1867 during a time called the *Edo*

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<sup>15</sup>Janet Hunter, *Japanese Women Working* (Routledge, 2003), 12.

<sup>16</sup>Yamamoto, Stone, and Tanaka, *Bushido: The Way of the Samurai*, 44.

<sup>17</sup>Nozomu Sonda, “Bushido (Chivalry) and the Traditional Japanese Moral Education,” *Online Journal of Bahá’í Studies* 1 (2007): 469–77, 470.

<sup>18</sup>Takie Sugiyama Lebra and William P Lebra, “Japanese Culture and Behavior : Selected Readings” (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 64.

period, and it was a time of peace and stable political government. To keep the order, the Shogunate Government closed the ports of the country to any kind of foreign influence. Inside of that system, the clans were independent while committed to the government of Shogunate. Inside of each clan, there was a lord and his samurais that formed the higher class in the society. The samurais were considered nobles who were well trained with discipline to be good servants to their lords, and good leaders to those who followed them.

These warriors of premodern Japan constituted the highest social rank caste of *Edo* Period. They made use of bows and arrows, but they were popular for their use of the sword. The samurais lived according to the Bushido. For example, Tsunetomo Yamamoto the author of *Hagakure*, defines the essence of Bushido as death. That is how a samurai is able to serve the lord for the rest of his life.<sup>19</sup> Friday argues that the reputation of a samurai was more important than his tasks, as the honor that he carries can leave a mark through his name for generations.<sup>20</sup>

From my own experience by growing up according to the way of the Samurai, I was instilled with such principles as loyalty, reliability, servanthood, punctuality, and excellence. According to that understanding, living in a correct manner would give me access to a better life. It was like a spiritual discipline because it involved every area of my life. The understanding of honoring elders, would include bringing food offerings to my deceased grandfather. If I did not place the plate in the correct position, it would be seen as a disrespectful act. It would be called to my attention to not do that again, otherwise it would bring shame to my parents.

Bushido holds eight virtues that are most commonly spoken about which are: honor, courage, rectitude, politeness, benevolence, loyalty, sincerity, and self-control. Rectitude means to live according to a correct behavior, it is the ability to decide with reason without wavering. That means to die when death is right. Courage goes along with rectitude. It is about doing what is right. Benevolence is the highest attribute of the human soul that is exemplified as love and affection for others. Politeness is rooted in benevolence regarding feelings of others, coming closer to the expression of love. Honor is the consciousness of personal dignity and worth. Loyalty is the act of staying loyal to your superior. Self-control is living up to the moral standards set by the Bushido.

The samurai's armor was made of steel-clad. When he was not in a battle but in a state

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<sup>19</sup>Yamamoto, Stone, and Tanaka, *Bushido: The Way of the Samurai*, 14.

<sup>20</sup>Karl F. Friday, "Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan," *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 2004, 137.

of peace, he made use of a black color material in the head, as an identification of his position. Samurais of a higher position wore clothes made of hunting-cloak which only nobles could use. In time of war, the samurai wore a long coat under their armor. They always carried a deer-skin cloth to sit on and to use to position themselves to train in? archery. Also it was used as a death-seat in case of committing *harakiri*, the suicide.<sup>21</sup>

The requirements from the lords to the samurais were: to be excellent in three virtues that consisted of archery, horsemanship, and strategy. The last one includes the understanding of having a good family. The study of martial arts and Zen philosophy was linked in a sense that it was important to learn how to concentrate, and to not have a fear of death. Excellence is seeing in the way samurais carried themselves and their equipment. The wealthier the samurai, the richer his weapons were in ornamentation. As Frederic describes:

“He carried a gold-hilted sword in a gilded scabbard fastened to a belt of silver chain made by the Imperial Bureau of Supplies, and protected by a tiger-skin cover... At his back he carried a quiver of thirty-six arrows decorated with swan feather, the bamboo shafts lightly lacquered between the nodes. His bow was rushbound at intervals throughout its length, with a silver hook fixed above the leather hand-grip to prevent the arrow from slipping.”<sup>22</sup>

Some other tools that the samurais carried beside the swords were: a banner which indicate his arrival into a place, and a fan with a golden sun on a crimson on it. The fan was used by the war leaders to signalize the group when to attack the enemy.

In other countries, the understanding and interpretation of doing something wrong can be viewed as being guilty or shameful. The Japanese culture, specifically, shows itself as a shame-based culture, also referred to as an “honor-shame” culture. This type of culture is described as a collectivist culture where people become ashamed by not acting accordingly to the standards set by the community, and by seeking to restore their honor according to the family or group expectation. This understanding comes from the principle of honor, or to save face, by not putting yourself in a shameful situation. This understanding is based on the *harakiri* in the samurai culture. As Tsunetomo Yamamoto says:

“If you die before you hit your target, then it will be the death of a dog. If you say this, then your attitude is the Kamigata of Bushido. It is a very vain and calculating attitude at its best. But if you are forced, then it is impossible for you to make the right choice between life and death. It goes without saying that every person would prefer to live rather than to die. Accordingly, people will try to rationalize for the choice of life and do not hit the target, you will be called a coward. Before you make the choice, realize what a critical position

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<sup>21</sup>Frederic, *Daily Life in Japan: At The Time of the Samurai, 1185-1603*, 170.

<sup>22</sup>Frederic, *Daily Life in Japan: At The Time of the Samurai, 1185-1603*, 172.

you are in. On the other hand, if you but make the choice of death and fail to hit the target, your body will eventually die but no shame will come to you. No shame will come to you even though you will be regarded as crazy and as dying like a dog.”<sup>23</sup>

Anthropologists confirm this strong characteristics of an honor and shame based culture in Japan. If shame happens, it leads to losing face, which means losing the reputation and/or credit before family and society. This may lead to drastic consequences such as suicide. In most cases, in view of the wrong done and the social pressure, it seems better to take your own life instead of bringing shame to your own family or community. This is strong in Japan due to the collectivist characteristic of the culture, different from other worldviews that are more individual oriented. In a collectivistic setting, the focus becomes the group or a unit the person is a part of. In this way, the submission to a leader is part of that culture because how a person sees himself is in a plural manner due to the interdependence between the leader and the follower. The understanding of belonging is highlighted and a person that belongs to the group, is loyal to be stay in the unit.

Despite the significant social changes in Japan, women still face various obstacles in terms of achieving an equal status in the public spheres and in the marketplace.

### **Purpose of the Project**

The main purpose of this thesis is to give a deeper understanding concerning the Japanese women in leadership positions and to reflect theoretically upon the challenges they come across to become leaders in the market place using the theoretical framework of Bushido.

The development of this project considers the aspect that women have a complementary leadership style that can benefit many companies in Japan, which may have a shortage of workers and in management positions. Women graduate from good universities just as men; however, at the workplace they do not possess the equal chances as them. Therefore, the other specific objectives that were considered involve:

1. To analyze the possible causes of shortage of female representation in leadership position in Japan.
2. To analyze the impacts of low female representation in workplaces, reflecting upon the cultural and organizational styles.

The above objectives are grounded on the conceptual framework that discredits female gender exclusion from different workplaces in the Japanese societies. According to the

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<sup>23</sup>Yamamoto, Stone, and Tanaka, *Bushido: The Way of the Samurai*, 14.

Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Japan holds the position as a country with very low rate of female labor participation according to The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations. The mandate that OECD has is to encourage ways that develop the economic status of the people. It is predicted that the labor force is about to shrink by 15 percent from 2010 to 2030. The importance of the women to make this gap smaller is key for the GDP growth.

It is also conceptualized that many Japanese companies can benefit from female leaders. For example, one of the notable companies that has benefited from woman leaders is Shiseido, leading the market of the cosmetics business. Yoko Ishikura is one of the Executive Directors and the only woman in that position. Shiseido is a Japanese company that produces high quality make-up products and the majority of their clients are women, about 90 percent. In that kind of industry that highlights the importance of diversity, the insights that female leaders can bring can potentialize the business.<sup>24</sup>

The leaders in Japan dictate the society. The Bushido still influences the Japanese today. The research relies on the fact that a leader is not born, but as the Bushido teaches, a leader is developed through the time with discipline and wholehearted willingness to learn to be the best warrior to serve his master.<sup>25</sup> The Bushido as an ethical system, provides a set of moral values that guided the relationships between the lords and the samurais, which set up a foundation of how a Japanese leadership style should look like. It is relevant to note that these principles were passed on orally and later it came in the written form through books as *Hagakure* and *Bushido*. Moreover, the teachings will be treated as the concept set up a foundation of how a Japanese leadership style should look like. While the principles of the Bushido are not changing, the Japanese women are challenging them to change and taking the position as leaders.<sup>26</sup> In this respect, the Bushido ideology forms the theoretical perspectives that will be used to analyze these contemporary practices.

### **Significance of the Research**

This project will also help me relate better with Japanese women leaders and even with my family. As a mission worker, I have been to Japan three times for missions and social work and saw the lack of awareness when it came to the subject of understanding women leadership.

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<sup>24</sup>Shiseido Group, "Our Values," accessed January 1, 2016, <https://www.shiseidogroup.com/company/principle/values.html>.

<sup>25</sup>Yamamoto, Stone, and Tanaka, *Bushido: The Way of the Samurai*, 13.

<sup>26</sup>Yamamoto, Stone, and Tanaka, *Bushido: The Way of the Samurai*, 14.



The principles of Bushido are being used for leadership trainings in the business realm, and it is valid to explore how the Japanese apply in their everyday lives. To understand these codes mean to understand the Japanese way of living. For example, the element of integrity which requires a person to be true to himself and to his opponent. The Japanese people are known to do things with excellence and we have the opportunity to learn about the society dynamics.

## Chapter Two

# HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### **The Japanese History**

In order to understand Japanese women's current position in the marketplace, it is important to understand how the Japanese culture has shaped the way women are treated and how they treat others. Also, it is relevant to study the path of economic activity that has been developed along the century. This is important because in such historical development, women had not had the possibility to raise their voice. There was discrimination against women in the marketplace and the Confucian philosophy imposed in their minds that a woman should obey her father in her youth, as an adult to obey her husband, and in her old days to obey her son.<sup>27</sup>

The Japanese geography and climate are linked to their past and how they developed their country. The Japanese have a strong consciousness of their history, meaning that they view themselves according to the historical perspective.<sup>28</sup>

Mary C. Brinton shows this reality by affirming that the educational system and labor market in Japan were created and developed in manners for the disadvantage of Japanese women in the business realm.<sup>29</sup> That is a result of the evolution of Bushido code in the Japanese society which brings challenges for women where most of the leadership roles in the society are predominantly taken by men. By taking in consideration the process of Japanese women in the marketplace, it is possible to draw a line of thought of the challenges they face to become leaders.

Considering the experiences of women in Japan; particularly, in terms of women in leadership, it is important to associate culture to the practices done in the past. The cultural values and the understanding of good leadership are systems that shape the role of the Japanese women both in the society and in the marketplace.<sup>30</sup>

The beginning of the Japanese culture is found in the Chinese records around the third century A.D.<sup>31</sup> It was described as a land of clear class divisions, depending on agriculture and fishing for subsistence, due to the geography of the country, which is surrounded by the

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<sup>27</sup>Reischauer, *The Japanese*, 175.

<sup>28</sup>Reischauer, *The Japanese*, 41.

<sup>29</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 10.

<sup>30</sup>Chuang Szu-Fang, "Essential Skills for Leadership Effectiveness in Diverse Workplace Development," *Online Journal for Workforce Education and Development* 6, no. 1 (2013).

<sup>31</sup>M Sugimoto and D. L. Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan* (Tuttle Publishing, 2016), 2.

sea. The population was divided into more than a hundred units with leaders from both genders partially with religious position.<sup>32</sup>

Around the sixth century a Yamato tribe located in the east of Osaka in the small Yamato region, established a stable leadership throughout most of western Japan. The majority of the land was under the control of the tribal units linked to someone from the Yamato family. Each tribe unit called *uji* had a leader and they had their own shrine. The *uji* was constituted by family groups of people that worked with farming, fishing and other types of workers.<sup>33</sup>

Reischauer described that the religious practices of the early Japanese, around 200 A.D., were Shinto that had a focus around the worship of gods from natural phenomena or mythological ancestors. There was a thin line between man and nature due to the fact that men could easily be made into a god. The leaders and rulers were seeing as priests.<sup>34</sup> The Shinto practices were blended with Buddhism and with theories of Zen meditation, which are going to be discussed later in more details.<sup>35</sup>

The political leaders also perceived religion as an important element of the society. Prince Shotoku who reigned from 593 to 622 accepted Buddhism as a religious system to be introduced in the country.<sup>36</sup> The prince even sent representatives to China to learn what was called the high culture, copying the Chinese political constitution, which was based on Buddhist ideas. Further, the Taika Reform took place in 645 when a group of people took power at the court causing conflicts throughout two centuries until the ninth century. The result was the transformation of Japan from a tribal civilization to a higher developed one.<sup>37</sup>

The Chinese understanding of a Monarch with all power, was accepted by the Japanese. Thereafter, the Japanese emperor became a monarch of the state while at the same time a religious leader of the Shinto cults. Japan was divided into provinces where officials chosen by the monarchy became administrators of the place.

During the Heian period from 794 to 1185 Japan had aspects of a matriarchal society in various ways. The imperial line ancestor was a sun goddess. It was found in Chinese texts that feminine leadership was accepted in the third century; and the existence of ruling female

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<sup>32</sup>Sugimoto and Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan*, 8.

<sup>33</sup>Stratfor, "The Geopolitics of Japan: An Island Power Adrift," *March 18, 2012*, accessed August 24, 2016, <https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/geopolitics-japan-island-power-adrift>.

<sup>34</sup>Reischauer, *The Japanese*, 42.

<sup>35</sup>Lauren Shapiro Crane et al., "Blending Buddhism, Shinto, and the Secular: Japanese Conceptualizations of the Divine," article, *Journal of Ethnographic & Qualitative Research* 6, no. 2 (2012): 76–89, 78.

<sup>36</sup>M. Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, (Tuttle Publishing, 2013), 321.

<sup>37</sup>Crane et al., "Blending Buddhism, Shinto, and the Secular: Japanese Conceptualizations of the Divine", 78.

emperor was common until the eighth century. A lot of the literature about the Heian court and lifestyle was written by the women.<sup>38</sup> They mastered the art of the literature and had power to acquire properties.

Confucian philosophy during the feudal period limited the freedom of women and bounded them to be under the subordination of men. As Confucianism had a focus on the male dominance and patriarchal leadership style it emphasized the role of women as essential for procreation and carrying along the name of the family rather than seeing them as helpmates or to be appreciated as valuable and to be loved.<sup>39</sup> During the time of swordsmanship, women were not that much skilled to fight and were put aside, not having a main role as it was before.

During the Tokugawa period women were considered maids of the men. That meant that if a family had a daughter, she could be useful to make relations between families stronger. She received special education to know good Japanese etiquette to be a valuable asset. Once she became a wife, her devotion to her husband and his family was under a heavy supervision from the mother-in-law. Her life belonged to her husband's family which meant no contact with other men.

In the ninth century the Japanese system of writing was developed and consisted of a syllabary alphabet where the Chinese characters were transformed phonetically into a simplified form. The result of the emergence of *kana* system was the excitement of the cultural aspect regarding writing prose and diaries. *Kana* was a syllabic system of writing which contrasted from the *kanji* which is the use of the Chinese characters. From the long diaries written by the ladies of the court, the first Japanese novels emerged. It is interesting to note that the records existed from that time come from the elite point of view. The high class ladies had the luxury to spend their time writing what they have observed about their surroundings and the people that they were spending most of the time with.

### *Feudalism*

The feudal system was established around the twelfth century in Japan. With the decline of power of the central government, the provincial leaders came together to agree in having mutual protection.<sup>40</sup> These groups were protected by warriors. The main weapons consisted of

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<sup>38</sup>Lorraine Witt, "Poetry and Processions: The Daily Life of the Kuge in the Heian Court," accessed August 25, 2016, <http://academic.mu.edu/meissnerd/witt.html>.

<sup>39</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 176.

<sup>40</sup>Karl F. Friday, "Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan," *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 2004., 63.

the bow and arrow, riding a horse and the use of a steel sword. In the *Kamakura* system, the warrior had to be loyal to his superior. The emperor Go-Daigo tried to take back the control in the politics in 1333, the Kamakura general went against him and the result was the split of units of lords and their vassals.<sup>41</sup> In 1467 Japan was in war due to the fighting between the lords of the shoguns. The shogun was considered the highest military leader and nominated by the Japanese emperor.

The culture during the feudal times was known among the samurais to have a focus on the virtues as honor, self-discipline, bravery, and the deep understanding of the acceptance of death. Coming from that understanding, in a case of defeat, instead of accepting the humiliation and torment, the samurais took their own lives. The act called *harakiri* which was done to demonstrate will power and to maintain honor.<sup>42</sup>

In Japan, the feudal system was held by the concept of loyalty. That loyalty translated to be more important than the family unit. However, the family lineage was very important in the feudal times. To keep a lasting name for the family meant to keep the honor, power and prestige to own properties. If a family did not have a male, it was permitted to adopt a son that was most suitable to inherit the position; such as, a relative or the husband of a daughter. That meant that the Chinese system adopted by Japan had a focus on morality instead of the laws, which the subordination of law to the ruler was expected. The lord-vassal relationship was not just seeing as a contract but as an unlimited and absolute loyalty from the vassals.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the advances in the feudal system in Japan, the women in feudal times was not seen as a fragile being. It was expected that they would be as loyal and tough even if taking their own life was necessary. Further the samurais during the feudal time had a preference for the Zen Buddhism which had an emphasis in meditation, to be close to the nature and to the simplicity. The Zen Buddhism focused in reaching the enlightenment through the meditation, it came to Japan from China in around the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The Zen priests had a political position working as diplomats as well. Through that practice the warriors developed the routine of self-discipline, self-control and the strong character that their style of life asked for.

In the sixteenth century, the feudal system became centralized and Ashikaga ruled over a big number of vassal lords. The Ashikaga shogunate came from the daimyo which was the governmental office. The centralization of the Japan was due to Oda Nobunaga

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<sup>41</sup>Friday, "Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan."

<sup>42</sup>Reischauer, *The Japanese*, 55.

<sup>43</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 58.

supporting the Ashikaga shogun. In 1582 Nobunaga was assassinated, Hideyoshi who was one of his foot-soldiers took his place and established his authority all over the country, forcing the rival lords to be under his domain. At that time, the Portuguese had introduced guns in Japan and through the European Catholic missionaries activities, the Japanese converts came to be Christians. Hideyoshi started persecuting the religion since a foreign authority could take the place of loyalty from the Japanese. The religion was out of the country by 1638. Resulting then in Japan closing the doors of his ports for more than two centuries, having just few relations with the outside world. It is relevant to take in consideration that the style of leadership in by Ashikaga is a reflection of the Bushido code. The vassals devoted themselves to the feudal leader and when a possible foreign danger was identified, Japan closed the ports to make sure the values of the Bushido would keep running the country.

During the Tokugawa era from 1603 to 1867, it was considered a peaceful time, the samurais went through changes. They were about 6 percent of the population, they became literate and even though the swords were carried as their badge, the use of writing brush became more popular than the use of their sword.<sup>44</sup> Many of the attitudes of the medieval Japan were reshaped during the feudalism era and they still are alive nowadays. It is clear that the warrior spirit were adopted by the Japanese army later and in the contemporary Japan the spirit of loyalty, self-discipline, self-denial and duty are present both for the Japanese men and women.

### *The Meiji Restoration*

When the Tokugawa shogunate, the military force in the Japanese feudal system took over the power in 1868, the modernization of Japan came along were done by the emperor Meiji. That period is from 1868 until 1912. The capital was moved to Tokyo, called the “Eastern Capital”. The era received the name of the one who replaced the feudal units to a centralized type of ruling as prefectures administrated by the central government.<sup>45</sup>

The samurais in 1867 were not allowed to wear their swords. For nine years the samurais did not have privileges as before. The country was going through an educational reform and focusing on the individual achievements.<sup>46</sup> The government was changed more and more according to the nineteenth century western mode. The result was the birth of ministries as Finance Ministry that controlled a lot of the social dynamics in Japan. Banking

<sup>44</sup>Reischauer, *The Japanese*, 72.

<sup>45</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 73.

<sup>46</sup>S. Turnbull, *The Samurai: A Military History* (Taylor & Francis, 2013), 128.

systems were created, and the yen was established as the national currency.<sup>47</sup>

Japan sent out nationals to study abroad to learn the new skills necessary to develop industries of weapons. This unified and stable political system allowed the country to absorb and grow in the military technology. The country invested in heavy industries as arsenals, shipyard and construction of railroads which promoted an elevated dynamic regarding technical arena.<sup>48</sup> Japan was very successful in adapting in that season due to their strong value and unity in their identity. They had the conscience of being a homogeneous society with an openness to learn from other countries. That understanding came from the consistence in keeping the same values as a community. The values of the Bushido played an important part in Japan even after the Meiji era.<sup>49</sup>

During the Meiji era around half of the men and around one fifth of the women were literate. Japan made use of the imperial rule with a hierarchical system that placed the women below men. The working hours in the Meiji era consisted of shifts of twelve hours in the mines. The workers started around 3a.m. During that period, the women workers could decide their working hours. Usually, they would go some time after their husbands or male members of the family as brothers and would leave earlier to be able to prepare the food and take care of their children.<sup>50</sup> Women were introduced to the light industry as workers in factories, most of them were single and young who were committed to work for some years until they got married.<sup>51</sup>

In the beginning phases of industrialization from 1883-1939, the choices available to Japanese women in the workplace consisted in: staying home with her family, helping the parents in a productive way as farming, be employed in a textile industry, or at last being a domestic aid. From a woman perspective, the option of helping her parents with farming offered the most comfort, though they did not receive much economic rewards. The acceptance to become an industrial worker was depended upon her grades in school, her outcome at school was related to her ability to perform in the textile factory.<sup>52</sup> The excerpt below was adapted from Hunter's work on the "Japanese Women Working":

"Married women in 1896 that belonged to the lower class had a varied types of

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<sup>47</sup>Turnbull, *The Samurai: A Military History*, 129.

<sup>48</sup>Ruth Benedict, "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword," *Pacific Affairs*, 1974, doi:10.2307/2752326. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, Mariner Books (Houghton Mifflin, 1967), 93.

<sup>49</sup>Theodore C. Bestor, "Culture of Japan," accessed August 25, 2016, <http://www.everyculture.com/Ja-Ma/Japan.html>.

<sup>50</sup>Hunter, *Japanese Women Working*, 107.

<sup>51</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 10.

<sup>52</sup>Hunter, *Japanese Women Working*, 25.

work as: matchbox assembly, shaving toothpicks, sewing sandal straps, painting blackboards, making Japanese-style socks, stretching tobacco, carving fan spokes, polishing metal wares, and sorting scrap paper. These factories were located in areas as Nago-cho in Osaka, Samegahashi in Tokyo<sup>53</sup>

In the overall, during this modernization period, women were perceived to be piecework labors as well, working to put electronic pieces together at their house and sending the product to a bigger company.

When industrialization came to Japan, women went from being part of the agricultural arena to secondary and tertiary sectors. However it was around the 1950s that the amount of women workers in the agricultural sector fell below 50 percent.<sup>54</sup>

Japan had an intense economic growth from the 1960s until 1973, that meant an increase in the work force. Women in their mid thirties to forties were considered unskilled laborers because they did not have much work experience and less education than the men. In view of these facts the women became then a cheap labor force, working part-time shifts. In 1986, the increase of women working in the industries went up to 70 percent.<sup>55</sup>

The literature review shows that it was a hard task to combine being a mother of children and a worker in a factory resulting in not having enough time to do the housework. The roles of Japanese women in the market place are the result of the social, economic and industrial development in the society after the postwar. The result of women working part-time in the industries was inferior working conditions and low salaries compared to employees that were full time.

The expected roles of women as wife and mother in Japan are to be the main caregivers in the houses and give their full devotion to their children raising them with quality, with a special focus to sons.<sup>56</sup> The Japanese women are seen to have about 1.9 children and they are expected to work receiving a low salary. Therefore, the key viewpoints in the history of Japanese women and their involvement in work rely on gender stratification, the industrialization promoted an age gender imbalance. The later is useful where young and single women work in the factories, and the married ones who have children take care of them and get involved in working at home to produce goods for bigger factories.

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<sup>53</sup>Hunter, *Japanese Women Working*, 43.

<sup>54</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 27.

<sup>55</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 10.

<sup>56</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 12.



## Chapter Three

### THE JAPANESE WOMEN

#### **The Japanese Culture and Women**

In this I will describe the Japanese Culture and the places that the Japanese women have in the today's society. It is a descriptive chapter of the different hats that she wears, as well as how she is seeing inside of this system.

Japanese women nowadays have many roles as wives, dedicated mothers to their children while the husband has to work for about ten to twelve hours a day. Japanese women are described as submissive to their husbands and to their family.

The long hours spent in transportation from the house to work in big cities, the short vacations, the intense work schedule of five-and-a-half-days per week leads the workers in Japan to do many hours of extra work. This results in the Japanese couple in spending not much time together. In the houses some families allow their children to sleep with the parents. That situation leads to less intimacy between the couples. The old fashioned couples that got together in an arranged marriage carry the understanding of how a woman should be submissive to the husband.<sup>57</sup>

When the Japanese woman is married, it is demanded from her total devotion and fidelity to the husband. According to Reischauer, she lives for her family and there is no opportunity to have other social activities contrary to her husband's situation. That rule is broken when a wife of a high executive can be part of the parties from the companies. In these settings, there are international clients. Otherwise, there is not much space for her to do extra activities. The social circle includes the nuclear family, some relatives and the girlfriends from her school time. In the other hand, her husband can have a quite different social setting where single woman can be included. After his work, he can stop in a bar to relax and be in contact with the hostess. Her role is a follow up of what a geisha would do in the times of the Samurai. She provides a space for the man to have enjoyable talks and elevate his self-esteem and that can lead to a more serious relationship between them. It is vital to note that the same pattern that happened in the feudal times occurs in the bars of the big cities in Japan.

Japanese male workers are described as:

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<sup>57</sup>A E Imamura, *Re-Imaging Japanese Women*, EBSCO eBook Collection (University of California Press, 1996), 32.

“Who, by the constructions of maleness, works hard, doesn't leave the office before his boss, rises in rank, brings a good paycheck home to his family and wife, goes out to drink with men he works with, plays golf on weekends with coworkers and clients, minimizes family vacations and doesn't take all the vacation time allocated him, doesn't take all the vacation time allocated him, doesn't spend much time at home or with his children, leaves the management of the family to his wife, and considers himself first and foremost a workers whose commitments are first and foremost to his job.”<sup>58</sup>

The Japanese women nowadays is treated differently from some decades ago. The couples don't show feelings or affectionate gestures in public places. Some men still make use of not good words in calling the wife as a “stupid wife”. In the same way, it is not common to hear a wife complementing her husband in a group setting. This way of addressing each other comes from the system before.<sup>59</sup>

### *On*

A crucial aspect to take in consideration in the live of the Japanese woman is the element of “*On*” which is the obligation that becomes a burden for someone to carry. This short word can be translated in English as kindness, loyalty and love. That plays a role in relations as to parents and to a superior. In a family setting, the son or daughter has the “*on*”, the obligations to follow to show honor and respect to the parents.<sup>60</sup>

A popular story in Japan that illustrates the “*on*” is about the dog Hachi.

“Hachi is a cute dog. As soon as he was born he was taken away by a stranger and was loved like a child of the house. For that reason, even his weak body became healthy and when his master went to his work every morning, he would accompany him (master) to the street car station and in the evening around the time when he (master) came home, he went again up to the station to meet him.

In due time, the master passed away. Hachi, whether he knew of this or not, kept looking for his master every day. Going to the usual station he would look to see if his master was in the crowd of people who came out whenever the street car arrived.

In this way days and months passed by. One year passed, two years passed, three years passed, even when ten years had passed, the age Hachi's figure can be seen every day in front of the station, still looking for his master.”<sup>61</sup>

This illustration of the strong bond of loyalty from the dog to owner is applied to the family

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<sup>58</sup>A Allison, *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*, Donación Embajada de Japón (University of Chicago Press, 1994), 201.

<sup>59</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 180.

<sup>60</sup>John Morris and Ruth Benedict, “The Chrysanthemum and the Sword,” *Pacific Affairs* 20, no. 2 (June 1947): 208, 99.

<sup>61</sup>Morris and Benedict, “The Chrysanthemum and the Sword.”, 100.

relations. The dog devoted himself with gratitude to his master. In the same way, a son dedicates and devotes his life to his mother because she cared for him and raised him up. The son has a debt, an “*on*” to her mother. She sacrificed her life and time to raise him, demonstrating the love. The son has this debt and will pay back the mother for what she has done for him. That can look like buying a car for her after he has graduated college and looking after her when she is an elder.

In current times, modifications have been happening regarding gender equality. You can see women driving the family car the same amount as the men do. Some men started helping in the house instead of going to bars to talk with the hostesses after work. That indicates the comprehension of the woman's needs in the family unit and cooperating with her.<sup>62</sup> The paternity leave option in Japan will be described in chapter five.

There are high expectations regarding the Japanese wives as to have a good and strong character, behave as a lady, and it is accepted that she is stronger emotionally than their partners meaning that they are stronger to take care of their husbands as well in that area. Consequently, the mothers take charge for the financial area in the household, while the fathers are the money makers. The women have a lower position in society as a servant role in general. Most of the students go through twelve years of education which means that boys and girls attend schools aiming for higher education in mind. For the women, the colleges are a step towards preparing them for marriage. Japanese women usually marry at age twenty-four which means that they have from a couple years up to six years from finishing their studies to their marriages. That is the time when they get engaged with the workplace. The women without much formal education work in industries such as electronic, textiles, in services as waitresses or in sales. The ones with higher education earn work in administrative and office positions as secretaries.<sup>63</sup>

Due to the expectation of marriage in following years after their graduation. The group of women that work in the light industry and in offices did not have many opportunities before in their jobs to grow and to have increased wages. After a woman becomes a mother, her return to the workplace is rather difficult. The wages differ considerably with women earning significantly lower than the men. Full-time Japanese female workers earn thirty percent less than the opposite gender according to government data.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 181.

<sup>63</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 182.

<sup>64</sup>Yoshiaki Nohara, “A Pay Gap Persists as Even More Japanese Women Join the Workforce,” *November 19, 2015*, accessed September 6, 2016, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-11-19/pay-gap-persists-as->

### *Expectations from the Japanese parents*

Japanese parents have strong ideas about sex roles regarding their children which means that the sons are raised to be manlike, a specific word that defines that is “*otokorashii*” and the daughters are raised to be ladylike, “*onarashii*” instead of treating them with a gender equal manner.<sup>65</sup> The sons are appreciated for their role as financial providers while the daughters are valued for their caring, emotional support given to the families. Such sex defined roles have a foundation in the “traditional” values which influence the labor market:

“Surveys in the 1980s showed a widespread perception among the Japanese public that sex discrimination in employment is commonplace. In a national poll of a random sample of 3,000 adults conducted by the Yomiuri newspaper in April 1984, four-fifths of those surveyed believed that women were treated “disadvantageously” in hiring decisions, and slightly more felt that this extended to decisions regarding job rotation and promotion. Moreover, there is also evidence of popular perceptions of the low marginal utility of higher education for women entering the job market.”<sup>66</sup>

The understanding of the family as a unit, gives specific roles to the father and mother. The man focus to work and provide financially to the family. And the well-being of the family depends on how the woman cares for the children and husband. After a day of work, the husbands are welcomed by the wives. This implies the community thinking that comes from the Bushido teachings. The man takes part in providing for his family which is the nuclear unit of the community and the wife takes care of the household, taking her role as so. The women that didn't get inserted into the longtime employment programs in the postwar time, became important actresses in the development of their sons and husbands, providing emotional support.

The educational system, the work settings and the understanding of the intrafamilial dynamics provide a structure of women developing the human capital and keeping the gender stratification regarding the roles of Japanese women.<sup>67</sup> The pressure for women to get married becomes more intense when they are approaching the age of twenty five years old. There is an analogy which compares young Japanese women to Christmas cakes. It goes like this: “A popular Japanese riddle asks, What resembles a Christmas cake? The correct reply is: A young woman. Why? Because they are popular and sell like hot cakes up until 25, and after

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even-more-japanese-women-join-the-workforce.

<sup>65</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 90.

<sup>66</sup>Nihon Recruit Center, “Joshi Gakusei Wa Nani O Kangaete Iru ka”(What Do Women Students Think?) (Tokyo: Nihon Recruit Center, 1984), 5.

<sup>67</sup>Mary C. Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan* (University of California Press, 1993), 96.

that you have a lot of trouble getting rid of them.”<sup>68</sup> This riddle shows how the pressure of Japanese society towards the Japanese women to be committed in a marriage at specific age and have children following the schedule. The pressure of the community and family involves even teachers. As a mentor to ladies in their late twenties, the “*sensei*” (teacher) feels the weight of being responsible to introduce his pupils to their next stage in lives, which is marriage.

The transition from a person from one group to another setting, for example, from the educational arena to the marriage setting is managed by mentors and people with superior status, which demonstrates the hierarchical relations in the society even in the personal relationships. The marriage affects not only a private person in the couple but, it is taken into account the partner’s historical background and the family relations. The collectivist thinking is clear regarding the way salaries were handled. During 1930, the Japanese style of wage system was based on the needs of the family, while; the Western style system was based on the skill with an individualistic approach.<sup>69</sup> The bigger companies during 1986 had a practice to hire students that graduated universities so they would grow in the company, receiving training in the workplace and the longer they stayed in the company, the higher the salary.

That resulted into a problem regarding the female workers. As it was expected that the woman focus her time on raising the kids, the training programs and the seniority system would be not compatible with their lives. The companies were not interested in hiring them after they had their child because the trainings pertained to entry level positions. When the women came into the market place in their mid-thirties and forties, it meant to start from the bottom in the wage scale. “Female high school graduates re-entering the labor market in 1987 at age thirty to thirty-four or thirty-five to thirty-nine had lower starting wages than either male junior high school or high school graduates who were only nineteen years old says Ministry of Labor, Japan 1987.” The valuable assets that the Japanese companies have picked to value the Japanese workers, made harder for the women to have “good jobs” with a carrier perspective. There are specific tasks that are required from the women that works in the companies, they are called OL (“office lady”), they have white-collar jobs which includes serving tea. The act of heating the water, preparing the tea, pouring it to the cups and remembering which cup belongs to whom, cleaning up and stocking the tea are responsibilities assigned to the woman worker. When it comes to women working in the government settings, the ones that were inserted in the labor markets had a higher potential to

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<sup>68</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 96.

<sup>69</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 122.

be hired than the men. Forty-one percent of women who started in the internal labor markets were part of the government service, on the other hand twenty-three percent were men. That shows how the government is more open than the private companies to have women in their work settings.<sup>70</sup>

### *Social relations in Japan*

It is clear to see that the social relations in Japan have two ways, the vertical and horizontal. The vertical way includes the relationships with people from various status. The vertical one is among people with similar status.

The “*ie*”, translated to “household” is an organizational structure that is common and display the hierarchical relations. There is a collectivist setting with each individual having a specific function to display in this structure. The exchange of interpersonal relations between the same structure is constant. When these woman that face the pressure of being married in their twenties, the companies are less interested in hiring them because it might be a risk to “lose” them after few years when she has a child. Consequently, the women in that stage have less job trainings and less career growth prospects.

Brinton stresses: “There are four norms in a company that distinguishes the Japanese hierarchical relations from other industrial relations. They are: the image of the company as a community, a web of vertical interactions and reciprocal obligations, and a consensus-style decision-making system.”<sup>71</sup> That implies when a Japanese man starts his career in a company, the social ties formed in the workplace with the colleagues of the same sex become very strong. His work life and social life are connected. If he loses his job, his social life goes bad as well. This affects the women too.

In the hierarchical relations in the family, the norms are conducted from the community thinking. The majority of the Japanese move out from their family house when they get married, few live in apartments while studying at the university or when they are working. This implies that when a Japanese woman reaches the adult years, the responsibilities of being a partner and later a parent comes together. The condition of one person is subjected to the family unit. The family is a group that it is permanent and the man or woman is loyal to it.

The family has certain expectations regarding their children, the common way to see the development of a boy would be from son, to a student, to an employee, and to a husband.

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<sup>70</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 153.

<sup>71</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 101.

Instead of having his own aspirations, the hopes of the parents are quite strong. That is because the children are considered an extension of the parents. There are norms which focus in keeping the connection between the older generation to the younger one including processes of socialization.

It is relevant to notice that the discrimination of women in the workplace included the aspects of the use of the uniform, for example in banks women would usually wear uniforms but men would not:

“In the Tokyo bank where I did business, the person who handled routine bill-paying was a man. Despite his low status in the organization, he did not wear a uniform. He was surrounded, though, by young female tellers who invariably were in uniforms of a bright, whimsical print. Also, men carry business cards giving their name and status within the organization. Women typically do not, presumably because their status in the organization does not merit such individuation”<sup>72</sup>

The next chapter will present and describe the challenges that Japanese women are facing for getting into the workplace.

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<sup>72</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 107.

## Chapter Four

### THE RISE AND CHALLENGES

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the women's situation from the Political view with a focus on the day care situation and link the implications of the findings with the theoretical perspective of the Bushido. The data presented is new information in the work. According to the Bushido code of conduct built into the everyday life of the Japanese, a wife would serve her husband and put him first, as if he were a feudal lord.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, returning to the initial question of the main challenges faced by women in leadership in Japan, specifically with Bushido as a foundation, we find that the answers fit in with the existing knowledge that these challenges are systemic and institutionalized by the government, private sectors, and society based on the idea that the woman is in her rightful place when she is at home.<sup>74</sup> These factors contributes to an insufficiency of women in leadership positions in Japan.<sup>75</sup>

The literature suggests that the Bushido paradigm has led to institutionalized regulations that advocate and boost these ideas and assumptions.<sup>76</sup> The main actual challenges are arranged into three main categories: political, private, and societal challenges. Political challenges are found in government management of daycare and nursery sectors including preschool, rigid immigration laws that influence childcare labor, tax break discrimination by gender, and shortage of female representation in the government. In the private sectors, the challenges subsist of classifying work opportunities by gender and statistical discrimination, wage-gap, strict employment contracts, unclear paternity leave specifications, and no continuing education after entering the workforce that will be discussed in chapter five. Societal challenges are focused in the portrayal of the gender responsibilities and housework which emphasizes stereotypes. Another objection is the low mentorship of young female professionals by seniors, rejecting the increase of female leadership that will be discussed in chapter six. In this chapter, the political challenges are laid out to comprehend the challenges that the Japanese women face to become leaders. These challenges are results from the Bushido perspective.

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<sup>73</sup>J. Lebra-Chapman, J. Paulson, and E. Powers, *Women in Changing Japan* (Stanford University Press, 1976), 167.

<sup>74</sup>J. Kreiner, U. Mèohwald, and H. D. Ölschleger, *Modern Japanese Society, Handbook of Oriental Studies* (Brill, 2004), 376.

<sup>75</sup>E. Dalton, *Women and Politics in Contemporary Japan*, ASAA Women in Asia Series (London: Routledge, 2014), 123.

<sup>76</sup>Yamamoto, Stone, and Tanaka, *Bushido: The Way of the Samurai*, 19.



## Political challenges

### *Government Regulations of Daycare and Nursery*

Nursery school and daycare units were considered the second home for Japanese children from the 1960's to 1970's. Young married women were mostly housewives caring and rearing children during the period of high economic boom in Japan. Men were the primary income earners and for the few women who did work, they were the secondary income earners. With the equality movement among genders and efforts made in attempts to send more Japanese women to work outside of the home, Japan did see an increase in female labor contribution, as well as a stronger demand for daycare.<sup>77</sup> As Japan has made recently advancements in getting more women to join the workforce.<sup>78</sup> According to the estimate that Japan's population is aging and subsequently shrinking, this advancement may not be coming quickly enough, nor is increasing the female labor force the solution to all problems.<sup>79</sup>

The current day-care facilities have not been able to manage the substantial increase in demand. As a consequence, many Japanese children are without enrollment and are in waiting lists, even after having submitted the applications. This problem has been cited as one of the biggest reasons Japanese women are making the choice to stay home as they will be without child care. The number of Japanese children in waiting lists is actually closer to between 600,000 and 850,000. Because many children do not show on waiting lists as parents remove their children from them altogether, even though they are still waiting for a place but have exited the application process.<sup>80</sup>

### *Hidden children*

Children who were not listed on standby lists and although they would not be able to access the day care facilities were removed from the waiting list. Those who care for these 'hidden children' as guardians or parents are exasperated by the reality of the situation. To determine how many hidden children were off of the list, the number of admitted children to child care facilities was deducted from the amount of candidates for accredited nurseries and other facilities. The requirements by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare define 'children on the waiting list' in such a way where many can be excluded from the very definition. The ministry includes children at nurseries which are independently sanctioned by certain

<sup>77</sup>J. Kingston, *Critical Issues in Contemporary Japan* (Taylor & Francis, 2014), 55.

<sup>78</sup>Economist, "Holding Back Half the Nation."

<sup>79</sup>Hugh Cortazzi, "Japan's Population Problem," *November 19, 2015*, accessed November 14, 2016, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/11/19/commentary/japan-commentary/japans-population-problem>.

<sup>80</sup>Mainichi Japan, "More than 50,000 'Hidden Kids' on Day Care Waiting Lists," *July 23, 2016*, accessed September 26, 2016, <http://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20160723/p2a/00m/0na/005000c>.

municipalities, such as the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, other local governments and non-sanctioned child care facilities, even though the standards are not up to nurseries which are sanctioned. Parents or guardians who simply stopped searching for jobs or were on child care leave were also considered ‘hidden children.’ Still, it is local regions that will decide whether or not guardians or parents have put a stop to seeking employment and, interpret the child care leave status. The flood of hidden children on waiting lists mirrors the wishes on behalf of local governments to create the illusion that the number of children on waiting lists is much lower than what it actually is. As the number of applicants soars, there is a breach between child care facilities needed by parents and the number of actual available facilities. With Japan’s increasingly overpopulation, government regulations of daycare and nursery sectors means that not only is there no space for children to be admitted into daycare, but the very process itself is rigorous. Some parents must visit twenty to thirty daycare centers before finding an open place for the child. Even then, while mothers are attempting to return back to work, they leave applications to their children to enroll in several day care centers. This way women are forced with the choice to quit their jobs, or even spend an astonishing ¥240,000 a month at such facilities as private international daycares, the only options left.<sup>81</sup> Not only this, but less than thirteen percent of parents actually want more children, but are left without daycare and thus cite this shortage among the reasons why they simply do not have more children.<sup>82</sup> The fourteenth national survey in Japan found that most married couples desired more children than they have.<sup>83</sup>

Nonetheless, the fear of income loss and childcare costs will cause economic burden on families are inclining couples to have less children. Furthermore, women have faced an ultimatum between work and childbearing because of a social support system that is ill-equipped despite more active participation by women in society.<sup>84</sup>

According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, during 2005–2009, sixty-two percent of mothers who previously had a job stayed out of work for over a year and a half after childbirth.<sup>85</sup> This highlights the difficulty of juggling both work and children. Daycare centers maintenance is vital to Japan in order to secure an increase in birth rate as

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<sup>81</sup>Tomohiro Osaki, “Day Care Crisis Stuck in Vicious Cycle,” *April 17, 2016*, accessed September 26, 2016, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/04/17/national/day-care-crisis-stuck-vicious-cycle>.

<sup>82</sup>Yuiko Imamura, “Policy Implementation Studies: The Case of Eliminating Day-Care Waiting Lists in Japan,” WINPEC Working Paper Series (Tokyo, Japan, 2015), accessed November 11, 2016 [http://www.waseda.jp/fpse/winpec/assets/uploads/2015/06/No.E1501Yuiko\\_Imamura.pdf](http://www.waseda.jp/fpse/winpec/assets/uploads/2015/06/No.E1501Yuiko_Imamura.pdf), 9.

<sup>83</sup>Imamura, “Policy Implementation Studies: The Case of Eliminating Day-Care Waiting Lists in Japan.”, 9.

<sup>84</sup>Takashi Kitazume, “Low Birthrate Threatens Japan’s Future,” *November 9, 2006*, accessed November 14, 2016, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2006/11/09/business/low-birthrate-threatens-japans-future>.

<sup>85</sup>Imamura, “Policy Implementation Studies: The Case of Eliminating Day-Care Waiting Lists in Japan.”, 10.

well as to encourage female labor force participation as a long-term economic solution because while Japanese citizens are guaranteed that all children have the right to daycare, they are still on waiting lists with needs not being met.

### *Types of Japanese Daycare Centers*

The Child Welfare Law identifies the daycare center as one of the principal ‘child welfare facilities.’ Within these facilities, parents or guardians leave daytime childcare for their infants, toddlers, and young children (until primary school age) to the state (Article 39).<sup>86</sup> In Japan, there are two types of daycare facilities, which are licensed and non-licensed. Licensed daycare centers must fulfill the minimum standards required by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (MHLW). These minimums relate to:

- Local stipulations
- Nurturing schedules
- Period of the nurturing schedules
- Distinct exercises

Inside of each district, the enrollment precedent and cost structure are the same. The fee is according to the age of the child and is income-based, with the average cost of licensed, full-time daycare between 20,000–30,000 yen.<sup>87</sup> By comparison, the non-licensed daycare facilities give daytime childcare but do not meet minimum standards as set out by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare.

Non-licensed daycare centers vary in operation, such as those operated by private organizations or individual caretakers with little to no government subsidies. This includes in-house daycare centers and what is called, ‘baby hotels.’ The desirability of daycare centers that are non-licensed is generally low when compared to centers which are licensed because of facility quality and cost. For non-licensed daycare services, the fees are higher, between 100,000–150,000 yen per child. This increase is directly related to the absence of subsidies for non-licensed daycare centers, giving them their higher costs. The solution to creating more accessible and affordable childcare facilities is difficult because of subsidies sponsored by the state that increase the demand while not being able to afford the expansion. Also, prior to 2000, the private sector was prohibited from running daycare, and although lifted, there are

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<sup>86</sup>“Child Welfare Act,” Act No. 164 of December 12, 1947, accessed November 14, 2016, [http://www.japaneselawtranslation.go.jp/law/detail\\_main?id=11&vm=2](http://www.japaneselawtranslation.go.jp/law/detail_main?id=11&vm=2), Article 39.

<sup>87</sup>Japan Healthcare Info, “DAYCARE AND KINDERGARDEN/PRESCHOOL,” accessed September 26, 2016, <http://japanhealthinfo.com/child-health-and-childcare/daycare-and-kindergardenpreschool/>.

still restrictions preventing more centers to be open to meet the demand of the growing need for daycares in Japan. Nurseries range from three months to kindergarten. As twelve -hours work schedules are common children may be dropped off around six in the morning and stay as late as eight o'clock in the evening. Twenty six percent of the population is over sixty four years old, making the child care crisis central to economic policy, as young, educated Japanese women bolstering the workforce is vital to the survival of Japan's economy.<sup>88</sup>

Kathy Matsui, a Japanese strategist at Goldman Sachs, fights for gender diversity in Japan and is responsible for the term "womenomics" over a decade ago that has helped to shape economic plans for Japan. Using this economic model, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe had originally made a pledge to cut down the child care waiting lists to zero.<sup>89</sup> If the country increase the participation of Japan's female labor, an economic change could take place.

Considering this forecasting by Womenomics, there have been efforts to increase women in the workforce through policy. The prime minister made a goal to increase daycare openings by four hundred thousand by 2018, all to be government subsidized, with Japanese parents are grasping a child remittance as well, according to number of children and family income.<sup>90</sup>

However, what is needed much more than policy is a cultural shift in attitudes towards women, which is noted by Matsui. At the same time that exists a framework and a backing for the woman, inquiries from members of the family come up as if is applicable to bring up a baby when a mother is not at home in a full-time position.

Japanese husbands do the minimum extent of household work in the world, a consideration on Bushido thought that still sees taking care of the children and household duties as women's responsibility. The Bushido emphasizes the subservient position of the woman in society. That means that they are subordinated to the men in the context of family. In feudal times, the women was seeing as important to bear children so the name of the family would perpetuate. In this way, the men did not have to worry about house work or developing skills in raising children. That understanding was passed through generations and the Japanese men today do not feel the need to do these chores. Nowadays, many women around the world believe that sharing the load at home is the key to making a family work.

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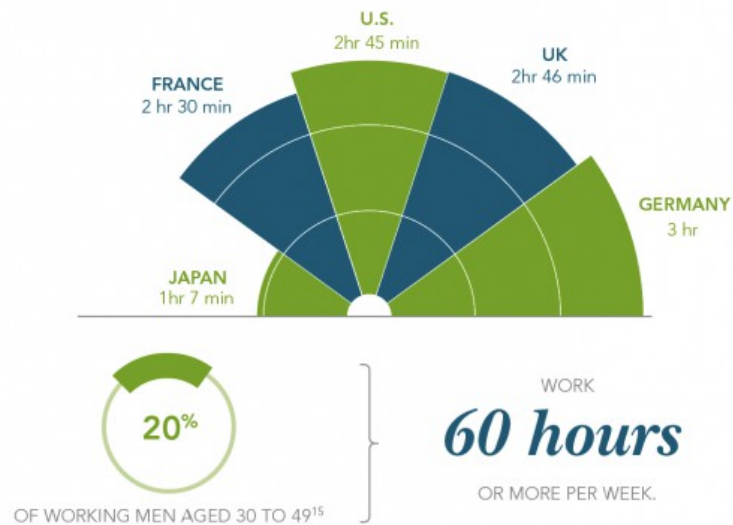
<sup>88</sup>Japan Healthcare Info, "DAYCARE AND KINDERGARDEN/PRESCHOOL."

<sup>89</sup>Abe Shinzo, "Reshaping of the World: Vision from Japan" (speech, World Economic Forum Annual Meeting, Switzerland, Davos-Klosters, September 26, 2016).

<sup>90</sup>Kana Inagaki and Nobuki Juji, "Abe pushes 'womenomics' to shake up Japan's workforce dynamic," *December 7, 2014*, accessed December 7, 2016. <https://www.ft.com/content/4c42de68-6a89-11e4-bfb4-00144feabdc0>.

## Men are not engaged in childcare/housework.

TIME SPENT ON CHILDCARE/HOUSEWORK BY MEN PER DAY<sup>14</sup>



91

According to the picture above Japanese men are not engaged in childcare and workhouse so, the load of the women gets heavier. The men have an intense work schedule and the need to keep working hard to keep the honor of the family drive them to spend more hours in their job instead of their houses. When they get back home in the end of the day, not much energy and disposition is left for them to do house chores.

With Japan's crowding population, government regulations of daycare and nursery sectors means that not only is there no space for children to enter into daycare, but Japan is also left without qualified workers to tend to the children who go to private daycare and nurseries as an alternative with lower standards and less qualified workers. Since parents are left without options for government-subsidized childcare, they are paying for private childcare, however, these options are becoming fewer as Japan closes down these facilities. With over 70,000 children on a waiting list in Japan (excluding the number of hidden children which would raise the total by at least 60,000, according to the Health, Labor and Wealth Ministry as of April 2015), the result is that mothers are being forced to leave work and return home, or to never work to begin with. In fact, seventy percent of Japanese women never return to work after having a child.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup>Catalyst.org, "The Case for Gender Diversity in Japan," *June 16, 2014*, accessed November 14, 2016, [http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/gender\\_diversity\\_in\\_japan\\_print\\_0.pdf](http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/gender_diversity_in_japan_print_0.pdf).

<sup>92</sup>Junko Ashida, "Japan's Rigid Gender Roles Hamper Women's Career Progress," *May 28, 2016*, accessed November 14, 2016, <http://www.atimes.com/article/japans-rigid-gender-roles-hamper-womens-career-progress/>.

<i>Type of care</i>	<i>Costs</i>
<b>Public</b>	10,000 yen/month, meals included.
<b>Private</b>	Varies on company and region of living. 40,000 yen to 80,000 yen/month, meals included.
<b>Kindergarten</b>	Varies on company and region of living. 20,000 yen to 80000 yen/month, plus enrollment fee.

*Japan Health Info, 2014*

Although increasing daycare capacity is a goal within Abenomics, many parents argue that instead of increasing spending in childcare provision, Prime Minister Abe is not using a long term and healthy solution but dangerous and cheap, known as “deregulation,” where the focus and concentration is on decreasing numbers, rather than implementing quality care for all.

In July 2016, a one-year-old girl slept face down at a non-government sanctioned, non-approved nursery in Fukushima. The supreme court upheld an earlier ruling that she died from suffocation. Government regulations dictate that when children sleep they must lie on their backs for the sake of reducing the danger of Sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS), just as well as to be checked every ten minutes. Mothers who are choosing this option are often not given a slot in a certified facility and are not left with many choices. The court said that staff were not sufficiently trained and the center was ordered to pay fifty seven million yen (USD \$570,000) in compensation to her parents. Although improving the provision of childcare is an issue that the government has tried to face, the public debt and contrary goal to raise fertility rates while simultaneously moving more women into the workforce has required another solution.<sup>93</sup>

As large-scale immigration is not favored in Japan, another solution to increase the population for Prime Minister Abe has been to raise the fertility rate from the current 1.4 to 1.8, which, although would slow the decline would not reverse it. Since coming to office in 2012, Prime Minister Abe has also looked to "womenomics" for policies as part of his broader "Abenomics" economic revitalization plan, but has not had much success. Government officials have reduced the intention of expanding the amount of women in bureaucratic command positions next to 2021 from thirty percent to seven percent and then again to just three percent.

### **Points system**

In Japan, the monthly cost for childcare will vary. To gain a place in a government-sanctioned

<sup>93</sup>AFP/rw, “Death in Day Care: Japan’s Parents Face Nursery Lottery,” *August 26, 2016*, accessed November 14, 2016, <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asiapacific/death-in-day-care-japan-s/3075566.html>.

childcare facility is not automatic. Parents on low income are not guaranteed to receive childcare for free or at a low cost because of a points system. The quest for a childcare facility is called *hokatsu*. Within this hunt, a point system in which parents in need of certified facilities are prioritized and is not only household income, but includes other criteria such as work status, marital status, and health to determine who is legible to have childcare. The more desperate a family appears to be, the more points that are earned. The result is mothers are forced to extend their child-care leave or be forced to stay home due to the only other very expensive child care alternative. Parents are sometimes recommended to use a noncertified facility for a year in order to earn enough points to reapply for a certified government subsidized facility. Parents may take this option to the extent of to “contest” with other mothers, but are enrolling their children into daycare that does not meet the required standards. It is not uncommon to be denied entry to several daycare centers. Although some professionals may not have enough points to earn a position in day care due to working part-time versus not working at all, it is not always taken into account the occupation of the mother may be due to a lack of stable income.<sup>94</sup>

### *Strict Immigration Laws*

With strict immigration laws, Japan is unable to hire workers for lower wages who would contribute to the industry of daycare and nursery work, because there are no workers available. Instead, the country is hiring its own people, who are usually women, to do childcare for wages that are not sufficient enough to maintain their homes. As a result of Japanese women taking part-time jobs or even full-time jobs that do not compensate, many women are forced to quit Japan has kept its doors closed to foreigners, as only two percent of the population of hundred and twenty six million is foreign, compared with twelve percent in other OECD countries. Chinese, Koreans and Filipinos comprise the highest number of foreigners, followed by immigrants from Brazil and the US. Repatriation is likely to be responsible for migration from Brazil back to Japan, considering Brazil has the highest number of Japanese living outside of Japan about sixty percent, with most Japanese migration happening to South America before WWII.<sup>95</sup>

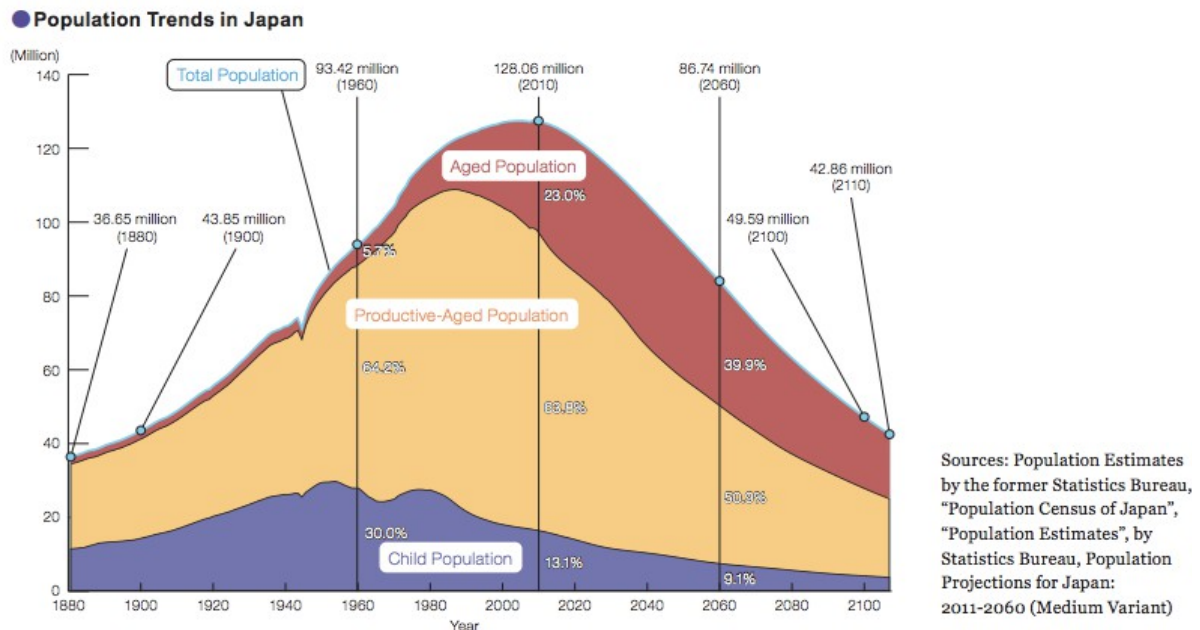
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<sup>94</sup>Osaki, “Day Care Crisis Stuck in Vicious Cycle.”

<sup>95</sup>Reiji Yoshida, “Japan’s Immigration Policy Rift Widens as Population Decline Forces Need for Foreign Workers,” *November 25, 2015*, accessed November 14, 2016, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/11/25/national/politics-diplomacy/japans-immigration-policy-rift-widens-population-decline-forces-need-foreign-workers/>.

### *Overpopulation and Population Decline in Japan*

Although the population of Japan is steadily and rapidly declining, government officials find overpopulation in Japan a reason to limit the immigration flow.



According to the graph by 2060, it is predicted that the population in Japan will plummet to eighty seven million, while those who are left of working-age, from fifteen to sixty four years old, will also decline from seventy eight million to forty four million, due to aging. Prime Minister Abe has expressed that his preference is to increase the participation of Japanese female labor and retain the elderly Japanese in the work force with increasing the number of foreigners as a last resort.<sup>96</sup>

However, if a policy were to be in effect, it would solve a multitude of problems. The labor shortage would decrease and child care expansion would result. Older workers could be retained by the workforce, and the elderly Japanese, who are often lonely, would have more opportunities to socialize.

### *Social Security and Tax Breaks Discrimination by Gender*

Although not explicitly coded as a tax break that discriminates against women, as women are often not the main income earner of the home, there is a gender gap in employment and wages in Japan. In 1961, in efforts to assist families that were largely composed of stay-at-home housewives, spousal tax breaks were beneficial to the home. Today, the current spousal

<sup>96</sup>National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, "Social Security in Japan 2014," accessed November 14, 2016, <http://www.ipss.go.jp/s-info/e/ssj2014/001.html>.



tax break is not offered under the same circumstances as more women are working, but is arguably detrimental to the Japanese workforce, as women are practically paid to not work, reiterating their role in society. The amount of tax a household pays is reduced by ¥380,000 or around \$3,800, but if the dependent spouse, who is usually a wife, earns more than ¥1.03 million (\$10,300) a year.<sup>97</sup>

With the tax breaks given to Japanese households where women do not make over a certain yen amount, this is a reinforcement of this ideology as well. As Japan has the shame-honor culture, it could be shameful for a woman to make over a certain amount that would exempt the entire household from tax exemptions, evident by studies showing Japanese women that actually stopped working so much so that they would not exceed the yen amount that would qualify and keep the house eligible for the tax break.

A woman is greatly exalted in marriage and domestic welfare. This implies that the well being of the family depends on how the woman cares for the husband and children. This is part of the honor and shame culture, so, the woman has to save her face by making her family unit look well. Husbands are welcome by the wives implying the community thinking which is emphasized in the Bushido teachings. Their family name is to have a good reputation among the community they live in.

The essence of the Japanese culture is collectivist, so, a mature woman would be the one who cares about her family, extended connections as relatives and is not focused in building her own carrier but instead, building up her children.

## **Female Representation in the Government**

### *Historical De-emphasis of Female Leadership*

To say that women have not been achieving leadership positions would not be accurate. Women have been achieving leadership positions, both historically and especially religiously and current day, albeit few.<sup>98</sup>

For instance, unmarried shamaness Himiko, who was chosen to restore political rest and harmony back to Japanese society after a period of unrest and violence, was uniquely described by Chinese and Korean history, not in the Japanese History. Himiko is known to have been more than legendary because she is found in the history of the Chinese and Korean

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<sup>97</sup>The Japan Times, "Changing the Spousal Tax Break," *September 24, 2016*, accessed November 14, 2016, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2016/09/24/editorials/changing-spousal-tax-break/>.

<sup>98</sup>J. E. Kidder, *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chieftom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 4.

as one who had armed guards, watch towers, religious duties, and played an important role to over 100 countries while dispatching diplomatic missions four times in her lifetime to China.<sup>99</sup>

Yet, at the time of rule for Himiko, it was the earliest period in Japanese history and a time when it was acceptable for Japanese women to hold authority in public offices, economic power, and spiritual prestige. Himiko, although iconic, was typical of the religious and political leadership that Japanese women held prior to the importation of ideology from Buddha and Confucius.<sup>100</sup> However, even after these patriarchal influences laid foundation to what would become the Samurai and Bushido thought, it was well before ideology and practice fully came to surface.

Himiko was one of several female religious leaders, although the first, who would carry a strong tradition and political presence in Japanese history. Women's roles shifted from active to more passive and as assistants in both the spiritual and secular sense, but there has been Japanese leadership in their communities.

It is puzzling to find that Himiko's legacy is only known because of the history recorded by the Chinese and Korean texts.<sup>101</sup> Although Himiko shows that it is possible to be favorably accepted as a Japanese woman leader, with the current politics in Japan regarding women and attitudes towards work, there is a reinforcement of women being urged to stay at home and a de-emphasis on the historical legends of female leadership. Without representation, it is extremely difficult to be encouraged to pursue leadership in a male-dominated society where the opposite is encouraged or expected, especially because of the collectivist nature of Japan, where modeling the state is important. The Bushido was written as a family philosophy. If we consider the woman samurai, it is possible to affirm that women are able to take the fight.

### **Where Women Reign**

Occupations dominated by Japanese women are in administration. Other occupations with mostly Japanese women are in primary education and pharmaceutical positions. In preschool education, the amount of female educators is vast, as more than 90% of kindergarten teachers are female. An interesting trend to find is that as education level increases, the number of female educators decrease. Even though more than sixty percent of primary school teachers

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<sup>99</sup>M Hane, *Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Westview Press, 1990), 10.

<sup>100</sup>Kidder, *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology*, 18.

<sup>101</sup>Kidder, *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology*, 53.

are females, colleges and university female staff, including women at junior colleges and women's colleges, comprise only twenty percent. In occupations related to social welfare, Japanese women care for children at nursery schools, they are caregivers and home helpers of the handicapped and the elderly. Women are present in the medical field, although only 10-20 percent are physicians and skilled workers. Registered nurses, in addition to public health attendants, are majorly women. In pharmacy, sixty percent of pharmacists are women. The service industries also include many women.<sup>102</sup>

## **Where Women Are Few**

### *Lack of Female Representation in the Government*

The house of representatives holds forty five women out of four hundred seventy five affiliates. That means the women representation are less than ten percent of the parliament. The Ex Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's target was to upturn the presence of women in positions of leadership to thirty percent by 2020 did not succeed. Japan is graded at hundred twenty three on a catalogue of hundred eighty nine nations described in a survey about women's parliamentary representation in 2016 by the Inter Parliamentary Union.<sup>103</sup>

### *The Importance of Women in Leadership*

As the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has emphasized, the need of more female representatives in leadership in Japan is crucial for the economic development of the country. They can be inspired by the amazonian, the female samurai that was trained through the Bushido values in mastering martial arts, weapons as bow and arrow and as a service to the community.

### *Taking as inspiration Tomoe Gozen*

The fact of the glass ceiling is an invisible obstacle not allowing woman to raise up to take leadership positions. This specific term was introduced by the *Wall Street Journal* in 1986. The logic behind this metaphor is everyone has a common platform to equal opportunities in the market place, however, it comes a time when all women face the invisible barrier. They receive less encouragement through formal training to succeeded to higher positions.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Mariko Ichimi Abumiya, "Preschool Education and Care in Japan," accessed November 14, 2016, <https://www.nier.go.jp/English/educationjapan/pdf/201109ECEC.pdf>.

<sup>103</sup>Steve Mollman, "Japan Cut Its Target for Women in Leadership Positions from 30% to 7%," *December 06, 2015*, accessed November 14, 2016, <http://qz.com/567026/japan-cut-its-target-for-women-in-leadership-positions-from-30-to-7/>.

<sup>104</sup>Peter G Northouse, "Leadership : Theory and Practice," in *Leadership Theory and Practice*, vol. 24, 2010, 99-110, 219-270, 383-430, 353.

The transition can not imply that the female workers in Japan work as extensively as the men. From a position of caretakers of their children and household to business woman in management positions, they need support in the different venues to make it work. Flexible working conditions as time, home office could be a possibility.

## Chapter Five

### THE PRIVATE SECTOR

When a Japanese woman thinks about a career plan, there is not much excitement from her side since most of the jobs offered after college graduation are in an office including mostly administrative work. This position requires to do repetitive work for many years until retirement comes. Without the opportunity of developing the skills to reach different types of jobs as in a creative setting for example, many women are discouraged to get involved in the marketplace.<sup>105</sup> In this chapter the description about the rise of the Japanese women in leadership and the challenges that come with it in the private sector will take place. The discussion will bring insight in how they are struggling with this paradigm by analyzing the gender discrimination policies, the opportunities that companies are offering to them and the response from their side. The analysis takes place discussing the impact of the Bushido in the way of women's approach in the private sector.

#### **Classifying Work Opportunities by Gender, Statistical Discrimination and Wage Gap**

##### *Ippan-shoku and Sōgōshoku*

In the 1970s and 1980s the industrialization movement that came from western countries included women as workforce. During that time legal and equal opportunities were offered to the women. Since it was an international modernization in the industrialization, Japan felt the pressure from the international actors to include the status of women in the market place.<sup>106</sup>

Japanese companies started changing their plans to have equal treatment to women. Before that period, the Japanese corporations did not include career plans for women. The career plan and training for workers to aim to reach higher positions was only applied to men. During that period of time, the big Japanese companies adopted the introduction of woman into the workforce (*josei no katsuyo*). In a period of ten years starting from 1975 the female work went up thirty three percent. The main areas of industries involved were high-technology products, therefore, the search for qualified skilled workers went up, factories like Toshiba and Fujitsu welcomed female software engineers in the 1980s.<sup>107</sup>

In attempts to combat gender discrimination in the workplace, Japan put a policy in

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<sup>105</sup>Ugawa, "Women: Lead the Way to Righting the Work/ Life Imbalance in Japan."

<sup>106</sup>Janet Hunter, *Japanese Women Working* (Routledge, 2003), 197.

<sup>107</sup>Hunter, *Japanese Women Working*, 198.

place in April 1986 called the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL) that would become a legal framework to help create equal opportunity for women. The effects on the public and private sector specially affected the new female college graduates. Several big Japanese companies gave options to women to choose from two tracks; *sōgōshoku* (extensive career-track alternative), where they have the same work conditions as the male professionals, or *ippan-shoku* (non-comprehensive career-track or a more general position). In the last option only women were assigned. Japan has a higher-education system by gender, a job-entrance system by gender, and a wage discrepancy by gender. *Ippan-shoku* females, are qualified as non-professionals, they work as assistants, and with a non-existent opportunity for a better position. *Sōgōshoku* females are treated as professionals, with the same chance for promotion as their male workers. Indeed, Beverly Bishop in her book “*Globalisation and Women in the Japanese Workforce*”, notes that women on the *sōgōshoku* track often need to make remarkable efforts. And when they work hard the chance of receiving offers for positions that men have become possible.<sup>108</sup> That shows the discrepancy in work opportunities based in gender. In the Bushido, the roles of the woman and man were very defined. They did not have the same opportunities.

Corporations require commitment to a track before hiring the woman, whilst having a small quota of career track positions available to women. By contrast, nearly all male workers are employed and given career track positions. Prior to revising the Equal Employment Opportunity Law, many corporations and firms assigned uniforms to women who were not on the career track, as children who go to school would wear.

The fact that women have to prove their ability in having such kind of opportunities is linked to the understanding to keep their reputation. The Bushido has a focus in a samurai keeping the reputation and honor by fulfilling their duties. In the “seven virtues of a warrior” Karl F. Friday highlights the importance of a warrior to leave behind the family name for generations.<sup>109</sup> It is not an ethnocentric view of keeping someone’s reputation but it is related to honor the family that the women are part of. The women preferred to take part in the conditions offered by the company. An example of a condition includes women wearing uniforms but the male bosses wearing suits. The women instead of coming up with arguments to not wear the uniforms, they simply submit to the rule of the company. The use of the uniform marks their position as equal between the female workers, making a clear distinction

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<sup>108</sup>B. Bishop, *Globalisation and Women in the Japanese Workforce*, Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies/Routledge Series (Taylor & Francis, 2004), 130.

<sup>109</sup>Friday, “Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan.”

from their bosses who use suits.

In describing how women are not advancing in the workplace, it can be seen that the greater number of women in the working classes are not customary workers, occupying posts that are part-time, not full-time, provided by an employee recruitment agency. Women started dropping out of the workforce in their early thirties. The Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office in their report on effective attendance of women as the essence of growth of action found out that women are missing the potential promotions to managerial positions. That takes place usually around the age of thirty since they are dropping out.

Another element that adds to this tough situation is the extensive work schedule in the Japanese companies. As cited by Nikkei Asian Review, in 2014 the ones that worked in a full-time position in Japan, had an average of hundred and seventy three hours of extra work done in the year. It is hard to find a balanced family life when much time is spent at work.<sup>110</sup> During the times of the samurais, the warriors devoted themselves to the lords and in contemporary Japan the lords were substituted by the Japanese men for their companies. So, instead of serving a lord, they devoted their lives to work hard, serve the company they work for. In this way, more hours are spent working for a company than the workers spending time with their families. As a woman who has the responsibility to raise her children at home, it is not appealing for her to have to work so extensively in a company, neglecting her role as a mother, wife and the one responsible for the management of the finances in the house.

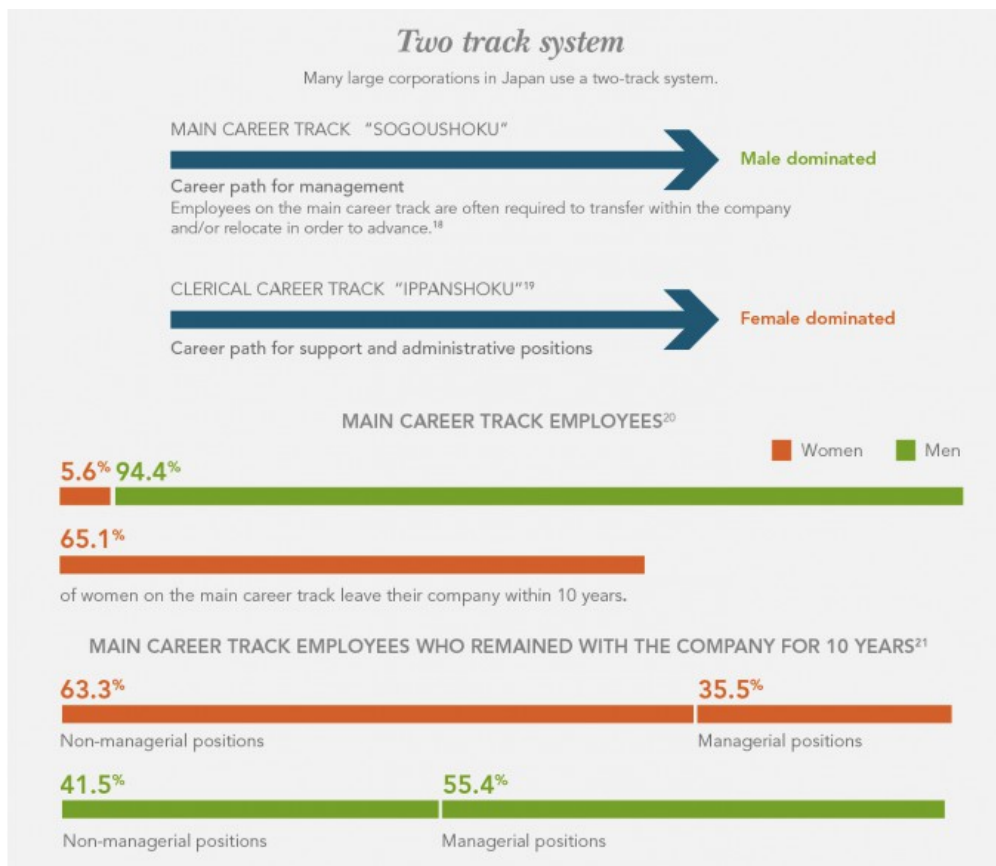
The role of the Japanese women in the Bushido contexts is to understand the sacrifice that her husband does in providing and protecting the family while she raises the children. Even, when possible equal opportunities of career plans are offered by the Japanese companies, they feel a big responsibility to take good care of their family. When a samurai is fighting he is ready to die for his lord, he is trained to serve someone and to lead others to serve wholeheartedly. Even nowadays, we find Japanese workers that dedicate their lives for their companies where they work.

The illustration below shows clear the tendency of the male workers pursuing the main career plans while the female workers chose in their majority clerical career plans because once they have a child, they have to choose to take a part time job that does not require much of them at work.

"The Case for Gender Diversity in Japan," Catalyst, May 21, 2014.

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<sup>110</sup>Jun Yamazaki, "Japan's Full-Timers Put in Most Overtime on Record in 2014," *March 31, 2015*, accessed September 6, 2016, <http://asia.nikkei.com/Politics-Economy/Economy/Japan-s-full-timers-put-in-most-overtime-on-record-in-2014>.



Bishop remarks,

“the extra qualification and effort required of aspiring female managers are perhaps used by managers as a proxy for willingness to establish a permanent career. However, it is difficult for a woman to make the decision at the start of her career about whether or not she will be able to continue to shoulder the work burden of a ‘salaryman’.”<sup>111</sup>

Bishop continues with the difficulty that women have, citing the symptoms of overwork and the increasing studies and reports of women suffering from a syndrome coined by Asakura in 1998, the phenomena known as ‘complete exhaustion syndrome’ or ‘superwoman syndrome.’<sup>112</sup> The work that women do is often exhaustive, as it is a compilation of responsibilities ranging from maternal care and business work, and although doing the same laborious work, do not receive the same type of help a man would receive at home. This work, which at times carries a weightier load than their ‘salarymen’ coworkers, does not end there. Females are sometimes asked to perform the same junior tasks as their female colleagues even though they have not chosen the *ippanshoku* track.

With this clear difference in the roles played by men and women in Japan, it becomes

<sup>111</sup>Bishop, *Globalisation and Women in the Japanese Workforce*, 130.

<sup>112</sup>Mutsuko Asakura, “Current Legal Problems Concerning Women Workers in Japan,” *Waseda Bulletin of Comparative Law* 13 (1992): 1–23. Reprinted with the permission of the Institute of Comparative Law.



easier to understand the reasons for why Japanese women have a hard time to become role models or leaders in the market place.

Although women *sogoshoku* workers may make many sacrifices, there is no guarantee they will be rewarded, for often times working just as hard as their male counterparts they are not given the recognition and are not given equal status. Companies have been attempting to prepare women to be skilled and qualified, however, there appears to be a limitation on women who enter the managerial or technical jobs, as promotion opportunities are very limited. The workforce in Japan has not yet come to be changing fast enough. As a result, many Japanese women have been dropping out of the workforce from the *sogoshoku* track. Although women are aware of the demands of the *sogoshoku* track, some women have been offered incentives to apply for the non-career track, or stressed to the point of not applying for the career track. Also, large payments were given, almost as a dowry, for women who select the *ippanshoku*, and ultimately leave.<sup>113</sup> In this way, companies are able to keep the numerical flexibility of the former arrangement.

Over five hundred years with Bushido as the foundation of state ethics<sup>114</sup> made many companies chose to continue to mirror the model that women in *ippanshoku* were to follow, such as short-term work, marriage, childbirth and irregular work schedules. For the women who do not follow this path, they are often questioned, jeered at, mocked and teased by staff about their age, in their thirties and not being married yet. For example, in 2014, when Ayaka Shiomura a thirty five years old city assembler member was giving a talk on women in the workplace in hopes to increase measures to support child raising and fertility boosting, she was interrupted by the insults from Akihiro Suzuki, aged fifty one, from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Suzuki madly shouted at Shiomura to 'hurry up and get married' followed by an even more insensitive comment, 'can't you give birth?' Shiomura bowed and apologized within a few days and subsequently resigned for his insensitive and reckless comments, but what is interesting to note is his own admission of where his remarks came from. That type of attitude is to save face in a collectivist community.

“I uttered the remark with a *philosophy* that I'd like people to get married soon amid the falling birthrate and delayed marriage,” he claimed. “I profoundly regret my lack of consideration for people who find it hard to get married even though they hope to do so,” he said, adding that he didn't intend to offend Shiomura.

This philosophy that Suzuki speaks of, who later stepped down after seventy thousand

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<sup>113</sup>Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, 55.

<sup>114</sup>K. Singer, *Mirror, Sword and Jewel* (Taylor & Francis, 2016), 165.

petitions in call for his resignation, can be traced to the Bushido perspective of a woman's role in society. Shiomura did not fit in to this paradigm and vision of what was demanded of her as a woman in regards to her place in society. She was considered to be out of place and not in touch with what the needs of the country were, as she should be expected. So, just as a samurai, she decided fulfill her duties and maintain her composure even in the face of death or misery<sup>115</sup>, for the good of the country. Even in Suzuki's apology he is found diffusing the blame of his remarks on the needs of the people, the country, an entity larger than himself.

As for the Ippan-shoku and Sōgō-shoku system itself, in 2003, *The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)* found that the very same law that sought equality through this system was actually a form of "indirect discrimination," as it can operate under covert gender discrimination. The CEDAW implored that the Japanese government act against this policy.

While the number added to the female workforce is growing, and the number of females who work as Sōgōshoku and assume managerial positions also have increased, the opportunities for women to be promoted have not. This difference in gender promotion also manifests as a difference in their income. While the no gender difference may be slim to none for new hires, after many years, most organizations show a gender gap in income, thus highlighting male dominance in managerial positions.

"The tasks of a samurai are to reflect on his person, to find a lord and do his best in service, to interact with his companions in a trustworthy and warm manner, and to be mindful of his position while making duty his focus. Formally, a samurai will prepare for use of swords, lances, bows, and horses, while inwardly he will endeavour in the ways of lord-vassal, friend-friend, parent-child, brother-brother, and husband-wife relations. In his mind he has the way of letteredness, while outwardly he is martially prepared. Therefore, it can be said that the essence of the samurai is in understanding his task and function."<sup>116</sup>

There is almost no opportunity for Japanese women to further or continue their education once they have entered the workforce. This is due to major force. It is the fact that, once one leaves his or her job, it is impossible to return to the company at the same or a higher-level position. The same obstacle that keeps women from progressing in their professional lives, once they have children and must leave the company to raise their families, also prevents their advancement through further education. This limits the opportunities for women to

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<sup>115</sup>Singer, *Mirror, Sword and Jewel*, 162.

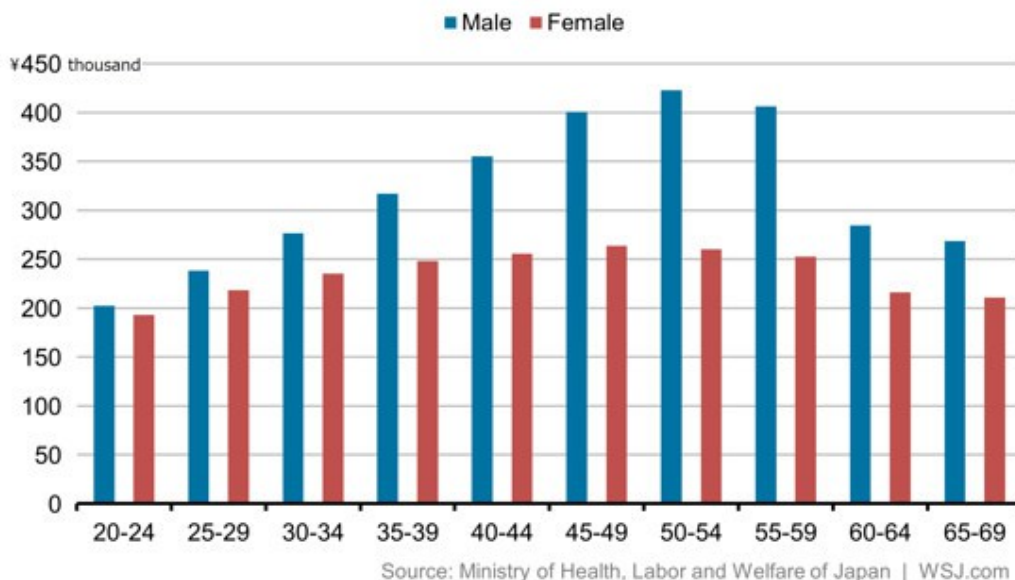
<sup>116</sup>Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushidō in Modern Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 20.

develop new skills after their children have grown—skills that could be employed in the nonprofit sector.

### *Pay Gap, Part-time vs Full-time Benefits*

Women are encouraged to join the workforce in government discussions. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe says he wishes to increment the sum of women in the labor pool and scale down the compensation divergence. However, economically, women are discouraged. Women earn seventy two percent of what Japanese men make, making Japan in the bottom third of countries in the World Economic Forum of 2015.<sup>117</sup> In addition to being offered less benefits for inferior positions, they are receiving this wide gap in pay. These part-time positions and temporary work holders are also expected to be mostly female. This is a part of the Bushido understanding of women’s role in society, so it is acceptable and expected that the females will not be the main income earners in the home.

### **Monthly Average Wage Per Age Group**



### *Inflexible Employment Contracts*

A fine interpretation of the discrimination of Japanese women, also one of the greatest challenges in the rise of female leadership in the workforce, can be seen by the term “birth giving-machines,” and “baby-making devices” used by Health Minister Hakuo Yanagisawa in 2007, to refer to Japanese women in a speech in a local political meeting, while attempting to solve the dilemma of the aging Japanese elderly population by calling on women to multiply

<sup>117</sup>World Economic Forum, “The Global Gender Gap Index Results in 2015,” accessed October 1, 2016, <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/the-global-gender-gap-index-results-in-2015/>.

the birth rate. As the Bushido emphasizes for a woman who has the responsibility to raise her children at home, it is not appealing for her to have to work so extensively in a company, neglecting her role as a mother, wife and the one responsible for the management of the finances in the house. Yet this kind of thinking and attitude former Health Minister Hakuo Yanagisawa takes on also carries a very stark tone.

The signal for women to “do their best,” by the former Health Ministry called the attention in also forwarding the responsibility on to women, as an implored duty to change the direction of the country. Strangely, the expression for more children in Japan and the economic articulation for Japanese women to work harder in the marketplace are incongruous. With the idea to call upon women to have more children, yet give less available job opportunities, less interesting job opportunities, less pay, and even to pay for women to keep from working, there is a paradox sent to Japanese females, especially those who wish to rise in leadership. In fact, the message is to change the country without changing the desired role that women are obligated to play in society, to save and serve the country out of duty and honor, even unto emotional or mental death.

#### *Ambiguous Paternity Leave Standards*

One applicable pattern is Japan’s fatherly leave system, which contends Scandinavian structures in it is the incentive of helping men to become more active in parenting, although utilized by very few men.

Less than three percent of eligible working Japanese men take paternity leave, although Japan has one of the utmost tolerant parental leave fare in the world according to the OECD. Taking twelve months paternity leave for newborn children, Japanese father are still able to retain almost sixty percent of their salary. However, forty percent opt out.<sup>118</sup> Out of seven hundred members of parliament, only one man resolved to test his legal condition to have compensated child leave, Kensuke Miyazaki, is a thirty four years old and an officeholder from the conducting Liberal Democratic party (LDP), who marks Japan’s first politician to take paternity leave. In the private and public sector where employers pressure men them to waive their right to paternity leave, he claimed he wanted to be a role model and provoke, but was criticized for his choice, as the assistant general of the party, Sadakazu Tanigaki, suggested his absence could damage the party’s results for the rest of the congressional session. This is an example of Bushido perspective, where the feudal lord, the

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<sup>118</sup>Martin Williams, “40% of Fathers Do Not Take Paternity Leave,” *January 7, 2013*, accessed September 21, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/careers/fathers-choose-not-to-take-paternity-leave>.

company, should be served and valued higher than his own self, or in this case, his family. It is not common to see Japanese men volunteering to take part in the household activities. When there is change, people feel uncomfortable because it is not according to the way they were taught. By Kensuke deciding to serve his family taking the paternity leave can bring an opportunity for the Japanese to discuss how the Bushido values can be adapted to this new role model.

The struggle is real when it comes to women to step up in their leadership skills. The fact that honor is one of the main values in the Bushido, gives a heavier load to the women. Honor is translated as an awareness of conscious dignity and worth. To keep the honor, shame is avoided. For the Japanese women to honor their family, they sacrifice their time, resources and many have not had a chance to voice their wants and needs.

## Chapter Six

### THE FEMALE ROLE

In this chapter it will be discussed the role of the Japanese woman in the times of the Bushido and in her current situation in Japan, according to the information described in chapters one to five. To be able to understand the challenges of the Japanese Women in leadership positions, it requires the examination of the Bushido values aspects and the relational frame in the political and private arena of contemporary Japan. That discussion leads to understand part of the rejection of the Japanese women when it comes to taking leadership positions.

The warrior's code from the time of the samurai expected a high level of loyalty from the samurai to his master. That idea spread out through society. Loyalty to the lord, meant to have an agreement between both parts which included the trust among friends, sense of association, the respect for the elders, and the awareness of the honor and shame culture. In this context, the inheritance was passed through the oldest son and his wife would be dependent on him since he is considered the leader of the house. The discipline that a samurai woman received was based in acquiring skills for the household as sewing, learning how to keep the hair neat and beautiful, and make use of calligraphy. The samurai woman married from the age of 13 up and her place was in the kitchen.<sup>119</sup>

There was a clear constrain between the roles of man and woman in the samurai era. The public arena belonged to the man which incorporate the area of work. And private work was made by the woman, meaning work inside of the house. If the woman worked outside, it could make the man of the household have a bad reputation, affecting his honor and status. In this sense, the elements of the excellent Japanese woman were designated as *Onna Daigaku*, which literally means a graduated woman; such attributes included reverence and duty in a quiet manner, grace and her duties were based in serving the husband as a parallel of serving the lord, her family members such as parent-in-laws and brother-in-laws.<sup>120</sup> The way the Japanese women are dedicated in their private arena nowadays, is a reflection of the Bushido teachings. The element of self- sacrifice for the well being of the family is evident. Their submission to the authority is clearly seen in companies, where they prefer to obey which demonstrates the value of humility. The Bushido emphasizes that the women should use the code to raise up the children with the same values and learn how she can safeguard her family

<sup>119</sup>Liddle and Nakajimo, *Rising Suns, Rising Daughters: Gender, Class and Power in Japan*, 101.

<sup>120</sup>Liddle and Nakajimo, *Rising Suns, Rising Daughters: Gender, Class and Power in Japan*, 103.

from the adversaries. Their essence is a warrior spirit which was educated to be selfless so, the women can serve a higher cause or a higher person. It becomes a hard test when the women has to choose between dedicating her life to meet the needs of their families or to dedicate their skills to be a powerful leader in a company.

In chapter four, I presented the political challenges regarding how women try to obtain leadership positions in society. The lack of childcare institutions is a result of the understanding that the woman should guard the household and her husband, and devote her life to raise up her children. According to that way of thinking, leaving children in a child care institution would mean that she is not capable to follow through her chores. That is a challenge in the past years that came from the Bushido way of thinking.

There are strict requirements for the day care to function in an attempt to replace the role of the mother however, there is not enough units for the amount of children. So, the mother has to stay at home. As cited in chapter four, the social system does not offer other alternatives. The government is strict in regards to having foreign workers to attend the demand of nurseries workers. It sounds to be a cry of the women for more nurseries.

Japan being classified as a collectivist nation, the women is part of a net of social affiliations. With the introduction of Japanese women in the marketplace, with the increase of capitalism and industrialization, they could start working. But once they had children, they have to leave the workplace and coming back to the same position was not easy. However, even when she worked her understanding of her role in the political arrangement of the Japanese Bushido culture remained. That explains her role as a wife and mother and her relations and obligations to the extended family as to her husband's family and her own family. It is implicit in the Bushido code that the women should be perceptive to the needs of the family.

The men are not engaged in doing the house chores in Japan, which makes the load heavier for Japanese woman that would like to work in companies, yet that does not mean that all women want to work in a corporate setting. According to the descriptive chapters four and five, the challenges of the women in the workplace were presented and in the Bushido thinking, the man dedicates his life to his lord. The lord was substituted for the company he works for and a heavy dedication to his workplace does not give him enough time for him to develop practical skills to help in his house. The men has a sense of permission and obligation to give his best to the workplace. The same impression was not given to the women.

Nitobe Inazo who speaks about the code of the Bushido mentioned that the samurai woman had artistry in her domestic environment and expertise in martial arts, qualifying her as an Amazonian, a lady that is also a warrior. The Bushido spotlights the heroic aspects and the samurai woman learned to hold her feelings inside and raise her children to be warriors. The samurai woman also studied how to take up her life in case of needing to save honor in the house.<sup>121</sup> However, women have not been given the same relevance as men, nor have they been given the same opportunities to be leaders. That is a dilemma of the contemporary Japanese women.

This is in conformity to the fundamental rules and roles in society conferring to age, gender, and prestige in one's family. The ranking system regulates the position of a daughter in the family. According to the Bushido, the eldest female could inherit property and be able to take care of the family business the same way as the eldest man could. After there was clear fixed positions to the men and women in the Japanese society, she became a portion to be lead but not to be leader. The women got used to listening and obeying the societal rules.

The vulnerability of the Japanese woman became known due to the traditional role. This is what we call a type of designation. If she was out of this performance, that could bring shame to her. Her portrayal included serving tea, cleaning, and this position was substituted to an "OL" or Office Lady duty and characterization of duty. In this matter, the woman has to have as a core target to maintain the family well and be "ladylike".<sup>122</sup> School teachers strengthened the ideology that the role parts of girls and boys are well-known and distinguished. Girls were taught to do house chores and artistic activities and boys were taught disciplines as; mathematics and sciences, instruments that could give them the opportunity for a secure job and possibly a leader position, while the girls had learned to be a good housewife model. The focus of the man would be to attain security in his job while the woman would do her best to fulfill her role as a wife, mother and raising up the children. That role itself was considered her place according to the Bushido. Her identity is linked deeply with the honor and shame aspect where serving her family, would bring honor to the household. And if her children succeed, that was due to the good education that she provided for them. It is interesting to note that the skills of being ladylike in an office are the same as in serving guests in the house scenario. The presentation of the food, as well as the ambiance has to be clean and beautiful; she has to be presented in a well put together manner and serve the ones in the house. One of the virtues of the Bushido mentioned in the theory section is the

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<sup>121</sup>Liddle and Sachiko, *Rising Suns, Rising Daughters: Gender, Class and Power in Japan*, 104.

<sup>122</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 181.



politeness which is declared as a genuine interest and burden for the others. That is a strong characteristic in a collectivistic thinking.

### **Fathers and Family**

An experiment of sharing burdens in the Japanese domiciliary started with baby steps. The experiment based on fathers partaking the chores with the mothers. That would include fathers making the meals, taking care of children and it would give more time and space for the women to be engaged in her growth in a company.

The companies can receive stimulus to meet the mark that minister Abe had proposed. However, many of the groups have dismissed the financial backing offered to them to have more female leaders in their companies. This situation just underlines the cliché roles that women have in the marketplace. It reinforces the idea that women should be at home. That's how the Bushido is applied as a family philosophy.

The role of the woman begins before she gets pregnant. It is demanded from her that she is going to raise the babies throughout their childhood, to teen years and to the adulthood. Her role does not matter if she comes from a poor background or from a wealthy family. This is one of the reasons as well, that fathers in Japan are not the most engaged in participating in the house chores and raising up the children compared to The Organization for Economic co-operation and Development (OECD) countries.

The wife would not predict to have assistance from the husband because this would be contrary to the Bushido thought. A man's place is not in the home but to be fully committed to his company as if he were serving his feudal lord and it is not considerate as inappropriate to be rigid or impartial. It is not seen as thoughtless to not be present in physically in the raising up children at home because it is understood that Japanese fathers provide financially.

Japanese men achieve their role in society as the income producer to their families and as being servants to their companies according to the Bushido. This compromise can be understood as an acceptable collectivist collaboration, whereas for men to engage in chores and responsibilities outside of work would be feminine and improper, but also individualistic. In other countries it is not seen as such, for example, Norwegian men support women the most with housework and related chores in the OECD, while Japanese men do the least according to a 2014 survey released by the OECD, making Japanese men the least likely to help.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>Michael Roddy, "Norwegian Men Most Helpful with Housework, OECD Survey Finds," *March 6, 2014*, accessed September 28, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-womensday-oecd-survey->

## **Low Mentorship**

Returning to the idea of understanding the female role in Japan, as well as the idea of separate tracks for office ladies a small amount of the women, around five percent were found to have senior management level status. That is a result of the condition set by the Bushido understanding, because different tasks were given to men and women. The men get to develop more managerial tasks because it is offered more training in his job track. The women had more practical tasks or repetitive work in an office like in a secretary position. It is interesting to note that in an administrative position, the women would not have a man under her position, it would probably be another woman. And if the women are expected to have a similar opportunity to reach leadership positions, it is crucial for them to have adequate workshops to acquire the skills to lead.

The sex discrimination at employment level leaves the women at the lower positions in the market place. The universities were seen as a preparation for women for marriage. And in the jobs, trainings and promotions are rare.

Substantial companies around 1986 started a trend to hire female graduates. They were constrained in the labor market after their first child. In their mid-thirties and forties women had to start from the bottom in the pay check scale implying that the valuable assets that the Japanese companies have picked to value Japanese workers made it harder for the women to have better jobs with career perspective prompting women to raise capital

The Bushido code focused in the values of the woman in the household restrained them to reach a fuller potential in the social and business realm. The well-being of a family depends on how a woman treats the children and her husband. That puts the woman at a better position than to reach out to the senior responsibilities in a company. This mindset has been ingrained since the Tokugawa era and reflects to how the Japanese women see themselves and the traditional Japanese people.

## Chapter Seven

### CONCLUSION

We live in a world that is one of fast pace; instant messages, exchange of ideas cross culturally and virtually. Japan has evolved extraordinary in the field of technology, they still impress us with creating robots that will help the elderly generation to do chores. However, there is still a big gap for women to reach when it comes to working as leaders in Japan.

In this thesis it was taken into consideration the Historical, cultural aspects, including the Japanese female identity, and the influence of Bushido in the context of challenges that women face in leadership in Japan. The foundation of Bushido, plays a big part in it. Putting expectations of how women should behave and modeling their way of life, to be lady like as well as being the caregiver of the family.

Bushido refers to the “way of the warrior”, which is considered a Japanese code of conduct and way of life. This code is widely considered as the foundation stone of the culture in Japan. Further, the spontaneous development of Bushido came past hundreds of years as a behavior code for the samurais. The training under Bushido was primarily intended for males, where most of the training being masculine as well as the virtues had a masculine focus. According to the, Bushido ideal of the womanhood was established to be preeminently domestic. That implied that women were to make domestic usage of the Bushido for their children’s education, as well as offer protection to their families from possible enemies. Such domesticity was also observed in terms of sacrificing themselves for their husbands, children, and fathers.

Japan has fixed gender roles for men and women; where men are known as the breadwinners, while women as housewives. Otherwise, the changing environmental aspects such as aging and decreasing population have changed the influence of the Bushido on the Japanese workforce where even females are now accepted as part of the talent pool since they have gone through the same type of education as men.

It is worth mentioning the importance of Bushido influence on the leadership roles and positions of women in Japan. A critical role was imprinted upon the Japanese people with the way of the samurai in terms of loyalty and honor in the workplace. The actions associated with Bushido stirred the society to believe that paradigms of honor relied upon the samurai. The codes of samurai indicated that administrative positions were not to be given to anyone

who lacks the ability or special talents to hold such position. It is thus evident that since women were perceived to lack the ability required for administrative positions, they were not expected to hold such positions. However, the Bushido code expected women to live up to the same honor as men and develop the courage to fight for their country. That is shown through how the country rebuilt itself after the Second world war.

As reported by the Japanese Command of Internal Affairs and Communications Japan has one of the lowest rates of female labor participation from the OECD nations. It is predicted that the labor force is about to shrink by fifteen percent from 2010 to 2030. The importance of women to make this gap smaller is key for the GDP growth. Could now be the time for the companies to take in consideration the advantages of a different style of leadership and consequently the benefits that Japanese women in leadership positions can offer?

The Japanese culture is focused in the collectivist thinking, with it is shown in the expectation of a mature woman to be the one who cares about her own family unity, extended relatives, and it is not focused in the individualistic approach of her building her own career. Their relationships are based in the loyalty to few, specially to their family. Her main task according to the Bushido is to serve her husband and her children. If her children becomes successful, it means that she managed her duties well.

The discussion of how the Bushido shaped the way Japanese woman think today brought to the surface the practical challenges that they face when it comes to raising children, watching their household and undertaking a job in a company. Using the literature review some challenges were discussed. In the political arena, the government is struggling to find enough daycare facilities to the women who wants to be engaged in the market place. The demand is higher than the day-care facilities available. This situation obligates the women to choose to stay at home to raise her children.

Until where I have revised the literature, I have not found authors that contradict the challenges of Japanese women to reach to leadership positions. It is possible that the material are in Japanese and I did not have the opportunity to have access to those texts.

As it was discussed about Bushido, the Japanese woman learned to sacrifice herself for a bigger cause, which englobes the head of the household, the house, and her family. The same way that her husband devoted his life to his lord and for Japan, she devoted herself to her husband.<sup>124</sup> This way of thinking, demands full commitment. It is not possible to serve

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<sup>124</sup>Liddle and Sachiko, *Rising Suns, Rising Daughters: Gender, Class and Power in Japan*, 103.

different leaders. So, the woman was conditioned to focus in taking care of the household chores.

Japan is the exclusive nation in the world that had a strong influence of the samurai ethics in their history, including the militarism era around 1930s and also, the inspiration for the modernization of Japan. The Bushido also influenced the social relations, defining the hierarchical approach in the private and public sphere.<sup>125</sup> The vertical relations affected the way women are treated. Her responsibilities from the samurai era were based in devoting her life for her husband and children, with a servant's heart and with excellence.

Japanese woman nowadays still keep the Bushido code and live it out in a graceful way. However, when she wants to rise to take positions of leadership in private companies, the challenges that come up in balancing her private and public life are substantial.

How can the Japanese female have a balanced life working and pursuing leadership positions?

Would Japanese women be able to rise and shine as leaders in this nation? That is a challenge that the country has ahead of them. The Bushido plays an important role in that task and how the women will use these values to face this task is an exciting movement worth to follow up. The understanding of sacrificing their lives for a greater cause as to the family and for the nation is a duty that the Japanese women carry well.

It looks like that the Japanese companies would benefit from having the Japanese women reaching out to places of leadership. When specific trainings for management are offered and with the assistance of the government for the increase of childcare places, the females have a great opportunity in front of them. They are skilled in many areas from engineering to medicine. It would not be surprising to see in the next few years an increase of productivity in the marketplace when the female work force take hold of managerial positions, they could be able to come up with better solutions to challenges as lack of childcare units. In this way, her value would not be just based in how she is serving her family but, the company and consequently, the nation of Japan. For now there are not many women in leadership positions in Japan.

The Bushido values guided the Japanese woman to be great servants to serve her family and nation. If the amazonian type of samurai woman takes place in the companies and in political arenas, her way of coming up with solutions could be welcomed.

How they can deal with having most of the responsibilities regarding raising her

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<sup>125</sup>Reischauer and Jansen, *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*, 126.

children and managing house chores combined with a workplace that offers a flexible work hours and career plan for them?

In contemporary Japan, the Bushido values are very present in the everyday life of the women. The samurai spirit that is present in the lifestyle of the Japanese women impulsed them to start in the workplace after the Second World War to be part of the reconstruction of their country. They accepted the challenge to be part of repetitive work in the industries. However, a carrier plan was not an option for them. That situation prolonged for decades and nowadays, the Japanese women have the same samurai spirit but are confronted with the demand to rise up as leaders in the marketplace and to keep being a ladylike woman that is responsible for the well being of the family.

The Japanese government is open to offer long term carriers to the Japanese women, an encouragement for that to happen might have to come from the top leaders of the nation and companies to see the women as not only servants but leaders as well. The examples of women cited in the thesis as Tomoe Gozen prove that Japanese women can take positions of leadership. If more training programs in companies are offered with options of childcare for example, it might be possible to find a balance for them to raise up as leaders in the societal, private and governmental sectors in Japan.

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