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DISMEMBERED REMEMBRANCE: FEMALE ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THE CONSTRUCTION AND MARKETING OF JAPANESE MODERN IDENTITY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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2001

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ABSTRACT

This work examines female entrepreneurship in Japan from approximately 1870 to the present. The methods that I have employed include statistical analyses of the census, a large-scale, cross-industrial survey, analysis of autobiographical and biographical texts, oral histories, intensive interviews, and participant observation. I have concluded that entrepreneurship among Japanese women emerged concurrently with the commercialization of the Japanese economy of the 17th century; furthermore, entrepreneurship among Japanese women still plays an important role in the contemporary Japanese economy and culture.

However, entrepreneurship among Japanese women was strongly impacted by the evolution of modern industrial capitalism. Japan's 19th century "modernization" required a socio-cultural revolution, driven by elites, which by the postwar period, had successfully and severely circumscribed the normative roles that women were allowed to play in the "modern" economy and society. To the extent that the new, elite, universal gender norm was absorbed by the Japanese middle class of
the postwar period, entrepreneurship among women vanished, and would not return until women who had adopted such norms as their own reached post-menopausal age, when they reappeared in the mid-1980s and demand access to the male-gendered realm of the modern business system.

However, the elite construct was inapplicable to the realities of working class women, and to middle class women who had married into the working class. Among these women, the pre-modern gender norm survived, as did many elements of the pre-modern business system in which a women’s economic agency was both normal and normative. Such women have either rejected the elite norm, or employ various methods to erase or minimize their norm-aberrant economic behaviour.

Ultimately, the existence of premodern business structures in which women are fully integrated as owners, decision-makers, and economic agents is of vital importance to Japanese constructions of an authentic, “traditional” Japanese Self. Importantly, the erasure and invisibility of Japanese women entrepreneurs has also been part and parcel of the construction of modern Japan’s national identity.
This work is dedicated

to Mother who paved the way for me to begin,

and to Phillip and Nathaniel who paved the way for me to finish.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research for this project was supported by the generous financial support of the Fulbright Foundation, the Bradley R. Kastan Fellowship Foundation, the Elizabeth Gee Fellowship Foundation, the CIC Minority Doctoral Fellowship Foundation, the Ohio State University Department of History, and by the Fukuoka University Faculty of Commerce.

The completion of a project of this magnitude would not have been possible without the intellectual support and insight of people far too numerous to list. However, it is imperative that I mention: Professor Richard Moore who introduced me to Japan, and who has remained my staunch supporter and friend, my advisor, James Bartholomew for inviting me to graduate school so many years ago, although I am not yet certain that it was as fine of an idea as his faith and patience seems to indicate. I wish to thank Professor Richard Torrance who was unstinting in the use of his time to teach another department's graduate student to read Japanese documents. I wish to thank Professor Mansel Blackford for a rare and much cherished
example of humane graduate training. I wish to thank Professor Randy Roth for introducing me to quantitative analysis, and for providing such a wonderful example of teaching, learning, ethics, and values for life, as well as for life in the Academy. Last, but not least, I wish to thank Professor Gail L. Bernstein who provided desperately needed feedback on various drafts of chapters of this dissertation. We will, I hope, meet face to face sometime soon.

It is also important that I thank those individuals in Fukuoka who made this project possible. First of all, I must thank Professor Nakagawa Seishi for sponsoring my research at the Fukuoka University's Faculty of Commerce, for undertaking many thankless, bureaucratic tasks on my behalf, for taking good care of my material and emotional well-being while I resided in Fukuoka, and for teaching me many interesting vocabularies that I otherwise would have not been able to learn. I also must thank my seven research assistants, Ms. Matsuda Junko, Ms. Matsumoto Yuka, Ms. Nao Fujisaki, Mr. Utsumi Ken, Ms. Fukutomi Yuko, Ms. Nakayama Fumi, and Ms. Takahashi Kahori, whose nearly 800 (wo)man hours of labour resulted in the survey portion of this research project.

Most importantly, I must thank the hundreds of Japanese informants who took the time to answer a rumpled, awkwardly phrased questionnaire mailed to them by a foreign researcher of whom they had
never heard. Furthermore, I must thank the forty informants who agreed to allow a total stranger into their lives to share their private shames, and their erased, ignored, or forgotten triumphs. More than contributing to a body of academic scholarship, their life stories have been indelibly printed in my heart. They remind me every day of the infinite nature of possibility.
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Professor Ueki is a rising star on the business faculty of a large private university.\(^1\) Every other morning, on his way to work, he stops at a shoe-shine booth in front of the train station. The old lady who works the booth pours him a cup of hot tea, and then, while he thinks about his lecture notes for the day, or perhaps while he is thinking of nothing in particular, she shines his shoes to a spit polish. By the time she is finished, there are three more men in business suits awaiting a turn in her chair.\(^2\)

Professor Ueki greets the rest of us when he arrives at the business faculty office. We are gathered around various morning newspapers, sipping coffee, occasionally chatting. He confirms with me

\(^1\) Professor Ueki and this narrative are fictitious. The businesses he encounters are not. The conversations with colleagues of the business faculty where I was affiliated are also factual, and are documented in my field journal and personal diary. In order to describe the atmosphere surrounding female entrepreneurship, as well as the complexity of researching such a topic in Japan, I have collapsed several of them into a single narrative.

\(^2\) Christiènne Smith, Field Notes, 6 January, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan.
our meeting at lunch time, grabs a cup of coffee and his mail, then disappears into his office. In his pile of mail is a university news bulletin with a picture of the two of us smiling dutifully into a camera, and an article welcoming the foreign scholar to the university community. Perhaps he thinks about his double chin. Perhaps not. He does not think to wonder who wrote the article, who edited the bulletin, who designed the layout, who published it, who printed it or who distributed it.³ After thumbing through it idly, he simply throws it away.

Not surprisingly, Professor Ueki is married and has children. Mrs. Ueki is a tall, lovely woman, a full-time housewife; and Professor Ueki is head over heels in love with her. His colleagues tease him unmercifully about this, skillfully mocking him at department parties by announcing: “in my house, I am king!” and then hooking their fingers in their mouths and struggling piteously, eyes rolling, like a fish on a line being dragged up onto shore.⁴ This always causes gales of laughter.


I arrive at Professor Ueki's office precisely at noon. He opens up an obento\(^5\) wrapped in a pretty traditional cloth. Mrs. Ueki creates the most beautiful and delicious obento I have ever seen or had the privilege to taste. Professor Ueki relishes her effort and her skill, citing the sub-standard expensive cafeteria fare and the convenience of having one's lunch in one's office; but the truth is that his wife rises early in the morning to arrange the colorful offering. Anyone looking can see that her obento is a tangible expression of feeling. I pull out my flattened and pathetic peanut butter and jam sandwich. Today I am lucky. He has told his wife about my pitiful sandwiches, and about my adoration of her obento, especially the pickles. She has sent me a plastic container full of crisp sour daikon radishes and bright purple eggplant, along with a message to eat some every day for my health.\(^7\) Professor Ueki enjoys his meal and his wife's many kindnesses. It is no surprise that he does not stop to wonder where those beautiful pickles\(^8\) come from, or who made the lovely cloth in which the whole

---

\(^5\) A Japanese-style boxed lunch.


\(^7\) Christiènne Smith, Field Notes, 2 October, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan

\(^8\) Christiènne Smith, Field Notes, 15-20 November, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan.
lunch was presented. These things come from his generous, warm-hearted wife, don't they?

Over lunch, Professor Ueki tries very hard to understand what it is I want to study. It is by now a standard joke that when I describe my research to people, they get confused, and reply, "Women entrepreneurs? Are there any?" He once advised me to, "go to Tôkyo where women have been influenced by the West. Fukuoka prefecture is quite traditional still, so you won't find our women doing anything like that." He even urged me, "Why don't you study men? I'm sure you can find lots of examples of male entrepreneurs." I persevere, however. The Mom and Pop stores, the noodle vendors I see with their carts outside the station, the little old ladies selling cigarettes and gum, all of these are mysteriously invisible to him. He says, "Well, there are a lot of women who run beauty salons. Maybe you could limit yourself to studying the history of women who own beauty salons?" I sag in defeat.

9 Christiënne Smith, Field Notes, 11 April, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

10 Christiënne Smith, Field Notes, 17 September, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan.


12 Christiënne Smith, Field Notes, 17 September, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan.
After his classes, Professor Ueki works on his own projects and advises a few students, while waiting for the afternoon department meeting. The meeting drags on for an interminable five hours, after which he is exhausted. But his day is not over. His colleagues want to stop and get a bite to eat and perhaps have a few beers. He feels compelled to accept, and blearily joins us at a nearby Snack. The *mama*\(^\text{14}\) greets us, gives us hot, fragrant towels with which to refresh ourselves.\(^\text{15}\) There is a stunning flower arrangement in the corner\(^\text{16}\). She serves the food on her own hand made pottery.\(^\text{17}\). The bathroom is clean enough to eat in, and after using it, I wonder how this could be, with so many inebriated men coming and going.\(^\text{18}\) Extra rolls of toilet paper are artfully stacked on a shelf. A second flower arrangement adorns the sink, tiny and pleasing to the eye\(^\text{19}\). “What a nice place,” I

\(^{13}\) In this case, an after-hours drinking establishment.

\(^{14}\) *Mama* is the proprietress of an after-hours establishment. *Master* is the equivalent expression for the male proprietor of such an establishment. The existence of the term is itself an irony considering the belief that women are not entrepreneurs.

\(^{15}\) Matsuura, Kumiko [pseudonym], “Kumi Kappa,” Personal Interview, 2 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\(^{16}\) Christiènne Smith, Field Notes, 16 November, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan.

\(^{17}\) Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\(^{18}\) Christiènne L. Smith, Field Notes, 11 March, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\(^{19}\) Kōjima, Mami [pseudonym], “Mami Hana-ya,” Personal Interview, 15 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
say to Professor Ueki as he refills my beer glass. He nods glumly, wanting to go home. Professor Ueki does not see the *mama*. He does not see the flower arrangement. He does not see the pottery. He does not think about the clean bathroom. He can not know where these things come from. He is an elite Japanese man, and like most of his sex and class, he exists simultaneously in the very heart, yet at the very surface of his culture. He has been told what it means to be a Japanese man by countless generations of man-made images. His knowing of his Japaneseness is no longer generated by actual experience.

This knowing strikes him blind.
AN INTRODUCTION

"If I should take a notion
to jump into the ocean,
ain't nobody's business if I do!"
--a Bessie Smith tune

I. First Person Singular

This history is not at all the one I planned to write. When I first embarked upon the study of entrepreneurship among Japanese women in the spring of 1989, I began with the same basic questions that most readers are likely to with them to this document: are there women entrepreneurs in Japan? How have they managed to survive in Japan's male dominated business-world? In which industrial groups have they tended to cluster? What have been their strategies for success? In what ways might their presence influence the changing status and future of women in contemporary Japan?

These are not the questions that this work addresses. Some of these questions have been addressed, albeit inadequately, by journalists, as well as by other researchers in the field of business.
administration. The arguments I make bear little or no resemblance to the questions that I set out to ask. As one who has found herself (at times) pleasantly surprised, but at other times, unnerved -- to say the least -- by the shape and directions that this project has taken, I beg my reader's indulgence. The destination will, I hope, in the final analysis, be worthwhile.

By 1980, about 36 percent of all business proprietorships in the Japanese economy were owned and operated by women: 59.6 percent of all owner-operated proprietorships in the manufacturing industry, 52.4 percent of all owner-operated proprietorships in the service industry, and 24.9 percent of all owner-operated proprietorships in wholesale/retail industries were owned and operated by Japanese

---


21 A statistical consideration of women's economic behaviour in the informal sector of the economy is not possible. Because of women's involvement in the informal economy, it is also possible to argue that the actual number of female owned and operated businesses is much higher.

22 479,775 owner-operated proprietorships out of 813,812.

23 645,917 owner-operated proprietorships out of 1,232,352.

24 656,444 owner-operated proprietorships out of 2,635,991.
women. Though less well-represented, women own and operate businesses in all sectors of the Japanese economy, from mining, to agriculture and forestry, to fisheries and aquaculture.

To arrive at these numbers, I compared census figures for “self-employed women” to “individual proprietorships” industry by industry. Individual proprietorships are defined as “unincorporated enterprises managed by an individual on his own account.” Self-employed is defined in the Japanese census as persons “working on their own account.” This includes directors of enterprises, self-employed persons with no employees, and self-employed persons employing others. Doctors, dentists, optometrists, lawyers, writers, free-lance artists, artisans, and the like are often self-employed. Such

---

25 The strength of self-employed women in these industrial categories is also noted in Rodôsho fujin shônen kyoku, eds. [RFSK], Fujin no ayumi san-jû nen, (Tôkyô: Zaidan hôjin rodô hôreikyôkai, 1975), p. 331.

26 Mining: 1.7% (126 out of 7,287 proprietorships); Finance/insurance/real estate: 16.7% (39,166 out of 234,944 proprietorships); Transportation/communication: 2.1% (2,712 out of 1,321,665 proprietorships).

27 This is the same method that is used to count proprietorships in the U.S. economy.
professions are not typically identified as entrepreneurial; although as we shall see, they should be.²⁸

Female concentration in manufacturing, services, and wholesale/retail trades is not a new phenomenon, but reflects the important position that Japanese women held in the past, and have continued to hold in a portion of the Japanese economy that bridges pre-modern and modern modes of production, processing, and distribution.

Despite the availability of data which has been compiled and published in the Japanese Census, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry nevertheless reports female entrepreneurship as no more than 1 percent of the entire Japanese business community.²⁹ The discrepancy is fundamentally definitional. As will be made clear, entrepreneurship is an archetype shaped by and in specific reference to the evolution of Western identity, decontextualized by elite scholars and members of the business community, and marketed as objectively meaningful as well as universal.


To most Japanese, the term “female entrepreneur” is oxymoronic at best. At worst, it is anathema. In the late 1980’s, however, entrepreneurship among Japan women became the focus of new media attention. This was due, in part, to a cadre of entrepreneurs who made it their personal crusade to “open” business opportunities to women are typically closed because of cultural attitudes concerning women’s proper place in society.

It was also due to a slowly coalescing awareness of the increasing number of women business owners. It was noted that in the post-war period, the number of female entrepreneurs in the Japanese economy had been increasing faster than the number of male entrepreneurs. The media, as well as poorly informed commentators from the business and academic worlds labeled this phenomenon “unprecedented.” Activists working to increase female entrepreneurship also believed in the “unprecedented” nature of the female entrepreneur.

The truth is that historically speaking, female entrepreneurship in Japan is entirely preceded. As long as there have been goods and services to sell in Japan, there have been women to make and sell them. Japanese women have been active agents, decision-makers, and

---

30 RFSK eds., p. 308.
risk-takers in the production, transfer and marketing of goods and services since at least as early as the Tokugawa era of proto-industrialization.\textsuperscript{32}

However, a process of retroactive cultural amnesia has caused the literal invisibility of the vast majority of women entrepreneurs in the Japanese economy. In becoming who they are and what normative societal standards say they must be, Japanese women, as well as Japanese society as a whole, have reconstructed the myriad people women once were. Since 1945, many Japanese women have aspired to a liberation represented by full-time housewifery. The contraction of female roles to a powerful normative standard disallowing a plethora of previously allowable behaviours has resulted in the literal invisibility of millions of women who, for a variety of personal, economic, and customary reasons, either can not or do not conform to the normative standard. Thus, female entrepreneurship in Japan remains, by popular perception, a rarity.

The history of women's entrepreneurship is inextricably tied to the evolution of modern industrial capitalism in Japan. Female entrepreneurship in the pre-modern system of manufacture and

\textsuperscript{31} See WWBJ, eds., 1991.

commerce was both normal and normative among certain classes of women. This system welcomed, indeed required women’s participation. Division of labor in Japan’s pre-modern economy, though loosely based upon gender and age-cohort, was not static. However, industrial capitalism is predicated upon the existence of a large, consumption oriented middle-class; and as Marx and Engels observed, it is also predicated on the institutionalization of wage labour at the expense of the small, household manufacturer.\cite{MarxEngels} Japan’s 19th century “modernization,” that is, her adoption of and incorporation into systems of industrial capitalism required not only technological, military, and political revolution; it required a socio-cultural revolution which would forever change class and gender norms throughout the society. At the center of this socio-cultural revolution was the gradual ossification of gender segregation. This had the effect of forcing women into the roles that industrial capitalism required of them: woman as consumer and woman as temporary and/or cyclical wage laborer. Japanese women entrepreneurs in the twentieth century have had to struggle, at first individually, but more recently as activists, to preserve (or re-create) the porosity in gendered divisions of labor.

Japanese women entrepreneurs are engaged in a subtle but complex dance in which a dismembered historical heritage is "re-membered" within the confines of their shops, factories, restaurants, and push-carts. The dismembering of Japanese women's cultural and historical past is part and parcel of modernity discourse in twentieth century Japan. The paradox of female entrepreneurship and its invisibility informs the structure of modern Japanese identity and is simultaneously informed by it. Furthermore, the erased continuity of entrepreneurship among Japanese women between the 19th century and the 20th represents a definitive cultural “decision” on the part of Japanese consumers to forge intimate connections and continuities between their “modern” present and the “traditional” past, a past necessary to the survival of a coherent idealization of traditional Japanese-ness. Japanese women’s businesses are vital nodes of economic activity where identity-generating exchanges take place. These are fundamental to the construction and maintenance of images of Japan’s past and therefore of Japanese cultural identity. Japanese women entrepreneurs have provided the Japanese economy and consciousness with the psycho-social stability necessary to survive the dramatic, at times wrenching, transformations experienced over the course of the twentieth century.
II. A Brief Historiographical and Methodological Commentary

An historical examination of entrepreneurship among Japanese women has not yet been conducted for a complex medley of reasons. Suffice it to say that such an examination requires simultaneous paradigm shifts in a number of directions. Such shifts require an active, even politicized disbelief in wiving and mothering as woman's normative role in society. It requires an active disbelief in the universality of business as it is practiced and dominated by elite white males and their imitators. Lastly, it requires an empathetic awareness of the unacknowledged labor of persons rendered invisible by systems of power. I suspect that such paradigm shifts might be more easily accommodated by a person or persons with the least to lose in the process. In that sense, my heritage as an African American woman has served my interest in the history of Japanese women well.

Because normative standards of Japanese womanhood deny the possibility of female entrepreneurship, and because most Japanese women regard their economic behaviours as secondary or even tertiary behaviours in support of their families, entrepreneurship among Japanese women is an extremely difficult subject to study. Japanese women entrepreneurs have never been a cohesive group of self-identified or readily identifiable actors. They identify themselves and the major watersheds in their lives in terms of the life cycle, not in
terms of the business cycle. An inability to identify themselves as such in the past compounds the difficulty of identifying women entrepreneurs in the present. Researchers therefore, must consider not only women’s self-described identities, they must also observe those daily behaviours which are tangled within, hidden behind or subsumed by Japanese women’s archetypal self-representations.

These self-representations, the need for conformity with normative social codes, and the subsequent concealment of behaviours which do not comply explain why women as economic actors have never been studied in a systematic, scholarly way. The topics which have attracted scholars of Japanese women have been shaped by society’s representations of them, and more importantly, by women’s own self-representations. Most secondary works on Japanese women focus on such topics as the role of women in the family and society, the history of women’s suffrage and suffrage activists, the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (1985) and changes in labour laws, health concerns, marriage and divorce patterns, or child-rearing.34 As scholars, we have been as blind to the role of Japanese women producers and decision-makers as the entrepreneurs have been blind to themselves. Indeed, their very blindness has blinded us.

Scholars of Japanese business have been incapable of seeing women's businesses for a much more mundane reason. Until very recently, business historians have mostly been interested in large firms, corporate structure and culture, government-business relations, or in the case-study method. Japanese women's businesses have been, for the most part, too small to capture the attention of the business historian. Scholars who focus on small and medium-sized businesses, which represent the overwhelming majority of firms in Japan's business population, nevertheless tend to focus on those which play supporting roles to large export-oriented business, such as tiny, but highly skilled sub-contracting firms. Even the Japanese government, when drafting policies to support small business, has focused exclusively on those fiscally fragile sub-contractors who need to be on the technological cutting edge for large Japanese firms to remain competitive in foreign markets. This dissertation sets out to correct these gaps in the literature by arguing that tiny, marginal, individual proprietorships are nevertheless of vital importance to Japan.


as points of human interaction and social activity, even if their individual impacts on the macro-economy have not yet been estimated.

Because this research project is the first to address the conjunction between business history and the history of Japanese women, I have relied heavily on scholars whose work engages this project indirectly. For example, the field of economic history has been profoundly influential on my research by undermining what I have since come to recognize as the Grand Narratives of Global Progress. Thomas Smith, a cultural and economic historian of Japan, argued successfully that essential continuities exist between the pre-industrial and post-industrial economies of Japan. Smith's work represents a strong rebuttal to scholarship of the 40's and 50's which asserted that Japanese economic, industrial, political, and cultural modernities, wholly imported from the West, were only able to take root because of Commodore Perry's forcible opening of the country, and because of the American Occupation's stern and effective administration.  

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Unlike Smith, however, I do not believe that Japan represents a fascinating and "unique" exception to the example of European economic and industrial history, a history which has more or less shaped the dominant industrialization and modernization paradigms. Instead, I argue the inaccuracy of dominant historical, philosophical and political-economic paradigms which assert that pre-modern economic systems and lifeways are fundamentally, qualitatively and functionally different from modern economic systems. Marshall Sahlins' *Stone Age Economics* was instrumental in undermining such paradigms by strongly arguing that the concept of Western "modernity" is based upon a falsely constructed "primitiveness" of the Other, and of Other modes of production and distribution. Maxine Berg successfully argued that the European industrial revolution was a slower, more deliberate process fuelled by the unmechanized labour of women, children, and the elderly, in domestic and artisanal modes of production. The work of all three of these scholars has fuelled my interest in the role of continuity rather than change in historical processes, and has helped me to consider how an over-emphasis on historical "disjunction" might create problematic, if not false, 

differentiation between Civilization and Barbarity, Progress and Stagnation, Present and Past, Modernity and Tradition, Us and Them.

My thinking on Japanese women has been influenced, of course, by Louise Tilly and Joan Scott who, in Western contexts, characterized labour in its productive and reproductive aspects. The work of Kathleen Uno helped to reframe gender-segregation in Japan; rather than approaching it as a static state of "tradition," I now understand it as a cultural artifact requiring historical contextualization.

My research has also been strongly influenced by the work of cultural anthropologists; and significantly, I find that the very best scholarship on Japanese women, with some notable exceptions, has been done in that field rather than in the field of history. I have closely followed the ground-breaking work of anthropologists like Takie Sugiyama Lebra, Anne Allison, and Glenda Roberts whose contributions have revealed the variations and complexities of different Japanese women's lives in different regions, sin different socio-economic groups, and in different labour categories. I also have been encouraged by the work of scholars like Gail Bernstein and Eric Wolf.


Gail Bernstein used anthropological methods to ask historical questions. 43 Eric Wolf used historical methods to address anthropological questions. 44

Notably, "entrepreneurship" is rarely or never a category used in indices, bibliographies, anthologies, catalogues, or archives which focus on Japanese women. Indeed, the paucity of information on entrepreneurship among Japanese women has entirely informed the shape and direction that this research project has taken.

I first embarked on this project by examining women's autobiographical and biographical sources ranging from the Meiji Period (1868 – 1911) to the 1990's. Very few of these works dealt directly with the lives of women as economic actors. However, I was able to sift them for evidence of women's lives as economic producers and decision-makers. In addition, I collected published journals and accounts written by foreigners travelling in Japan between the 1860s and 1950's. These materials have proven useful for comparing Japanese women's self-described behaviours with outside observation. Secondly, I used the Japanese census to answer questions about female entrepreneurship which the sparse, anecdotal descriptions


44 Eric Wolf, Europe and the People Without History, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
available in the aforementioned textual sources could not:. Namely, I attempted to gain a broad understanding of the changing industrial demographic of female entrepreneurship.

However, the Japanese census is very difficult to use for at least two reasons. First, government-imposed categories limit the types of variables that a researcher can manipulate. Second, structural inconsistencies within the census itself restricts its usefulness to the post-war period only, when census structure and categories become somewhat more consistent.

Ultimately, extant sources, whether primary or secondary, quantitative or qualitative, were so limited that I found myself literally forced to undertake anthropological and sociological methods of inquiry: the survey and the interview. In preparation, I conducted a pilot survey of women entrepreneurs in the Tōkyo metropolitan region in 1992. The general success of the study, and the intriguing data that resulted encouraged me to follow through with a large-scale, multi-industry survey in 1995.

I chose Fukuoka Prefecture, the northern-most region of the southern-most island of Kyushu primarily because of its position as the industrial belt of southern Japan. It had a large urban and industrial center, but was also surrounded by rural areas as well. Furthermore, Fukuoka has a long history as a center of “traditional”
industries like forestry, fishing, aquaculture, and manufacturing and commerce with the continent, unlike Tōkyō which is a much younger city. Thus Fukuoka was conducive to broad, cross-industrial analyses, and also to urban, semi-urban, and rural comparisons. Finally, the entire Prefecture, unlike other metropolitan centers like Osaka or Kobe, appeared to be small enough to survey in a relatively short period of time.

It took six months and eight research assistants to build the central database on which the survey portion of the project is based; it took another twelve months to send out and collect the questionnaires. The database itself was constructed from data extracted from local Chambers of Commerce business listings. I requested these publications from any and all cities, towns, and villages possessing a Chamber of Commerce large enough to compile such listings. I received eight responses from cities of varying sizes and population densities, out of eleven requests. Research assistants then searched the listings for female business owner-operators, ultimately identifying more than 5600 names to whom we mailed a four page questionnaire. The rate of return was just over 17 percent. The questionnaire asked detailed questions about the entrepreneur, the business, and the labour history of the owner's birth family. Statistical analysis of the questionnaire, and of the Japanese census,
became the backbone of my understanding of the industrial history of female entrepreneurship from 1920 to 1995.

I found myself increasingly uncomfortable with the quantitative nature of a project that I originally had imagined in qualitative terms. Common wisdom among Japanists holds that interviews are not possible without first securing a formal and prior introduction to one's informant. However, my experience from the 1992 Tôkyo survey clearly indicated that to rely on introductions was to insert a strong distortion into the interview sample. For that reason, I decided to choose my informants from the broader sample represented by the survey database, and to request interviews without the benefit of prior introduction. Overall, I found that large-scale blind surveys and interview were indeed possible, at least within this particular population.

Of course, the interview sample was not chosen at random. I looked for women who indicated in the survey that their mothers had also been entrepreneurs. Although this skewed the survey, I felt it to be a necessary evil because primary data on the lives of working class women in the prewar era is so very scarce. I called the selected survey

45 Although this analysis includes data taken from the ten interviews conducted during the 1992 pilot study I have not collapsed the quantitative data from the approximately 100 questionnaires collected in the 1992 Tôkyo survey into the 1996 Fukuoka survey.
respondents by telephone to request an initial interview. In all cases but one, the request was granted. I made follow-up interview requests at the end of the initial interview. In all cases, my requests were granted. The interviews almost always took place in the informant’s place of business, which gave me the opportunity also to examine the spatial arrangements and material culture of my informants’ businesses. In one case, the entrepreneur requested that the interview be conducted in my university office. In two cases, the interviews took place in public areas.

In the first interview, I focused on daily business operation, on business function, and the resulting relationships between the business and the larger neighborhood, local, and regional business communities. I also tried to understand the tensions generated between my informants’ various roles as women (wives, mothers, daughters, lovers) and their various roles as economic actors (employers, managers, artisans, sub-contractors). I tried to maintain a keen sensitivity to differences between self-representations and actual, unexamined, economic behaviours that were part of their everyday lives.

The second interview focused on locating and elucidating an oral narrative of the entrepreneur’s familial history. I focused on family origins, class status, labour history, wartime experiences, and the
lives of women in “petty business” (reisaikigyo) during the pre-
Occupation period, as seen through the eyes of daughters and grand-
daughters.

Before beginning the interview process, I presented each of my
informants with a contract asking them to indicate whether they
preferred me to use their actual names or a pseudonym in my
dissertation and related publications. The contract explicitly
established the privileged nature of my knowledge of their names and
identifying information, and guaranteed my informants that these
would not be shared with other researchers. Furthermore, it
guaranteed that interview tapes and transcripts would not be given,
loaned, or sold to others, either individuals or institutions. Before I
proceeded with the interview, my informant and I both signed and
stamped the document in duplicate in order to indicate our mutual
understanding of and agreement to the terms of the contract.46 The
majority of my informants indicated that they were comfortable having
their names and business names published. However, as my fieldwork

46 My informants took part in this ritual with varying degrees of comfort.
Typically, written contracts are disagreeable to Japanese people. Several
entrepreneurs indicated that such a contract was unnecessary, and refused to sign.
After the interviews were concluded, however, they had a very different understanding
of what it was that I wanted to know about their private lives, as well as a new
awareness of how very much about themselves and their families they had revealed.
Every entrepreneur who initially refused to sign the contract agreed to do so by the
end of the interview when I once again tried to reassure them of my sincere desire to
preserve their dignity and privacy.
progressed, it became clear to me how closely Fukuoka’s various business communities were interconnected. To write frankly about one entrepreneur raised the possibility, if not the likelihood, that I would inadvertently reveal privileged information about a third person injurious to her place in her community. After careful consideration, I have chosen to assign pseudonyms to all informants in this study, and insofar as is possible, to alter or omit information which would allow any reader, either Japanese or American, to identify individual entrepreneurs, their businesses, their clients, employees, suppliers, friends or families. Failure to do so would undermine the meaning, if not the letter, of the contractual agreement between my informants and me.

In addition to formal interviews, I came to know and to patronize many women-owned businesses in the Fukuoka neighborhood where I lived for 18 months. During that time, I also became involved in a fifteen month participant observation study of two businesses, an experience detailed in Chapter Seven. My field notes include detailed accounts of “informal interviews,” that is, daily conversations and interactions with neighborhood business owners, and also weekly descriptions of my experiences as a participant observer in a Japanese bar, and in a ceramics studio. The interview data, the participant observation, the informal interviews with women shop-owners in my
neighborhood, together with the biographical, autobiographical and journal descriptions of women business-owners comprise the qualitative aspect of this project. I also include scattered newspaper articles, Chamber of Commerce publications, and works of popular journalism and literature where these shed light on the subject.

III. Issues of Terminology

"Entrepreneurship" is a powerful concept vibrating at the very heart of Western man’s representation of himself. The birth of Europe’s commercial economy, the rise of mercantilism, the industrial revolution, and the institutionalization of industrial capitalism are principal elements in a paradigm of modernity placing the West, and Western Man’s experience at the crux of global modernity. Temporal, regional, cultural, and even gendered "Others" join the “modern” world or the “modern epoch” only to the extent that they develop, adopt or are incorporated by economic systems which function in the “modern” mode, a mode which is, *ipsos facto*, “Western.”

47 In fact, I believe that the writings of political economists on this subject from Cantillon through Schumpeter form a body of literature which could profitably be compared to *Nihonjinron*, Japanese writings from a similar time period that struggle to define the very essence of “Japanese-ness.”

The entrepreneur is the high priest of capitalism, a system in which economic exchange is conducted for the sole purpose of capital accumulation. Such behaviour is considered by economists to be fundamentally alien to temporally or culturally pre-modern peoples. In fact, capitalism is impossible in pre-modernity because, a separate, self-contained economic world has not yet lifted itself from its social context. The world of practical affairs is inextricably mixed up with the world of political, social, and religious life. Until the two worlds separate, there will be nothing that resembles the tempo and the feeling of modern life. And for the two to separate, a long and bitter struggle must take place.

Entrepreneurship is a developmental impossibility as long as the individual man is controlled by tradition-oriented, culturally-laden contexts which constrain the “natural” human inclination toward self-interest. Bound by tradition, superstition, by stagnant hierarchies coupled to religious ideologies which preserved the status quo, in the

49 "The idea of gain, the idea that each man not only may, but should, constantly strive to better his material lot, is an idea which was quite foreign to the great lower and middle strata of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and medieval cultures, only scattered throughout Renaissance and Reformation times, and largely absent in the majority of Eastern Civilizations. As a ubiquitous characteristic of society, it is as modern an invention as printing." Heilbroner, Robert. *The Worldly Philosophers: the Lives, Times and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*, Fourth edition, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972) p. 22.

50 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

51 "In the market system, the lure of gain, not the pull of tradition or the whip of authority, steered each man to his task. And yet, although each was free to go wherever his acquisitive nose directed him, the interplay of one man against another resulted in the necessary tasks of society getting done." Ibid., p. 18.
premodern world, man, the individual, could not be. Before the modern market economy could come into being, man had first to shed the chains of tradition, and emerge as first person singular, as the I, the id, the Sacred Individual at the heart of Western meta-mythology. Then and only then would he be able to attain the purest form of rational objectivity: the pursuit of undistilled self-interest. Without individualism: no self-interest, without self-interest: no capitalism: without capitalism: no entrepreneurship.

"Modernity," more than simply a series of objective criteria dividing one epoch in human experience from another, must also be understood as a paradigm of Western historical exceptionalism; and entrepreneurship must also be understood as a construct of idealized individual historical exceptionalism. As the piston driving the Great Wheel of Global Progress, the entrepreneur is a powerful archetype representing Western man's most idealized construction of Himself.

The archetype of the entrepreneur, however, is not a static one. It has changed over time. Control over the construction of an archetype is necessary to the apportioning of status. Political economists, economists, philosophers of social science and psychology, all members of a hegemonic elite (i.e. Western males) have

\[52 \text{Ibid., p. 25.}\]
debated, revised, modeled, and (re)constructed the archetype in a way that creates status scarcity, and reserves it for elites. Thus the historiography of theories seeking to define entrepreneurship must be understood not as an objective narrative taking place outside of historical, racial, or gendered contexts. It must be understood as an act of power.

The word *entrepreneur* first appears in French dictionaries of the Middle Ages. The entrepreneur was simply a marauder. He acquired capital (for example, booty or land) through warfare or raiding. Prior to the development of effective market systems, warfare and raiding were important methods of material and genetic exchange.

By the 17th century, entrepreneur had come to mean any central organizing authority (nobles, churches, and guilds) which contracted skilled craftspersons to outfit or supply an army, to build a cathedral, or to “undertake” some massive public works project. This was an outgrowth of 17th century Europe’s increasingly articulated market

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54 This type of economic exchange continued as a method of choice among governments around the world until the twentieth century when the industrialization of armed conflict resulted in the total destruction of capital rather than in its reappropriation. It continues to be practiced in the illicit contraband industries, in black-market industries specializing in the acquisition and passing of stolen property, and in other “underworld” economies involving extortion, or even sexual slavery.

55 In fact, the equivalent English expression of the day was “undertaker.”
economy, in which higher degrees of occupational specialization
differentiated the tasks and functions of the architect, the engineer,
and the technical craftsperson from other tasks such as the control,
organization, and distribution of various types of capital.56

The earliest political economists to attempt a theoretical
explication of entrepreneurship were the Physiocrats of 18th century
France, among whom Richard Cantillon and Francois Quesnay are the
most famous. The Physiocrats argued that the only source of real
wealth was agricultural. They rejected mercantilism as a source of
wealth in part because it relied upon state sponsorship. The insertion
of the State undermined the Rule of Nature which, according to
Physiocratic doctrine, if left to itself (and thus the Physiocrat appeal:
laissez-faire! Laissez-faire!) would result in a state of economic
equilibrium between the productive (tenants and farmers), non-

56 Bert F. Hoselitz, "The Early History of Entrepreneurial Theory," in Essays in
(Chicago, Rand McNally and Company, 1960) pp. 235-244. To this day, massive public
works are undertaken by governments, churches, and various philanthropic
institutions because of their competitive advantage as organizational loci. They
commonly undertake such public works as the building of prisons and dams, the
founding of orphanages and museums, and the improvement of roads and schools.
Some public works projects in the United States are increasingly delegated to the
private, for-profit sector, for example, prisons, elementary schools, and space
exploration. Others large scale projects, like the equipping of the U.S. military
machine intersect both the private and the public sectors of the economy. Truly
massive public works projects like the international space station require the capital,
organizational networks, and technical/scientific manpower and decision-making
authority held by governments working cooperatively.
productive (artisans and merchants), and aristocratic classes of society.  

Because the sole source of real wealth, according to the Physiocrats, was agricultural, the entrepreneur, according to Cantillon, was in essence a grain speculator. He appropriated grain as rents from tenant farmers, and then sold it in distant markets where the actual selling price could not be precisely known.  

The theories of the Physiocrats went into decline as Great Britain’s mercantilist expansion created surpluses which far surpassed France’s agricultural capacity to do so. The emergent British school of political economy is best represented by Adam Smith. Although Smith disagreed with his French predecessors in fundamental ways, he was as much a product of Enlightenment philosophy as they. The paradigm of the Invisible Hand is based on the primacy of Natural Law. The theory that a completely free market (in which individuals act freely) will naturally achieve a state of equilibrium optimizing the welfare of all parties concerned, is as much a paradigm of the Enlightenment as the Physiocratic concept of the Rule of Nature.


58 Significantly, Cantillon himself was a land holding grain speculator.

Adam Smith and the British School were fascinated by market mechanisms rather than with the characteristics and functions of individual operators within the system. For this, they were soundly criticized by the Austrian School which rose to prominence in concert with German and American industrial power. Economists like Carl Menger and Friedrich von Weiser were influenced by the work of Max Weber for whom enterprise was the link connecting individual actors to economic processes. Menger claimed that the function of the enterprise, as defined by Weber, was to create products necessary to human living. Von Weiser expanded by arguing that the entrepreneur, by definition, was the individual who established, owned, and managed an enterprise as described by Menger. It was thus that the entrepreneur as homely businessman, the mom-and-pop shop owner-operator, the entrepreneur as the independent craftsperson and tinker was canonized.

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That canonization was revoked by the explosion in capital-intensive heavy industry of the Second Industrial Revolution. The entrepreneur was transformed once again from the self-made small business owner to the bona fide capitalist. Heilbroner argues successfully that the steel and railroad barons of late 19th century America were not interested in the production of mere objects. They were financiers only, ideologically as well as physically separate from the sweaty business of producing, processing, and distributing the goods common to human living.63

The greatest economist of the 20th century, Joseph Schumpeter, was of the Austrian School, but situated in the American industrial setting. According to Schumpeter, innovation is at best only a temporary condition soon integrated into an economy as the status quo. The entrepreneur must be more than an individual who establishes an enterprise at one point in time, and then manages it. The entrepreneur is one who continually searches out new market niches, new technical or organizational innovations, new opportunities. In the process, he establishes enterprise after enterprise. It is his

63 Heilbroner, pp. 103-108.
inexhaustible energy which drives economic growth. His insatiable appetite for the new or novel fuels global progress.⁶⁴

Although contemporary economists concede that a single working definition of the entrepreneur or a functional model of entrepreneurship will most likely never be universally agreed upon, nevertheless Schumpeter's theories form the foundation upon which most subsequent theories have been based. However, the acceptance of Schumpeter’s relevance to contemporary scholarly discourse has rarely been mitigated by an awareness of the contextual significance of the constituent paradigms that are embedded within his work. On the one hand, these paradigms rest upon a profoundly complicated historiographical narrative explaining nothing less than 300 years of European and American industrial development which brought the West into a position of political and economic domination over the non-Western world. On the other hand, they are also the culmination of an historiography which creates intentional temporal and cultural disjunctions fundamental to modern Western identities.

An historical and historiographical examination of the field of political economics and its impact on theories of entrepreneurship is vital because twentieth century scholars have tended uncritically to

accept concepts which, far from possessing any objective reality, belong to a specific historical and cultural context which might (but might not) obtain among Others who differ. Even to conceive of the entrepreneur as a single actor whose motivation for capital accumulation arises from rational self-interest necessarily requires belief in 1) the existential reality of a rarified first person singular, and 2) the ontological argument that self-interest is a natural equilibrium state achievable by all human beings when the constraints of temporal or cultural pre-modernity have been overcome.

My dissertation self-consciously attempts to challenge these paradigms by using the Japanese economy and business systems to situate the gendered Other, the temporal Other, and the cultural Other firmly within theories of entrepreneurship, to locate and explain continuities between pre-modern and modern economic and business systems, and to elucidate ways in which constructed images of modernity and tradition, two mutually predicated conditions, are capitalized upon within the context of gender, the result of which is not just economic growth, but economic growth and stability, an undervalued component of economic functionality. To accomplish this task, it is imperative that I define entrepreneurship in a manner sufficiently broad that it can encompass human economic activities.
without regard to temporal and cultural boundaries.\textsuperscript{65} Therefore, I have put forward the following definitions for the purposes of this study:

A business is merely an established locus of regularized and systematic economic exchange. These exchanges are simply ways in which objects, material culture, or services move through a community, a society, an economy, or a nation, any of which can be broadly defined.\textsuperscript{66} As a human behaviour, economic exchange is ritualized by utterances occurring in a particular place, at a point in time, and as part of a regularized system. Such exchanges are relevant not only to economic growth and development, corporate competitiveness, government-business relations and international politics. They also exert an unquantifiable force on interpersonal relationships, social coherence, and national, local and individual identities, all of which are subject to change and preservation, self-conscious or otherwise, over

\textsuperscript{65} Gartner's definition of the entrepreneur, "one who creates an organization," functions similarly in that it attempts the broadest level of inclusivity possible. Gartner's functionalist definition, as compared to character-trait based definitions, has been criticized for being far too inclusive. Gartner, 1989, p. 40.

\textsuperscript{66} Time constraints restrict me to the analysis of businesses where the medium of exchange is cash. I do believe that an expansion of this analysis to include barter, ritualized gift-exchanges, potlatch and other forms of non-monetary systematic exchanges would contribute to an understanding of the changing nature of rituals of production and exchange. Time constraints also force me to limit this investigation, with one or two exceptions, to "legal" enterprises. A truly holistic analysis would include black-market and criminal activity.
time. The currency of business is not simply cash. An invisible but equally powerful currency is culture. Materiel, goods, objects, things, as well as ideas, music, and medicine are coded with multifoliate meanings; and their production, exchange and consumption occur in order to facilitate human relationships, traditions, community continuity and interconnectedness. These bind societies to and within webs of meaning.

The entrepreneur, then, is one who establishes and regularizes these loci where economic exchanges (and therefore, opportunities for certain human interactions where cultural meanings are uttered), take place. The business system in which the entrepreneur operates is characterized by the methods used by its constituent members (either individuals, groups, or institutions) to participate in the process of economic exchange. Methods are regularized by individual, institutional, regional, and local custom. Business systems are permanent (not sporadic) although they are subject to change over time. Individuals and institutions intentionally and regularly shape

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67 This resonates with ecological models of entrepreneurship in which the entrepreneur is seen as transforming the physical environment, and therefore the experiential reality of those living within it, including himself. Amit, 1990. P. 823.

68 I contend that these are the topics typically studied by economists as well as business historians when they investigate business and/or entrepreneurship. I am self-consciously focusing on business as it might be studied by anthropologists: as an activity with a multiplicity of imbedded meanings integral to human activity.
their behaviours to facilitate the accumulation (hoarding) and the
distribution (selling, bartering, trading, disseminating) of goods,
services, rights in goods or rights for services to others who connect
with the system specifically for that purpose. The medieval Norman
raider is as entrepreneurial as John P. Morgan. The function is the
same, the context and culture are different.

IV. Major Themes

This work is delicately, at some points, painfully, balanced
between the temporally grounded narratives of Part One, and the deep
structural analyses located in Part Two. Although each chapter is not
precisely about the following themes, each theme is nonetheless
engaged in each chapter:

1. The Role Of Women As Producers And Decision-Makers In
The Japanese Economy

What roles have Japanese women entrepreneurs played in
national, regional, and community economies, and have
these roles changed over time? In what ways have historical
processes impacted women's roles as producers and
decision-makers?
2. Class as a Variable in Understanding Variation in Japanese Expectations, Norms, and Identities

What is the relationship between socio-economic class, social status and female entrepreneurship? Which Japanese women have been involved as producers and decision-makers in the economy? Has this changed over time? If so, why? If not, why not? How do different identities, expectations, and norms affect a woman's desire and ability to embark on business ownership? Do these norms also possess an historical component?

3. The Cultural Comparison of Japanese Business Systems

What is the difference between the premodern business system in Japan and the modern business system? Which business system are women engaged in and why? Which Japanese women are engaged in which business system? In what ways does gender shape business culture and functionality? How are businesses and business systems gendered? In what ways do they operate independently or interdependently of one another?

4. Business as a Functional Artifact of Japanese Culture

What is the functional role of business in Japanese culture? What codes, meanings, and discourses are they engaged in?
What codes, meanings, and discourses are involved between businesses and consumers? What impact do these have on community bonds, cultural coherence, and ultimately upon Japanese identity? If such a large number of women are integral to the production and distribution of objects so inscribed, in what ways do Japanese women contribute to the content, consumption, and interpretation of cultural meaning?

5. The Social and Historical Function of Entrepreneurship Beyond the Japanese Context

How, then, has the entrepreneur, in his or her many culturally specific forms, impacted cultural coherence, socio-economic stability as well as socio-economic growth? What are the implications of such an analysis on how we understand capitalism and its power to contribute to society or its power to exploit and destroy it?

V. Major Narratives

The above themes are woven upon three interdependent narratives in this work. The primary narrative, engaged in Part One, deals with the history of the female entrepreneur herself. Documentary and literary sources clearly place her as an integral agent
of cottage industrial production and commercial distribution in the
17th century. Close reading of primary and secondary sources reveals
that female economic **activity** was normal, in fact normative for
certain feudal classes, especially when families were economically at
risk. Even among classes for whom women were primarily valued for
their reproductive capacity, economic necessity commonly circumvented
norms which disallowed female economic activity.

The second narrative, which bridges Part One and Part Two
addresses the construction of and imposition of a middle class gender
norm in which female economic agency was socially aberrant. Japan’s
drive towards modernization required the construction of a new modern
Japanese womanhood, a universal woman, not divided by premodern
class-based norms. The construction of the full-time housewife and
full-time mother, normatively bound to the domestic sphere, coincided
with changes in Japanese industrial and economic structure. The First
World War was the final step in a slow process of change, the result of
which was a new industrial economy, one fuelled by heavy industrial
products and processes. The side-effect of the changing industrial
structure was the marginalization of the labour of both urban and rural
women who had been vital participants in Japan’s early
industrialization.
Between the 1920s and 1930s, concurrent with this industrial transformation, a new gender norm arose, one which resonated with older norms which had largely been limited to women of the feudal elite. Moreover, the new norms resonated strongly with right-wing constructs of a monolithic Japanese history, culture, and family system asserted to be "traditional" and definitively Japanese. Furthermore, the new gender norm resonated with "modernity" as understood in oversimplified conceptualization of Western civilization. The Good Wife/Wise Mother was thus transformed from a hard-working woman who enjoyed access to the public realm, to the full-time housewife, whose access to the outside realm was normatively circumscribed.

Thus, the story of female entrepreneurship in the 20th century hangs upon the continual rewriting of "modern" gender norms, and upon the slow digestion and internalization of such norms. Though perhaps absorbed as ideology (and by no means universally), the actual application, or rather, the execution of gender norms restricting women's economic activities, was retarded by the fact that neither the nation nor the majority of the nation's population had the economic means to support non-productive females until after the Second World War. Despite the codification of gender codes restricting women's activities to hearth and home during the latter half of the twentieth
century, female economic activity (expressed as entrepreneurship) has been a continuous, and sustaining element of Japanese economy and culture.

Premodern (1700s) and early modern (1870s - 1920s) gender norms in which women were expected to be economically productive, continue to operate in Japan today, especially among the economically disadvantaged. For many others, however, entrepreneurship brings women into conflict with a socially proscribed role as wife and mother. In these cases, entrepreneurial activity is erased, ignored, minimized, redefined, or otherwise excused, in a number of interesting ways. The female entrepreneur, therefore is a filament of continuity running across a changing Japanese history-scape.

The third narrative describes the participation of women entrepreneurs in changing industrial categories over time. The business world that has remained accessible to the average Japanese woman is one that was increasingly marginalized vis-a-vis the modern, normatively male-exclusive system of industrial capitalism. I argue that the marginalization of the premodern business system is a necessary condition of Japan's post-War Two modern identity. Despite its marginalization, the continuing dynamism within this system is a result of the cultural capital it possesses as both a real and imaginary locus of "traditional" Japan. The intersection between
the modern Japanese business system and the marginal premodern system can be conceptualized as an embodiment of the dialectic between modernity and tradition, a dialectic which results in economic growth as well as economic stability. Such stability is grounded in the preservation of a coherent cultural identity, even as that identity evolves over time. Entrepreneurs among lower middle class, poorly educated, low-status bearing men and women are major arbiters of Japanese notions of a "traditional" Self, a Self which was painfully dismembered during Japan's rapid transformation from feudalism to industrial capitalism.
PART ONE:

REMEMBERING
CHAPTER 1
TOILING IN HARNESS:
ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG JAPANESE WOMEN, 1870 - 1920

She got good bi’ness, so they say!”
— a Mississippi John Hurt tune

I. The Roots of Japan’s Premodern Business System

Pax Tokugawa released an unprecedented storm of industrial and commercial activity in 17th and 18th century Japan. The eruption took place in urban areas large and small, in rural regions remote and central. It took place on the archipelago’s coasts, along highways threading the plains, and beside the by-ways winding between the jungle-garbed hills and snow-capped peaks of the interior.

The premodern business system evolved from an earlier subsistence agrarian economy, and continued to evolve concurrently with the gradual commercialization of the economy. Within the premodern system, subsistence production, consumption, and patterns
of exchange continued, but were overlaid with increasingly market-oriented methods of production, distribution, and consumption.

In this system, the fundamental unit of production, distribution, marketing and consumption was the ie. The ie represented far more than "a kinship unit based on ties of descent...[they were] corporate groups that [held property (for example, land, a reputation, an art or 'cultural capital') in perpetuity. They [were] units of production and/or consumption, encompassing the roles of corporation/ enterprise/household."^69

Business was co-equal with the ie, or the family; and this is the fundamental distinguishing feature of the premodern business system. The family, the house, the household, and business represented overlapping categories that shared spatial, fiscal, managerial, and conceptual contiguity. As sets and subsets of one another, any one of these concepts removed from the holistic context renders it, as well as its remaining parts, incoherent.

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^69 "Equally important, ie can serve primary religious functions, such as those of ancestor worship and worship of tutelary deities. ie also provide the primary form of social welfare in Japan, including care of the aged and the infirm." See Dorinne Kondo, Crafting Selves: Power, Gender and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 121 - 122. This definition is a modern one, but serves to illustrate the basic parameters of what I am attempting to describe.
The Western concept of individual or private ownership would have been largely irrelevant to this kin-based corporation; this is yet another feature of the premodern business system. Business as a distinguishable object which one "owns" is an artifact of modern ideologies, as well as an artifact of ideologies of modernity. It is also an artifact specific to the history of European industrial capitalism. In premodern Japan, businesses were not owned, rather, they represented a range of tasks regularly performed by members of a kinship group for the purpose of maximizing commonly held assets. The kinship group included men and women, the aged and the young, the quick-witted and the dim, the not-yet born, and the long-since dead. It also included the holistic body of commonly held and shared capital in all of its various forms: human, land, cash, and social. Premodern businesses were not owned; rather, they were undertaken by a kin-based corporate collective.

*The farm family consists of the fields, wealth, and heirlooms handed down from our ancestors. This property does not belong to us, the living members of the family. We must not imagine it does even in our dreams. It belongs to the ancestors who founded the house; we are only entrusted with its care and must pass it on to our descendants.... There may be events beyond our control, such as flood, fire, or illness, as a result of which the sale of property becomes unavoidable. In that case, we must make every effort by saving and planning to recover what...
has been sold, make the property whole again, and pass it on undiminished to our children and grandchildren."  

This has important ramifications for the meaningfulness of entrepreneurship as a category in both premodern and modern Japanese contexts. At the very least, during the premodern period, the locus of entrepreneurial activity should not be sought in the economic agency of an individual, but within the total agency of the collective. Secondly, in the modern period, we should be cautious about assigning the locus of entrepreneurial activity only to individuals in light of the premodern pattern of kin-based corporate economic agency.

It is important to point out that the premodern business system, and the familial corporate structure, its basic operating mechanism, was a highly sophisticated response to the emergent complexities within the economy that it served. "Farming" is a vague term totally inadequate to describe the breadth of most agriculturist's economic undertakings.

The peasant family of the Tokugawa Period was an industrially diverse corporate body which grew a range of crops with different seasonal requirements, different processing or "finishing"

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requirements, different distribution networks, as well as different consumption end-points. For example, rice, as a tax crop, moved through a very different distribution system than did truck vegetables, for example, which in most cases were distributed locally.\textsuperscript{71} Buckwheat, used in noodle-making, was occasionally used as a tax commodity, but more typically, was sold for consumption, and therefore had to be marketed differently than the rice crop. Peasants also grew tobacco, cotton, and ornamental flowers for the market, as well as indigo and walnuts used in the dyeing of fabric.\textsuperscript{72} Each of these agricultural products had different requirements, different markets, and different consumer bases.

Most agricultural crops were further processed within the home. The finished product could be consumed by the family, a continued subsistence behaviour. It could be used to create, increase, or sustain

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\textsuperscript{71} JSK, "Nōson josei no rōdō to seikatsu," p. 64

corporate social capital through ritual gift-giving. It could be bartered or sold.  

Product diversification, a strategy universally recognized and practiced by most twenty-first century corporations, requires the careful management of labour and capital inputs. Its purpose is to minimize risk by distributing it over a range of differentiated product lines, while maximizing return on capital investment. Tokugawa peasants were thus engaged in a sophisticated industry requiring the careful management of diverse inputs, products, finishing requirements, labour allocations, factory and storage allocations, and distribution networks with different consumer bases. In so doing, they decreased the risk endemic to mono-agriculture (in any case, a modern development in the business of agriculture), and maximized return on capital and labour investments in order to increase the total economic and social capital available to the family corporation.

73 It is important to remember that in Tokugawa Japan, subsistence agriculture, commercial agriculture, and barter-oriented exchanges were part of the entirety of the economic system. Many agricultural products possessed exchange value, and were used in generalized reciprocal exchanges for the purpose of forging and maintaining social networks. Because of space and time constraints, and in order to preserve a degree of linearity of argument, I have omitted from the analysis non-cash exchanges. However, a full analysis of any business system would have to include non-cash exchanges, and other related methods of generating social capital, especially in the Japanese context ritual gift-giving is still an important part of business and personal relationships.
Furthermore, the Tokugawa peasant family was engaged in micro-enterprises typically called "side-lines," "by-employments," or "cottage industries." Such minimizing terminology suggests the supplementary or auxiliary nature of such work, with the added implication that an abstractly "pure" type of agriculture was the real and defining feature of a farm family enterprise.

By-employments were not non-agricultural enterprises. Most by-employments evolved in one of two ways: 1) they emerged as an extension of processing, or adding value to raw materials grown by or otherwise available to farmers as crops; and/or 2) they emerged from the need to make, maintain, repair or replace tools (or the material needed to make, maintain, repair or replace tools) common to rural living. The making of such tools utilized general know-how and materials that were commonly available.

Rather than minimizing by-employments as a "side-line," let us recontextualize them as rational business activities comparable to any in the non-agricultural sector of a contemporary economy. As a simplistic illustration, consider that the farm family which grows a potato, processes it into vodka, and then markets it, is engaged in an enterprise which has vertically integrated forward in order to control

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74 Thomas Smith's de facto definition of by-employments reflects the normative social status assigned to peasants by the Neo-Confucian political order.
both the raw resources as well as the distribution of a value-added commodity. Vertical integration was a first step toward utilizing economies of scale which lower production costs. By vertically integrating from production to processing and marketing, rural Japanese peasants exploited a competitive advantage vis-a-vis urban, guild-based producers such that, "[l]aws concerning the regulation of village trade and industry proliferated in the eighteenth century, and market towns and castle-towns were insistent in asking for protection from the competition of village merchants and manufacturers."\textsuperscript{75} Lower production costs translated into lower prices per unit, which translated into the increased marketability of the cheaper commodity to a broader range of consumers. The importance of the vertical integration of the agrarian sector of the premodern Japanese economy cannot be overemphasized for its long term impact on Japanese industrialization in the modern period.\textsuperscript{76}

Vertical integration among agricultural family corporations was a widespread phenomenon. Smith estimated that by-employments provided more than half of farm family income in the region that he

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Smith, \textit{Native Sources}, p. 92.
\item Smith made this argument famous, however, he did not shape his analysis in terms of vertical integration, product diversity, or economies of scale. Nor did he connect this commercialization explicitly with the economic agency of women. He often made the error of ascribing to women a largely domestic and reproductive role.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
studied. Agricultural corporations were keenly aware of the need for vertical integration. "A village headman in Kawachi Province around the beginning of the 18th century wrote,

My father Kaju always said that the people of this village could not prosper either by farming or by commerce (akinai) alone but must carry on both together -- just as a cart must have two wheels. The importance of commerce may change from time to time so that there are years when it amounts to 60 or 70 percent of a family's living and farming only 30 or 40, and others when the proportions are reversed. Operations should be adjusted to what the times require. 'Keep your eyes open for the opportunity the times bring and what crops yield the greatest profit,' my father always said. And I have followed his advice my whole life long and found it to be absolutely sound."

As noted, entrepreneurship was rarely if ever an individual undertaking. Each enterprise could only function successfully by carefully monitoring labor allocation. Labor allocation was based upon complex relationships of lineage, descent, seniority, and gender.

For our purposes, the gendered division of labour is critical; however, it must not be over-emphasized. Gendered-divisions of labour were often strongly mitigated by other variables as well. For example, social class, region, local custom, and particular

77 Smith, Native Sources, p. 92.

78 Nomura Boboru, ed., Kinsei shōmin shiryō (Osaka: Rinsen Shoten, 1955), p. 194. Quoted in Smith, Native Sources, p. 84. This volume consists of “the headman-author’s jottings of a lifetime, ranging from hints on agriculture and observations on government to brief sketches of the history of various families in the village, all of extraordinary interest.” Smith, 84ff.
environmental and demographic constraints shaped particular labour allocations for a particular family during a particular season. It would be an error to assume that labour was gendered in the 18th century the way it would come to be gendered in the 20th century.

With regards to the gendered division of labour, it is relatively safe to say that the Tokugawa peasant woman was required to work as hard at increasing the corporate unit’s economic and cultural assets as her male counterpart. In fact, peasant women were valued more for their manual labour in the fields than for their ability to bear children. The Maeshima family farm diary, circa 1767, provides a picture of the gendered division of agricultural labour in one farm family. In this diary, 23 percent of the listed tasks (7 out of 30) were the exclusive responsibility of the men in the family. These tasks included anything from the construction and maintenance of ridges between rice paddies, to the hunting and killing of wild dogs. Twenty-seven percent of the listed tasks (8 out of 30) were considered the exclusive responsibility of women. These included everything from planting beans to cutting buckwheat. The remaining 50 percent (15 out of 30) of the agricultural tasks were joint responsibilities. These tasks included planting the fields, cutting wheat, weeding paddies, threshing

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wheat, gathering walnuts, harvesting tobacco, and collecting daikon radishes. \footnote{Jo8ei-ahi sôgô kenkyûkai eds., [JSK], "Nôson josei no rôdô to seikatsu," in Nihon josei-shi: kinsei, vol.3, (Tôkyô: Tôkyô daigaku shuppankai, 1982), p. 64.}

Even in the labour of tilling the rice fields, women came to work equally with men, tying their hair [out of the way] in long queues. Thus, in the development of small farm management..., women had to go out from the house and into the fields in order to expand and support such an operation. \footnote{JSK eds., "Nôson josei no rôdô to seikatsu," p. 92.}

Neither labor, the home, nor the public sphere (however such a term was defined) were gender exclusive to the Tokugawa peasant. Both men and women laboured in the field, and both men and women engaged in tasks tied to the more intimate aspects of home life such as caring for children. \footnote{Uno, p. 21.} Peasant women were not normatively proscribed from the "public" realm. After all, they cut wood in the mountains for their families and for the making of charcoal; they peddled fish in the public streets. The Neo-class' tight control over women of their own class were For the peasant class, the gendered division of labour and space was as much about age and rank within the family as it were about gender itself. For example, evidence suggests that among farm women, the elderly were largely responsible...
for "domestic" tasks such as food preparation and the care of babies and toddlers. "Old women made breakfast and dinner and took care of children. If an infant needed to be nursed, it was taken to the field where its mother worked, was nursed, and then taken home again." Youth women, those with physical strength, carried loads to market.

Thus elder women's work was an extension of domestic activities, and involved tasks which required practice and a high level of skill, like the processing and finishing of raw materials into value added goods for market.

We can assert with a reasonable degree of certainty that peasant women moved in and out of the public arena because of their engagement in *dekasegi*, that is, in seasonal wage labour in distant provinces away from their places of birth.

...[M]uch work was done away from the farm, and there is evidence that it was typically done by family members -- not for individual gain but for the benefit of the group. Many women worked in the salt fields during the summer months, returning home to resume their weaving and other work...when the salt-making season was over. Men and women who left their districts to work outside for a year or more regularly sent their earnings home.\(^5\)

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\(^{83}\) JSK eds., "Nôson josei no rôdô to seikatsu," p. 67.

\(^{84}\) JSK eds., "Nôson josei no rôdô to seikatsu," p. 67.

\(^{85}\) Smith, *Native Sources*, 85.
As the commercialization of the agricultural economy deepened, and as it became clear to farm families that bringing value-added goods to market was more lucrative than the mere production of unfinished agricultural crops, family labour was allocated to micro-enterprises while seasonal wage labour, that is the excess labour from other families, was hired for agricultural labour. Some families also hired wage labour to increase the production capacity of their micro-enterprises. Women were employed in the commercial economy of the Tokugawa period as wage labourers, to bring in the harvests, to make salt, to scrub barrels and vats, to spin silk and cotton, to weave and embroider textiles. The mobility of rural women outside of their own domiciles, their value as labourers and as producers of surplus, and their own sense of economic agency were an important aspect of the premodern business system critical to an understanding of the role that these women would come to play in the Meiji and Taisho Periods.

The ie was the locus of production, distribution, and consumption in urban communities as well. For our purpose, it is important to understand that the circumscription of women to the domestic sphere was a gender norm specific to the samurai class, and adopted only by upper class urban merchant families in emulation of their social

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86 Ibid., p. 74.
superiors. Even so, the role of women within the kin-based
corporations of the merchant class was infamously strong. The
practice of *mukoyoshi*, that is, of bringing a son-in-law into the family to
marry daughters who had inherited family headship matrilineally, was
quite common among the Osaka merchant community, and in other
regions as well.⁸⁷

Agriculture and commerce were technically forbidden to the
samurai class. Nevertheless, economic conditions could over-ride law
and custom and create openings for samurai women to exercise
economic agency in support of the family corporation. For example, the
Satsuma domain in southern Kyushu had a comparatively high
proportion of samurai per hectare of arable land. It became critical to
the fiscal solvency of the domain that some proportion of warrior-
retainers remain self-supporting. Low-ranking samurai were therefore
granted dispensation to farm. In such cases, it is plausible to argue
that samurai women were involved in the commercial aspects of the

⁸⁷ The *Taiho Code* of 702 and its revision in 718 (*Yoro Code*) attempted to abolish
the matrilocal and matrilineal customs that had been a part of Japan's early clan-
based social structure; but such radical reorganization was said to have "remained in
many respects little more than a legal fiction or a set of abstract ethical principles, and
the actual conditions of women, particularly outside the capital, had never been
brought down to the level it had set." W.G. Aston, trans. and ed., *Nihongi: Chronicles of
Japanese marriage customs, different by region and class, include patrilocality,
matrilocality, neolocality, and very rarely by the 1600s, duolocality. Joyce Lebra, Joy
rural economy at least to the same extent as other peasant women in the region.\textsuperscript{88}

In the Mito domain, samurai retainers in financially strained circumstances, those who received less than 100 \textit{kaiku} stipends per year, were granted permission to engage in by-employments to make ends meet. Some 70 percent of Mito samurai were eligible; and so women began micro-enterprises in order to contribute to the family corporation's limited assets.\textsuperscript{89} According to Yamakawa Kikue, the most common micro-enterprise among samurai women in the Mito domain was the raising of silkworms, the spinning of thread and the weaving of cloth on commission.\textsuperscript{90} Other common micro-enterprises included private tutoring, the running of girl's schools,\textsuperscript{91} and needlework schools, candle-making, and many varieties of commissioned piece-work.\textsuperscript{92} A certain Mrs. Ishikawa was a particularly enterprising woman: not only did she run a sewing school with about ten students, she also

\textsuperscript{88} This is an interesting topic for further research.

\textsuperscript{89} For an engaging autobiography of a samurai who, living on the edge of poverty, engaged in a range of illegal activities to earn the spare coin, see Kokichi Katsu, \textit{Musui's Story: The Autobiography of a Tokugawa Samurai}, Teruko Craig, trans. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press), 1988. The most regular enterprise this scoundrel engaged in was in dealing in pawned swords.


\textsuperscript{91} Yamakawa, p. 24.

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., p. 99.
raised silk worms, and regularly took in sewing orders. Her daughter-in-law took in weaving orders. Another Aunt Yoshinari took in work on consignment from a dry goods store. Another had a business in second-hand clothing. To make ends meet, "the whole household engaged in various sorts of side-jobs." Though there are limits to the conclusions that can be drawn about entrepreneurial endeavors among bushi women based upon this single account, bushi poverty by the late 18th century is so fundamental to the history of this period that it is not irrational to conclude that many samurai families were fiscally unable to maintain economically non-productive wives.

Ultimately, the gendered segregation of labour, and the gendered segregation of space in the premodern period was not the monolith that it would become in postwar Japan. The normative segregation of men and women to their respective domestic and public domains was a custom of the samurai class. The wives of urban merchants, though also circumscribed to "the home," were integral to the economic

93 Ibid., pp. 31-34.
94 Ibid., p. 96.
95 Ibid., p. 99.
96 Ibid., p. 31.
97 Interestingly, these women were also engaged in subsistence agriculture because they could not afford to buy consumables in the marketplace.
functioning of the familial corporation which was spatially, fiscally, and managerially inseparable from it. Even among the samurai, economic reality forced many to capitalize on whatever assets existed within the entire familial corporation, including those held by women, in order to sustain themselves. In such cases samurai women exercised an economic agency using their domestic skills and education as capital.

Most important, the gendered segregation of space was least meaningful within the context of the agricultural economy. The kin-based corporation was the unit of industrial production; the family home was a bean field and a tofu factory; within the home slept the ancestors as well as the chickens and the bullock; it was a barracks housing seasonal employees, and it was a sweets stand; children were born within the home, and in the proper season, every available hand went out to make hay. The number of tasks in which the members of the is were involved were far too many for a clean and tidy segregation of space by gender, or a clean and tidy segregation of space by gender. Men and women were all assets strategically allocated in ways as many as there were domains, as many as there were villages. The peasants were marvelously heterogeneous; and their customs were not dictated by the decentralized feudal government.
Wherever one finds the remnants of the premodern business system in contemporary Japan, one will also find the remnants of its premodern gender norm. The characteristics of the premodern business system to which we must pay particular attention are those mentioned previously:

1) the conceptual, spatial, fiscal, and managerial contiguity of the firm and the family; and

2) the communal ownership of the firm by the family.

The gender norm to be found within the premodern business system required women's economic agency, whether that agency was exercised strictly as an extension of a normative domesticity, or whether it was expressed through her skills and acumen as a craftsperson or merchant within family micro-businesses. Female peddlers exercised economic agency in the public arena, and wage labourers did the same in cottage factories and in fields far from their own families.

These are the premodern roots of entrepreneurship among Japanese women in the twentieth century.
II. The Emergence of a Modern Business System

In signing Consul Townsend Harris' commercial treaty in 1858, the Tokugawa Bakufu drove its premodern business system into a head-on collision with Western industrial capitalism. There were no lines drawn on the pavement in chalk, no shattered glass, or twisted metal wreckage to clear from the street; but beyond doubt, something dreadfully important to the history of Japanese business had occurred; the premodern business system would never again be the same.

The result of that catastrophic collision was the emergence of what we shall call "the modern business system." Its emergence was not sudden, and the differentiation between itself and its antecedent were subtle. Using an evolutionary analogy, the premodern system might be described as a "trunk" or a main line from which its more specialized "modern" descendent emerged.

The earliest business structure within the modern system that can clearly be distinguished from its premodern antecedent was the zaibatsu. These were highly diversified business conglomerates owned by a central holding company. The holding company was financed by its own corporate bank, and utilized its own trading company to bring the conglomerate's entire range of commodities to the international export market. Significantly, the zaibatsu were kin-based corporations. The
earliest of them were from the premodern business system, but were reorganized to respond more effectively to new risks and constraints imposed by the international market.

Thus we understand that the modern business system was not new, nor did it operate separately from the premodern system. Rather, it emerged as the necessary solution to bottlenecks in the premodern system which prevented it from meeting international demand for Japanese goods. The earliest zaibatsu emerged in order to bring the single most important commodity produced by the premodern business system to the international market: silk.

Sericulture was of critical importance to the new Meiji State's goal of "Rich Country/Strong Army [fukoku kyōhei]." It was one of only a very small number of industries capable of earning scarce foreign exchange. Foreign capital was critical for two reasons: first, the government needed to pay for the arms and naval ships that it purchased from Great Britain, expenditures which it could ill-afford, and yet were vital for its own internal stability as well as for the protection of its territorial integrity. Secondly, the government was keenly aware of the need to control its negative balance of payments, a

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98 Tea was another. Tea producers were also part of the traditional business system.
problem which had emerged even before the Restoration had taken
place.

Much of the scholarship dealing with the relationship between
the textile industry and Japanese modernization focuses on cotton.
Many household businesses within the premodern system had long
histories growing, ginning, spinning, weaving and finishing cotton
textiles. However, Japanese cotton producers could not compete with
King Cotton, or with India, the Jewel in Her Majesty’s Crown,
especially with the import tariff restrictions imposed by the unequal
treaties. Japan’s domestic cotton industry had been virtually
destroyed by the time of the Restoration and did not re-emerge until
the late 1870s with the importation of Western, large-scale, fully
mechanized factories. These relied entirely on imported raw cotton,
and only produced finished fabrics which were sold in the saturated
and extremely competitive international cotton textile market.99 The
cotton textile industry has therefore become associated with the
history of Japanese industrialization because of the modern technology
used in her modern factories.

textiles out-competed British and American made fabrics in price.
The Japanese silk industry must not be overlooked as a vital part of Japan's industrialization experience. Unlike the cotton textile industry, it was not destroyed, and in fact, it boomed after the conclusion of Consul Townsend Harris' commercial treaty with the Tokugawa bakufu in 1858. A silkworm blight destroyed the European industry during the 1850s, a development of fortuitous synchronicity with the forcible opening of Japan to international trade by Commodore Matthew Perry (1853).¹⁰⁰ There was considerable market demand in the West for both processed and raw silk regardless of quality.¹⁰¹

Unlike the modernized cotton textile industry, the modernization of the silk industry took place in rural cottage businesses, that is, it took place within the premodern business system. Modern technologies for processing cocoons, spinning thread, and weaving silk into finished fabrics were comparatively unsophisticated compared with industrial technologies used in the cotton textile industry. Mechanized silk reeling yielded yarns and fabrics of inferior quality to those produced by only slightly modified artisanal techniques until the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 46.
¹⁰¹ Bernstein remarks that silk traders from the West preferred dealing with Japanese silk wholesalers because their relationships were better than the relationship between Western marketers and Chinese wholesalers. Furthermore, Chinese silk, though of a higher quality, more expensive because of costs associated with "administrative assistance" provided by bureaucrats and other "officials." Gail L. Bernstein, "Women in the Silk-Reeling Industry in Nineteenth Century Japan," in Gail Bernstein and Haruhiro Fukui, eds., Japan and the World: Essays on Japanese History and Politics in Honour of Ishida Takeshi, (Oxford: Macmillan Press, year?), p. 69.
Because the modification of premodern artisanal techniques was fairly simple, using wood and water power rather than iron, fossil fuels, or electricity, the necessary financial investment was comparatively small, and well within reach of wealthy farming households. Consequently, the modern Japanese silk industry remained essentially rural. It provided a means whereby masses of the rural population became ‘industrialized’ without the disruptions associated with large scale rural-to-urban movements of population. The production and processing of Japan’s most important export became largely supplementary employment for a great segment of Japan’s agriculturists.

The silk industry dominated Japan’s international trade in the 1870s, and would continue to do so until the 1920s. Fifty percent of total exports were silk textiles. By the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War (1905 – 1905), silk cocoons alone represented almost one-third of all industrial exports. The locus of such production was not the modern factory; it was, instead, an outgrowth of rural by-employsments practiced by women in the premodern system, as it had


103 Bernstein, p. 169.

104 Wilkinson, p. 47.

105 Ibid., p. 47
been at least as early as the 18th century. By the close of the First World War, 40 percent of the rural population, over 2,000,000 households, was engaged in the propagation and raising of silkworm cocoons for sale in the international market.\textsuperscript{106} An early 1890s observer noted,

In the districts where the silkworm is raised, and the silk spun, the women play a most important part in this productive industry. The care of the worms and of the cocoons falls entirely upon the women, as well as the spinning of the silk and the weaving of the cloth. It is almost safe to say that this largest and most productive industry of Japan is in the hands of women.\textsuperscript{107}

III. Capitalising on the Premodern Gender Norm During the Meiji

\textit{Fūkoku kyōhei} [Rich Nation! Strong Army!] was not an empty slogan, but an economic and industrial policy put in place by the Meiji Oligarchy in order to avoid China’s fate at the hands of Western colonial powers. The very real fear of Western economic and military domination, and an awareness of their nation’s economic, political, and

\textsuperscript{106} Mitsubishi Research Bureau, \textit{Japanese Trade and Industry, Present and Future}, (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd., 1936), pp. 253 - 255. Note that the total number of households does not reflect the total number of women engaged in this industry. Each household had at least one woman member, most had more than one, and some paid wages to girls and women involved as \textit{dekasegi} labourers in their home-based factories.

\textsuperscript{107} Alice Mabel Bacon also observed that, "...in the silk districts, one finds the woman on terms of equality with the man, for she is an important factor in the wealth producing power of the family." Alice Mabel Bacon, \textit{Japanese Girls and Women}, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1891), p. 246.
military fragility informed every aspect Japanese state policy until the twentieth century.

The wealth of the nation and the strength of the army fundamentally revolved around Japanese women because of their productive power and because of their reproductive capabilities. The construction of a universal Japanese gender norm, whether it advocated women's economic agency or whether it underscored their reproductive agency was bound to be ideologically inconsistent because of the multiple (and rapidly changing) needs of the state. Women had to be workers; but they also had to be mothers. Furthermore, the creation of a universal gender norm was bound to violate the wide range in class and regional customs with regard to the roles of women.

From the 1870s to the 1920s, the Japanese economy was dependent upon the productive activities of women in both premodern and modern factories. Modernization ideologues could not, in imagining the modern Japanese woman, exclude her from economic productivity in any sphere, public or domestic. By the 1880s approximately 85 percent of textile factory workers were women.¹⁰⁸
mills were largely responsible for the swelling populations in the treaty port cities between 1891 and 1908. Older married women along with Japanese men were productively engaged in rural regions in agriculture; and women continued to drive family sericulture operations. With rising tenancy rates, underemployed Japanese men migrated from their home provinces, either as conscripts, or toward urban areas in search of work to supplement family income.

Such was the economic and social back-drop framing the Meiji government’s early attempts to address the role of the modern Japanese woman in the newly modernizing nation. Clearly, the State could not afford to assert a normative female domesticity. Nor did it attempt to do so. Nolte and Hastings convincingly argue that the earliest description of the Good Wife/Wise Mother,


109 Wilkinson also notes that the "exploitation of mineral resources within the home islands" was also a factor in the population and spatial growth of treaty port cities in this period. Wilkinson., p. 44 - 45


111 Hane, pp. 140 - 144.
“was one who pursued whatever employment and education would serve her family and the society.... Whereas once only samurai women had been exhorted to be modest, courageous, and frugal, now these virtues were praised in all women.... Peasant women had always been hardworking and had contributed to household income through work outside the home. Now, even the wives of the wealthy could not justify sitting by the brazier reading novels.... An ideal woman who combined the cardinal feminine virtues of the various Japanese classes would be modest, courageous, frugal, literate, hardworking, and productive. This constellation of virtues was so appropriate for economic growth that we might term it a ‘cult of productivity.’”

The Meiji Oligarchy was trapped between its dependence on female economic power, and the neo-Confucian orientation which shaped their operating assumptions and world views as members of the ex-samurai elite. Nolte and Hastings assert,

In the two decades between 1890 and 1910, the Japanese state pieced together a policy toward women based on two assumptions: that the family was an essential building block of the national structure and that the management of the household was increasingly in women’s hands.  

Thus the emerging gender norm was necessarily bipolar. Women’s economic contributions to enriching the country and strengthening the army was part of public discourse at least as early as

112 Nolte and Hastings, pp. 171-172.
the 1890s. For example, an 1891 monograph, *Katsudô seru jitsugyôkai no fujin*, [The Activities of Women in the World of Entrepreneurship], explained to its readers that the purpose of the volume was to encourage women in thriftiness and in the creative use of even the most modest resources by giving examples of female entrepreneurs whose efforts had enriched their families, and hence had contributed to state’s goal of “Rich Nation/Strong Army!”

Other examples of public discourse on women’s normative economic agency can be found in local and regional newspapers. First of all, the newspaper itself represents a *public* forum. In it we find individuals praised for *private* triumphs, as well as shamed for *private* failures. A common vehicle for underscoring women as economic actors were columns praising laudable individuals. One such headline from a local Fukuoka newspaper of the time read: "A Laudable Mother: the widow of Lower-Hakata’s Taiba Shoro family, of samurai descent, is making a living as a fish-seller in order to support her four children.

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113 Nolte and Hastings in Bernstein, 171 - 172. “Japan’s industrialization differed from that of the original industrial powers precisely because Japan had advanced models from which to learn. The Meiji leaders, recognizing the value of women’s economic and educational contributions, claimed the home as a public place.” Nolte and Hastings, p. 173.

She is indeed, laudable for she avowed, "as long as I can take care of our family altar, I will be able to earn a living."\textsuperscript{115}

This example is interesting in several ways. First, we understand that in 1894, although premodern class denominations had been legally abolished for at least two decades, they were nevertheless operative. Secondly, we see that samurai women in distressed circumstances were able to exercise economic agency within the public realm, in this case selling fish. Third, this woman, never identified by name, is identified as a mother and a wife; and she is praised for her filial piety, modesty, and hard work in support of her family. This is a private individual who has been placed in the public sphere as an example of ideal womanhood.

Although the State did not attempt to mitigate women's access to the public sphere because access was necessarily a part of women's economic contribution to economic growth, it did seek to control specific activities among women within the public arena. During the 1880s, the Meiji State found itself challenged by the political activities of increasingly aggressive popular rights movements, which vociferously demanded, among other things, the creation of an elected deliberative assembly as promised in the 1868 Charter Oath. Furthermore, women

\textsuperscript{115} Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun, 6-6-1894
factory workers of the 1880s had become the vanguard of a nascent labour movement, staging strikes and production slow-downs, as well as running away from factories to receive better wages from competing firms.\footnote{Bernstein, “Women in the Silk-Reeling Industry,” p. 69.}

In 1890, the government enacted the Law on Meetings and Associations (shûkai oyobi kessha hō) which barred women from attending political meetings and from joining political parties.\footnote{Fusae Ichikawa, ed., Nihon fujin mondai shiryô shûsei, Vol. 2: seiji, (Domesu Shuppan, 1973), pp. 131 - 134.} Furthermore, the Constitution, promulgated in 1889, did not provide for women's suffrage. Japanese women therefore, were explicitly denied the right to participate in political activities.

According to Nolte and Hastings, the earliest articulation of the Good Wives/Wise Mothers ideology which began to appear during this same period, was in part, the State's \textit{justification} of its intentional exclusion of women from the public, political arena. Rather than an attempt to control labor unrest among women on whom so much of the State's economic stability depended, Nolte and Hastings argue that the ban on women's political activities was an assertion of the fact that the State's claim on women and the home superceded women's claims
as citizens vis-à-vis the State. After all, the ban was universal and included women of all classes, even those for whom any solidarity with the ill-mannered activities of the unwashed thread mill masses was inconceivable.

The ban on women joining political parties placed women in the same category as public figures, including military men, public and private school teachers and students, and shrine and temple officers. The grouping implied that women were like civil servants whose political activity would be inappropriate or whose responsibilities [were] so weighty as to preclude their participation. Gradually, conservatives inside and outside the government would elaborate on the idea that wives were public figures, veritable officers of the state in its microcosm, the home. Their mission was a noble one that transcended petty partisan politics.\(^\text{119}\)

The excision of women from public political activity had no *immediate* impact on their economic activities in the public realm. By this time, female entrepreneurship was not rare, but ubiquitous within the context of the premodern business system. It also must be

\(^{118}\) Nolte and Hastings in Bernstein, p. 156.

\(^{119}\) “The total ban on women’s political activity makes sense only as part of a program in which the government allocated certain duties, characteristics, and behaviours to women whether or not they were also workers or activists…. Thus, the justification of women’s political exclusion was primarily in terms of their home and family duties, and not of their physical, mental, or moral incapacity.” Nolte and Hastings, p.155 - 157. The appropriation, if you will, of the Japanese home, and its construction as a public space in which women, as trusted civil servants (as compared to privately held wives) were normatively to remain above the dirty self-interest of political parties, is implied in texts like *The Meiji Greater Learning for Women* (*Meiji onna daigaku*), which asserted that “the home is a public place where private feelings must be put away.” See Sumiko Tanaka, *Josei kaiho no shiso to kodo, vol. 1: Senzenhen*, (Jiji Tsushin, 1979), p. 12.
understood within the context of rising rural poverty, the subsequent growth in urbanization, and significant dislocations in the premodern ie system: conscription, factory labour, the indentured slavery of young girls and women in the urban sex industries, created market niches and opportunities for petty businesses of all kinds.

Its ubiquity, its utter lack of peculiarity, accounts for its invisibility in the Japanese historical record. The role of Japanese women in business was noted, however, by middle and upper class foreign visitors in Japan, who found their activities in the economic realm both peculiar and exotic. For example, Alice Mabel Bacon traveled extensively in Japan, learned some of the language, and wrote a book, *Japanese Girls and Women* which was published in 1891. The work was reissued in 1901 with the addition of a new chapter discussing Japanese women's "progress," especially with respect to the promulgation of the 1899 Meiji Civil Code. Although clearly part of a body of Orientalist literature, and informed by the author's Christian bias, it nevertheless provides a fascinating visual picture of Japanese women. Furthermore, Bacon's evaluation of the economic roots of gender relationships in Japan, were in certain respects, quite ahead of her time. The following excerpts provide her visual observations of entrepreneurship among women of the time:

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"As one rides about the streets, one often sees a little, white-haired old woman trotting about with a yoke over her shoulders from which are suspended two swinging baskets, filled with fresh vegetables. The fact that her hair is still growing to its natural length shows that she is still a wife and not a widow; her worn and patched blue cotton clothes, bleached light from much washing, shows that extreme poverty is her lot in life....\(^\text{120}\)

"Not only hotels, but little tea-houses all through Japan, form openings for the business abilities of women, both in the country and city. Wherever you go, no matter how remote the district, or how rough the road, at every halting point you find a tea-house. Sometimes it is quite an extensive restaurant, with several rooms, a regular kitchen where fairly elaborate cooking can be done; sometimes it is only a rough shelter, at one end of which water is kept boiling over a charcoal brazier, while at the other end a couple of seats, covered with mats, or a scarlet blanket or two, serve as resting places for the patrons of the establishment. But whatever the place, there will be one woman or more in attendance; and if you sit down upon the mats, you will be served at once with tea, and later, should you require more, with whatever the establishment can afford, -- it may be only a slice of watermelon, or a hard pear; it may be eels on rice, vermicelli, egg soup, or a regular dinner, should the tea-house be one of the larger and more elaborately appointed ones.\(^\text{121}\)

"About half a mile out of the village...was a shop and a tea-house. It was a pleasant resting place after a warm and dusty walk, and almost daily we would halt there for a cup of tea and a slice of yokan, or bean marmalade, before returning to our rooms in the hotel. The managers of the place were an old man and his wife, who divided their labor between the shop and the tea-house. The old man was an

\(^{120}\) Bacon, p. 128.

\(^{121}\) Ibid., pp. 250 – 251.
artist in roots. His life was devoted to searching out grotesquely shaped roots on the forest-covered hills, and whittling, turning, and trimming them into the semblance of animal or human forms... His wife, a cheery old woman, attended to the tea house, and as soon as we had seated ourselves, bustled about to bring us cool water from the spring that bubbled out of the rocks across the road, and to set before us the tiny cups of straw-colored tea and the delicious slices of yokan which we soon learned was the specialty of the place.**122

“One summer, when I was spending a week at a Japanese hotel at quite a fashionable seaside resort, I became interested in a little old woman who visited the hotel daily, carrying, suspended by a yoke from her shoulders, two baskets of fruit, which she sold to the guests of the hotel.”**113

“This art [of the tea ceremony], which is often part of the education of women of the higher classes, is taught by regular teachers, often gentlewomen who have fallen into distressed circumstances.... I remember with great vividness a visit paid to an old lady living near a provincial city of Japan, who had for years supported herself by giving lessons in this politest of arts.”**124

“Etiquette of all kinds is not left in Japan to chance...but is taught regularly by teachers who make a specialty of it.... There have been several famous teachers of etiquette, and they have formed systems which differ in minor points while agreeing in the principal rules. The etiquette of bowing, the positioning of the body, the arms, and the head while saluting, the methods of shutting and opening the door, the manner of receiving a meal, or teal, all with the minutest details, taught to the young girls.... I know two

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122 Ibid., p. 255.
123 Ibid., p. 255.
124 Ibid., p. 45.
young girls of new Japan who find nothing so wearisome as their etiquette lesson.... I have heard them, after their teacher had left, slyly making fun of her stiff and formal manners. Such people as she will, I fear, soon belong to the past.”

“...Many of the Japanese ladies, even of the highest rank, devote much time to the cultivation of the silkworm. In country homes, and in the great cities as well, wherever spacious grounds afford room for the growth of mulberry trees, silkworms are raised and watched with care; an employment giving much pleasure to those engaged in it.”

“In the hotels, both in the country and the city, women play an important part.... Frequently, the proprietor of the hotel is a woman.... My first experience of a Japanese hotel was at Nara.......we were met at the door by a buxom landlady whose smile was in itself a refreshment.... A 2 days’ stay in this hotel showed that the landlady was the master of the house. Her husband was about the house constantly, as were one or two other men, but they all worked under the direction of the energetic head of affairs. She it was who managed everything, from the cooking of the meals in the kitchen to the filling and heating of the great bath tub into which the guests were invited to enter every afternoon.”

“At present, all over Tōkyo, small restaurants, where food is served in the foreign style, are springing up, and these are usually conducted by a man and his wife.... In these little eating houses, where a well-cooked foreign dinner of from three to six courses is served for the moderate sum of 30 to 40 cents, the man usually does the cooking, the woman the serving and handling of money until the time

125 Ibid., pp. 46 – 7.

126 Ibid., p. 95.

127 Ibid., pp. 247 – 249.
arrives when the profits of the business are sufficient to justify the hiring of more help. When this time comes, the labor is redistributed, the woman frequently taking upon herself the reception of the guests and the keeping of accounts, while the hired help waits on the tables.\textsuperscript{128}

"In contrast with these humble but cheerful toilers may be mentioned another class of women, often met with in the great cities. Dressed in rags and with covered head and faces, they wander about the streets playing the shamisen outside the latticed windows, and singing with cracked voices some wailing melody as they go from house to house, gaining a miserable pittance by their weird music."\textsuperscript{129}

Such petty businesses would have no reason to appear in public records, and by all accounts, should have passed entirely from the historical record. Notably, the businesses that Alice Mabel Bacon wrote about overwhelmingly revolved around the production and selling of food, textiles, hospitality, and the teaching of elite manners and skills.

As noted earlier, evidence of petty business among Meiji era women can be found in public forums like local newspapers. This occurs most commonly in cases where the entrepreneur was caught in

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., pp. 280 – 281.

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., p. 127.
some criminal activity\textsuperscript{130} or was found to carry a contagious disease.\textsuperscript{131} Interestingly, women who appear in local newspapers invariably are described by their working identities, which as will be noted later, would no longer be the case by the 1920s. In many cases, women are not named, but are simply referred to in terms of their occupation: the "sweets-maker in X ward", the "hair-dresser in Y village, "a 42 year old midwife, " or the "unlicensed employment agent."\textsuperscript{132}

Women whose businesses required wider publicity than that which could be had via word of mouth advertised their availability in local newspapers. The most common of such advertisements were for midwives. Ella Wiswell, writing in the 1930s, claimed that childbirth

\textsuperscript{130} A great number of articles involving female law-breakers, invariably describing the women in terms of their work, can be found between the 1880s and 1920s in local Fukuoka newspapers. For example, a Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun article, dated May 24, 1884 is sensationallly titled: "Love Suicide Reported! The story goes on to say how thirty year-old Kiku, a hair dresser, was involved as a go-between in a love affair of a young girl and her admirer..." Apparently, she was involved in the carrying of love-letters, and at the behest of the lover, procured gifts for the young girl. Articles about unlicensed prostitution, and about women fleeing the licensed prostitution quarters also abound. See Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun 5-13; 6-21; 6-28, 7-1 of 1885 and 5-15 of 1889. The illegal activities of midwives are also commonly noted in the news, most notably for providing abortions. Another example, taken from a Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun article dated April 14, 1897 is baldly entitled: "Criminal Midwife! Shima (68) a Saga Ward midwife, was heavily sentenced to 9 years in a Fukuoka prison. In January of this year, Shima delivered [a woman of] boy and girl twins... Turning to Rui, the mother-in-law, she said, "You should use warm water on them together." Rui replied, "Make one of them to not fatten up on us [hitori wa futorakasanu yo ni kureru]." Taking her meaning, Shima murdered the infant girl."

\textsuperscript{131} T.B. patients, identified by domicile ward, sex, and occupation, though not by name, are listed in Moji Shinpo June 8, 1895. The Moji Shinpo also discusses illicit prostitution, and the escape of prostitutes from the licensed district, especially those suspected of carrying tuberculosis. See Moji Shinpo 5-15 1898.

\textsuperscript{132} Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun, 5-5-1885.
was probably the most sacrosanct of privacies in Japanese families.\textsuperscript{133}

Advertising one's credentials (as licensed by the state), and one's availability, must have been an important method for a new midwife to introduce herself and her skills to potential clients.\textsuperscript{134} At least one such midwifery practice, located within the headquarters of the local merchant's association, boldly advertised that the practitioner, Ms. Akato Sonoko, had specialized in the field of obstetrics by studying for many years under a certain Dr. Ikeda Roichi, the owner of an OB/GYN hospital. She had, the advertisement claimed, received a "Grade A Midwifery License" from the Home Ministry, and also mentioned that she retained a staff of neighborhood midwives as well as volunteers for her clients.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{133} "Toward the close of the year in Suye, it became obvious that I might just as well resign myself to the fact that here absolute privacy is observed during childbirth and let it go at that.... The midwife says my cause is hopeless. They all say yes, yes, but when it comes to delivery they refuse to let anyone in because they are embarrassed. A woman will not let even her husband or mother come near, and if the delivery is an easy one, she will not let the midwife in until the baby is out, and only asks her to wash it.... It was clear that the midwife and the Suye women actually resented any effort to be present at a delivery...." See Smith and Wiswell, The Women of Suye Mura, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 99 - 110.

\textsuperscript{134} For example, the following is representative: "Meeting of the Midwives Association held. Experts in the field were on hand with publications to discuss questions on the midwife examination." Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun 3-18-1894; "In Fukuoka Gion-Machi, the fourth daughter of Aogi Harusawara, Raku (age 22) took and passed the Midwife's examination, and received a license to practice midwifery from the Home Ministry." Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun 9-26-1889; "Midwifery examinations to be held at area city halls. Locations, dates, and times listed," Moji Shinpoo 4-19-1894.

\textsuperscript{135} Moji Shinpo, February 3, 1899.
Another example can be found in the February 3, 1885 edition of the *Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun* which advertised a meeting of 80 female hair-dressers at the Wadori Arbor of the Nikkonari Shrine. It explicitly stated that the hair dressers gathering at the shrine were available to make contracts.\(^1^{36}\) Alice Bacon observed that, "[a] good hairdresser may make a handsome living; indeed, she does so well that it is proverbial among the Japanese that a hair-dresser's husband has nothing to do."\(^1^{37}\)

Even women of the court aristocracy were influenced by the so-called "Cult of Productivity." Some of them used their position as well as their extensive educations to establish early institutions of higher learning for Japanese women. Utako Shimoda, Lady-in-Waiting at the Court of the Meiji Emperor is one notable example. She had been sent abroad to England as a child to study European court etiquette. In later years, she became the principal of the elite Peeress's School, and later founded the Jissen Girls' Higher School and College.\(^1^{38}\) Tsuda Umeko is also well-known for having established the Joshi Eigaku Juku in 1900, the precursor of well-known Tsuda Women's College.

\(^1^{36}\) *Nichi Nichi Shinbun*, February 3, 1885.

\(^1^{37}\) Bacon, p. 279-280.

"Since its opening in September, 1900, the school has been crowded with promising pupils, and the small accommodations with which it began, although already once enlarged, are stretched to the uttermost. The girls come from the government high schools and from the mission schools, and the course offered to them of three years study in English literature, composition, translation, and methods of teaching has proved a strong attraction. In recognition, perhaps, of this effort on behalf of her countrywomen, certainly, of her position at the head of her profession [Ume Tsuda] has this year been appointed on the examining committee for the government English examinations, an honor never before given to one of her sex...

Other women with the advantage of higher education were entrepreneurs in the field of women's education. For example, Yoshioka Yayoi founded Tôkyo Joigakko (Tôkyo Women's Medical School) in 1900. By the turn of the century, the public discourse regarding women's economic agency in support of the state was so normal that Japanese women recognized themselves, and were publicly recognized as entrepreneurs. The December 22, 1904 edition of the Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun noted that "in the city of Kurume, Ms. Katsura Atsuko, promoter of the Women Entrepreneurs Public Service Association, (Kurume jitsugyô fujin hokokai) held an organizational meeting on the 19th, which was attended by numerous new members. [She] was

\[139\] Bacon, pp. 384 - 385.
\[140\] Ibid., p. 84.
nominated association president and secretary. In March of the following year, the organization announced that its regular meetings would be held in the Kurume Girl's Higher School. The group's name was also amended to Kurume Women Entrepreneurs Service Association (Kurume jitsugyō fujin hoshikai).

Although the exact nature of the businesses that these women operated is not known, it is clear that their activities and identities as entrepreneurs were situated firmly within the public arena. For example, in 1905, the organization met with three other women's groups, namely the Buddhist Women's Association and the Women's Patriotic Society, to decide how to organize a formal Welcome Home ceremony for troops returning from the Russo-Japanese War. Although the Buddhist Women's Association ultimately did not participate, it was decided that the Kurume Women's Patriotic Society and the Kurume Women Entrepreneurs Service Association would "construct a Welcome Arch in Ryogai-machi, and present the returning troops with parched barley tea." A second article in the same issue of the newspaper advertised the Kurume Women Entrepreneurs Public

141 Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun 10-22-1904.
142 Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun 3-16-1905.
143 Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun 10-28-1905.
Service Association’s “Charity Shop” [じーゲンてん] which collected, washed, repaired, and then donated clothing to the soldiers and to their families.

"... In particular, they have employed the families of those killed in the war in the managing of the Charity Shop's laundry business. The Charity Association meets regularly in the sewing room of the Kurume Girl's Higher School. A related article will be published on November, 4th. 144

If the excision of women from the political arena had no immediate impact women’s economic agency, it was nevertheless an important first step toward establishing ‘woman’ as a universal category, undifferentiated by class. The Russo-Japanese War once more found the state mobilizing women using language and examples which further served to underscore the economic woman at the expense of the domestic one.145

The well-publicized activities of elite women on behalf of the war effort conveyed several messages about women’s role in the new Japan. First, women who were wives and mothers could make legitimate contributions toward national goals outside the home as well as within. Their activities, which were extensions of traditional feminine responsibilities such as caring for the sick and the poor and providing clothing, could take them not only to public

144 Ibid., 10-28-1905. I was not able to locate the noted follow-up article. A 1907 article notes that the Women Entrepreneurs Service Association had a membership of 70. Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun, January 9, 1907.

145 Nolte notes that in the mobilization for the Russo-Japanese War, “class distinctions though operative, were de-emphasized.” Nolte in Bernstein, p. 158.
meetings but also to trains stations and hospitals. In a few instances, officers of women’s associations even left the capital to visit distant hospitals and military bases. Second, these activities showed that women worked hard – a quality not always associated with the upper classes.146

The state was also very clear that the families of the war-dead, specifically war widows, were to remain economically independent, and were not to be supported by state subsidy.147 In fact, state funds for war widows and their children were disbursed through organizations like the Kurume Women Entrepreneurs Public Service Association which utilized them to create self-help projects, like the Charity Shop and laundry, which were supposedly capable of providing the needy with gainful employment.148 Clearly, “[g]ender did not excuse these women from their duty to remain financially as well as spiritually independent. The establishment of a few day-care centers confirms that a woman could better be spared as a mother than as a wage earner.”149

146 Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shimbun, 10-28-1905.

147 Japan Times, April 9, 1905

148 Japan Times, January 21, 1905, and Japan Times, April 9, 1905.

149 Nolte in Bernstein, pp. 162 – 163. Local newspapers around Fukuoka Prefecture at this time, advertised a number of day care centers, as well as classes necessary to receive licensing to operate or be employed in day care centers. Nolte and Hastings’ observation that the presence of day care centers suggests that women were expected to be financially productive rather than full-time mothers explains this phenomenon.
IV. The Reproductive Gender Norm: Elites and Their Women

The decade of the 1890s was critical to the construction and evolution of a universal gender norm. Although the State needed the economic power represented by the masses of Japanese women labourers in order to achieve its modernization program, "a major concern of the policymakers of the time must have been to encourage the modernization of the society while containing change within existing structures of control." With regard to the role of women in society, the economic needs of the State conflicted sharply with the social norms of the elites who ran it. In mobilizing the economic power of commoner women, Meiji Statesmen undermined the role that they themselves demanded of their own women.

The state’s desire to preserve a degree of gender status quo can be seen first and foremost in the construction of the education system. The Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) was the first "introduction into the national public domain of the concept of 'nation-as-family' -- Japan's peculiar kind of national polity, which is anchored in a family


152 "The Meiji Civil Code enforced the will of a high-handed cultural minority." Aoki, p. 20.
system that encodes the Confucian ethic of filial piety and the imperialist historical view together."^{153}

Motoda Eifu has largely been credited with ensuring that Confucian ideology was canonized as the socio-political state philosophy. This was done within the body of the Imperial Rescript on Education which he himself composed. This had a resounding impact on the Ministry of Education, and its education policies until the end of the Occupation.^{154} Arguably, the effects of the Imperial Rescript can still be felt today.

Confucianism is based on hierarchical relationships in which absolute obedience is offered from inferiors to superiors, in return for which benevolence is offered by superiors to inferiors. A centralized compulsory education system was in operation by the 1890s. The curriculum within the system was structured to be class specific. For example, elementary education, compulsory for all children, stressed the hierarchical Confucian norm throughout the curriculum, and focused on inculcating obedience and loyalty into the student body. Education beyond the elementary level was explicitly for elites; the

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^{153} Ibid., p. 23.

children of the lower classes were not expected to receive education beyond that which was mandatory at the elementary level.

The education curriculum beyond the elementary level was distinct from the "practical" education reserved for lower classes.\(^{155}\) Even elite students were required to take formal coursework in "morals" (\textit{shushin}), however. Furthermore, the curriculum was suffused with countless iterations of the vertical nature of social hierarchy, and moreover, suffused with countless iterations of the \textit{ie} system as a uniquely Japanese, and therefore universally defining feature of the nation, the \textit{kokutai}, the national polity symbolized by the Emperor, the head of the Imperial Family, the head of State and the National Patriarch.\(^{156}\) The inferiority of women, their normative placement under the authority of men, their circumscription to the domestic realm, in short, the socio-political philosophy which had been the basis of the social and political structure of the samurai class, was being taught as an element of universal "Japaneseness."

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{155} Livingston, Moore, Oldfather, eds., \textit{Imperial Japan, 1800 – 1945}, (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 147.}
\item\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{156} Herbert Passin, \textit{Society and Education in Japan} (New York: Teachers College and East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1965) pp. 103 - 108.}
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
The Meiji Oligarchy also attempted to preserve their class-specific gender hegemony in the promulgation of the Meiji Civil Code of 1899.\textsuperscript{157} The 1899 Civil Code was actually a revision of an earlier code enacted in 1890. The original code was based upon the primacy of the conjugal bond, a granted women a very strong position in the household, second only to the husband.\textsuperscript{158} Such radical legislation was unacceptable to many in the Oligarchy however, and was therefore shelved until a more conservative version, the 1889 Civil Code, could be brought to the legislative table.\textsuperscript{159} The 1899 Civil Code was grounded in the primacy of the ie system, as understood within a Confucian context. The Civil Code created standardized laws for the entirety of the nation based upon the customs and values of ex-samurai elites. The revision restricted women to the domestic sphere, and placed them completely under the authority of their fathers, and when married, under the authority of their husbands. Inheritance patterns, marriage and divorce customs, property law, patrilineality, patrilocality, and the legal status of women, all of which had varied by class, occupation, region, and local tradition were brought into

\textsuperscript{157} Seivers, p. 12.


\textsuperscript{159} Yazaki, 360 –1.
alignment with the norms, expectations, and values operative among the oligarchic elite. Such legislation was tantamount to cultural imperialism by the elite.

"The customs of the farmers should not even be considered as customs. The farmers should seek to model themselves after the warrior and noble classes.' This attitude was incorporated into the Meiji Civil Code almost verbatim. It was most directly expressed in the protection of the male bloodline within the structure of the institution of marriage -- the ie system.'....

In other words,

"...the portion of Japanese society that lived under the stoic morality of Confucianism and defended the patriarchal structure of parent-child relations and inheritance patterns -- both essential elements of the ie system -- was the warrior class, a mere 6 percent of the population.... Because some 90 percent of the population had to be converted, it is not surprising that they saw the need for new ideological and practical structures suited to the rapid and effective dissemination of these principles."\(^{161}\)

In 1899, legislation mandated a minimum number of higher normal girls schools per prefecture. Although this had the effect of increasing the total number of higher schools available to girls seeking education beyond the primary level, it also increased the number of

\(^{160}\)Aoki, pp. 21 - 22.

\(^{161}\)Ibid., pp. 21 - 22.
women being formally indoctrinated with the State’s chosen societal and gender norms.\textsuperscript{162}

The great homogenization of Japanese experience had begun.

Education Minister Kabayama Sukenori claimed that the is was the foundation of the Japanese state; and that therefore, middle class women should be educated by the State as Good Wives and Wise Mothers: “The role of girls’ higher schools should be to develop in young women refined taste and gentle and modest character. Women of leisure, then, should receive enough education – but no more than necessary – to fulfill their duties within the home.”\textsuperscript{163}

Despite newspaper articles trumpeting the economic thrift and generosity of the Empress and her ladies in waiting, despite the writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi proclaiming the necessity of women’s economic independence,\textsuperscript{164} despite newspaper articles applauding the hard work and filial piety of women making ends meet in the market place, and the publication of personal success stories in which thrifty and industrious women in tiny businesses retired as wealthy, respected entrepreneurs, laws governing women could not help but be

\textsuperscript{162} Nolte and Hastings, p. 158.

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., pp. 35 – 36; Ibid., p. 158.

based upon the normative standards of the elite men within the Oligarchy who wrote them. The Good Wives/Wise Mothers ideology that was incorporated into laws passed in 1899 was different from the rhetoric used to mobilize women’s labour earlier in the decade.

As the education minister had made clear, such educational opportunities were meant for women of the leisure class. Indeed, the Good Wives/Wise Mother’s ideology was not “…a call for women to return to the home from the workplace, for Japanese women of this social and economic class had by custom remained within the home.... women below the ranks of the middle class could scarcely afford the luxury of focusing only on the care of their husbands and children, and official rhetoric did not ask them to do so.”165

As we shall see in the next chapter, official rhetoric could not yet afford to ask them to do so.

V. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to show that entrepreneurship among Japanese women was an outgrowth of their roles within the traditional business system. Women were integral to the functioning of the family corporation as it existed in the Tokugawa

165 Nolte and Hastings, p. 158
Period, and as it existed in the Meiji Period. The modern business system which emerged in the Meiji Period possessed many of the characteristics of the premodern system, but was also structurally different, and larger in scale and scope. During the Meiji Period, women were active as entrepreneurs, although the ubiquity of their activity obscures their presence in the historical record. Such entrepreneurship was normal, even normative as part of a woman's duty to maximize the assets of the family corporation.

Between the 1870s and 1910s, gender norms in Japan were neither fixed, nor universal. The early Meiji State mobilized the economic power of Japanese women by taking advantage of the premodern gender norms of the lower social classes which valued women as productive labourers rather than as reproductive labourers. The slogan *fūkoku kyōhei* was incorporated into the public discourse in such a way that women's economic agency was seen as contributing to the nation's drive to attain economic, industrial, and military parity with Western colonial powers. Similarly, women's productive agency was mobilized for the Russo-Japanese War. Both the *fūkoku kyōhei* mobilization and the Russo-Japanese War mobilization minimized class differences between Japanese women, and therefore generated a kind of female nationalism which exhorted all women to work hard for their families, and in doing so, to work hard for the nation.
Both mobilizations were of critical importance to the history of gender in Japan because they created something which had never before existed: “woman” as an undifferentiated social category.

Significantly, although women’s economic agency within the public and private realms was expected as a duty to the nation, political activity was specifically forbidden to them. Thus one aspect of the evolving (passive voice) and constructed (active voice) gender norm between the 1870s and 1890s was that women were to be a-political public servants capable of hard work in both the domestic sphere and the public arena. To facilitate such a construction, the domestic sphere was defined as part of the public sphere; wives were essentially civil servants.

One can only imagine the discomfort of elite men. This “Cult of Productivity,” as it were, and the creation of a unifying female nationalism was a two-edged sword. On the one hand it succeeded in harnessing women’s economic energy in service to the State. The Japanese economy produced enough taxable surplus to finance the drive toward modernization while minimizing the state’s dependence on disadvantageous foreign loans. On the other hand, the long-term consequence of the evolving gender norm was the inherent challenge it presented to the traditional gender norms of the samurai class.
Thus, Good Wives/Wise Mothers, which meant one thing in the context of mass mobilization campaigns aimed at women, meant something else altogether to the elite men who shaped the Meiji Civil Code and who structured the content of women's education in 1899. In a sense, the Meiji Civil Code was "too late:" the daughters of the new middle class had already been infected with a sense of their own importance to the nation, whether as mothers, as labourers, or as the educated elite. Conservative commentators who engaged in Good Wives/Wise Mothers/New Woman/Woman Problem discourse found no dearth of educated female activists who could eloquently rebut the "feudal" notion of woman as a domestic creature properly under the authority of a father or husband. Nor is it merely serendipitous that the standardization of the premodern samurai gender norm occurred as women's agricultural and factory labour was beginning to be overshadowed by the increasing importance of the heavy industrial sector.

As long as the Japanese state relied upon women's economic power, the government could not afford to universalize a gender norm forbidding women access to the public realm. Nor could it afford the female labour force to become politicized and recalcitrant; thus laws forbade women's participation in labour unions. Once heavy industry had become a source of economic growth rather than a drain on the
national economy, the State's relationship with women would change, as would the shape of the evolving gender norm. As we shall see in the following chapter, the construction of the modern Japanese woman as a purely domestic creature will have a profound effect on entrepreneurship among Japanese women in the twentieth century.
CHAPTER 2
DOMESTICATING THE MIDDLE CLASS:
WOMEN AND WORK, 1920 - 1945

"Sit down, servant!"
"I can't sit down!
My soul's so happy that I can't sit down!"
—Traditional Spiritual

I. Introduction

The Taisho Period is often depicted by scholars as a decade of triumph because the political struggle for liberal democratic government had finally been won after some thirty years of struggle. Historical narratives detailing the triumph of industrial capitalism and liberal democracy during this period often fail to emphasize the degree of economic and social dislocation that was so much a part of the common Japanese experience. For example, Japanese living standards had improved significantly over the course of the Meiji Period. In the aggregate, Japanese people consumed more calories per
day than at any other time in their recorded history. However, aggregate data hide huge inequalities in the distribution of wealth, and an extreme range in actual living standards.

Furthermore, the Taisho period experienced one economic disaster after another. Post World War One inflation drove commodity prices beyond the reach of the average citizen for a time. Volatility in market prices caused brokers to hoard commodities, especially rice, which eventually drove hundreds of thousands of enraged Japanese women into the streets in the Rice Riots of 1918. The post-war recession was followed by the Great Kanto of 1923, which devastated not only Japan's industrial heartland, but killed an estimated 106,000 people, inflicted lasting psychic harm, and further strained the economy. The earthquake was followed by the Financial Panic of 1927, which was followed in 1929 by the onset of the Great Depression.


168 According to Hane, 106,000 persons were killed or disappeared, 502,000 persons were injured, 694,000 homes were destroyed, and the financial damages reached 10 billion yen. Hane, p. 231.
The social context in which the brief spark of Taisho Democracy existed is eloquently described by Hane, as having included,

"...a growing number of children begging in the streets, infanticides, suicides of entire families, deaths by the roadside, prostitution, and robberies. The crime rate doubled from 1926 (720,000 cases) to 1933 (1,555,000 cases). Despite ... deteriorating conditions and tremendous hardships, taxes in the rural areas remained high.... Rural indebtedness continued to rise.... In one village, 110, or 23 percent, of the 467 girls between the ages of 15 and 24 were sold to the cities, primarily as prostitutes, some as factory workers." 169

Such economic dislocation was, in part, the result of major transformations in Japan's industrial structure and make up. The Japanese economy of the Meiji era had been dominated by light industries (textiles). In the final years, the Japanese economy was beginning to experience an increasing degree of industrial diversification. It is generally accepted that by the end of the First World War, light industry had come to take second place to heavy industry as the major engine of Japanese economic growth. I would like to suggest, however, that Japan’s Second Industrial Revolution was a slower process beginning as early as the First Sino-Japanese War (1894 - 1895), gaining speed during the Russo-Japanese War (1904 - 1905), and reached a zenith during the Great War which, like the

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169 Ibid., p. 241.
earlier wars, represented an avenue for strong growth among zaibatsu in the heavy industrial sector.

Regardless of when it began, by the end of the First World War, Japan's economy was fully diversified. The State's expansionistic political agenda in Asia provided the raw materials necessary for a cost-efficient heavy industrial sector, and created a military machine and a colonial empire with insatiable appetites for its products and services: steel, munitions, oil, refineries, chemicals, and ship-building. As a result, "the proportion of total males ... in non-extractive employment increased steadily: 51.8 percent in 1920, 57% in 1930, and 64.3% in 1940."\textsuperscript{170} Significantly, female factory labor, so dominant in the textile industries, slowly lost its place as the mainstay of Japanese economic growth concurrent with the maturation of Japanese industrial capitalism. Lebra also relates the decline of women entrepreneurs in the Osaka merchant community of the Meiji period to "...the physical and financial separation of house and enterprise.... [T]hus the wife of the company head moved to the outskirts and lost her hold on the family business which began to assume the character of a modern enterprise."\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{170} Wilkinson, p. 48.

\textsuperscript{171} Lebra, "Women in an All-Male Industry," p. 137.
II. Middle Class Working Women

In the 1920s, Japanese social scientists first took note of, and began to question the possible social ramifications of increasing numbers of middle class Japanese women seeking employment outside of the home. On the one hand, middle class women were seeking employment in the public arena in response to the aforementioned series of economic crises. On the other hand, I would like to propose that in part, the daughters and grand daughters of the social and economic elite had been influenced by the gender norms popularized by the State's mobilization of lower class women over the previous fifty years. Maloney suggests that,

"Two major developments during the 1920s affected women's attitude toward their employment, making them more favorably disposed to work. First, with the workplace


173 Nagy argues that middle class women were seeking employment outside of the home as the natural result of a rising feminist awareness. She says, "As in other industrialized countries, the awakening of women and the movement for their emancipation had also begun to influence Japan." Although I see the logic of her argument, it seems to me that middle class women in other circumstances demanded the right to vote without demanding economic self-sufficiency. Not all Suffragists in Western contexts conceived of liberation in terms of possessing "a room of one's own" to quote Virginia Wolf. Nagy supports her assertion by summarizing the results of a "Tôkyô 1922 survey, [which found that] female employment was the expression of the woman's irrepressible aspiration for independence and self-reliance (dokusatsu jiritsu)." Nagy in Bernstein, pp. 206 - 207. Exactly what these terms meant to respondents, or how the survey was conducted are not clear. I have not been able to locate this particular survey.

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working conditions gradually improved, particularly with the
upgrading of dormitory, food, and recreational services
following major strikes, and, after 1929, the enforcement of
the prohibition against child labor and the elimination of
late-night work for women. Second, outside the workplace,
higher levels of education and the desire for learning
instilled in female workers a great sense of self-
confidence” 174

Regardless of the cause, middle class women found new
employment opportunities as office workers, telephone and elevator
operators, nurses, and as public servants. 175 Because educated
middle class women could be paid as much as a third less than their
male counterparts, they began to displace men in fields such as
education and journalism as employees of choice.176

The middle class working woman, or the shokugyō fujin, was a
major subject of social scientific study in the 1920s, and became a part
of the churning debate over “the Woman Problem” (josei mondai).
"[Social scientists] questioned whether a working woman would have a

174 Maloney in Bernstein, p. 237

175 Nobuhiko Murakami, ed. Taishoki no shokugyō fujin, (Tokyo: Domessu
Shuppan, 1983), p. 244.

176 Nagy in Bernstein, "Middle Class Working Women During the Taisho Years,"
p. 209.
lessened opportunity (or desire) to marry.\textsuperscript{177} They wondered, for that matter, whether her feminine virtue would still be intact when and if she did marry.\textsuperscript{178} The totality of the discourse,

"... reflected anxieties about the impact of Japan’s increased modernization and industrialization on the family. The Meiji leaders who had mobilized national resources in the single-minded pursuit of attaining equality with the industrialized West had assured the nation that Japan’s unique family institution (ie) would enable Japan to avoid the social turmoil that had accompanied industrialization elsewhere. Though comforting, the prediction proved to have little basis in reality. The Rice Riots of 1918, in which an estimated seven hundred thousand people publicly protested, were followed in the 1920s by a series of organized protests against the status quo. Labor strikes, tenant-landlord disputes, and public lectures held to win sympathy for causes like women’s suffrage and equitable treatment for the outcaste sector of society...demonstrated that the traditional values of harmony and self-sacrifice could not buffer Japan from the social strains provoked by industrialization.\textsuperscript{179}

In fact, "the traditional values of harmony and self-sacrifice" were not traditional at all, but were a construct imposed by the political apparatus designed to "designate power to both the emperor..."

\textsuperscript{177} While the statistics for legal (registered) divorces do show a downward trend during the Taisho years, contemporaries observed family problems in Japan similar to what could be found in the industrialized West, where divorce appeared to be on the rise owing to financial difficulties faced by couples and also townsmen’s growing initiative in terminating unhappy marriages." Margit Nagy, "Middle Class Working Women During the Taisho Years," in Bernstein, ed. etc. pp. 199ff.


and the household head beyond the scope of the law -- the authority to
require unilateral submission in accord with Confucian ethics. They
disseminated this new family morality thoroughly under the appellation
of 'the beautiful and pure customs' of ancient Japan.'

Significantly, the expression shokugyô fujin (working woman),
though never clearly defined, can only have applied to middle class
women. For example, the labour of shokugyô fujin is universally
described as "intellectual" (chiteki rôdô). Agricultural labour, factory
work, domestic service, dekasegi, piece-work, and "side-line"
employments, in short, labour associated with and expected of lower-
class women, remained conspicuously absent from the discourse.

III. Lower Class Working Women

The image of rising divorce rates, an increase in family dispute
litigation, the high rate of illegitimate births, especially among the

180 Aoki, p. 23.
181 Nolte and Hastings concur. Nolte and Hastings, p. 158.

183 For examples of social science surveys concerning shokugyô fujin, see: Hiroshima-shi, "Shakaika: Shokugyô fujin seikatsu jotai" (Hiroshima, 1927), which can be found in Kasahara Kazuo, ed., Mezame yuki josei no alkan (Hyoronaha, 1978) pp. 204-5. Also see Natsu Kawasaki, Shokugyô fujin o kokoroásu hito no tame ni, (Tôkyô: Nihon Tosho Senta, 1932), a manual written specifically for prospective shokugyô fujin, detailing the types of work, the range of financial remuneration possible, the types of training necessary, and the other requirements for various types of chiteki-rôdô.
urban poor, lent credence to social scientific concern that the
Japanese family was under siege.\footnote{\textit{Hozumi, Konin seido kowa}, (Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyûkai, 1925), pp. 50 - 52.} The movement of middle-class
women away from the domestic sphere and into the economic realm
was not seen as the cause of social decay. However, for proper middle
class women to abandon their "traditional" and in any case normative
domicity for economic agency within the public realm undermined
their effectiveness as social role models to lower-class women.\footnote{Nagy in Bernstein, pp. 200.}

Just who was the lower class, and what was it that lower class
women were doing that middle class women's example was meant to
ameliorate? The term \textit{shômin} was used in the Post-Restoration period
in juxtaposition to any number of different social, political, economic,
and educational designations (Figure 2.1).\footnote{Richard Torrance, \textit{The Fiction of Tokuda Shôsei and the Emergence of Japan's New Middle Class}, (Seattle: University of Washington, 1994), p. 52.} \textit{Shômin}, which encapsulated the concept of the "lower class," was used both in the
Meiji and Taisho Periods to denote "commoners."
<table>
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<tr>
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<td>Shizoku</td>
<td>Upper Class</td>
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<tr>
<td>High Rank Samurai</td>
<td>Kazoku</td>
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<td>Middle Class</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid. Rank Samurai</td>
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<td>Kazoku</td>
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<td>Low Rank Samurai</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Heimin</td>
<td>Heimin</td>
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<td>Merchant</td>
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<td>Heimin</td>
<td>Heimin</td>
<td>Shōmin</td>
<td>Lower Class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Figure 2.1: Schematic Representation of Evolving Social Classes, from the Tokugawa Period to Approximately the Early Shôwa Period
"Especially during the Meiji period, the word shōmin took on cultural connotations that other terms for the masses do not have. It suggests popular art forms such as Ozaki Koyo's novels, magic lantern shows, the yose and other forms of popular theater, popular eating places, shitamachi (artisan and merchant) neighborhoods, and hundreds of similar associations that stand in contrast to Japanese high culture and especially Western high culture, which, in the Meiji period, was appreciated only by the wealthy and the intelligentsia."\textsuperscript{187}

The economic lives of shōmin women in the inter-war period are poorly preserved in the historical record. For example, the local newspapers I examined in Fukuoka Prefecture almost entirely cease to describe women in occupational terms by the 1920s. Even in articles covering criminal activities by women, with the exception of prostitution, women are almost entirely referenced in terms of their marital or familial connection to men.\textsuperscript{188}

However, what I do know is that most women of shōmin background were engaged in a variety of activities, some of which were entrepreneurial. Kawabata Yukie, a woman born in Kagawa Prefecture on April 2, 1915 wrote a memoir of her labour history called, "Watakushi no naishoku-shi" (my piece-work history).

\textsuperscript{187} Torrance, p. 53

\textsuperscript{188} I examined the following local papers: Chikuji Shinbun, Mesamashi Shinbun, Chikuji Shimpó, Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun, and the Moji Shimpó. Articles concerning women are indexed in Shinbun ni miru Fukuoka-ken Josei no ayumi, edited by Fukuoka-ken Joseishi henshu kai (Fukuoka: Fukuoka-ken Kikaku-bu Ken min Saikatsukyoku josei seisakka, 1996)
1923 – 1927: Between the ages of 8 and 12 I wrapped caramel candies (in paper) one at a time. 120 candies per box brought me one sen. In one day I could wrap enough candies for 10 boxes. With help from my friends, I would stay up until nine o’clock at night, wrapping candies. I was so happy and pleased by the look on my mother’s face when I had finally saved up enough money to buy new glass shoji to replace the missing ones in the genkan.

1929 – 1934: Between the ages of 14 and 17 I became a maid servant in the home of the town doctor. The salary was 60 yen for a half year. What with raises, I made 85 yen every six months. I worked there until the week before I got married.

1936 – 1939: Between the ages of 19 and 22. I was married to a tin artisan from the next town. I earned money sewing Japanese clothes. I charged 40 sen for a lined kimono, 14 sen for quilted bed clothes, 15 sen for an obi. I received orders for kimono from the prostitutes and waitresses in the newly opened red-light district around our little house.

Furthermore, informants whom I interviewed in 1996 revealed oral histories of their families in which their mothers or grandmothers recalled with nostalgia the *ku-no-ichi*, or women’s markets, in which all manners of goods crafted by individuals within the home were both bartered and sold among commoner women. *Ku-no-ichi* as an expression, contains several plays on words: the *ku*, and the *no* are phonetic symbols. *Ichi* is the Chinese character for the numeral one.

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189 1 sen = 1/100 of one yen.

When each symbol is written and superimposed one on top of the other, it forms the Chinese character onna, or "woman." "Ichi" however, is also the pronunciation of the Chinese character for "market." Thus the meaning of the term becomes, "Women’s Market."

On the other hand, ku is one reading of the Chinese character “to eat.” Thus, a second play on words might translate roughly as something like "Hot Eats Market." ¹¹¹

From what I have been able to gather, rural ku-no-ichi appear to have been slightly different from their urban counterparts. Rather than being permanent stalls attached to the home, they appeared at regular and predictable intervals, weekly, bi-weekly, or on a monthly basis. Such markets typically served the needs of local people from clusters of villages within a particular geographical area. Informants indicated that the ku-no-ichi were much looked forward to for socializing, for gossip and news. ¹¹²

¹¹¹ The double meaning of ku-no-ichi was explained to me by Mrs. Mizobuchi when describing her mother’s activities there. She was not sure whether or not the second play on words was real, but suggested that it might have implied a market where one could buy ready-to-eat foods. Mizobuchi, Kyo [pseudonym], "Hakata Okonomiyaki," Personal Interview, 19 February, 1996, Fukuoka Japan.

¹¹² Irie Baba [pseudonym], "Sentaku Tsūshin Sabisu," Personal Interview, 5 December, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
The *ku-no-ichi* were also timed to coincide with local festivals (*matsuri*) in order to take advantage of visitors arriving from distant towns or cities. Ella Wiswell encountered such businesses around shrines and temples while travelling with her informants on pilgrimage.

"A couple at the shrine kept hot water and served us tea. They also sold canned fish and snails at high prices, and the woman was making manju [cakes stuffed with sweet bean paste]. One kind, made with wheat and baking soda, was like that served at the houses of Suye yesterday, and was ready to eat. The other was made of rice-flour, which she cooked on the spot and sold very rapidly."\(^{193}\)

"On our way again, we emerged finally into Menda, where they shopped for various things for the family and stopped again at an eating place run by a very fat woman where they specialized in inarizushi [vinegared rice wrapped in fried bean curd]."\(^{194}\)

The urban *ku-no-ichi* seem to have been permanent markets. Individual shops were built from the homes of the urban working poor facing the marketplace. Like their rural counterparts, they tended to serve the needs of neighborhood people within the ward. For example, Mrs. Mizobuchi Kiyo, born in Fukuoka in 1914, remembered that her mother and several friends pooled their resources to make home-made cloth buttons for sale in the local market. Mrs. Mizobuchi recalled that

\(^{193}\) Wiswell, p. 51.

\(^{194}\) Ibid., p. 51.
boys, in particular, were a financial torment to their parents because they frequently damaged or lost the buttons on their school uniforms. Poor families could not easily afford to replace them with proper buttons, and so were glad to get cheap hand-sewn ones instead. She claimed one could tell rich school children from poor school children based on whether they used manufactured or hand sewn buttons on their school uniforms.\textsuperscript{195}

Two of the women in the button-making enterprise had homes with shops that opened onto the market. They both sold the group's buttons from their shops. Some of the women had homes without direct access to the market. Another had a sick baby and could not get around very much; she did not sell buttons, but spent most of her time making them. Women without shops, like Mrs. Mizobuchi's mother, sold buttons door to door around the neighborhood. Children were a common source of information on just which mothers might be in need of buttons on any given day. She recalled with a mixture of nostalgia and embarrassment how she and other children scavenged cloth scraps and odd bits from the trash to support the button business. Her mother sometimes kept small sweets on hand to reward the best scavengers. Her mother also salvaged fabric scraps from the hems and

\textsuperscript{195} Mizobuchi, Kiyo [pseudonym], "Hakata Okonomiyaki," Personal Interview, 19 February, 1996, Fukuoka Japan.
selvedges of old kimono to supplement the group's resources. At the end of each week, the partners would get together, pool their profits, "buy a little congratulations shochu," decide how much of their capital needed to be reinvested in the cost for materials, and then divided up whatever remained.\footnote{Mizobuchi, Kiyo [pseudonym], "Hakata Okonomiyaki," Personal Interview, 19 February, 1996, Fukuoka Japan.}

This business, which was in operation sometime during the 1920s, is remarkably similar to one mentioned by Ella Wiswell in her account of a business operated by a group of women in the village that she studied:

"Yesterday, Ochiai Teru had to attend a memorial service in Oade. She, Tawaji Harumi and Matsumoto Shima are said to be very good friends, and they make camellia oil together. Today they met for that purpose. .... They make the hair oil for sale, keeping some of it for themselves....They make it in groups of three to five people who form a kind of cooperative work-group (kumi). The group that met today actually includes women from two hamlets and has been together for five years now. They said there was no particular reason for joining -- they just make the arrangements, and they are all old friends. Each brings her own camellia seeds and receives a corresponding amount of oil. The labor is communal, but the work is usually done at the house of the member who has the necessary equipment. At the end of the work, the women have a party for themselves, each contributing two go [one go = .384 pints; .18 litre] of rice to make sushi....and five sen for shochu. They say that in the summer the cemetery..."
is very cool and they go up there to have a good time, eat, drink, and dance."\textsuperscript{197}

Other female entrepreneurs visible in the inter-war period included women peddlers. They appear in the historical record when large scale commodity wholesalers refused to include women peddlers within their distribution networks.\textsuperscript{198} This had a devastating impact on the traditional fishing industry, because the wives of fisherman were central to the distribution of commodities between the coastal areas and mountain regions.\textsuperscript{199} These women carried salted fish products from their family fishing vessels into the interior, and carried out porcelain, tea, textiles, and other commodities difficult to obtain in the fishing communities. Photographic evidence of these women shows them carrying enormous woven baskets upon their backs, upon their heads, of from yokes worn on their shoulders. In the medieval period, such women moved goods through systems of barter, and in so doing,

\textsuperscript{197} Wiswell, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{198} Kiyoko Segawa, \textit{Hisagime: josei to shogyô}, (Tôkyo: Mikuni Shobo, 1945), p. 119.

\textsuperscript{199} According to interviews conducted in several fishing communities in 1942, independent fishermen claimed that they were driven out of business by the national mobilization of the fishing industry, and the national mobilization of the wholesale industry. Fishing families who had been central to commodity distribution since the Tokugawa Period, were marginalized to the point of such economic hardship that they emigrated elsewhere. Segawa, p. 121.
brought rural commodities to their ocean-bound families which lived almost the entire year on fishing vessels.\textsuperscript{200}

We also know that in February of 1929, 920 female business owners cast ballots as fully recognized members of the Tôkyo Chamber of Commerce. The qualification was based on the size of the business' assessed tax burden.\textsuperscript{201} This tells us less about the class status of the women members than it does about the financial viability of the businesses that they owned and operated. If only 920 were granted the right to vote based on taxable income, how many business owners making use of the Chamber of Commerce were not allowed to cast votes?

Among the voters were 398 owner-operators of businesses in the city's various red-light districts, 282 commodity retailers, 134 restaurateurs, 45 operators of inns and lodges, 20 money lenders, 14 manufacturers, 8 contractors, 5 printers, 4 wholesalers, 4 owner/operators in the transportation industry, 3 employment brokers, 1 photographer, and 1 owner/operator in the mining industry. Such women could have been either middle class or working class. They most likely belonged to both classes. Wealth held by the working

\textsuperscript{200} Ibid., p. 7.

class, as well as the loss of wealth experienced by people of the middle class tended to blur class distinctions which had originally been based on social status rather than economic indicators.

IV. Colonising the Self: the Role of Women, Class, and Morality in Situating the Modern Identity

Somehow, the lives of such hard-working women came to be associated with moral turpitude. There was a popular middle class perception in the 1930s that the grinding poverty clearly visible among the rural and urban poor was the result of overpopulation. Of course, a belief in the overpopulation of the Japanese homelands provided impetus as well as justification for colonial expansion on the mainland. 202

A critical aspect of Japan's population demographics in the 1930s and 1940s is the general trend towards urbanization. Population demographers note that:

"Migration removed substantial proportions of the natural increase from the peripheral agricultural prefectures....In the modal agricultural prefectures, net out-migration was equal to little more than one-third of the natural increase during the 1920s and only two-fifths in the years from 1930 to 1935. In the years that followed the outbreak of the China War, out-migration was probably greater than natural increase....It seems evident that migration even of

the magnitude occurring in Japan in the decades from 1920 to 1940 was not a solution to the problems of an increasing agricultural population.”

However, the movement of individual migrants did not affect the absolute number of households in rural areas. The total number of Japanese agricultural households was 5.6 million in 1872, and continued to fluctuate only mildly between 5.4 and 5.7 million until 1946. The rural to urban migration was not a one-way movement. Rather, it was dynamic. Urban migrants maintained connections with their rural birth-places, and moved back and forth between urban centers and rural areas as need arose. For example, it was not uncommon for men working in urban areas to return to their rural places of birth to marry.

"A study of migration to Tôkyô during the 1930 - 39 period, for example, showed that 43 percent of the population migrating into the city stayed less than five years. This same study revealed that the 900,000 gain in Tôkyô’s population for the five-year period 1930 – 35 involved the

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204 Wilkinson, p. 57.
205 For an illustrative example, see Alice Mabel Bacon’s account of her household employees who frequently returned to their home-villages for a variety of purposes. Bacon, pp. 299–326.
206 Wilkinson, p. 59.
movement of some 4,000,000 persons into and out of the city."  

The significance of circular rural-urban migratory patterns is that rural social and cultural norms were as mobile as the people who carried them. The circulatory nature of demographic movement provides a clue about the dispersal of urban gender norms into the remote countryside, as well as the continued practice of rural gender norms among immigrants to the urban areas. It is plausible that men and women migrating to urban areas, people who became part of the working class shōmin population, brought with them gender norms that were significantly different from those held by the urban middle class.

Certainly, Smith and Wiswell's work in rural Japan reveals a vastly different perspective on women, their value and their standing in the community. Smith and Wiswell comment frequently on the preponderance of pre-marital sex, the high rate of illegitimate births, and the frank and open sexual conversation among their women informants. In one telling conversation, an informant explained that in "the old days,"

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"[i]t was then not so desirable that a girl be a virgin at marriage, and all girls lost their virginity about the age of eighteen. 'That is the best age' she confided, 'for the later one loses it, the worse it is.' Defloration usually happened during some secret meeting, when the young couple wandered off from a gathering or went out strolling at night. 'But nowadays girls are different,' she says, 'and are told that they must keep their virginity until marriage.'

"The lack of importance attached to virginity in the bride in the old days had other ramifications as well. 'There used to be a lot of secret babies, because the girls were ignorant, but today there are few. In the same way, there were many divorces and remarriages in the old days, but now things have changed. Formerly the marriage ceremony was extremely simple and did not mean much in itself, so if a girl disliked something or other in her new home, she could go back to her family and start again. Virginity in a bride did not seem important. That is why you find so many old women who have been married so many times." 208

Another example of a rural sexual custom that the urban middle class, concerned as it was with patrilineal inheritance and descent, must have found repugnant, was yobai, or sexual assignations between young singles who chose their marriage partners based on personal attraction and sexual compatibility rather than through arranged marriage. 209 In fact,

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208 Smith and Wiswell, p. 130.

209 Murakami Nobuhiko, *Meiji josei-ahi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977), p. 244. Wiswell's informants also mention *yobai*, but did not indicate that it was their own custom. Rather, they accused itinerant male labourers from other parts of Japan of sometimes sneaking into houses at night in order to seduce. *Yobai* seemed both threatening and thrilling in this particular context.
"in the intensely communal rural villages of Japan ... the vertical relationship of power between blood parents and their children was not particularly close.... As adults, almost none married a spouse chosen by their parents.... it was the norm for couples to form within cohorts, and in such cases the support of the young people of one's own generation was more significant than parental approval."°°

Thus, the local customs brought to urban areas and practiced by immigrants did not conform to the Confucian standard that had been formally established by the elite leaders in the Civil Code, and taught through the centralized education system. The middle class urban sophisticated found the lower classes to be backwards, ignorant, sexually promiscuous, and guilty of moral degeneracy.°°° Murakami even goes so far as to suggest that the frequency of sexual assault on shokugyô fujin riding public transportation, a common complaint among middle class women, was indicative of a middle class belief that only women without virtue (read: lower class women) would so flagrantly flaunt themselves in public.°°°

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°°° Aoki, p. 21.

°°° This association is strongly evident in the writings of Smith and Wiswell who themselves were shocked by their rural informants' sexual frankness and lack of apparent modesty. They comment frequently on how urbanites working in the villages as teachers, or as the the wives of teachers are by turns embarrassed by and repulsed by the sexual mores and behaviour of the commoners within the villages. See Smith and Wiswell, pp. 61 - 148.

°°° Murakami, Taishoki no shokugyô fujin, p. 144.
Significantly, a full 43 percent of the female entrepreneurs voting in the Tōkyō Chamber of Commerce were bordello owners. Another 14 percent were owners of restaurants and tea-houses, both of which were strongly associated with the illegal sex trade. Women were also common procurement agents in the trafficking of women.

Tokuda Shūsei, a literary figure famous in this period for the realism of his portrayal of urban commoners, based many of his characters on people that he personally knew, many of them in the "demi-monde" of the illicit sex industry. In fact, in 1930, three years after the death of his wife,

"Shūsei met the geisha Kobayashi Masako, and was attracted to her. She moved in with Shūsei in 1932. ...By the summer of 1933, after he had gotten his household back on some kind of firm economic footing, he invested in what would become the Tomita geisha house in the nearby Hakusan pleasure quarter, a business which Kobayashi Masako wanted to run. Shūsei became a semi-permanent resident of this house and helped Masako manage her trade, which of course, was based in part on illegal prostitution. Shūsei most certainly knew but did not care

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213 Ichikawa, ed., p. 48 and p. 311.

214 See Dalby, 1983. See also George Hicks, The Comfort Women: Japan’s Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1994). Slavery was legally abolished in Japan in 1872 as a result of the Maria Luz Affair. A Peruvian ship carrying slaves as cargo stopped in Japan for repairs, where the slaves escaped and asked for asylum. The Peruvians claimed that Japan also possessed the institution of slavery, and cited the Licensed Pleasure Quarters as an example. The abolition of slavery in Japan was based upon a constructed belief in the "willingness" of Japanese women to become prostitutes in order to help their families. It was claimed that Japanese women in the Pleasure Quarters were not being held against their wills. See Hane, p. 92.
that connoisseurs of the demimonde...looked upon a geisha of Masako's status and working-class background as a third-rate whore; nor did he feel it was demeaning to actually work in the demi-monde, become a part of it, and describe it from the inside."

The association between women's economic labor in the public sphere and the moral turpitude of the shōmin class was the result of variations within Japanese cultures, customs, and norms made visible within the swelling urban centers. The association of women's labour outside of the domestic sphere with moral failure brings into sharp focus two issues critical to the evolution of Japanese modern identity.

First, morality became situated solely within the norms and behaviours of the social middle class. Second, Japan itself, was one among many of the West's dark-skinned Others, objects against which Western modernity was and continues to be predicated. In order to become "modern" in the Western sense, Japan had to construct a dark-skinned Other against which it, too, could predicate its modernity.

After all, modernity is not as state of Being; it is a state of not-Being. Modernity required the isolation and excision of dark savagery from within Japan's national Self. The shōmin class became, in essence, the focus of the middle class's very own White Man's Burden.

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V. Conclusion: the Beginnings of the Dismembering

Not all elites found the solution to the burgeoning population among the urban and rural poor in *lebensraum*. Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto championed the birth control movement of Margaret Sanger as a solution to rampant poverty among the rural and urban lower classes. In her memoir, *Facing Two Ways*, she wrote,

"Westerners often say that Japan is a paradise for children. I wish this were true, but my impression of the children in mining camps is so vivid that I can never forget the horror of the dirty little creatures who haunted the garbage box at my door. My heart ached when I saw babies coughing badly and left without medical attention till they died. I shuddered to see youngsters screaming and running away from home pursued by peevish mothers with big pieces of firewood in their hands. Why must women work outside the home like men? Why must the mother breed and nurse while she works for wages? As I watched the lives of these laborers and their women and children, these questions rose in my mind, but I myself did not realize then that they were the seeds that were to grow and revolutionize my own life."

Not surprisingly, the birth control movement was strongly opposed by the military, by industrialists, and by the State, all of which deemed a growing population necessary to support industrial and

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geopolitical expansion. "After the Manchurian Incident [1931], population increase was more and more glorified, so knowledge and techniques of birth control could not be spread to the public at large."  

The terrible irony is that the very emblems of shōmin ignorance, savagery, and moral decay, their hyper-sexuality and hyper-fecundity, were officially sanctioned by State policy. Although birth control and abortion had been suppressed in a general way throughout the Meiji Period, both were made illegal in 1940 as part of a formal national policy aimed at increasing the total population. "Various measures to promote marriage and large families were taken. Examples are a system of marriage loans, restraint of gainful employment among women over age twenty, a tax on single persons, family allowances, and prohibition of birth control and abortion."

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219 Parts of the January 22, 1941 Jinkō Seisaku Kakuritsu Yōko (Establishing an Outline for Population Policy) can be found in Kōseishō Gojūnen-shi Henshū linkai, eds., Kōseishō gojūnenshi, (Tōkyō: Seisaku Hanbai Chūō Hōki Shuppan, 1988), pp. 183 – 186. Also see Taeuber, pp. 367 – 368.

220 Obuchi, p. 346.
By all accounts, the State's national pronatal policy was largely successful:

"The effects of the wartime population policy were considerable. Marriage rates jumped to 11 per thousand, and crude birth rates, down to 26.6 (per thousand) in 1939, rose to over 30 (per thousand) for the three years 1941–43. As fertility itself originally had not fallen very much, it is natural that the birth rates rose with the marriage rate increase."\textsuperscript{221}

Ella Wiswell, in her discussion of birth control in 1930s Suye Mura, could not clearly ascertain to what extent that information about actual techniques of birth control had reached women in the remote country-side. Her informants, however, clearly perceived the government's pronatal stance:

"Later in the gathering, I was asked many questions about America... 'Do you have just a set number of children?' I said we do. 'Is it government policy?' I explained how [contraception] works. 'And your government does not fine you?' I said it does not. 'Here,' they said, 'the government punishes you for doing such things, so you must have five, ten, twelve -- any number of children. That is why people must emigrate to America. There are too many children here,' they said."\textsuperscript{222}

\textsuperscript{221} Ibid., p. 346.

\textsuperscript{222} There was gossip and rumors that particular couples used some form of birth control. Men in Suye sometimes reported using condoms to prevent venereal infection from prostitutes. They did not report using condoms to prevent pregnancy in their wives. Smith and Wiswell, p. 88.
The State's pronatal policy went so far as to prevent the total mobilization of the female labour force in spite of the multi-front war effort. When finally, in 1944 the State began to mobilize women for industrial production,

"...the conscription ordinance applied only to widows and unmarried women between the ages of twelve and forty and specifically excluded those women 'pivotal [konjūku] to a family' -- that is, women in their procreative years whose roles as housewives and mothers were indispensable for family cohesion."²²³

We see then, a series of chilling contradictions: Between 1870 and 1910, the State constructed a gender norm in which women were important participants in the creation of a "rich country and strong army" [fūkoku kyōhei]. Simultaneously, elites attempted to preserve the gender hegemony that they themselves enjoyed within their own class by legislating middle class female domesticity. Both the "Cult of Productivity" and the "Cult of Domesticity," albeit unintentionally, created "woman" as an undifferentiated category.

The State's vehicle of "civilization and enlightenment" was the mandatory and universal system of education which inculcated children of all classes with a single propagandized cultural history which

²²³ Yoshiko Miyake in "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women’s Factory Work Under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s," in Bernstein, ed. p. 265.
asserted the universality of a "traditional" Japaneseness. Traditional Japaneseness was gendered, hierarchical, unequal, and segregated. The standardization of this ideology represents far more than a mere class-biased cultural imperialism. It was the corner stone of the kokutai, the national polity; and at its head stood the Emperor, patriarch of the Imperial Family, the Empire, and the corporeal symbol of the State.

As noted, the Tokugawa bakufu's signing of the unequal treaties touched off a surge of internal migration, at first toward treaty ports, and later, to the older urban centers: Tōkyo, Yokohama, Ōsaka, Fukuoka, and Nagoya. Urban slums swelled. They were described in the literature of Tokuda Shûsei:

"...[as the] confused realm of urban immigrants, that protean middle stratum [from] fairly heterogeneous origins which was to become the new middle class in the postwar period. [Shûsei] chronicled the chaos and disorientation of modernity for large numbers of 'ordinary' people and gave narrative voice to segments of society that were normally voiceless."²²⁴

Once shōmin women were no longer the engine of industrial and economic growth, the State's use for them waned. At the same time, however, changing economic and industrial conditions encouraged middle class women to seek employment, especially after the Great

²²⁴ Torrance, p. 217.
War. The State attempted to ameliorate the economic stringency experienced by middle class families in order to preserve the status of women as entirely domestic persons. It attempted to "provide employment for the male household head through special sections for salaried workers at the public job exchanges; arrangements made by Tōkyo employment exchange officials, who personally visited area factories and companies on behalf of their middle-class clients; and the creation of government projects (like the on-site surveys) that employed displaced white collar workers."  

The state also sponsored the so-called "livelihood improvement movement" (seikatsu kaizen undō), in essence, an austerity campaign the purpose of which was to disseminate information on home-economy in order to obviate the need for middle class female employment in the public arena.  

The situating of backwardness, ignorance, and immorality within rural and urban shōmin culture seems to me to be a deliberate Othering of the Self in order to achieve a modernity assumed to exist fundamentally outside of the Self. It represents, in many ways, the psychological agony and self-hatred which ensues among colonized

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225 See Maeda, 1929. Also, see Taniguchi Masao and Ono Iwao, Shokugyō fujin to jissai (Tōkyo: Tōgensha, 1931). See Ogata Tsuneo, Shitsugyō mondai to kyūsai shisetsu, (Tōkyo: Ganahodo Shoten, 1926).

226 Nagy, p. 214.

227 Ibid., p. 214.
peoples who have internalized the paradigms on which Western imperial hegemony was and continues to be predicated.

Because Japan has the dubious distinction of being the first non-Western country to industrialize, the first to have achieved economic parity with the West, the first to have achieved global economic dominance, the first non-Western power to perpetrate Imperialism, to victimize Others in the mode of Western industrial capitalistic powers, its own victimization, and the victimization of its citizens and culture within the greater historiography of Western Imperialism, is generally not analyzed as a powerful development important to Japanese history and identity. Significantly for our purposes, Torrance explains that,

"After World War II, it became extremely unfashionable to be a mere commoner, and, in the new democratic Japan, young intellectuals urged urban residents to shed the shackles of feudalism and aspire to become true citoyens (shūmin, 'citizens' as opposed to shōmin, 'commoners.') For a time, the use of the word shōmin was so stigmatized among some Western-educated intellectuals that Ara Masahito could seriously declare in 1949 that he became nauseated with self-revulsion when he discovered in himself the same shōmin qualities he perceived in [Tokuda] Shusei's fiction. Such expressions of class self-hatred need not concern us further." 229

228 This phenomenon has important implications for Japan's wartime atrocities, and is especially relevant to the history of the comfort women, though it cannot be explored here.

229 Torrance, p. 53.
Such expressions of class self-hatred are precisely the concern of this study because they directly relate to the dismemberment of the memory of women's economic agency. By the 1950s, the false "tradition" of female domesticity had come to replace even the memory of Japanese female economic agency. The year 1929 might very well have been the apex of the public face of female entrepreneurship in Japan until the mid-1980s when once again, changing economic conditions forced the state to call upon the economic prowess of its female citizens.

In the meantime, entrepreneurship and women would remain a contradiction in terms.
I. Introduction

Since the inception of this project, it has been my instinct to avoid framing the Second World War as a watershed in twentieth century Japanese women's history. Rather than an abrogation of what is, after all, our shared human and humane responsibility to acknowledge the tremendous human suffering experienced by so many people during the war, it is my additional responsibility as an historian to recontextualize that suffering within the broader pattern of Japan's rapid rise to global power. Within that broader pattern, the Fifteen Year War, the Pacific War, the fire-bombings, and the nuclear holocausts at Nagasaki and Hiroshima are an horrific portion of
Japan's twentieth century experience, but emphatically they are not the defining features of that history.

My decision to emphasize continuities between the pre-modern and modern periods, and the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods is meant to forestall any association between the history of Japanese women as producers and decision-makers in the twentieth century, and their "liberation" from the feudalistic constraints of the "traditional" family system by a benevolent, and quasi-feminist American Occupation. Though I have never read such a preposterous argument in a scholarly text, I have encountered versions of it in informal conversations with professional academics, both American and Japanese, who associate entrepreneurship with peculiar and abstract concepts like "freedom," "individualism," and "self-interest." Such concepts are assumed to have been in relative short supply in Japan prior to the American Occupation, which was obviously responsible for somehow grafting them into Japanese culture by rewriting the Constitution.

Tongue-in-cheek aside, the structure of this work, and my research decisions intentionally minimize the Second World War as a central event in twentieth century Japanese women's history. That being said, it is still necessary for me to point out two areas where the
Second World War and the Occupation are of considerable significance to the lives of the women who will be introduced in this chapter.

First of all, the war unilaterally destroyed the physical trappings of class and social status in Japan. As implied in previous discussion, Japanese society remained acutely conscious of social hierarchies even though the formal feudal class structure was dismantled in the 1870s. In the immediate post-war period, all persons, save a tiny minority, were universally impoverished. Most contemporary Japanese, with a few exceptions, have come to identify themselves as "middle class." However, pre-World War II values and gender norms are still extant within an apparently homogenous population. These norms impact not only which Japanese women can become entrepreneurs, but also how that entrepreneurship is interpreted by a woman's birth and marital family. They also are crucial in determining, to a large extent, the social price to be paid for deviation from hegemonic norms which preclude women's economic production and decision-making agency outside of the home.\(^330\)


\(^{331}\) I frame the proscription on women's economic activities as being specifically about economic production and decision-making to differentiate it from economic activities outside of the home which are consumer-oriented.
The second point to be made is that the Occupation legally mandated an end to primogeniture, and instituted equal heir inheritance among siblings. This law gave women (as well as second, third, and other male siblings) access to capital that they most likely would not have had before such a law was enacted. For example, some entrepreneurs in my survey and interview samples indicated that they agreed to "sell" their inheritances to their eldest brothers in order to preserve a single, coherent piece of land. This represents a tacit agreement about primogeniture as a normal expectation within these families despite legislation of equal heir inheritance. In return, these women received cash payments which they then used as capital for business start up. In other cases, groups of siblings agreed to pass inherited property to a divorced sister or to an unmarried sister on

An example of a capital-less business start up is described in Tokuda Shûsei's Rough Living (1915). Torrance notes that "the process by which Onoda and Oshima establish their fourth shop...can be read as a textbook study on how to start a small business on almost nothing. Oshima has learned how to obtain the free use of sewing machines. The number of these once rare machines has increased markedly from about the turn of the century, and inducements must be offered in order to sell them. She acquires a machine for a trial period, complains that the machine is defective, and returns it just before payment is due, then receives another machine for yet another trial period (4:204). Onoda stocks the shop by making the rounds of wool wholesalers to collect samples and materials on consignment, thus eliminating the need to purchase the expensive imported cloth. The traditional close tie between gardeners and carpenters provides Oshima, through her father, with a connection to a carpenter who defers payment for his own labor remodeling the shop and who obtains lumber for the job on credit from a friendly dealer. Lacking even the cash to buy nails, Oshima opens a line of credit with a local hardware shop. She declares that she intends to buy so much merchandise that paying for each item individually would be too much bother. Oshima makes frequent trips to the pawnbroker to exchange her clothing for money, this time even the bedding she has had since her marriage to Tsuru." Torrance, 125 - 126.
whom the primary responsibility of caring for an infirm parent had fallen, thereby granting these women the long-term wherewithal to remain financially self-supporting. These two World War II and Occupation era developments are important to the structural analyses in Part Two of the dissertation. The Second World War delivered a terrible but equalizing blow to prewar society; none emerged unscathed.

The task of recovery was vast. The Cold War followed hard on its heels, and the post-war Japanese economy presented new opportunities, educational and industrial, to the Japanese population. It is in this postwar context that the prewar shōmin class and their children emerged as members of the new middle class.233

The middle class status marker of the early postwar period was not the automobile or home-ownership, although in the 1970s and 1980s, 'mai-homuisumu' [my home-ism] would also emerge as a status marker of significance.234 The first status marker in the postwar period, where material status markers had been erased by the universal destruction of the war, was the possession and maintenance of a full-time, economically non-productive, entirely domestic

233 Torrance, pp. 217.

housewife. Even those who could not join the ranks of the new middle
class immediately could imagine their children doing so within their
lifetimes. A full time housewife was a very modest aspiration, certainly
attainable within the context of the postwar economy.

II. Introducing the Data Sets: The Census

It is only in the postwar period that entrepreneurship among
women can be studied systematically. Census statistics in Japan
unevenly track the employment status of the population based on sex
beginning in 1920. However, the quality and structure of the published
data is problematic. Census publications between 1935 and 1945 are
difficult to interpret because of the irregularities caused by war. Many
data are simply missing, victim of the fire bombing campaigns. Other
data are available in the aggregate. The 1945 census was neither
conducted nor compiled until 1962.

In addition, it is important to note that the census data does not
speak to the topic of entrepreneurship as has been defined in this
dissertation per se. Business ownership can be studied by using the
"employment status" category. Employment status figures track the
number of individuals in the working population (15 years and older) as

235 This is the method used to enumerate business ownership in the United
States.
"employees," as "labourers in family business," as "directors," "employers," and as "self-employed [persons] without employees."

These categories are not consistent throughout the census.

Furthermore, certain census years include piece-work (naishoku) in the self-employed category while others do not. Some years place piece-work in a separate category altogether. Furthermore, the census in no way indicates whether the director, employer, or self-employed individual actually started the enterprise, or whether s/he inherited it, or advanced to the directorship through conjugal partnership, promotion or some other form of appointment. Therefore, when discussing the census data, it is important to specify that we are discussing business ownership in general, and not entrepreneurship in particular.

In general, the census tells us that women owner-operated businesses have had a tendency, over time, to remain clustered in similar industries. That is, there has been little change in the industries in which women have exercised decision-making agency. When changes do appear, however, these are important to the historical narrative of women's placement in the industrial economy.

As mentioned, the first published census in which sex was treated as a category in the tracking of employment statistics was the census for 1920. This should not be a surprise considering the general
consternation caused by the emergence of middle class working women. The industrial categories in which self-employed persons appeared were agriculture, aquaculture, mining, manufacturing, commerce, transportation, free traders, other industries, household service, and not-classified. In the 1920 census structure, it was recognized that self-employed persons regularly engaged in more than one economic activity. The census further delineates self-employment as the individual's "primary work, secondary work or household work." Unfortunately, the 1920 census is the only one in which self-employment is analyzed in this manner.

The 1920 census only shows aggregate data for the whole of Fukuoka Prefecture, with disaggregate data for the single city of Yahata. Yahata was a major center of coal and iron mining, and therefore was central to the iron production industry. Table A.1 (Appendix A) describes self-employment by sex, industrial category, and order of primacy in the city of Yahata, 1920. While more men were self-employed as a primary activity, women were self-employed as a secondary activity and as a home-based activity more than their male counterparts. In fact, more women were self-employed as a secondary economic activity than men were self-employed as a primary economic activity. When such data are added to that available for the number of women self-employed in home-based economic activity, we see that in
Fukuoka Prefecture, self-employment among Japanese women as secondary and tertiary economic behaviours was more common than it was among men as primary economic behaviours. Women engaged in business ownership more readily than men did, but not as their primary economic activity.

In Table A.3, we see that the 1930 survey departs from the structure of the 1920 census by distinguishing between individuals who are self-employed, and those who employ others. Furthermore, the census provides disaggregate data for two additional cities, Moji, and Fukuoka. The industrial categories, however, remain the same. In 1930, women business owners are best represented in agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, and trade. We also see that self-employment is more common among women than is employing others with the notable exception of the transportation industry.

Tables A.4 through A.6 provide a similar picture in the cities of Yahata, Moji and Fukuoka. Indeed, manufacturing, commerce, and trade, as loosely defined as these terms seem to be, will remain the major industrial categories in which women are engaged throughout the postwar period, with the notable addition of services and real estate.

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236 The 1925 census fails to track self-employment as a category of employment, and therefore could not be used in this analysis.
Tables A.7 - A.9 are compiled from an alternative source for the years 1948, 1949, and 1950. These are self-employment figures in the aggregate for all of Japan. This source is not appropriate for precise analysis because the data have been rounded to the nearest thousand, and therefore do not include hundreds of operators from the tabulation. However, this source will serve as an interesting reflection of changing industrial categories.

For example, "services" appear for the very first time as an industrial category in 1948. Utilities, transportation and communication appear as new categories, as do wholesale/retail/finance and real estate. Whether these changes represents developments in industrial structure, or the imposition of categories deemed meaningful to the Occupation officials is not clear. During this three year period, women in the aggregate, are best represented as business owners in agriculture, utilities/transportation/communication services, and government not elsewhere listed.

Women seem to be more poorly represented in the manufacturing industry than one might have otherwise expected. Table A.14 shows that self-employed women in the manufacturing industry reached an


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all-time twentieth century high in the national aggregate (530,200 proprietors) in 1945, a degree of participation that would not be topped until 1980, when it crested at 575,899 self-employed female proprietors in the manufacturing industry. However, in 1940, the national figures for women in the manufacturing industry was distinctly low, 113, 884 proprietors. This suggests that the phenomenal increase in female self-employment in the manufacturing industry between 1940 and 1945 was due the result of mass expatriation of the male population. The male population's subsequent repatriation from 1945, as well as the overall destruction of Japan's manufacturing infrastructure most likely explains why manufacturing does not reappear as an important category for female self-employment in 1948. Manufacturing would once more reemerge as a strong industrial category for female business-ownership as the postwar economic and industrial recovery took hold.

In the 1950 census, data specific to Fukuoka Prefecture is once again available, though structurally limited. The only employment status data available are for cities formally designated as *shi* with populations over 50,000, or cities formally designated as *sM* with populations of less than 50,000. Therefore, any proprietorships among women living in areas not designated as *shi* are excluded. Even in
areas with population 49,999, those not legally designated as shi are not included.

As can be seen in Tables A.10 and A.11, wholesale and retail trade have been separated from insurance, finance and real estate in the 1950 census. However, wholesale/retail now includes restaurants and pubs. Utilities have been removed from the category of transportation and communication, but are not listed elsewhere. Agriculture and forestry have been disaggregated. Generally speaking, business ownership among women in 1950 seems to cluster around agriculture, manufacturing, wholesale/retail/food/drink, and services. With the single addition of the service industry, the prewar industrial categories in which female business ownership was most common reemerged in the postwar period.

Table A.12, - calendar year 1950 - suggests the possibility of a correlation between urbanization and entrepreneurship among women. In Fukuoka's cities with populations of less than 50,000, 12 percent of self-employed persons without employees were women. However, in cities greater than 50,000, 22 percent of self-employed persons without employees were women. Of self employed persons with employees in cities of less than 50,000, 20 percent were women. In the larger cities, however, 33 percent were women. Conversely, the percentage of self employed men with or without employees is actually lower in highly
populated cities than in the smaller cities. One might tentatively conclude that at least in 1950, men in urban areas were more likely to become employees than to employ others or themselves; whereas women were more likely than men to employ others or themselves than they were to become employees. This seems to resonate with conclusions drawn from the 1920 census in which more women were business proprietors as secondary and tertiary behaviors than men were as primary economic behaviors. Such an hypothesis, of course would bear further statistical analysis and testing.

Women business owners continued to occupy strong positions in the manufacturing, wholesale/retail, and services industries both at the aggregate national level, and in Fukuoka Prefecture in particular through the 1990s. Let us turn now to the 1996 survey in order to take a closer look at female business-ownership by way of the survey data set.

III. Introducing the Data Sets: The Survey

I received 995 responses out of approximately 5400 questionnaires, a response rate of about 18 percent.\textsuperscript{238} Of the respondents, 773 of these informants, that is, around 78 percent

\textsuperscript{238} There are another 62 responses that have not yet been added to the 773 utilized in this analysis.
reported that they had started their own business, or that they had
started their businesses in conjunction with a conjugal partner. The
remaining 222 respondents reported that they had inherited their
businesses, or had achieved directorship through internal hiring.
Women inherited businesses as well as professional women managers
are worthy topics for further research, but do not concern us here.

Table A.16 — various years — clearly shows that the women in the
survey were best represented in the service, wholesale/retail, and
manufacturing sectors of the Fukuoka economy, in descending order of
representation. Moreover, a greater number of the women in these
categories started their businesses independently of a conjugal
partner. Overall, three-quarters of the women entrepreneurs surveyed
were involved in independent start-up compared with 25 percent who
were involved in conjugal partnerships. I tentatively conclude that 78
percent of the women business owners represented in the 1995 census
started their businesses themselves as compared to having inherited
them. I then tentatively can conclude that of that 78 percent, 75
percent started their businesses independently as opposed to in
conjunction with their spouse. I also can confidently conclude that
manufacturing, commerce, and service industries are the best
represented by female entrepreneurs.
IV. Introducing the Data Sets: The Interviews

Exactly why female business owners have been and continue to be so well represented in manufacturing, commerce and service industries is difficult to determine. I argue that the relative stability of female entrepreneurship in these industries between 1920 and 1990 indicates the presence of both structural and cultural continuities in these industries from the prewar period that facilitate female economic agency. Compelling evidence of such cultural and structural continuities can be found in the businesses of the forty interview informants who comprise the third data set in this project.

The manufacturing, wholesale/retail, and service industries are the oldest in the Japanese economy, with the important exception of those which evolved from the even older, subsistence economy (agriculture, fishing, forestry, and aquaculture). The structural and cultural continuities which derive from the premodern business system, and which are of concern to us here are 1) the communality of ownership with regards to the family business, 2) the high degree of spatial, fiscal, and managerial contiguity between the business and the ie, and 3) the existence of family gender norms which require female economic participation.

\(^{239}\text{A brief biographical description of each informant is located in Appendix B.}\)
The enterprises that women operate within these industrial categories are those most conducive to spatial contiguity with the home. These include food processing, preparation, and packaging, the wholesaling and retailing of consumable goods, and services pertaining to the home, including hospitality and health-care. In many cases in my interview sample, restaurants had evolved from a woman's responsibility within the context of the family business to take care of permanent or seasonal employees who lived in the very same house with her family. It is only a small step between cooking for a large number of people to running a restaurant or catering service from the family kitchen. This was exactly the case with Uehara Satoko, owner-operator of Daidokoro-ka, a lunch catering service. Mrs. Uehara is married to the president of one of the oldest shoyu (soy sauce) manufacturing families in southern Japan. The manufacturing plant is located on family real-estate in the old merchant district. In the 1950s, Mrs. Uehara was responsible for cooking for three dozen or more employees, some of whom actually lived on the family's sprawling down-town estate. Mrs. Uehara found that she possessed the kitchen space, the organizational mind, as well as a desire to make her own

\[240\] I once had the pleasure of staying at a traditional inn on the remote island of Tsushima in December, long after the official tourist season was over. The proprietress was housing and feeding six underwater welders from Northern Japan who could only find work during the winter months in the southern half of the...
money by expanding her role in the home business to take advantage of the flood of hungry businessmen that worked in the high-rise office buildings that were popping up one after the other around the family compound. She turned her hand to catering. In 1965, she began to take orders for obento (boxed lunches) from the same kitchen in which she cooked for her family and for the family employees. She took orders, just a few, from neighborhood businesses. Start up capital was essentially zero. The same budget that she used to feed her family and the family employees sufficed for the catering business because, as she explained it, "obento are just leftovers." Therefore, the household menu determined each day's boxed lunch menu.

When I interviewed Mrs. Uehara in 1996, I found it hard to believe that she accepted orders from around thirty different offices in the downtown area, and prepared over one hundred boxed lunches per week without this somehow compromising her household food budget. She indicated that it certainly had increased the household food budget, but that the process had been slow, and not immediately noticeable. During the interview, my very American and academic need to distinguish between the household economy and the business country. They were seasonal regulars, one of whom had been coming to the inn during the winter months for fifteen years.

Uehara, Satoko [pseudonym], "DaDokoro-ka," Personal Interview, 23 March, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
economy interfered with our ability to mutually understand one another:

Me: Once you noticed that Daidokoro-ka was becoming expensive to operate, what did you do? 

Uehara: Well...hmmmm..... It was profitable, so I wasn't really worried. I think that probably nothing changed. Well...hmmm... Maybe I had to order more groceries. I wonder....hmmm... I suppose I didn't do anything except to make sure to order enough food. I also had to order more packaging materials.... It took a little longer to make deliveries too. Sometimes I stay up quite late at night, or get up very early in the morning.

Me: But didn't anyone wonder where all that money was going?

Uehara: The money? Did someone know? I knew. I knew that more and more groceries were used in catering, but...

Me: No one asked you about it? Your husband? Your mother-in-law?

Uehara: My husband? (She was genuinely confused by this question). He ... He didn't know...didn't know anything. I think he really doesn't know very much about it, but...

Me: What?! He didn't know about the business?!

Uehara: (Laughing at the silly question) He knows! He knows! But, he doesn't know the details. He doesn't worry about small things like money or how much food costs. That he leaves to me. There isn't any reason to limit to how much food I can buy, is there? He doesn't know how much food is needed to feed everybody because it's my responsibility so..."242"

242 Uehara Interview, 23 March, 1996.
Mrs. Uehara explained that she started the catering business in order to earn a legitimate place in the Uehara household:

“Before [Daidokoro-ka] I always was very careful about spending money...[on myself]. Once I began making money instead of just eating money, I felt much more comfortable. ...There’s a saying about ‘eating a stranger’s rice.’ When I got married, I finally understood what it meant to do that, ‘to eat a stranger’s rice.’ ... To always be grateful for this, to always be grateful for that. It’s a heavy burden...to live like a guest in one’s [own] house. ...I didn’t feel comfortable until I was able to...add something to the family...[not just] take away from the family.”  

The kin-based communality of ownership, one of the basic features of the premodern business system, is very real in many contemporary Japanese businesses. It is difficult, at times impossible, to tell whether a woman “owns” a business, or is “running” her husband’s business. In the eyes of the family, such a distinction is almost meaningless. The expressions “uchi no kaisha,” [our company], or “uchi no mise” [our shop], can also be translated as “the House’s company, the House’s shop.” To say the equivalent of “my company” or “my shop” is grammatically possible, but not characteristic of adult speech.  

243 Ibid., 23 March, 1996.

244 Children are known to say, “my X” or “my Y.” To assert that an object is “mine” sounds either childish, or, quite frankly, like a foreigner.
Considering the following case as an example:

A university colleague told me that one of his elementary school 
dokyûsei was an entrepreneur. He said that she was like an old-
time "Hakata Goryon-san."^246

When I asked him what this meant, he began to laugh, became
uncomfortable, and continued to laugh through his explanation, as if
he were embarrassed and extremely uncomfortable. Apparently, during
the Tokugawa period, the wives of the Hakata merchant class ran
family businesses. Their husbands were notorious drunkards
because of their participation in local religious festivals in which they
quaffed enormous quantities of sacred sake before carrying the shrines
around the city. As a result, Hakata men were frequently either too
inebriated, hung-over, or unconscious to be any good at business. As a
consequence, Hakata merchant women, or Goryon-san, ran their family
businesses. "If it weren't for the Hakata Goryon-san, every single

\[^245\] A dokyûsei is a person in the same graduating class, of someone of the same age-cohort as the speaker.

\[^246\] I have never encountered this expression in a dictionary, and encyclopedia,
or in any written reference. The only Japanese people that I have talked to who knew
this term were native to Fukuoka and fifty years old or older.

\[^247\] Hakata is one name for the city of Fukuoka. Hakata was the name of the
merchants' quarters on one side of the river which runs through the city while
Fukuoka was the name of the samurai quarters. Fukuoka is equivalent to "uptown"
and Hakata is equivalent to "downtown." The two expressions are used in the same
way that Yamanote and Shitamachi, and Tôkyô and Edo are used to connote
differences between an erudite, middle class culture, and a coarse working class,
shômin culture. These differences will be raised again toward the end of the
Conclusion.
merchant family would have gone broke!" he concluded, still laughing, and still clearly embarrassed by the recitation. 248

He made arrangements for me to meet his elementary school classmate, Sakakihara Junko, and to see her restaurant and catering business, Ishiyaki Sakakihara-ya. In a telephone conversation before we actually met, I explained to Ms. Sakakihara that I was researching entrepreneurship among Japanese women. She clearly indicated that she would be happy to participate in the study. 249

Ms. Sakakihara provided a wealth of detailed information on her restaurant. She showed me every improvement that she had made to the building, how much it cost, how long she had to prepare before embarking on extensive capital improvement plans, and more. 250

When I asked her how she went about choosing wholesalers to supply her restaurant, she produced a small book in which the names and addresses of her wholesale providers were listed. Next to each name was a notation about their products, and her yearly expenditures

248 Christiène L. Smith, Field Notes, 5 October, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan. Although the religious explanation of the Goryon-san story was entirely new to me, it is a well-known fact that women played important roles in the running of Osaka merchant houses. Perhaps the Goryon-san phenomenon is a Hakata version of the Osaka.


with each company. Amazingly, she also had noted the gifts that they
had given her business during their years together, and of the gifts
that she had given them in return. The entries dated back to 1963.\footnote{251}

Mrs. Sakakihara explained that she did not choose suppliers so
much as nurture long-standing relationships with them. The idea of
switching to a different, more competitively priced wholesaler was
mostly inconceivable to her. Even in cases where a supplier's product
quality had changed over the years, the easiest way to resolve such a
matter would be to raise her concerns with the wholesaler rather than
switching to a different supplier.\footnote{252} In her opinion, it was close
business relationships that assured her ability to receive high quality
goods and services. Competitive pricing had little or no bearing on her
purchasing decision-making.\footnote{253}

Ms. Sakakihara’s husband is an industrial crane operator who
constructs and operates cranes for high-rise construction firms. He
had no hand in the operation of his wife’s restaurant. When I asked

\footnote{251} Christiënne L. Smith, Field Notes, 21 January, 1996.

\footnote{252} She showed me one entry in her notebook in which she had made a note
concerning her dissatisfaction with the quality and price of a certain wholesaler’s
produce. Therefore, she clearly had encountered such a situation before.

\footnote{253} Sakakihara Interview, 21 January, 1996.
about this specifically, she told me that he neither knew nor did anything in the restaurant. “Nothing?” I asked. “Zero,” she replied.\footnote{254}

At the very end of the second interview, however, I discovered that the business was not “hers,” because her husband had inherited it from his father in 1964 who had inherited from his father in 1947, who had inherited it from his father who had established the original restaurant in 1913. With each generation, the restaurant was managed not by the inheritor, but by the House daughter-in-law. These daughter-in-laws were selected from families (including her own) that operated well-respected restaurants; and in one case, a combined inn and hot-spring. The original family house and restaurant had burned down during the Second World War. It was restored and passed down intact in 1947.\footnote{255}

In 1973, when the informant’s mother-in-law retired, Mrs. Sakakihara had formally taken over the family business. Under her management, the 1947 facility was razed, and a new, six-story facility with a pent-house and roof-top garden was built in its place. She observed that as downtown Hakata had changed, so too had their

\footnote{254} Ibid., 21 January, 1996.

\footnote{255} Sakakihara, Junko [pseudonym], “Tahiyaki Sakakihara-ya” Personal Interview, 6 September, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
customers changed. Thus, it had been necessary to refurbish the family business to keep in step with the times.\textsuperscript{256}

I asked how she had come by the confidence in her authority to assert such sweeping changes in an old family business that did not belong to her, but to her husband. The question truly seemed puzzling to her. She replied, "I consulted with my mother-in-law and with the managers. After talking about it, we all agreed that changes were needed. So I started to sketch out my ideas and plans."\textsuperscript{257}

Ms. Sakakihara is technically disqualified from this study because she did not establish the business, but married into an already functioning family enterprise. However, I have included her as an example of "ownership" is blurred in businesses that operate using remnants of premodern norms and structures.

The spatial contiguity and communal nature of business within the premodern business system are conducive to female participation in business. Manufacturing and wholesale/retail businesses that were not vital to Japan's military and industrial competitiveness still retain their premodern structures and values.

\textsuperscript{256} Sakakihara Interview, 6 September, 1996.
Consider the following two narratives:

Kitakaze Junko was born in 1921, the only living child of a wealthy import broker by his live-in mistress. She was ten years old when her mother’s relationship with her father ended. She remained in the custody of her fathers’ family, where she was spoiled and adored by her adoptive parents. She even graduated from the prefectural higher normal school for girls.

Significantly, Junko’s relationship with her birth mother did not end. She was able to visit her, as well as her maternal grandparents regularly. They were in extremely straightened financial circumstances, so much so that her mother took work “in a tea house” in order to earn money to care for her aging parents.

To supplement her earnings, Junko’s birth-mother used her daughter to procure expensive, but increasingly scarce goods like tobacco, mentai, and bourbon from her ex-lover. He became a key

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257 Ibid., 6 September, 1996.

258 Formal concubinage was made illegal in 1890. Either Ms. Kitakaze was mistaken about the nature of her parent’s relationship, was prevaricating about the nature of their relationship, or even at this late date, it is possible that some wealthy merchants continued the custom of keeping “consorts” in their homes.

259 Kitakaze, Junko [pseudonym], "Kitakaze Mentai, Inc." Personal Interview, 4 April, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

260 This is most likely an indirect way of saying that her mother sold herself, or was sold into prostitution.
player in what Mrs. Kitakaze referred to as "our family business." [uchino kagyō].

First, he introduced several "friends" to his daughter. They sent her various "gifts." These she brought to her birth mother who occasionally sent money to her daughter "from her earnings" to help pay "for her trousseau." Mrs. Kitakaze indicated that she kept a portion for herself, but gave the rest to her father. Presumably, she did not feel the need to inquire about the money again. Meanwhile, proprietors in the red-light areas were able to obtain scarce but prohibitively expensive items from a certain tea house where Junko's birth-mother happened to work.

As the Second World War progressed, the "family business" expanded to include basic staples like rice, sugar, cooking oil, and soap. This black-market trading came more or less to a close as the fire-bombing campaigns destroyed most of urban Fukuoka. The "family business" started up again during the Occupation which brought a degree of normalcy to the economy.

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261 Kitakaze, Junko [pseudonym], "Kitakaze Mentai, Inc." Personal Interview, 12 April, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

262 I have wondered whether this, too, was another way of talking about prostitution.

263 Kitakaze Interview, 12 April, 1996.

264 Ibid., 12 April, 1996.
Mrs. Kitakaze had married a son of one of her father's business associates in 1936. He was a conscript, and was immediately expatriated to China, where he remained for the duration of the war.\textsuperscript{265} Her mother-in-law strongly disapproved of her new daughter-in-law, but suffered her black-market dealings until the end of the war, at which time she became vocal in her opposition. At the same time, the national economy was slowly normalizing. Commodity prices were stabilized, and goods were increasingly available through regular means.\textsuperscript{266}

In a bitter row, Junko's mother-in-law demanded to her recently repatriated son that Junko cease jeopardizing the family, or return to her adoptive parents at once. This was around 1949. A compromise was reached. Kitakaze Shogyō Ltd., a commodity wholesale business, was established with funds supplied from the Kitakaze family, and from her adoptive family. However, the controlling shares were paid for and held by Junko herself, and by her birth-mother, who by this time, was in very poor health.\textsuperscript{267} As her adoptive father's import business once

\textsuperscript{265} Kitakaze Interview, 4 April, 1996.

\textsuperscript{266} Mrs. Kitakaze explained the decision to end the black market trade as a result of her mother-in-laws opposition. It was my own observation during the interview that the profitability of such business must have not been very good with the economy becoming increasingly regular. She agreed with this observation. Kitakaze Interview, 12 April, 1996.

\textsuperscript{267} Kitakaze Interview, 4 April, 1996.
more became operational, Kitakaze Shogyō Ltd. began to function as a legitimate wholesaler of high quality perishable goods, making use of the distribution networks established by “the family business” during the war.268

In 1965, Kitakaze Shogyō Ltd. changed its name to Kitakaze Mentai Ltd. indicating its specialization in the regional delicacy, *mentai*, a highly spiced sardine roe that is served for nearly every congratulatory occasion. It is also widely purchased by tourists for gift-giving. In 1985, the company was fully incorporated. Currently, Kitakaze Mentai handles about 15 percent of the bulk *mentai* produced in Fukuoka and Saga Prefectures. It repackages and distributes mentai to fine restaurants, fish markets, grocery stores, department stores, and gift shops throughout the prefecture.269

An example of a woman-owned manufacturing firm is Sato Shokuhin Sangyō Incorporated, which was established roughly between 1966 and 1976 by Mrs. Sato Yaeko.270 Mrs. Yaeko was born in 1927, the daughter of working class parents. Her father owned a produce wholesale company, and her

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268 Ibid., 4 April, 1996.
269 Ibid., 4 April, 1996.
mother worked full-time in the family business keeping accounts and
caring for the family employees.\textsuperscript{271} After graduating from high school,
she found work in a fish processing plant where she claimed to have
learned the basics of fish processing and fish cake manufacture. She
worked there for four years until marriage.\textsuperscript{272}

She had two children, boys, and spent the next several years
caring for them. She began to make fish-cake in her own kitchen in
around the same time. Home-made fish cake made good gifts, she
claimed. At a neighbor's request, she began to sell her home-made
goods, just around the neighborhood. Over time, it evolved into a
business.\textsuperscript{273}

Mrs. Sato formalized Sato Shokuhin Kogyô as a business in 1970.
She borrowed 90 man from the fish processing factory foreman who had
acted as the go-between in her marriage. She used the money to pay
wages to her sister-in-law and her younger sister, and for more
elaborate packaging. The three women all had children; so they were
able to manage child-care and production efficiently. They began to

\textsuperscript{271} Ibid., 25 October, 1996.

\textsuperscript{272} I asked Mrs. Sato why she went to work in a factory instead of working in the
family business. She explained that the factory paid wages which were needed to
supplement the household income. Ibid., 25 October, 1996.

\textsuperscript{273} Ibid., 25 October, 1996.
market their product to local restaurants but also continued to take special orders from neighborhood women.274

Mrs. Sato began incorporation proceedings in 1975. Her husband died suddenly in the same year. She moved the business to her parents' produce warehouse, which she converted into an industrial kitchen. She hired part-time employees, as well as a niece on her husband's side of the family. She now lives in what is essentially the same house that she grew up in. It consists of two tatami rooms separated from the factory by a sliding glass door.275

Women's representation in the service industry requires some explanation. As we have already seen, women have been engaged in service-type industries, from hair dressing and midwifery, to restaurants and inns. It is important to note that the service industry was not invented in the postwar era. It simply came to the attention of male entrepreneurs in the postwar era. However, certain sectors of the service industry opened up to young women in the postwar era that had not been available to the previous generation.

Of the women entrepreneurs I interviewed who were involved in service industries, 6 out of 21 of their businesses, or 28.5 percent were operated as "freelance" businesses [furl]. These constitute a

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surprising 12.5% of businesses included within the entire interview population. The remaining fifteen firms (71.4 percent) were independent service contractors, or about 32 percent of the businesses operated within the interview population.

The service "freelancers" are nothing less than white-collar sub-contractors, involved in such fields as computer aided drafting and design, perspective illustration, copy writing, copy editing, advertising. design and layout, graphic design and illustration. These sub-contractors stand out from their industry colleagues in interesting ways.

All of them, except one, graduated from four year universities in the 1960s. They are the first postwar generation of female college graduates. One was the first woman in her university to graduate, and be accredited in the field of architecture.

Secondly, they stand out as being ideologically situated as "freelance" rather than as sub-contractors. The flexibility and resilience of the Japanese economy has been explained many times as the result of numerous, highly skilled sub-contracting firms on which Japanese manufacturers depend. Service sub-contractors are vital to modern business in creating the material used in public relations, advertisement, competitive bids and more. Their ideological placement

as "freelance" seems to me to be a redefinition of their economic agency in order to preserve the integrity of the male gendered orientation of modern business. As highly educated, skilled, full-time professionals who compete in public to secure contracts with elite, medium- to large- businesses, such women are involved in transgressions of multiple ideological boundaries, as will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. Significantly two of these white-collar sub-contractors are divorced,\textsuperscript{276} and two of them remained single.\textsuperscript{277} Arai Noriko, who is married, reported having a strong relationship with her husband, a white-collar salaried manager, assigned to a company office in Okinawa. They have lived apart off and on for the entirety of their married lives.\textsuperscript{278}

V. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that women's businesses have tended to cluster in the same three broad industrial categories between 1920 and 1990. I have argued that this can be explained by


\textsuperscript{278} Arai, Noriko [pseudonymn], "Atorie Nori," Personal Interview, 2 May, 1996 and 13 June, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
the cultural and structural continuities found in these industries stemming from their historical place in the premodern business system. Women's businesses therefore tend to cluster in industries where firms with comparatively high degrees of spatial, fiscal, and managerial contiguity. Entrepreneurs in these industries also tend to exhibit a premodern communal model of business ownership. For them, business is “undertaken,” rather than “owned.” It represents only one among any number of economic activities which contributes to the economic well-being of the entire unit.

The service industry, however, was singled out as a new market that seems to have attracted women of the first postwar college generation. White-collar subcontracting in a service industry absorbed the high skilled labour of educated women while simultaneously maintaining their invisibility.

As will be clarified in Part Two of this dissertation, not all female entrepreneurship is equally transgressive. Some forms of entrepreneurship, like that of these modern white-collar subcontractors, is more transgressive than other forms. The depth of the transgression depends on gender, class, location, and the firm's ideological placement as either “traditional” or “modern.”
PART TWO:

DISMEMBERING
CHAPTER 4
SITUATED IN SPACE,
IMBUED WITH MEANING:

GENDERING CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE BUSINESS COMMUNITIES

"This is a man's world!
This is a man's world!
But it don't mean nothin'
without a woman or a girl!"

-A James Brown tune

I. Introduction

This chapter's description of gendered space, labour, and business is meant to establish the framework that I will use to discuss, in a precise fashion, the ways in which the female entrepreneur violates the contemporary norms of Japanese society, if, indeed, she does violate them. It will allow us to make several inferences about the maturation of Japanese industrial capitalism and the fate of premodern business practice. Furthermore, it provides a theoretical framework with which to discuss the ways in which gender
and business are inscribed with culturally relevant tropes vital to the
collection of modern Japanese identity.

Recall from Chapter One that the defining features of the
premodern business system are the coequivalence of family business
and the ie, and the communal nature of business ownership. That is,
businesses were undertaken by members of the corporate collective as
part of a joint effort to maximize commonly held assets. Many
businesses in the postwar Japanese economy can be, to varying
degrees, categorized as belonging to the premodern business system.
Such businesses maintain varying degrees of spatial, fiscal, and
managerial contiguity with the ie.

Spatial contiguity between an enterprise and a family is defined
by the following criteria:

1) The factory, office, shop, service area (etc.) of the business
   is located within, above, behind or next to the family
dwelling;

2) Employees within the firm include, though are not limited
to, members of the immediate family and members of the
   extended kinship network;

3) If incorporated, or capitalized as a limited partnership,
   stock in the corporation is either controlled by the
   immediate family, or by the extended kinship network which
   can include very close friends the equivalent of fictive kin,
   or is held in total by members of the same.

Fiscal contiguity is defined by the following criteria:
1) Business accounting and home accounting are one and the same;

2) The salary earned by the owner-operator is equivalent to the firm's "profit;"

3) Family employees periodically, temporarily, or habitually receive no salary.  

4) Stock is habitually consumed by the family; or conversely, goods purchased for family consumption are habitually substituted as stock.  

Managerial contiguity is defined by the following criteria:

1) Owners and managers are one and the same, even in the case of formal incorporation;

2) Managers include members of the immediate family, or members of the extended kinship network

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279 This is illegal, and constitutes tax fraud. Because this is the case, most survey respondents indicated to that they received a regular salary. Informal conversations with business owners in my neighborhood revealed that for family employees, "salary" is generally understood as being able to eat, drink, and watch television on the job.

280 This also is illegal, and constitutes tax fraud. See Ibid.

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II. The Gendered Divisions in Space

A common saying in Japan is "otoko wa soto; onna wa uchi" [men on the outside, women on the inside]. Figure 4.1 describes the gendering of space in contemporary Japan. The outside' space is gendered male, and 'inside' space is gendered female.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Sphere</th>
<th>Female Sphere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soto</td>
<td>uchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public</td>
<td>private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign</td>
<td>native</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatemae</td>
<td>honne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political</td>
<td>domestic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1: Gendered Divisions of Space in Contemporary Japan

The Japanese family (ie) is usually represented in the public domain by its male members. Although this phenomenon has been well noted by

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281 I have yet to see enough data to firmly convince me of the nature of, no less the existence of, gendered divisions of space in the premodern and prewar periods. As discussed previously, labour was loosely gendered among premodern peasant families, but was also age-based. Such an analysis is fraught with the danger of imposing contemporary gender and spatial divisions onto premodern historical conditions. Furthermore, the Meiji and Taisho States were constructing (at least) two conflicting and mutually incompatible gender ideologies at the same time, meaning that the gendering of labour and space were in transition, as was most everything else in Japan at that time. The construction of gendered labour and gendered spaces during Japan's modernization are subjects requiring more research.

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professional scholars of Japan, I observed it several times while researching this project.

For example, I was invited by one of my research informants to attend the Hakata Dontaku Festival. During the festival, delegations from all of the downtown business visited the other businesses in order to thank them for their many kindnesses over the past year, and to request their continued regard in the future. As part of this ritual, each delegation offered entertainment in the form of dances, songs, dramatic recitations and the like. In return, the businesses that had been serenaded refreshed their guests with snacks, sweets, and with plenty of cold and intoxicating libation.

Throughout the ritual, Mrs. Mizobuchi’s husband, the retired president of a large construction contracting firm, acted as the family spokesperson before the public community. Each delegation’s thanks, though addressed to the business, were offered through him as the public representative of the family. He offered the family’s humble apologies for any inconvenience that they might have caused the greater community during the past year, and requested their continued patience and support in the future. His wife, the owner of the


283 Christiënne L. Smith, Field Notes, May 3, 1996.
business, remained in the background with her daughters who busied themselves serving sweets and sake. ²⁸⁴

Men are the arbiters of the public sphere. The public sphere, soto, is a threatening place. It is peopled by Strangers, Others, Outsiders, Foreigners. All of these concepts are included in the meaning of the Chinese character for the male gendered realm: soto. Within this dangerous realm, the mode of speech and behaviour is known as tatemae. Tatemae speech and behaviour are socially polite, ritualistically correct, but often they are not a true expression of genuine feeling or emotion. Ruled by the art of ceremony, the public sphere is a cold and ritualized place.

On the other hand, the female sphere, uchi, is safe. The Chinese character for uchi means home, house, inside, inner, wife, us, we, and ours. Uchi is private. Individuals contained within its embrace share a community of interests. That community of interest creates the safety and intimacy found therein. Within the purview of uchi, honne -- one's genuine feelings, one's real self -- by convention can safely be expressed.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., May 3, 1996.
III. The Gendered Division of Labour

The functional structure of Japan’s post-war economy has been predicated upon the State’s belief in not only the universality of the gendered segregation of space (Figure 4.1) but the gendered segregation of labour as well. Lebra explains that,

“This [gendered] division of labor is structurally supported not only because this norm is shared by most people, irrespective of sex or age, but also in that the specialized sectors of the public domain of society depend upon it. Schools operate under the assumption that the students’ mothers are homemakers always available to their children; companies expect their employees to be looked after by their homebound wives so that they, the husbands, will maintain their full-time or overtime dedication to the companies” (my emphasis).\textsuperscript{285}

Figure 4.2 describes the gendered division of labour in contemporary Japan.

\textsuperscript{285} Lebra, \textit{Constraint and Fulfillment}, p. 200.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Labour</th>
<th>Female Labour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>productive</td>
<td>reproductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situated in public arena</td>
<td>situated in private arena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>requires education</td>
<td>requires minimal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific training</td>
<td>little or no training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist</td>
<td>generalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highly skilled</td>
<td>low skilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white-collar or skilled blue collar</td>
<td>pink collar or unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high-status</td>
<td>low-status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high wages</td>
<td>low-wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time</td>
<td>part-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>career</td>
<td>job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time-constrained</td>
<td>time-flexible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary bread winning</td>
<td>primary care giving</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.2: The Gendered Divisions of Labour in Contemporary Japan
As shown earlier, the gendered segregation of labour is largely an artifact of the collision between the premodern business system and Western industrial capitalism. The evolution of the factory system moved the locus of economic productivity from the corporate household into corporate factories and headquarters. Reproductive labour, however, remained within the private sphere and, normatively speaking, became the predominant activity of women.  

Male gendered labour is understood as economically productive. Men’s labour in the public sphere typically requires education or extensive technical training. For example, white collar workers attend university; and typically, blue-collar workers are trained through intensive and extensive apprenticeships, or through formal training in technical schools. Not surprisingly, male gendered labour is accorded very high status in contemporary society.

Female gendered labour is reproductive, and includes all activities associated with the care and feeding of husband and children. Because women are normatively associated with the domestic sphere, they typically receive less education or formal training than

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286 Uno, p. 30.

their male counterparts. Competent household management is typically understood as requiring very little in the way of education. The majority of Japanese women college graduates receive two-year degrees from junior colleges. Many single Japanese women are therefore relegated to pink-collar positions, while their married counterparts are relegated to unskilled, menial labour, officially referred to as "part-time" [パートタイム].

Men are normatively the primary bread winners of the family; women are normatively the primary caretakers of the family. The nature of male-gendered labour is perceived as time-constraining. Men are expected to work for their companies long hours, and with total dedication. The nature of female gendered labour is perceived as

288 See WWB/Japan eds., Onna ga don don kigyô suru, (reference pp. 149 - 159) for an example of an entrepreneur interested in studying carpentry and cabinet making who was refused entry to the local technical school on the grounds that she was a woman. This predated the 1985 Equal Employment Opportunity Law which would have made such a refusal illegal. Illegal or not, the statute does not mandate any legal repercussions for businesses or other institutions that practice sexual discrimination. Hagiwara ended up studying carpentry in the United States.

290 Education in "home economy" was a part of girls' education from the turn of the century. Also, many young wives read magazines to learn basic sewing, and even took classes from older, more accomplished women to hone their sewing skills. Mothering, however, was seen as "natural" to women, and therefore was not the focus of girls' education.

291 Ibid., p. 6.
flexible. For example, women’s labour in the public realm is understood to be temporary, part-time, and not identity-generating. When need arises, it is understood that such women will or can at any time quit their jobs, a “right” or “freedom” typically not extended to men. Even women’s domestic labour is perceived as flexible enough to fit around the needs of the children, husband, and elderly parents for whom they are responsible. The time constrains of men’s labour segregates them from the home, while women’s time constraints allow them to move freely in and out of the home as need arises. The spatial, labour, and conceptual segregation between the sexes in Japan is so complete that men are as normatively incapable of fixing a zipper as women are normatively incapable of executing a corporate merger.


293 Sociologist Sumiko Iwao views such flexibility as a sign of female power and liberation in Japan. More than women’s liberation, Japan requires a men’s liberation movement in order to attain the same quality of life that is enjoyed by the modern woman. I can not agree with her assessment. See Sumiko Iwao, The Japanese Woman: Traditional Image and Changing Reality. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

294 In fact, within the home, and at female-gendered domestic tasks, men are normatively incompetent.

295 Lebra, Constraint and Fulfillment, p. 301.
It is important to understand that although space and labor are gendered, they are not sexually segregated in an absolute sense. Men and women participate in both labour categories. Men and women, in carrying out the differently gendered labour roles, move in and out of both male and female gendered space. An individual's movement through gendered labour categories, and in and out of gendered spaces is part of a recognizable social script indicating status. Takie Sugiyama Lebra remarks,

"[The] imbalance between the specialist male and the generalist female is compounded by the inferiority of the generalized role. This is evidenced by the fact that while women are assigned to generalized roles in a heterosexual group, in an all male-group such as the military or fishing crew the generalized, care-taking role is relegated to the lower-ranking personnel."^296

It is vital that we understand, and indeed I have already alluded to the fact, that gender is an expression of rank. Men engaged in female-gendered activities or within the female gendered sphere are enacting a social script in which they possess low social status. For example, the eldest son in a family (a high ranking position) would most likely not engage in reproductive (and therefore female gendered) tasks like washing dishes or dusting and vacuuming. However, the same person, within the context of a part-time job may very well be the

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^296 Ibid., p. 301.
least ranked person because of his age, lack of seniority and other indicators. In such a case, this individual would indeed engage in female gendered labour, like washing dishes, serving tea, dusting or vacuuming. Gender and labour inform rank. Similarly, women engaged in male-gendered activities, or within the male gendered sphere, should be understood as enacting high-status scripts. For example, Takie Sugiyama Lebra writes,

"I was invited to a monthly social gathering of a group of tough construction workers including those in carpentry, masonry, plumbing, gardening, tatami-making and electrical engineering. They had formed this group because they often worked together as contractors and subcontractors. I was surprised to find a woman among them who turned out to be the widow of a member. Not only had she succeeded to the husband's business but she participated in such a male peer gathering as the present incumbent of house-business headship. She was fully accepted by the 'peers' and entertained by geisha as if she were one of the guys. A widow, under this circumstance, assumes a sex-neutral or male role."

IV. The Gendered Division of Business

Because businesses exist in space, and because they are loci where many different types of labour are enacted, businesses must also be analyzed in terms of their spatial orientation, gender, social status and rank.

297 Ibid., p. 223.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Business</th>
<th>Female Business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>spatially public</td>
<td>spatially private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>publicly owned</td>
<td>privately owned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factory production</td>
<td>home-factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-kin based</td>
<td>kin-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professional managers</td>
<td>owner-managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big business</td>
<td>small/medium firms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small and medium sized</td>
<td>sub-contractors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub-contractors</td>
<td>petty business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petty businesses</td>
<td>hobbyists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international</td>
<td>domestic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domestic</td>
<td>regional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regional</td>
<td>local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formal economy</td>
<td>informal economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>growth-oriented</td>
<td>stagnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modern</td>
<td>traditional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.3: Gendered Divisions in Business in Contemporary Japan
Figure 4.3 describes the gendering of business in contemporary Japan. Male gendered businesses are spatially, fiscally, and managerially discontiguous from the family. When Joyce Lebra asserts that "the power of Osaka’s women entrepreneurs waned...[when]...the house and the enterprise were separated both physically and financially," she is, in essence, explaining how the modern business system diverged from the premodern one in which the locus of production, processing, and consumption was the ie.

Included in the modern-business system are a broad variety of business structures. For example, daikigyô, or big business, represents the largest, most influential of the international and multinational firms in the Japanese economy. The origins of a very few of these, like Mitsui and Kikkoman, are situated in the premodern period. Most of the zaibatsu, however, arose in the mid- to late-Meiji Period (1880s). Still others, the so-called “new zaibatsu” emerged during the interwar period. The organizational history of the zaibatsu reveals their origins in the premodern business system. However, their current organizational structures have diverged strongly from their historical roots.

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Although large scale firms in Japan represent only one percent of the entire population of enterprises in the Japanese economy, they nevertheless are responsible for more than 50 percent of the country's total exports. They also employ about one-third of the country's non-agricultural labour force.\(^{300}\) In many ways, such corporations are the public face of the Japanese economy, and as such, they are gendered male.

Small and medium-sized industries are gendered female when juxtaposed to big business. In many cases, small and medium-sized firms are gendered male insofar as they satisfy the criteria of spatial, fiscal, and managerial discontiguity with an \(i.e.\). On the other hand, there are small and medium-sized firms whose organization retains elements of the premodern system. For example, small and medium-sized companies are more likely to be owner-operated than big businesses. Small and medium-sized companies are more likely to be family managed than big business. Relative to big businesses, small and medium sized firms can be said to retain more structural similarities with the premodern business system than do big businesses. Thus, they are gendered female, and occupy a marginally lower status than big business.

Relative to the small and medium-sized firms that they serve, sub-contractors are gendered female. In many cases, sub-contractors are spatially contiguous; and very often, they rely on the managerial talent and labour of family and extended kinship networks. Furthermore, sub-contractors are sometimes placed in relationships of dependence vis-a-vis the parent company,\textsuperscript{301} a relationship whose gender should be clear. Even in cases where sub-contractors operate independently from parent companies, they generally are only able to engage in projects with firms from within a limited region. They also have extreme difficulty bringing their own products to market.\textsuperscript{302} In this sense, they are disempowered relative to small and medium-sized companies, and relative to big business. They are, accordingly, gendered female.

Sub-contractors, however, are gendered male relative to petty business \textit{[reisaikigyo]}. After all, they are more likely to be fiscally discontiguous from the family. Petty businesses, on the other hand, are by in large spatially, fiscally, and managerially contiguous to the home. Such businesses may have a small number employees, but it is equally likely that the owner-operator is self-employed. If she has

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{301} Takizawa, Kikutaro, ed., \textit{Nihon no chūsho kigyō kenkyū}, (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1985), pp. 21-23.
\item \textsuperscript{302} Ibid., p. 26.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
employees, they may or may not be family members, though in the
great preponderance of cases they are. The level of fiscal segregation
between the business and the family economy is low to non-existent.
Such tiny shops, tea houses, restaurants, artists and artisans
represent a huge, under-studied part of the Japanese economy, as well
as the Japanese business community.

Male gendered businesses are "growth-oriented." Within the
context of industrial capitalism, this is both a necessary and sufficient
condition of modernity. Female gendered businesses are those which
are not growth-oriented, are those which are "stagnant." Within the
paradigm of industrial capitalism, stagnation is associated with
premodern businesses and business ways, with traditionalism, and
backwardness. In short, male gendered businesses are those
commonly associated with progress, modernity, and with the formal
"westernized" sector of the economy.\(^\text{303}\) Female gendered businesses
are those which follow, in a temporal, spatial, and structural sense,
the forward momentum of the male gendered modern business system.

\(^{303}\) I have not found the so-called "dual structure" model of the Japanese
economy to be useful in describing anything real that I have observed in Japan
business, nor useful as an analytical tool. For more information on what I hope has
become an outdated model, see Tsunehiko Watanabe. 1968. "Industrialization,
Technological Progress and Dual Structure." in *Economic Growth: the Japanese
Experience since the Meiji Era*, edited by Lawrence Keilen and Kazushi Okawa. Irwin.
Also, see Kawaguchi, Horoshi. 1962. "Putatsu no nihon keizai-ron" in *Nihon Keizai no
kozo*. Shunjusha.
V. Conclusion

At this juncture, it is appropriate for me to direct the reader to an intentional change in vocabulary. From this point forward, I will refer to the premodern business system as "the traditional business system." This expression resonates with Japan's construction of a modern identity in terms of its "traditional" past. Premodernity is not coequivalent with tradition. Premodernity is a temporal designation. Tradition is an evaluative one. The meta-memory of Japanese womanhood is traditional, not premodern. Tradition is a construct about the past that is, in reality, a critique of the present.

304 From this point forward, unless specifically noted, let us agree to read the word "traditional" as if it were in quotes. Tradition is not an existentially real category, and must always be understood as part of the dynamic imagination.

305 "Such was the case in the first half of this century in the United States, when intellectuals, reformers, artists and museums, and business and industry all defined the nature and meaning of America's folk by assigning them to society's margins as relics of a generalized past, accessible mainly through the commodities they produced. The past that the folk were thought to inhabit was a generalized one, stripped of the specific conflicts and tensions that shape the social and economic life. Thus idealized, this past stood in distinct opposition to the here and now: it was 'traditional'; the present, 'modern.'" Jane S. Becker, Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of an American Folk, 1930 – 1940, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 1998), p. 2. Other works which deal with similar topics include: Williams, Raymond. "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory," New Left Review 82 (November - December 1973): 3 - 26. Also see Fabian, Johannes. Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object (New York: Columbia Press, 1983). See also Clifford James. "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the Salvage Paradigm." in Discussions in Contemporary Culture, edited by Hal Foster, 1:121 - 30. Seattle: Bay Press, 1987.
CHAPTER 5
THE GREAT DISAPPEARING ACT:
IDENTITY CRISES AND RESOLUTION
AMONG JAPANESE WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS, 1955 – 1985

"I put a spell on you!"
– a Screaming Jay Hawkins tune

I. Introduction

In 1992, in preparation for later field-work, I undertook a pilot survey of entrepreneurship among Japanese women in Tôkyo. The purpose was to ascertain the feasibility of conducting large-scale surveys in Japan, and also to test and refine my developing survey vehicle. While conducting the pilot survey, I encountered a most curious phenomenon:

In one question on the first version of the survey, I listed six possible options for the informant’s mother’s employment history. These were:

1) housewife;
2) part-time employee (salaried/hourly);
3) full time employee (salaried/hourly);
4) proprietor of a business/farm/fishing vessel etc.; 

5) employee in family business/farm/fishing vessel etc. (with salary); 

6) employee in family business/farm/fishing vessel etc. (without salary). 

Informants were instructed to check as many as were applicable. 
In the first returned surveys, all informants indicated that their mothers were housewives. During one-on-one interviews, however, I found that the mothers of two informants had been sole proprietor entrepreneurs, and the mothers of four others were owner-operators in conjugal businesses partnerships.

In the second iteration of the survey, I decided to adjust the question about maternal employment history by replacing "housewife" with "unemployed." In none of the returned surveys did informants indicate that their mothers were unemployed. There were four part-time workers, a midwife, two unpaid helpers in family retail

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306 I use the term "conjugal partnerships" to indicate businesses which a husband and wife start together as partners. This is different from businesses that inherited by husbands whose wives participate in the firm's daily operations.

307 Several of them complained in the margins that a "housewife" option was not available. I used the same structure in the major survey that I conducted in Fukuoka between 1995 - 1996. Many informants wrote "housewife" in the margins, or complained that "housewife" was not an option. Some indicated that their mothers were "unemployed." I have interpreted the "unemployed" response as meaning that the informant's mother was actively looking for work because so many informants were able to articulate very clearly that their mothers were full-time housewives.
businesses, the owner of a liquor store, a bar hostess, a cosmetics peddler, and a real estate broker.

In remembering her mother, an informant's use of the category "housewife" displaced the memory of her mother's economic activity. Significantly, in not a single case within the pilot study did an informant indicate that her mother was both a housewife and a second or third option. Housewifery, it seemed, could not coexist with maternal employment within the memories of this cluster of informants.\textsuperscript{308}

When conducting interviews for the pilot study, I encountered what at the time, I thought of as informant resistance to discussing their mothers as women, that is, as persons separate from the parent-child relationship.\textsuperscript{309} I recorded a lot of conversations about Mom's \textit{onigiri} (rice ball sandwiches),\textsuperscript{310} about Mom sitting up late at night to

\textsuperscript{308} In the final version of the survey, I did not include housewife as an option, based on the results of the pilot project.

\textsuperscript{309} It was not resistance so much as cognitive dissonance. In retrospect (and as a parent!) I believe that it is extremely difficult for anyone to think of a person with whom they have a relationship "outside" of the parameters of that relationship. This is even more so in parent-child relationships. In short, it was unreasonable for me to expect an informant's memory of her mother to include aspects that were beyond the context of their parent-child relationship. That I expected that they would be able to do so is indicative of the shape and texture of my own relationship with my mother.

\textsuperscript{310} Kono, Junko, [Pseudonym], Personal Interview, March 11, 1992, Tôkyô, Japan.
knit warm gloves for a family too poor to buy them,\textsuperscript{311} about Mom's
deflection of angry drunken in-laws away from her children and onto
herself,\textsuperscript{312} but I had a very hard time refocusing the conversation to
memories of Mom as an economic agent within the family.

I found the same phenomenon when searching biographical and
autobiographical literature for evidence of entrepreneurship among
women. There is, I believe, a pattern which underlies the construction
of mother-memory in Japan. Three dominant themes emerge as
universal elements of this "meta-memory." The first is suffering (kurô);
the second is endurance (gamarî); the third is love (aijô).

In memory, mothers suffer. The suffering is rarely specific; it is
usually associated with selflessness and self-abnegation. This
condition underlies every mother narrative I have encountered,
whether the informant was rich or poor, whether the informant was
speaking to me directly, or speaking to me through a text.

In memory, mothers endure. Because of their suffering, mothers
are also equipped with endurance. Patience and endurance are
required to cultivate selflessness and self-abnegation. In memory,
mothers are the source of loving kindness. Mothers are selfless and

\textsuperscript{311} Watanabe, Mie, [Pseudonym], Personal Interview, March 13, 1992,
Yokohama, Japan.

\textsuperscript{312} Iriye, Suzuko, [Pseudonym], Personal Interview, March 13 1992, Yokohama,
Japan.
self-abnegating in order to create or preserve a family atmosphere in which their children, whom they love, will flourish.

Motherly love is expressed in tangible terms rather than in emotive terms. The tangible terms are primarily food related, and secondarily, clothing related. The way in which mother cooks, presents, and serves food are tangible expressions of feeling. Thus, both written and spoken narratives dealing with mothers invariably revolve around descriptions of mother’s miso-soup, her pickles, her boxed lunches, how she cut apples or peeled oranges, or how she took food out of her own mouth and in order to put it into the mouths of her children. Such images, both in written documents and in interviews, are so regular, so similar, and so infused with the same sense of nostalgia, that I have came, over time, to regard them as lines in a well-studied, often-rehearsed script of a play or movie depicting motherhood as an ideal.

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314 In order help informants abandon the script, in order to help them extemporize about their mothers, I sometimes asked them to write out a twenty-four hour, around the clock schedule of a “typical” day in their mothers’ lives. Another strategy which worked quite well was to ask them to draw the floorplan of the homes in which they grew up, and to describe the activities that took place in each room.
The scripting of motherhood is not simply a function of recalling the past. It is a notion with all of the identity-generating power of ideology. The normative power of Woman as Mother, Woman as Housewife, Woman as Domestic Manager, literally obliterates the activities of some women, when the same set of activities would have been identity generating in a man. Let us consider a concrete example:

Mrs. Yamazaki is the sole proprietor of a tiny restaurant in the neighborhood where I lived for eighteen months while doing field work. I frequented her restaurant because of its convenient location, and because it was open late for people like me who habitually caught the last train or bus home from the office. Although startled when I first patronized her restaurant, she soon became more comfortable with my presence. In fact, she became downright *motherly*, fussing over the condition of my clothing, and putting aside special home-made treats to see me through the lonely times at Christmas and New Years.

Eventually I worked up the nerve to ask whether it would be alright to included her life story in my research. She was agreeable, but wondered what kinds of things I wanted to know about. I replied:

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315 She once sewed a button onto a blouse while I was wearing it. Christiënne L. Smith, Field Notes, 1 November, 1996, Fukuoka Japan.

"I'd like to hear a little about your employment history."

She looked confused, and then asserted, "I've never been employed."

"Well," I amended, "tell me about the kind of work you've done."

"I've never worked," she replied. "I'm a housewife."

I felt a little stunned, looked around her restaurant, at the well-used kitchen utensils, tables, chairs, at the television blaring in the background. I asked again,

"What about the shop?"

"The shop?" She stuttered in what I took to be genuine surprise.

"The shop? Oh, well, the shop, I do that every day [ma ne, omise o yatte irun da ne, mainichi]."

The promulgation of the Good Wife/Wise Mother ideology was so successful that housewifery and motherhood has become the normative standard to which all women (are thought) to aspire. It also has become the standard against which they are judged.  

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317 It has been my experience that Japanese scholars and the Japanese media also use the motherhood yardstick to judge foreign cultures. Mothering is an area which the Japanese use to situate their country on cultural and moral highground. I have frequently been accosted by Japanese people demanding that I explain to them the relationship between American women's poor parenting and the degeneracy of American youth and culture before criticizing Japanese culture for its discrimination against women (!!). I was even sharply lectured by a group of feminist scholars who had asked me to present my research to them, for the comparative uncleanliness of American homes which apparently is a sign of American women's disregard for their responsibilities within the home. I was baffled by such conversations because as a feminist, I have always understood women's oppression in terms of it being a condition with which all modern women have to deal; and not as a condition that is epitomized by any particular culture.
normative nature of the housewife identity is so powerful that it even
has the potential to define the parameters of a woman's self-
perception.

II. Identity, Identity Crisis and Identity Resolutions Among
Japanese Women Entrepreneurs

Not all Japanese women business owners experience internal
conflicts between their economic lives and the domestic life mandated
by the dominant social norm. The housewife identity does not impede
or erase identities of economic agency among all Japanese women
entrepreneurs. In this section, I will outline a working hypothesis
which attempts to explain differential identity formation among
Japanese women entrepreneurs. The hypothesis consists of two parts.
The first part deals with the class orientation of the entrepreneur's
birth family and marital family. The second half of the argument deals
with the depth of the penetration of the entrepreneur across divisions
in gendered space, gendered labour categories, and gendered business,
as discussed in Chapter Four.

Although the Second World War destroyed the material reality of
the prewar socio-economic classes, it did not destroy prewar class
consciousness, or class-specific values. Portions of shōmin culture
survived the policies of national homogenization in the 1930s, as well
as the terrible destruction of the 1940s. Within shōmin cultures,
especially among the economically disadvantaged, women were valued as producers more than they were valued as reproducers. As one respondent wrote in a note attached to her returned survey:

"Thank you for doing your best to study the work that we Japanese women do. By watching the television I think a foreigner like yourself must only think that we Japanese women are the laziest women in the world. I was raised to believe that a woman must be a hard worker. Even though I am getting old, and can't do as much as I would like, I am still doing my best working energetically every day. My mother worked; and before that, her mother worked; my daughters work as well. It is embarrassing, but also very gratifying to see a foreigner studying so hard to learn about the ways of Japanese women. Please continue your diligent study. It is my sincerest hope that our small shop will be of use in your research. Good luck and do your best writing your Ph.D. thesis."

Such a note provides a hint of the sense of marginalization that some working class women feel in a society where adult womanhood has come to be associated almost exclusively with the domestic sphere.

Daughters of the prewar middle class were raised with the belief that a woman's proper role in life was to become a Good Wife and a Wise Mother. The interwar system of girl's education was specifically structured in a manner that resulted in the contemporary Japanese urban, middle-class housewife. Even in cases where the war destroyed
the feasibility of the Good Wife/Wise Mother ideal, the children of the prewar middle class carried those values and expectations with them into the postwar period. Post-war middle class women who married into families with similar class backgrounds, with similar class values, and in similar economic circumstances, became full-time housewives as the Japanese economy began to grow in the latter years of the Occupation. We will encounter these women and their daughters again in the Afterword, when, as post-menopausal women, they began to enter the entrepreneurial world, and claimed the title of Japan's first women entrepreneurs.

Our current concern centers on the hundreds of thousands of children of the prewar urban and rural commoner classes who were trained through the education system to believe in a middle class norm which did not reflect the economic reality of their own lives. I would like to suggest that to the degree commoners in the prewar period internalized the State message, it was passed on to the postwar generation as well. Furthermore, it was passed on in proportion to the degree that it had been internalized. In short, it was not internalized perfectly, but through a process that reinterpreted the norm to allow working women to be included within the parameters of the middle class norm.
For some portion of lower class adults who had survived the war, achieving the middle class norm of full-time professional housewife in the post-war period would prove an economic impossibility. Persons who had internalized the middle class norm in a relatively unfiltered form, might aspire to the middle class, but could not reach it. In such cases, I argue that lower class female entrepreneurs erase their economic behaviours; they redefine them, ignore them, minimize them, deny them in an effort to define themselves as norm compliant. Mrs. Yamazaki is a prime example. Her restaurant was not a business. It was her home. The spatial, economic, and managerial contiguities that are the hallmarks of the premodern business system (and the traditional business system as well as) allow contemporary female entrepreneurs to identify themselves as complying with the normative social construct of the domestic woman.

Some portions of the prewar urban and rural commoner class either rejected the State's official gender norm, or transformed it in the internalization process in a way that allowed them to satisfy the norm. Either way, the prewar commoner norm in which women were producers and economic agents within the family was preserved despite the imposition of the universalized middle class norm. Entrepreneurs from this class who survived the war as adults reject the association of Good Wife/Wise Mother with the full-time professional housewife.
construct which gained ascendancy in the post-war period. These women and their daughters, when marrying into families with similar class backgrounds, similar class values, with similar economic experiences, were expected to work side by side with their husbands in family businesses, at blue-collar work, or in their own businesses. Such women did not seem to suffer any "identity crisis" during our interviews. They had appropriated the Good Wife/Wise Mother norm, and redefined it on their own terms which cast the middle class professional housewife as deviant.

For example, let us examine portions of a life history narrative given to me by Mrs. Shirai Yachie. Born in 1916, Mrs. Shirai is the eldest daughter of a land-owning farming family. She was taken into a sake brewing family as the eldest son’s bride.\(^{319}\) Mrs. Shirai took over the family headship, as well as the company presidency in 1955 as a result of her husband’s ill health. Mr. Shirai became ill sometime during or after the Pacific War; and his medical condition has required him to be hospitalized or to receive continuous intensive care in a nursing facility ever since.\(^{320}\) In 1955, he formally retired from the

\(^{319}\) I asked Mrs. Shirai why she had not married into another land-owning family. She explained that tenant unrest and in-fighting between land-owners over land-use rights and boundaries made her father unwilling to place her in a family entangled in legal and labour disputes that were common to the landowning class at the time.

\(^{320}\) The details of this were not clarified during the interview; and the careful avoidance of the topic indicated that it would have been inappropriate for me to ask for details.
This narrative deals with how Mrs. Shirai established a *shochu* distilling company in 1952 despite her husband’s explicit rejection of the proposal.\(^{322}\) Between the two companies the Shirai family runs thirty different *sake* and *shochu* labels all of which are well-known regionally, and many of which are gaining popularity outside of Kyushu. As Mrs. Shirai had predicted in 1940, *shochu* has become the most popular of contemporary alcoholic beverages in Japan; and Haku-\(\text{e}i’s\) labels generate more profits than the Shirai *sake* labels. Mrs. Shirai repeated this fact more than once with feisty pleasure.\(^{323}\) At the time of our interview, Mrs. Shirai was eighty years old, and had just retired as president of both Shirai Consolidated, and Haku-\(\text{e}i\) Distilleries. Her two sons now run both enterprises, and her daughter has married into a distilling family in Saga Prefecture, where she apparently is very active in the management of the family label.\(^{324}\)

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\(^{321}\) At the time of the interview, Mr. Shirai was still living in a nursing home in Nagasaki Prefecture. Mrs. Shirai went to visit him weekly.

\(^{322}\) *Shochu* is a distilled spirit, similar to vodka.

\(^{323}\) Christiënne Smith, Field Notes, May 7, 1996, Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan.

\(^{324}\) Christiënne Smith, Field Notes, May 7, 1996, Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan.
"My mother worked in the house, and she worked in the cocoon shed. My grandmother was the manager. She raised silk worms, and also she had many employees working in the silk shed. She would hire the young daughters of the tenants to feed the silk worms. They made a racket! Silk worms have to eat all the time. They eat leaves all the time, and you can't let them go hungry. So there were young girls there who worked in the silk worm shed. They also, I remember, had to put the cocoons in very hot water and take the dead worms out. My mother helped with this, and her hands were always red from the scalding water. My grandmother had the girls spin the silk out of the cocoon so thin, it was a like one thin hair. That's the kind of work my mother and grandmother did. But it was my grandmother who managed everything. My mother worked for her just like the tenant girls did." 325

"I became a bride at eighteen. I only saw [my future husband] once time before marrying. Later, mother asked me what I thought of him. I had not noticed anything particular about him except that his ears seemed very big.

325 Shirai Interview, May 6, 1996.
Mother said big ears was a sign of good luck because the Buddha himself had big ears [laughing at the memory]. She was probably right because I have had good fortune my whole life.

"So I got married. It was [doing the math in her head], oh...what, 1930-something, I can't remember, except that I was eighteen. I had my eldest son the next year, and my next son after that. Then, let's see... [thinking hard] there was a year or two between Yabe-kun and Na-chan, so... anyway, I had babies really fast, one after another, and I was very busy with that for the first few years. I was also busy learning about the brewery because I didn't have any experience with that. It was tough going those years!"  

"...Now, it was around the 1940s that I first got the idea of distilling shochu. There was war going on [in China] and lots of sake breweries had to shut down because the government would not let them use rice for sake. Because Shirai was a big brewery, we didn't have to go out of business, but I was thinking maybe we should make some kind of a thing that didn't need rice. Some kind

326 Ibid., May 6, 1996.
of drink you could make out of any old thing, which is what shochu is. Now shochu is a working man's drink. Rich people drink sake, poor people drink shochu. I got to thinking that shochu was a good business to be in because there were a lot more poor people than rich people. And because of the war, the number of poor people was growing faster than the number of rich people. Of course! So that's what I told my husband. I told him that we ought to branch out, and make a product that didn't need rice, and which poor people liked to drink."

"He was against the idea. He said 'our House has a fine reputation that has lasted more than a hundred years. We brew the highest quality sake for the tastes of the highest quality people. To cater to the tastes of the lower classes would damage our house's reputation. On top of that, distilling shochu makes a horrible stench that will ruin the delicate flavor of the sake brewed in our factory. We do one thing well. Let us continue to do that thing well without distraction.'"

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327 Hakuei even makes a shochu that is distilled from black sesame seeds.

328 Shirai interview, May 6, 1996.

329 Ibid., May 6, 1996.
"I argued with him about it for almost ten years before I got tired of arguing. All the time I was reading books about distilling, it's a lot different from brewing, and there were a lot of things I didn't understand. Some of those old books, I couldn't even read all of the characters. So my studies frustrated me so much, that I decided to just ask a shochu-maker to explain it to me in terms that I could understand. So I packed a bag, and took the ferry to Tsushima.\footnote{Tsushima is an extremely remote island on the western-most edge of the Japan Sea. It is closer to Korea, visible to the naked eye on a clear day, than it is to Japan. The ferry that I took to Tsushima in 1996 trip from Fukuoka took around twenty-four hours.} This was just after the war ended. The most famous shochu distillery is in Tsushima. If you ask why that is so, the answer is because Tsushima is such a poor place that they can't grow hardly any rice. What rice they grow, they eat, so when the poor folks over there want to have a good time, they have to make spirits out of something that isn't rice. They make shochu over there out of potatoes and sweet potatoes. Nothing else. Just pure potato.
"I arranged a meeting with the *barito* (factory head) of the house and I asked him. I said, "Please teach me to distill *shochu*." Well, he couldn't do that without first talking to the head of the house. So I met with the head of the house next. I said, "please teach me to distill *shochu*."

He said, "Our family has been making the finest *shochu* in Japan for generations! What makes you think that you, a woman, can succeed, when it has taken our family hundreds of years to perfect our craft?!

"Well I said to him, 'of course I can't succeed. I am just a woman, and can't help but fail.' He still didn't trust me, and he demanded to know, "why should I teach you how to distill *shochu*? So you can flood the market with your cheap, foul-tasting brew? So you can [undercut our prices] which are higher because of the care and craftsmanship we use?"

"I answered, 'Oh but I couldn't possibly bring an inferior *shochu* to market in the Kyushu area. *Shochu* drinkers in Kyushu are too discerning. If I did manage to succeed, I would only be able to sell such a poor product in some far way market, some place like Tokyo, or even further north where no one knows anything about *shochu*."
I never thought to sell shochu in Kyushu. To try would be laughable!“331

At this point in the narrative, I interrupted Mrs. Shirai to make sure that I understood what to me seemed an almost incredible story: "you did this by yourself? You went to Tsushima all alone?" She indicated that she had. "Did any one know where you were or what you were doing?" She said that her mother-in-law had helped her plan the trip, and had helped her decide how to convince the distillery to share its trade secrets. "Did Mr. Shirai know where you were?" She indicated that, being in the hospital, he probably had not known, though she couldn't be sure. "But wasn't Mr. Shirai against your interest in shochu?" She indicated that he was. "Then why -- --" And here, she interrupted me firmly:

"Because it is my job is to look after this House. My husband [uchi no dona, literally 'the House's husband'], he has a hard-head [atama ga kai]. To this day he still has a hard head. He doesn't like to try anything new, not new food, not even a new variety of apple, you can slice it very prettily and present it to him on a special dish, and he

331 Shirai Interview, May 6, 1996.

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won't even try it! He'll taste it a little and just say, *iya* [yuck] before he even knows if it's tasty or not.

"On my first day as a bride in this House my mother-in-law explained it to me. A new bride, you know, is always a little afraid of her mother-in-law. But I was fortunate and grateful to have had a good mother-in-law. She said to me when I came to this house, 'my son has a good heart, but a hard head. Now you are a daughter of this house. You are my daughter, so it is important for you to know your duty. It is your duty to care for this house, not simply to please your husband.'"\(^\text{332}\)

The Tsushima distillery gave Mrs. Shirai two easy recipes which she hoped to have some success at duplicating. The most difficult problem was to find a facility in which to experiment with the distillation process. Recall than until 1955, Mrs. Shirai's husband, although bed-ridden, was still head of the household and still President of the company. She could not use company buildings for her distillery in part because of her husband's opposition, but also

\(^{332}\) Ibid., May 6, 1996. In some ways, it seems to me that this was an indirect way of telling the new bride that her job was to please her mother-in-law more than it was to please her husband. Thus, the House = the will of the mother-in-law. A mother-in-law training her son's wife in managing the family businesses is a pattern that I have encountered time and again throughout the course of this study.

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because of the risk of contaminating the fragile cultures used in sake brewing. Not being able to use a company building, she had no choice but to build a new one of her own. Such a building had to be situated in such a way that the fumes from the distillation process would not endanger the sake brewery at all. Going to her mother-in-law with these problems, her mother-in-law agreed to allow Mrs. Shirai to build the distillery on an undeveloped piece of family property, quite distant from the brewery, that had originally been part of her own dowry. She had no real cash assets, however. So Mrs. Shirai determined to obtain a bank loan.\textsuperscript{333}

"I was very surprised when I was told that [the bank] could not consider my loan request, but would be happy to reconsider if my husband made the request himself. You understand? They would not loan me money, but they would have loaned it to my husband. [Even for] the same project. [Even though it was] same amount of money. But not to a wife even though we held the same collateral. I thought to myself, well isn't that just too stupid?! And of course my husband didn't know anything at all about what I was up to, so I was really in a bind! I got really angry,

\textsuperscript{333} Shirai Interview, May 6, 1996.
and said in a loud voice: 'I am Shirai Yachie of Shirai Consolidated Brewery!' I can sometime be quite loud normally, but when I am angry I am really loud, so my voice, naturally, got louder and louder. 'Shirai Consolidated Brewery has been a loyal customer to this bank for many years! When our family has required credit in the past, we were very pleased to have it granted promptly, without embarrassing questions or needless delay! We have always paid our debts to this bank quickly, and with gratitude, because it was our responsibility to do so! People in that bank office were staring because I was so loud and angry. The manager became very frightened, and his sweat was running from his face like rain! 'Shirai Tetsujiro, head of the Shirai family, and of Shirai Consolidated Brewery is ill and can not rise from his bed!' she mockingly boomed, exaggerating her vowels, and using antiquated grammatical structures usually encountered in samurai television dramas.\(^\text{334}\)

\(^{334}\) Christiënne Smith, Field Notes, May 7, 1996, Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan.
"Department heads rushed over to calm me, and they even brought the bank president to find out what was wrong and to find out how they could placate me. Someone asked, "does your husband know you're here?' Well I don't like to lie so very often, so I answered by saying, 'he is the head of our family.' They approved the loan to stop me from making a public scene."

When I asked Mrs. Shirai about the meaning of nyosai kenbo she made a disdainful face and replied,

"Nowadays young women think that yes-yes-yes-ing their husbands is what it means to be a good wife. They sit around drinking tea with their friends, yes-yes-yes-ing their husband to their faces, but then going back to drinking tea with their friends or going off on shopping trips. A good wife isn't a yes-yes woman. A good wife is a woman who has prepared herself so that she is able to be of use. If a woman knows how to be of use to her husband, and to her family, then she can be responsible for her words, and responsible for her thoughts. Then she has the

335 Shirai Interview, May 6, 1996.

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right to say what she thinks, even if her husband does not
like what she has to say.\textsuperscript{336}

Entrepeneurs from lower class \textit{shōmin} roots who marry into the
middle class have several options. Theoretically, they can comfortably
become full-time housewives if they have internalized the Good
Wives/Wise Mothers doctrine in a relatively unfiltered form. My
interview informants regularly asserted that although they attempted
to be full-time professional housewives, they constantly felt an itch to
do something, to have something of their own \textit{[jibun de nani ka mochita]}.
This suggests that their sense of identity crisis was not because they
were failing to satisfy the dominant gender norm, but because their
lives failed to conform to a class specific gender norm in which women
are economically productive members of the family.

Such feelings, however, commonly brought these women into
conflict with the gender norms that were operating within their marital
families, their husbands and mother-in-laws. The most direct
resolution of the crisis of class conflict is divorce. As will be shown in
Chapter Six, divorce among Japanese women entrepreneurs is
significantly higher than among the general population. Furthermore,

\textsuperscript{336}What does it mean to be a Wise Mother?" I asked. "Oh there's nothing
mysterious about that. Everyone loves their children." she replied. Ibid., May 6, 1996.
my divorced informants regularly claimed that their desire to own a business destroyed their marriages. This subject will be explored in depth later.

On the other hand, some entrepreneurs experiencing crises of class conflict attempt to resolve the crisis in ways that preserved their marriages. In order for this to be successful, women must be engaged in businesses which are spatially, economically, and managerially discontiguous from the home. Such an orientation situates the business as modern and as middle class. Secondly, these entrepreneurs must practice what I call "justification and ultra-feminization," a pattern of behaviour which signals their ideological affirmation of the dominant normative standard. They justify their deviancy in terms of its philanthropic intent. The "good of the nation," the "uplift of women," the "health of our children," or the "love of the elderly," means that they recontextualize their behaviour not as selfish and unfeminine freakishness, but as a "personal sacrifice" which they are undertaking in service to society.  

They distinguished themselves from working women who describe their public careers as a part of the need for personal fulfillment by denouncing them for prioritizing personal fulfillment above domestic responsibilities. Some of them

even exhibited overt misogyny by articulating women’s intellectual and emotional inferiority to men.\textsuperscript{338} Lastly, this group of informants intentionally underscored their own characteristics as "maternal," and articulated the need to practice maternalism within their businesses as part of their overall managerial styles and strategies.\textsuperscript{339}

Let us examine several examples of the range of behaviours and patterns that comprise "justification and ultra-feminization."

In our 1992 interview, Ms. Adachi Yuriko, president of Women’s World Bank Japan, defined the entrepreneur (\textit{jitsugyôka}) as someone who starts a business for the purpose of bettering society.\textsuperscript{340} A person who established a business simply as a tool to produce, and market commodities in order to create profit was not an entrepreneur.\textsuperscript{341} Entrepreneurs, she claimed have been key in placing "community at the heart of business. Women are particularly aware of the needs of

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{338}]Takie Sugiyama Lebra reports a similar finding. Guilt among working housewives toward their spouses and children inspired a kind of mild misogyny, expressed in terms of the inferiority of women vis-a-vis men. See Lebra, \textit{Constraint and Fulfillment}, p. 250.
\item[\textsuperscript{339}]Kondo reports similar findings. See Kondo, p.295.
\item[\textsuperscript{340}]Compare this point of view to those of Shibusawa Eiichi, a turn of the century businessman, whose life’s work was legitimizing entrepreneurial pursuits in the eyes of a culture which believed businessmen to be leeches parasitizing society. Shibusawa and Adachi face a similar obstacle: Both face normative constructions of behaviour which they are seeking to change. What better way to do that than to show that the deviant behavior is truly a noble, self-sacrificing endeavor aimed at the betterment of Japan? See Byron K. Marshall, \textit{Capitalism and Nationalism in Prewar Japan: the ideology of the Business Elite}, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967).
\item[\textsuperscript{341}]Adachi Yuriko. Personal interview, February 30, 1992, Tokyo Japan.
\end{itemize}
community, and the businesses that they are establishing nowadays reflect this. It has become my *raison d’être* (*ikigai*) to assure that women’s unique entrepreneurial spirit can move forward despite traditions and institutional walls which block it.\textsuperscript{342} Significantly, Women’s World Bank Japan, which was established in 1989, provides loans, business seminars, training courses, and networking opportunities to middle class women\textsuperscript{343} interested in starting their own businesses. Such women are typically unable to secure credit because they lack employment histories, collateral, credit histories, and often can not secure a male guarantor to co-sign conventional loans. Adachi’s definition suggests that such women bring community awareness to the business world. Their community awareness justifies their gravitation toward the male gendered world of business.

Significantly, working-class women seem to have an easier time financing business start-up, partly because the size and scale of their businesses do not need to reflect middle class notions of modernity.

\textsuperscript{342}WWB/Japan, eds., p.18.

\textsuperscript{343} The structure of WWB/Japan’s program privileges full-time house wives. In order to receive a loan through this institution, applicants are required to take courses held during the week-day during day-time hours. The courses require fees that range from 30,000 to 80,000 yen. Working class women, when they were even aware of these services, claimed that they had neither time nor spare money to enroll in the requisite courses. Hayakawa, Sanae [pseudonym], "Hayagen Denki, Inc.," Personal Interview, 16 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan. Hanzawa, Kiriko [pseudonym], "Hanzawa Saketen," Personal Interviews 20 August, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan. Ishii, Keiko [pseudonym], "Mata Nyu," Personal Interview, 16 October, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
and therefore are cheaper to establish. In addition, although subject to the same institutional barriers to financing business start-up, they do not face the same degree of stringency compared to their middle class counterpart because they do have employment histories; they do own private property that can be used as collateral. Their male relatives willingly cosign for conventional loans, as well. Thus in some ways, working class women enjoy a wider range of economic options than do full-time professional housewives.

A strong example of a working class entrepreneur married to a middle class man is Mrs. Hara Akiko, an orthodontic implants manufacturer. On her survey, Mrs. Hara had indicated that her mother was a full-time housewife, but I learned otherwise during our interview. She cites her mother's life as one of the most important influences encouraging her to go into business for herself:

“To begin with, my father passed away when I was quite young, when I was a first year elementary school student. The situation at the time was that my little sister was three, and by brother was still in my mother’s belly. Because my father passed away, I have quite a few negative memories from childhood. [...] When my father died, I was about six at the time. I was the only one who understood [what was going on]. [...] So I was the hardest hit by our father’s loss.... My mother, all by herself with three children to support had a lot of hardship (tsurai koto shite iru); and I saw it all. As one would expect she would get up early in the morning to go to work, come home in late in
the evening and then go out again to her part-time work."344

At this point, I interrupted her story for clarification. "But on the survey you’ve listed her as a sengyô shufu (professional house wife) not as a part-time office worker....?345

"Our mother had two part-time jobs. The day part time job was cleaning office buildings downtown. It was filthy work (kitanai). Then at night she would come home, wash up, then go out to her arubaito [part-time job]. She had a little ramen stand that she set up near the station to sell hot soup to tired sarariman coming home late at night on the train. In the meantime, the responsibility for my brother and sister was mine. So I guess I’ve known ever since I was a very small child that I wanted to be rich.... One time I asked my mother, ‘why do you have to work like this?!’ And she answered ‘because we don’t have any food.’ My mother was someone who didn’t have any work experience so she could only do general part-time work."346

Mrs. Hara’s husband is a dental surgeon. His father is a businessman, and his mother is a full-time housewife. Mrs. Hara claims that she and her husband are lucky that he is not the eldest child or else his family would pressure them more strongly to have children. I pressed Mrs. Hara to talk about how a woman’s responsibilities as a wife and mother, and her responsibilities as a

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business owner should and did effect each another. She responded in this way:

"Well... Hmmm... I would have to say that it depends on the man. For example, my husband can't cook. He can't do laundry. Of course, he can't clean up or anything. He's a person who can't do a thing for himself. It's me, like all housewives, who sees to the cooking, cleaning and laundry. Of course, sometimes the laundry gets away from me (laughter). I try to get to it once or twice a week, but sometimes...(more laughter). Well, there are only two of us, so we don't need to do so much laundry. And at any rate I never let him run entirely out of clean clothes. But my husband doesn't complain. That kind of cooperation is important, don't you think? ...As for supper, we almost never eat together. Breakfast we eat together, then for lunch I put together a bento (boxed lunch). But I'm the woman, so it's me who comes home from the office in the middle of the day to do some shopping, throw in the laundry, or prepare some things for the next day's bento. Then it's back to the office. I come home, make supper for myself, eat, and then put his portion aside so that when he comes in it will be all ready. My mother did that sort of thing too, so a man who thinks that it's alright to arrange things that way is necessary if the marriage is to continue successfully. It's fine [to run a business] if your husband will cooperate and be understanding.... However, Japanese men...well...in my opinion...if I had ended up married to a typical Japanese man, we would have ended up separated by now (snicker)...so [everything depends on] mutual cooperation, right?"
Mrs. Hara goes to extreme lengths to adequately carry out her duty as wife. In fact, her husband's apparent helplessness in the house is a mechanism creating circumstances which allow her to manifest as a housewife.

"Now I don't have any children, so I can't for sure say [how starting a business does or should effect motherhood], but....hmmmm...if I had children, I wonder, maybe I would have to cut my workload in half...? I'd probably be a kyōiku mama[^349]! I'm that type, I think. Really, I am! On the other hand, [if a woman has children] I think it has an enormous impact on her business. Having a baby is really hard on a woman: nine months of pregnancy, morning sickness, the delivery [ugh! the delivery!], nursing and all the rest. In a really big company, if the president takes time off, the company can still go on about its business. But in a small company, if the president stops working, everything comes to a halt, right? I mean, a company with fifteen people [like mine]? So in a company like mine, pregnancy would be a major event (daijiken). I guess I ultimately think that you have to choose between them. It's work or children.**[^349]**

Mrs. Hara told me that she and her husband had agreed not to have children. She is the only married entrepreneur in my interview sample to so clearly reject motherhood. On the other hand,

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[^348]: Kyōiku Mama," literally, "education mama," is a term used for professional housewives who make the education of their children their sole concern. The kyōiku mama phenomenon is seen as key in getting children into top level schools. It is also considered to be somewhat of a neurosis, where mothers, with nothing else to do, live vicariously through the successes and failures of their children. Pressures from kyōiku mama are also sometimes linked to children with phobias about going to school due to the enormous pressure to succeed.

[^349]: Hara Interview, 27 March, 1992, Japan.
maternalism was a very strong component of her self-described managerial style.

"I'd say that from the outside, it looks like I'm very kind (ama). From the way we speak to each other [in the company], well, we don't use polite speech, and we're all on a first name basis. I don't stand over their shoulders either, and tell them 'do this' or 'do that.' I pour them their first cups of coffee, but if they want more they have to get it for themselves. I pour my own coffee. Actually, it might even be thought that I'm too kind (amasugerun ja nain desu ka?). Of course, sometimes I get angry. I've been told that when I'm angry I'm really frightful (laughter) but.... I try to manage the business in a family-like way. Without fail, I remember everybody's birthday. I give a big end of the year party (bonenkai). And I always give out bonuses because a lot of the time we have an incredible amount of work to do. I try to take care of them. Sometimes they work all the way through the night until seven o'clock in the morning. If someone makes a mistake, then the whole project has to be done again. It's that kind of a technical industry. So in that situation, when they've struggled all night, I make sure they get food, noodles or something for supper; and I drive back to the office in the late evening to bring them snacks to let them know that I've noticed how hard they are working.350

Furthermore, Mrs. Hara describes her opinion of women employees in the same terms typically used by male managers to explain why women are not suitable for the managerial track.351


"I don't like to use girls as employees. I don't have a single girl in the dental studio. All of my employees are men. I have two part-time girls in my coffee shop, so that's how I know that girls aren't really able to be properly responsible, you know? Typical girls aren't, that is. As a woman, I know that girl's minds...(conspiratorial smile at me as if I too have experienced this)...well...girls' minds wander and go off in all different sorts of directions. For example, if a man makes a mistake, I can say to him 'it's your error. You have to do it all over again!' He'll stay all night of his own volition and take care of it. If it were a girl, if I were to tell her that it was her responsibility to stay late and fix an error that she had made, she would claim that she's afraid to go home late at night, or that she has something at home that she has to do, or some such, and get out of taking care of the mistake. I suppose if it's just a typical Office Lady in a typical office, maybe a girl would make an alright employee. But my business requires a lot of time and a high level of precision so..... So. I don't think I could use girls."

Another entrepreneur in my interview sample of interest is Mrs. Tokunaga Ryoko, creator and publisher of Kyushu's most popular parenting and child-rearing magazine. During our interview, Mrs. Tokunaga claimed that her early life was strongly affected by her parents' acrimonious divorce. As a result, she decided not to marry, and to take the career-track through university into professional journalism.

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353 Tokunaga, Ryoko [pseudonym] "Huppal Huppal Ltd.," Personal Interview, September, 30, 1996.
Mrs. Tokunaga found journalism as a field to be highly competitive, and extremely hostile to women. Dissatisfied, she began to search for an area outside of the news room, where she could put her journalistic training and interest in publishing to use. Ironically, she discovered a market niche in the local parenting and child-rearing magazine industry. The majority of publishers, which are located in Tōkyō, did not adequately serve the needs and situations of people living in Kyushu. In addition, the field became increasingly interesting to her as she noticed how feminism and feminist debates focused on the problems and issues of working women. In this way, the idea of a regional mothering and child-rearing magazine began to take shape.354

Mrs. Tokunaga, at the time, was still a single woman in her mid-thirties. She wryly admitted she hardly seemed a legitimate advocate of motherhood or child-rearing. She had explicitly rejected mothering and child-rearing because of her mother's painful example. However, as she engaged in feminist activism advocating public awareness of the special needs of women and children, when she lobbied the prefectural government to place baby care stations in public restrooms, she

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354 Ibid., September, 30 1996.
strongly felt that as a career woman she had little authority as a motherhood advocate.\textsuperscript{355}

As she explains the story, she decided to marry in order to increase her authority within her magazine's market niche, with her consumers, and with the young activist mothers whom she was attempting to lead.\textsuperscript{356} I asked her how it happened. She replied, "He was a friend and supporter of many of us women reporters at the newspaper. We were friends after I left; and [he] supported my effort to start up the magazine. When I told him about my troubles, he said, 'why don't we get married?' So we did."\textsuperscript{357} I asked her whether she was a Good Wife; and she indicated definitively that she was not. "But we both adore our little boy, and we don't fight [so much] so it worked out alright."\textsuperscript{358}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{355} Ibid., September, 30 1996.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{356} It has been my observation that many Japanese people, men and women alike, who deeply love their spouses tend to deny that love publically by complaining about their spouses, or denegrating them for flaws real or imagined. "My wife is a terrible cook!" Or, "My husband has a hard head!" It has occurred to me (after the fact, of course, and many years later) that Mrs. Tokunaga's narrative concerning her motivation for marrying her husband are a part of this behaviour pattern. However, at the time of the interview, I was firmly convinced that marriage was a decision that she made in order to achieve the "adult" stature necessary to advocacy, and community leadership.
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\textsuperscript{357} Tokunaga Interview, September, 13, 1996.
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\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{358} Ibid., September, 13, 1996.
\end{flushleft}
Despite what might seem a rather mercenary reason for marriage, Mrs. Tokunaga did indicate that the birth of her son transformed her interest in mothers' advocacy from a simple business decision, from an abstract feminist ideal, into a personal crusade.

"The first time I went out in public with my baby, I had to nurse him while standing over a filthy toilet. There was nowhere private to sit down. In the stall, there was no place to put my bag. It fell into the toilet. The baby's blanket got on the floor where people had urinated and defecated and... I understood then that being a mother in Japan has hardships too. A career-woman's hardships, well, men can understand those quite easily. But you can't understand a mother's hardships unless you've been a mother."

Middle class women who have internalized the dominant gender norm but marry into working class families also face powerful conflicts in normative gender roles. In such cases, it is her new family's standard of appropriate female behaviour rather than her birth family's that a woman must satisfy. One woman in my interview sample, Mrs. Kato Hidome, married "down." Her marital family is economically upper-middle class, but is socially from the working class. Her husband is the eldest son and heir of a lumbering empire which cuts

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359 Ibid., September, 13, 1996.
and imports trees from Gabon and the American Pacific Northwest. 

Mrs. Kato was required to open an after hours establishment where her husband could entertain his customers, clients, and business associates from around the world. Mrs. Kato vehemently protested. She took to her bed, and even engaged in a ten day hunger strike in order to force her marital family to give up on what she considered to be a humiliating request. Her mother-in-law was not daunted by such tactics, however, and constantly criticized her with taunts of "you must think you are the crown princess!" and "if you can't be of any use to us why don't you go back home to your own people?" and "only the woman who birthed you should have to put up with such uselessness!"  

The argument which moved her, however, came from her husband. "One night, he came to my room, sat down next to me and held my hand. He asked me, 'is it that you would rather I went to the mizu-shobai?"  

Like working class entrepreneurs who marry into the middle class, middle class entrepreneurs who marry into the working class establish businesses that are inscribed with markers of modernity as 

360 Kato, Yumiko, [pseudonym], "Berusai Horu, Ltd.," Personal Interview, October 18, 1996. 
361 Essentially, he has asked her whether or not she would prefer for him to take a mistress who would play the role of hostess to his business clients. Mrs. Kato understood this question as being a mark of his great respect and love for her. For more on the mizu-shobai, See Chapter 7.
well as class markers. It goes without saying that Mrs. Kato's
restaurant is spatially, economically, and managerially discontiguous
from her home. Furthermore, the building itself looks like a European
villa, and is situated on a hill overlooking the bay. In addition to
serving expensive French cuisine, the first floor houses its own cake
shop. Her staff includes a professional pastry chef, and a professional
roux chef. Furthermore, Mrs. Kato uses the space to host a regular
classical concert series. She claims that talented musicians from the
region had frequently debut with her.

Of the decor, Mrs. Kato claims, "I made him [her husband] import
every dish, every curtain, every table and chair, even the carpet from
Paris. I wanted to create an elegant atmosphere different from any
other place in the city." By all accounts she has succeeded. Any taxi
driver in Fukuoka knows where Mrs. Kato's establishment is. She is
booked for weddings two years in advance.363

III. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have used qualitative examples to put forward
an hypothesis which attempts to explain the complex ways in which

362 Kato Interview, October 18, 1996.
363 Ibid., October 30, 1996.
Japanese women entrepreneurs navigate the conflicts between their economic agency, and the dominant gender norm which defines womanhood in terms of her domestic role.

Most working class women who came to adulthood in the aftermath of the Second World War have internalized, to varying degrees, the hegemonic gender norm in which a woman's role is domestic and reproductive. Such women often experience a sense of conflict between the older class specific gender norm which requires her economic agency and the hegemonic norm which requires her domesticity. In cases where the entrepreneur has married into a working class family, the conflict will remain a predominantly internal struggle in which the entrepreneur can "erase" her aberrant behaviour in order to preserve a fictive compliance with the hegemonic standard. However, such fictive compliance requires the entrepreneur's business to be spatially, fiscally, and managerially contiguous with the home. As has been previously indicated, such organizational artifacts are remnants from Japan's premodern business system, and also are a part of a perceived traditional business system.

It is important to note that some working class women entirely reject the hegemonic gender norm, and claim that professional housewives are themselves deviant. In general, these women achieved their adulthood before or during the Second World War.
A much more serious identity crisis occurs in cases where entrepreneurs marry across class lines. In such cases, not only does the entrepreneur's economic agency conflict with the hegemonic gender norm, her birth family's class specific expectations also may conflict with her marital family's class specific gender norm. In cases where working class women had married into white collar families, the entrepreneurs that I interviewed indicated that they started their businesses out of an internal sense of incompleteness, out of a desire to contribute to the family, or out of a desire to exercise the economic agency that their own mothers had exercised. Some divorced women them claimed that business ownership caused their divorces, as assertion which we will examine more closely in the following chapter. Other entrepreneurs negotiated the conflicting norms by justifying their economic agency as a selfless and philanthropic act. They also verbalized strong ideological support for the hegemonic norm in spite of their actual deviance from it. Furthermore, they underscore their domestic identities by practicing maternalism within their businesses.

Consider Figure 5.1 compares approximations of the prewar class structure referenced to practiced gender norms, and the postwar class structure referenced to practiced gender norms.\textsuperscript{364} The lightly shaded

\textsuperscript{364} This hypothesis is still undergoing quantitative evaluation; and will require the creation of a more refined and specific survey vehicle.
areas indicate an expansion in the size of the middle class, as well as an expansion in the prevalence of the middle-class gender norm over time. The darker shaded regions are indicate at least a theoretical contraction in the size of the lower class, as well as the contraction of working class gender norms over time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taisho Class Designations</th>
<th>General Class Association</th>
<th>General Economic Standing</th>
<th>Class-Specific Gender Norm?</th>
<th>Postwar General Class Association</th>
<th>Class-specific Gender Norm?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shizoku</td>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Economically Advantaged</td>
<td>Reproductive</td>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Reproductive</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
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<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Reproductive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kazoku</td>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Economically Advantaged</td>
<td>Reproductive</td>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Reproductive</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
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<td>Shōmin</td>
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<td>Economically Disadvantaged</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.1: A Comparison of Approximated Prewar Class Structure with Reference to Expected Gender Norms and Approximated Postwar Class Structure with Reference to Expected Gender Norms

365 See Figure 2.1
Figure 5.2 brings together gender, labour, spatial orientation, and business systems with class and social status. The lower right quadrant represents the portion of the business community which is most similar to the premodern business system. The upper left quadrant represents the portion which retains the least. As we have indicated throughout, the modern business system is gendered male, and features the least contiguity with the ie. The premodern business system is gendered female, and features the highest degree of contiguity between the family business and the ie.
Figure 5.2: The Relationship Between Space, Labour, Gender, Business Systems, Class, and Status

- **Modernity Ideal**
  - Formal Economy
  - High Status
  - Big business

- **Informal Economy** (Traditional Ideal)
  - Uchi (inside, home)
  - Lower/working class
  - Male norm transgressive
  - Female type of labor
  - Female norm transgressive

- **Soto** (outside, public, modern business system)
  - Small & medium businesses
  - Subcontractors - "free-lance" (white collar)
  - Petty businesses
  - Male type of labor

- **Status**
  - Male norm transgressive
  - Low Status
  - Hobbyists
The degree of contiguity or discontiguity between home and business is not only spatially, fiscally, and managerially meaningful. It is ideologically meaningful, and can be read as a class and status markers. A man whose business is situated along the lower half of the y-axis is enacting varying degrees of a class and status script. Such a man is engaged in business that is associated with the traditional business system. A woman whose business is situated along the upper half of the y-axis is enacting varying degrees of a middle-class, high status script. She is engaged in business that is associated with the modern business system.

The majority of Japanese women in my study operate businesses that can be situated along the lower half of the y-axis. Although they are transgressing the hegemonic gender norm, they are not transgressing a class specific gender norm, that is, not unless they were born to the middle class, married into the working class, and were “forced” to fulfill their marital family’s class specific norm. When women begin to operate businesses that are situated along the top half of the y-axis, they are transgressing into the public realm which is male-gendered and exclusive. She is enacting a male-gendered role. To negotiate this very deep transgression, she must justify her behavior while upholding the middle-class gender norm even as she violates it. Furthermore, it is of the utmost importance that her
business complies with the class and status markers of the modern business system. For example, all of the women subcontractors I interviewed rented office space separate from their homes. The one that did not had previously been renting an office space, but could no longer afford to do so and send her children to college, especially after Japan’s economic slow down began to impact her clients’ budgets. All of these women began their businesses from their homes, but rented office space as quickly as they could afford to do so. A business spatially contiguous to the home is too “feminine,” and implies a lack of professionalism that was necessary to the marketing of their technical skills in the male-gendered business world.

Women of middle class background, like Kato Yumiko, who was required by her working class marital family to open a business that is associated with working class women, a food establishment, tolerated doing so by inscribing the business with as many middle (and upper class) status markers as possible. She could be forced to work like a lower class woman by her working class family, but she refused to look like one in the process.\textsuperscript{366}

\textsuperscript{366} Kato Interview, October 18, 1996.
Identity crises and conflicts between various class-specific gender norms are the result of the homogenization of Japanese cultural practice over the course of the twentieth century. Such a homogenization was caused by effective State policies which sought to harness the collective power of the population by constructing a single coherent national identity in response to Western Imperialism. The process was so effective that it altered Japanese perception and memory of who they are and who they have been. It certainly must have a bearing on who they can become in the future.

Beneath the thick mantle of normative sameness bubble many conflicting class-based, regional, local expectations that have been erased from memory, but not excised from unexamined daily behaviours and values. In some ways, the analogy of the "Melting Pot" is more apropos to Japanese cultural experience than to the American cultural experience.
CHAPTER 6
WOMEN BEYOND THE PALE:
MISFITS AND OUTCASTS

"Gimme a pig foot
and a bottle o' beer!"
— a Bessie Smith tune

I. Introduction

Like the vast majority of Japanese women, women entrepreneurs in the 1996 survey were married. There are, however, a small but important number among them who might best be described as "misfits and outcasts." These are women who, for a variety of reasons, either fail or refuse to satisfy the social expectations placed upon other adults in their age cohort. Divorce, separation, or the decision to remain unmarried are non-compliant with societal norms, and as such, represent life decisions which can alienate an individual from a society in which norm aberrance is unacceptable.
Divorce among Japanese in the postwar period has been a relatively infrequent phenomenon. Marriage and family are now seen as the most stable and enduring of Japanese social structures. The United States, with its exotically high rates of divorce and crime, is frequently used to support the sanctity of the marriage bond in Japan, and to marginalize those who would choose to sever it.\textsuperscript{367}

Such a moralistic perspective has retarded both the statistical and conceptual sophistication of Japanese scholarship on marriage demographics, which treats divorce as an event so rare as almost to constitute a statistical outlier. Japanese divorce figures are not a mere abstraction. The 2.58 percent of divorced individuals in 1990 represents 2,578,759 souls, a statistical fraction of the population, but two and a half million living, breathing, interacting human beings nonetheless. Moreover, Japanese women divorce and remain divorced 300 percent more often than do their male counterparts. Divorce would seem to be overwhelmingly a women's issue: between two-thirds and three-quarters of divorcees in Japan - some 1,677,442 souls - are women. Revolutions have been sparked, regimes overthrown, and economies changed forever by the contributions of far fewer people.

Marital norm non-compliance is a catalyst between women and the male-gendered business world. Marital “misfits and outcasts” are a significant proportion, though by no means the majority, of women entrepreneurs. Their experiences and motivations are subtly different from those of married entrepreneurs. Subtlety does not imply insignificance. Marital norm non-compliant women do not claim financial necessity as a primary motivation for business start-up. Nor do they claim that individual proprietorship helps them to balance the mutually antagonistic roles of mother and bread-winner. These problems appear overwhelmingly as the problems of marital norm compliant entrepreneurs. In this regard, marital norm aberrance brings women a degree of economic and personal liberation unheard of and even envied by most who comply with the marital norms of society. Economic and personal liberation, however, often come at an excruciatingly high social and personal price.

II. Marriage as a Category of Imagined Norm-Compliance

In order to examine the difference between marital norm compliant and marital norm non-compliant entrepreneurs, it is important to first examine the prevalence of marital norm compliance within the general population. In the Japanese census, marriage is a category which obscures variations in human behavior, variations
which clearly deviate from sanctioned marital norms. The structure of
the census is the result of— as well as a tool used to support—a
problematic perception of the consistent, orderly, norm compliant
nature of the Japanese population.

Marital norm deviation is defined implicitly in terms of divorce.
Many more Japanese experience divorce than are reported, but they
remain invisible and their experiences are made marginal by the way
that marital statistics in Japan are structured. In the United States,
the divorce “rate” is based on the number of divorce actions filed and
granted in court. In Japan, divorce figures are not figured in terms of
the “rate” of change between marital statuses, but are based on the
percentage of the population which is divorced but *not yet remarried* at
the particular point in time that a survey is taken.  

Common-law marriages in which the cohabiting couple share
economic commitments without state licensure and without the
woman’s formal entry into the husband’s family *koseki* are included in
the “married” category for the purposes of the census, although the
couple’s intention of actual marriage is not clarified.  

“[M]arital
status is classified into the following categories according to the actual

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368 I do not mean to imply that one method is better than the other. Certainly
American marital demographics reflect constructs and representations of American
identity.

369 *Koseki* is a *family registry* where familial ancestry is recorded
situation at the census date regardless of whether the marriage has been registered or not. *Persons in common-law marriages are therefore classified as ‘married.’*

- **Never married:** a person who has not *yet* married;
- **Married:** a person who has a spouse (husband or wife);
- **Widowed:** a person who has been separated from his/her spouse by death *and is not married*;
- **Divorced:** a person who has parted from his/her spouse by divorce separation *and is not married to anyone else*\(^{370}\) (italics mine).

Typically, entry into the *koseki* is delayed until the successful birth of a child. The Japanese census, therefore, assumes that male-female cohabitation is the same as marriage; it also assumes that in such situations, the birth of a child *will* occur, and that the marriage will resolve into a normal, normative marriage, complete with a woman’s entrance into her husband’s family *koseki*.

Cohabiting couples who previously experienced divorce but cohabit with a different partner at the time a survey is taken can at best be described as *fictively* married. However, their categorization in the census as “married” creates the illusion of participation in *normative* marriage. The number of such cases cannot be known. Nor

can the number of cohabiting couples who never experience marriage be known. Finally, the number of people who do not formally divorce, and yet agree to break the minimal interpersonal connections which comprise “marriage” is also invisible in marital status statistics derived from the census. Clearly, the operating assumptions behind statistical surveys of marital status in Japan preclude the existence of aberrant behaviours. This obscures realities which might challenge the social constructs creating and defending Japanese cultural norms. In short, because of the way in which the data is generated, the Japanese census itself erases behaviours which would be considered aberrant from societal norms.

In order to underscore the imaginary nature of universal marital norm compliance as represented in the demographics of Japanese marriage, and in order to render implicit meanings behind the census categories explicit, I choose to recategorize the census marital data in terms of “compliance” and “non-compliance” vis-à-vis normative marital standards. Divorce is the only category with consistently accurate definitional criteria. I simply rename this category “marital norm non-compliant” to clarify that divorce is aberrant with regards to the dominant normative standard.
As discussed above, the Japanese census collapses a range of fictive marriage behaviours into the normative category of “marriage.” I rename this category “apparent marital norm compliance” to underscore the way in which variations are masked by and buried within an imagined universal marriage norm compliance. It must be stressed that because of how marriage is defined, these figures do not, in actuality, represent individuals who have never experienced divorce or separation. Nor does it mean that the census respondents were ever formally married. It only means that they appeared, at the time each census was taken, to comply with the norms of Japanese culture. Widows and widowers are also considered, here, as apparent marital norm compliant. Because widows and widowers were at one time married, and because their entry into the widow/er category permanently obscures possible aberrance in the past, I consider them to be only apparently marital norm compliant.

I recategorize individuals who are listed as “single” in the census as “unknown marital norm compliance” because it cannot be assumed that single persons in Japan are merely those who have not yet become marital norm compliant. The proportion of singles who will, at a future point in time, become norm compliant is unknown, as is the proportion of singles who will, by choice or fate, not comply with those norms. Some proportion of singles are marital norm non-compliant, but their
numbers cannot be known. Furthermore, my research experience suggests that the singles category is the one most commonly used by divorced or separated women to hide their non-compliant status. In other words, in surveys where respondents are asked to identify themselves as single, married, divorced, separated, or widowed, Japanese women sometimes lie, or at least perceive their marital status to be "single." On a number of occasions, I discovered that survey respondents who had identified themselves as "single" on my questionnaire were in reality divorced, a fact which I was only able to ascertain in follow-up interviewing. In one case, the discovery of an entrepreneur's testimonial inconsistency so upset the respondent that I brought the interview to a precipitous close. Later, she revealed to me that she did not want to admit to being divorced while in her office where her employees, for whom she maintained a correct (read: marital norm-compliant) demeanor, might overhear. The interview did proceed normally after I suggested that we conduct the interview in a restaurant where her employees would not overhear the details of her private life.  

The implication is that an unknown percentage of individuals identified in the census as "single" are in actuality divorced or separated. For these reasons, the life realities of individuals

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categorized as “unmarried” cannot be clarified and are therefore more accurately described as “unknown marital norm compliance.”

**III. Marital-Norm Compliance and Deviation in Japan, 1950 – 1990**

Table C.1 (Appendix C) shows apparent marital norm compliance as represented in the Japanese census from 1950 to 1990. Table C.2 shows the same for Fukuoka Prefecture. Between 1950 and 1990, roughly one-half to two-thirds of the marital age population appear in the census as “married.” Marital age is defined uniformly throughout the Japanese census between 1950 and 1995 as 15 years of age or older. Roughly two-thirds to three-quarters of the marital age populations of Japan, and of Fukuoka Prefecture in particular, appear as apparent marital norm-compliant in the postwar period.

Women appear to be more apparent marital norm-compliant than men but this is an illusion caused by the differential in life-expectancy between males and females which results in a disproportionately large population of widows compared to widowers. There is no reason to suspect that apparent marital norm-compliance would occur differently between Fukuoka Prefecture and Japan as a whole. Indeed, I find no real difference between the data for apparent marital norm compliance in Fukuoka Prefecture and Japan as a whole.
Table C.3 shows marital norm non-compliance as represented in the Japanese census from 1950 to 1990. Table C.4 shows the same for Fukuoka Prefecture. Recall that these figures only represent individuals who were divorced and/or separated but not yet remarried or cohabiting with a different partner at the time each census was taken. These are the statistics used to establish Japan’s comparatively low percentage of divorce.

In both Japan in general and in Fukuoka Prefecture in particular, approximately one to two percent of the marriage-age population was divorced each time the census was taken over the course of the post-war period. That number crept to three percent for Japan as a whole and 4.5 percent in Fukuoka Prefecture by the 1990 census.

The number of individuals unequivocally defined as “divorced” has remained relatively stable over forty years. The stability of the number of divorcees over time implies that at least some divorced individuals manage to re-enter the marital norm compliant category. If this were not the case, the number of divorced individuals reported in the census would increase over time through accumulation. This means that an unknown number of individuals re-enter the apparent marital-norm compliant category sometime after a divorce.
Two to three times more women appear as marital norm non-compliant than men in both Japan as a whole and Fukuoka Prefecture in particular. This implies that divorced men do not necessarily remain in a state of unequivocal marital norm non-compliance. They are able to remarry, either normatively or fictively (cohabitation) more often or more quickly than their female counterparts. For our purposes, it is important to note that a divorced woman has consistently been between 200 to 300 percent more likely to remain in a state of marital norm non-compliance than her ex-husband over the course of the post-war period. Fukuoka Prefecture seems to experience a slightly higher percentage of marital norm aberrance than Japan as a whole. However, the deviation is not strong enough to safely postulate the existence of marital norms in Fukuoka Prefecture which differ substantially from those in the general population during the post-war period.

Tables C.5 and C.6 show unknown marital-norm compliance in Japan as a whole, and in Fukuoka Prefecture in particular, as described in the Japanese census from 1950 to 1990. The number of Japanese men of unknown marital norm compliance has consistently been greater than the number of Japanese women of unknown marital norm. It is also possible to explain this phenomenon as an effect of the mortality differential between the sexes. Because Japanese men die younger than women, divorced women are likely to remain categorized as divorced whereas divorced men who die simply disappear from the census. An analysis of age as a variable in the demographics of marriage will be necessary to refine this discussion.
compliance in the post-war period. This is caused by the age difference at which Japanese women marry compared to Japanese men. On average, Japanese women marry younger than their male counterparts, and therefore exit the unknown marital norm compliance category sooner. Fukuoka does not show any real difference in the percentage of unknown marital norm compliance. There is no reason to suspect that there would be more or fewer people of unknown marital norm compliance in Fukuoka Prefecture than in the Japanese population in general.

Figure 6.1 shows marital-norm compliance among women entrepreneurs from the survey I conducted in Fukuoka Prefecture between 1996 and 1997.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Norm</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Compliance</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparent Compliance</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Compliance</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Categories</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.1: Marital Norms Among Japanese Female Entrepreneurs, 1996–1997.
I have asserted elsewhere that the majority of entrepreneurs in my study are marital norm compliant. In fact, 73.7 percent of entrepreneurs I surveyed were compliant, or close to three-quarters, not far from marital norm compliance in the general female population. However, 11.6 percent of Japanese women entrepreneurs I surveyed were marital norm non-compliant, four times the 1990 national average. Furthermore, the 14.7 percent of unknown marital-norm compliant women can be reliably recategorized as marital norm non-compliant because of additional information gathered in the survey. The average age of women of unknown marital-norm compliance was 49 years. It is not unreasonable to argue that single Japanese women of this age will most likely never marry, have chosen not to marry, are for some reason unable to marry, or in actuality are dissembling about their true marital status. Therefore, in total, 26 percent of the Japanese women entrepreneurs surveyed are marital-norm non-compliant. Marital norm non-compliance is powerfully associated with female entrepreneurship in Fukuoka Prefecture. Insofar as I have found no significant differences between the lives of women in Fukuoka Prefecture and the lives of Japanese women elsewhere, I maintain that Fukuokan women can adequately represent the broader experiences of Japanese women in general.
IV. Marital-Norm Non-Compliance: the Problem of Free Radicals Loose in a Sexually Segregated Society

The first question one might ask of the above data is whether or not a causal relationship exists between female entrepreneurship and marital norm non-compliance. If so, in which direction does the vector of causality travel? Evidence from the forty interviews that I conducted while living in Fukuoka Prefecture indicates that while marital norm non-compliance is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for entrepreneurship, it is nevertheless a powerful catalyst which can place and keep a woman in close proximity to the androfocal, male gendered sphere of the business world.

The normative pattern of the female life course was specifically constructed to control and regulate the access between unrelated men and women. The gynofocal world of the “typical” full-time housewife, though it does not completely prevent it, nevertheless constrains a woman’s access to male relationships in the androfocal arena of soto. Proximity and access are necessary to the crossing of gender boundaries. Marital-norm non-compliance opens access to a world which a woman might otherwise not possess. It is in this way that marital norm non-compliance can be said to “cause” female entrepreneurship.

This argument opposes what many of my divorced informants clearly articulate: that entrepreneurship causes divorce. Although I do
believe, and have argued that conflicts in a married couple's class-specific expectations are sufficient to cause a divorce, we must be very careful of concluding that are the necessary cause of divorce.

For example, consider the case of Aoki Michiko, owner of an advertising planning and production agency.\textsuperscript{373} Ms. Aoki has been divorced twice. We learn that the second divorce occurred just prior to the birth of her son, and that her ex-husband has never seen his child. He remarried directly after their divorce, and has a son with his second wife who is exactly the same age as Ms. Aoki's son. She describes the causes of the divorce in this way:

"I'm a really bad person. If I'd been able to give my husband more understanding, it would have worked out better. But I didn't want to work. I didn't want to stop working... But [before we decided to marry] he said with his mouth that a woman having a job was all right. But in the final analysis...? For example, I'd have a party and invite his friends. The next day I'd be busy at work so I'd leave in the morning without straightening up the house. He really hated that.... He'd do it for me, but he really, really hated it. He had a woman on the side, but it wasn't because of that that he wanted a divorce. Ultimately, his way of living as a scholar and a researcher didn't go well with mine... My ex-husband is actually a very good person. When I think about what I could have done to make our marriage work better, I'd have to say that I should have been more careful of the small details of daily living. I wasn't careful, so it didn't work out. He said with his mouth, for example, that we should divide responsibilities in child-rearing and cleaning and other household duties. But his real feelings

\textsuperscript{373} Aoki, Michiyo [pseudonym]. "Hinode Services Ltd." Personal Interview. 24 May, 1996. Fukuoka, Japan.
were very, very different. And I didn’t notice. I wasn’t
careful enough. I wasn’t a good wife or a wise mother. I
wasn’t an adult. Really, if I’d been more mature.... But
I’ve only recently begun to mature. It was good that he
divorced me. For his sake. Probably for mine, too. I feel
that I was still very immature.374

Consider also the case of Shimizu Takako, the owner of an
upscale coffee shop. At the time of her interview she and her husband
were somewhat estranged. She lived in an enormous house on top of a
hill overlooking the ocean. She gave me a tour of the impressive
grounds and the house, making a point to show me the untidy sprawl
of bedclothes and dirty laundry that covered the tiny closet that was
her husband’s bedroom.

“That animal!” she laughed. “That’s where I keep him. He
belongs to X company and is never here.”

After the interview, she demonstrated her newest hobby, the tea
ceremony. Afterwards, while we were pleasantly chatting, the outdoor
shoji [paper screen] rattled, and she hissed with sudden agitation, “Oh
that man! He’s here!” She called out “okaoe!” while rolling her eyes at
me in a very strange way that implied that she and I were the in-group
while he was the interloper.375

374 Ibid., 24 May, 1996.

375 Okaoe is a ritual greeting, something like, “welcome home!”
Mr. Shimizu came into the living room. His suit was rumpled. His eyes were bloodshot, and he smelled like a hooch still. He also sported a painful-looking, oozing, black and purple wound in the middle of his forehead. The stitches had not yet been removed. I didn’t mean to stare but I suppose that I must have been because Ms. Shimizu glanced at my shock, then flung out at him, “drunk again, are you?” Mr. Shimizu merely blinked at me in amazement. “He’s always drunk,” she confided to me nastily. “He fell down the station stairs last week and hit his head. You were drunk, weren’t you?!”

Mr. Shimizu finally replied, “I didn’t fall down any stairs (indicating that he might, indeed, have been drunk). You hit me in the head with a rock, you evil old bitch!”

Mercifully, the Shimizus have since divorced. Ms. Shimizu explained it in this way:

“The shop really took off! I opened a new franchise a little closer to Tokyo, and have been able to staff both shops with compatible pastry chefs. I was worried on this account because I did not want my main chef to be inconvenienced with such a big burden of baking for two shops so far apart; but I also didn’t want him to feel inconvenienced by having a second chef with whom he could not come to agreement.... Mr. Shimizu became quite jealous of my success. We both enjoyed our work very much, and could find no compromise, and so I am sorry to

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tell you that we agreed to divorce more than two years
ago.377

Though both Ms. Aoki and Ms. Shimizu assert that business
ownership disrupted their married lives, it is clear from details
included in Ms. Aoki’s narrative, and from details deduced from my
observations of Ms. Shimizu’s life, that much more complicated
interpersonal dynamics were at play.378 Although I have been able to
formulate a theoretical explanation for the role of female
entrepreneurship in divorce, I continue to experience an intellectual
reluctance to uncritically accept my informants’ assertions that
business ownership caused their divorces. After all, 74 percent of the
survey respondents were marital norm compliant. If entrepreneurship
did cause divorce, I would expect to see a greater percentage of marital

377 This reference to Mr. Shimizu was specific to my letter which politely
requested that she give my greetings and regards to her husband. I had not been in
touch with the Shimizus for several years and did not know that they had divorced.
Shimizu Takako [pseudonym], Personal communication, October 12, 1995.

378 It has been my experience that Japanese people in general, and women in
particular, sometimes verbalize responsibility for situations that are clearly not their
fault as a way to shame another party who also bears some responsibility. This
complicates the task of understanding Japanese utterances concerning fault and fault
finding. Ms. Aoki, I believe, blames herself for her divorce, and feels that she is truly
incapable of marriage because of what she perceives to be her own deeply entrenched
personality flaws. She supports this by citing her first divorce as an example. I
conclude that she truly is attempting to accept responsibility in this case based on the
entirety of the interview, and based on the frankness with which she and I spoke.
Clearly, this observation is the researcher’s intuition, and cannot be substantiated
beyond the explanation given here. It is also important to point out that Japanese
women often verbalize responsibility for family frictions in particular because
maintenance of family harmony is considered to be part of a wife’s duty; furthermore,
the unspoken taboo against criticizing ranking males in a household results in some
women being literally unable to conceive of placing blame upon their husbands.
norm non-compliance in the survey population. In any case, divorce is
rarely a moncausal event; and certainly not in a culture where divorce
is both a public and private shame. Business-ownership can serve as
a scapegoat, and may serve to hide other conflicts which cause
marriage to fail.

Some single entrepreneurs whom I interviewed also claimed that
business ownership disrupted their ability to marry. For example,
Kitamoto Naomi, 48, is a doctor of acupuncture and moxibustion. She owns her own clinic which she established in 1978 at the age of
twenty-seven. She began her studies of acupuncture and moxibustion
directly upon graduating from high school, completed an
apprenticeship, and took her first job administering acupuncture for an
obstetrics clinic during years which were the most likely for her to
make a good match.

"My parents were supportive of my studies.... at that time
I was terribly shy. The only boys I knew were in school
with me. I was the only girl in those days. We were more
like comrades than anything else.... And I was always very
competitive with them because I was afraid that...
well...being a girl, my skills [would be considered inferior].
When we went out together as a group, we only talked
about our art. My head was full of needles, technique,
physiology...I wasn't very feminine. I didn't have the time.
And I was afraid.... Being feminine makes one
seem...well...not quite [competent].

379 Kitamoto, Naomi [pseudonym], "Sawada Harikyu-in," Personal Interview, 21

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"One day, it was like I woke up from a deep sleep: my time of life for marriage was passing like the bullet-train! I asked my mother if she could arrange an omiai for me. Once or twice I was invited [to omiai], but...[nothing ever came of it]... [With regards to] my new interest in marriage, Mother said 'What?! Now?! After all this time?! You'll never find [a husband]! What man [will marry you]? You don't need [a husband]. You just have to continue taking care of yourself.'

"At the time, I felt humiliated and strange. I didn't know any single women. When my high-school friends met, it was always to talk about babies and such. I felt like I had missed something important. Now I think that my mother paid me a very great compliment because she really needed my father. They took care of each other. That's the big difference between my generation and her's. [Ours got] enough education to take care of ourselves...but.... It makes it very hard [to get married]."\textsuperscript{380}

As in Dr. Kitamoto's case, the timing of, as well as the time invested in technical training certainly could impede a woman's ability to locate a spouse if such training were to occur during her most eligible years.

I believe, however, that more subtle dynamics are at play. Marital-norm aberrance can be said to cause entrepreneurship insofar as norm non-compliance places women into a closer and unhindered proximity to the androfocal realm of the business world. Norm-

\textsuperscript{380} Omiai is a prospective couple's initial meeting for an arranged marriage. It is usually orchestrated by a go-between, and is still practiced today.

\textsuperscript{381} Kitamoto Interview, 30 January, 1996.
compliant women do have access to this realm, but that access is mitigated by, controlled by, and contextualized in terms of a husband, either living or dead. In short, single and divorced women have more opportunities to see businesses in operation, to have direct contact with male business-owners and managers, and to enter into professional, friendly, or sexual relationships with them than do their married counterparts whose primary roles as mothers and wives limits the amount of time and the ways in which they can interface with males in the business world. Marital norm non-compliant women are better able to transgress gender boundaries, are better able to explore behaviours which interface with a world considered largely male-exclusive. Marital norm non-compliance is a comparative, competitive advantage.

What norm non-compliant women gain in competitive advantage, they lose in social status. Marital norm-compliant women are not sexually available to the male public at large. Restriction to *uchu* binds a mature woman’s sexuality, at least theoretically, to contractual monogamy. Such a contract gives women social respect as well as protection from unwanted sexual aggression. In Japan, a man who

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382 Marital norm compliant entrepreneurs can gain access to this realm through their husbands, living or dead. See Lebra, *Constraint and Fulfillment*, p. 303. Also, a wife’s role in conjugal partnership establishments is invariably described as that of “helper.” For example, see Jean R. Renshaw, *Kimono in the Boardroom: the Invisible 255
sexually approaches a respectably married woman is guilty of a socially incorrect behaviour; a man who sexually approaches other women is much less so.

The failure to marry, or the decision to divorce, prevents or renders null and void the normative social contracts meant to control the sexualities of women valued primarily as reproductive. Aberrance places marital norm non-compliant women in a liminal social space where rules governing their behavior, in particular, their sexual behavior, require constant monitoring and negotiation. Marital norm non-compliance complicates the clarity of the *onna wa uchi/otoko wa soto* division because marital status contextualizes female sexuality, making women sexually available, and therefore potentially morally degenerate.

A notable example of a divorced entrepreneur is Makita Kayoko, president of Adobaiza Media Sabisu, Inc., a marketing research and advertisement consulting firm. Makita began her entrepreneurial debut retailing expensive kimono in the late 1960s. By the early 1980s, profitability in the kimono retail business had declined due to


383 This case, like that of Kato Yumiko, is one where the class background of the marital family allowed, indeed encouraged, (in Kato's case, forced) the wife to start a business. In both cases, the businesses were part of the female-gendered sphere (traditional clothing retail, and *mizu-shobai*).
the changing tastes of young Japanese women, who preferred to spend their disposable income on trips abroad or on new cars rather than on expensive traditional clothing. Ms. Makita’s relationship with her husband had slowly deteriorated over the course of this period, but they mutually decided to maintain their marriage until their children had graduated from college. After the children were gone, Ms. Makita and her husband divorced as planned. One of Ms. Makita’s investors, a 30 percent shareholder in Adobaiza Media Sabisu, Inc., was one of her ex-husband’s business associates. Ms. Makita claims quite openly that his know-how and guidance were vital in helping to plot the course of her new marketing and advertising research agency during its rough infancy.\footnote{Makita, Kayoko [pseudonym], "Adobaisu Media Sabisu, Inc." Personal Interview, 10 May, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.}

When it became known that I had interviewed Ms. Makita, who is a rather prominent entrepreneur in Fukuoka, several members of a women’s business organization let me know obliquely that she had been divorced and that she was someone’s mistress.\footnote{Ironically, it was the same women’s business organization which invited Ms Makita to speak at a conference specifically on women entrepreneurs.} It was suggested that she was not a “real” entrepreneur because her business was being supported by contributions from her lover. The three women who (independently) brought this “gossip” to me were all
married. All of them had either borrowed money from a spouse, a spouse had co-signed loans for their businesses, or a spouse was a share holder in the corporation. All of them cited their husbands as important resources in getting their businesses off of the ground. Ms. Makita and the alleged relationship with her lover, however, were considered “illegitimate.” Whether or not Ms. Makita’s relationship with her ex-husband’s associate was romantic, sexual, platonic, or purely professional is not nearly as important as the fact that as a divorced woman, she could not, in the eyes of the community, have male business associates without that relationship being construed as immoral.386

Non-compliant entrepreneurs’ sexual availability can be cloaked in respectability in only one of two ways which apply only to single women. First, pre-marriage courting rituals imply *future* marital norm compliance, and hence they accord the unmarried transgressor a kind of extended grace period. Second, sexual tension can be diminished when a single woman’s relationship vis-à-vis status-bearing males is recast in fictive kinship terms. This redefines the connection between single entrepreneurs and their male customers, competitors, and suppliers in such a way as to diminish the possibility of sexual

386 See Kato Yumiko, Tokunaga Ryoko, and Watanabe Michiko. (Appendix B)
tension. Single women entrepreneurs are insulated from sexual harassment to a degree that, as we shall see, is not enjoyed by their divorced counterparts.

Unmarried entrepreneurs in my interview sample commonly claimed that they were treated by male clients, competitors, and suppliers in a manner best described as avuncular. Some even reported the warm and friendly exchange of fictive kinship terms. Others complain that the fictive kinship relationship, rather than being helpful, was obnoxious, experiencing it as condescension. For example, Nakahara Kyoko, owner of a perspective illustration firm, complained that some of her clients, in particular, managers at a prestigious auto manufacturing firm, rudely referred to her to her face as Oné-chan (familiar form of ‘elder sister’). They repeatedly refused to submit payment for her work, and on more than one occasion, tried to renege on certain details of the contract. She claimed that they talked to her in a maddeningly patient, gentle manner, “like a father chastising a child.” She claimed strongly that they treated her as if she were “too stupid to know that two and two is four!” She dropped them as clients, and when later solicited to do projects for them, refused to do so. 387

Whether used with warmth or in denigration, fictive kinship terms serve to insulate single women business owners and their business contacts from the possibility of sexual impropriety. Single women, especially those who continue to live with their parents, grandparents or other senior relatives, remain in the liminal space of the "not quite adult." As an unthreatening, though possibly fictive virgin, she capitalizes on the imagined helplessness and immaturity ascribed to a child, another defensive fiction. In remaining a child, the unmarried entrepreneur is manipulating the concept of amaeu, or dependence, which necessitates a caring response from the senior party. Single female entrepreneurs can thus successfully access the male business world, and still maintain a degree of social respectability.

It must be stressed that to break the marital contract – to transgress gender boundaries – is not always an entirely voluntary act. Women with neither fault nor flaw in their personal identification with

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388 The youngest single female entrepreneurs in my survey sample was 26. The oldest single female entrepreneur in my study was 62. Among my interview population, all of the single female entrepreneurs lived with a family member. All of my divorced interviewees lived with members of their family except for two. Living alone is a somewhat uncommon behaviour among divorced and single Japanese women.

normative gender codes can nevertheless be divorced. For example, women can fail to fulfill their portion of the social contract biologically.

Consider the case of Matsuda Misae.\textsuperscript{390} Ms. Matsuda, the owner, operator and pharmacist of a neighborhood drug store was divorced by her husband’s family because of her inability to produce viable offspring. In addition to a drug store, Ms. Matsuda has inherited her family \textit{kanpo} manufactory, an old and well-respected establishment dating back to the 1880s.\textsuperscript{391} Moreover, she expanded her business ventures in the early 1990s by investing in the building of two local shopping malls for which she is the CEO overseeing two boards of directors. As we shall see, she defines herself as an entrepreneur explicitly because she failed to achieve the normative standard expected of a woman of her class and education.

The Matsuda trace their lineage to medical doctors of the samurai class in the 1790’s. After the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the clan pooled its resources and started a factory which processed various medicinals into \textit{kanpo}. They were able to establish

\begin{footnote}{390} Matsuda, Misae [pseudonym], "Matsuda Yakuhin Inc.," Personal Interview, October 28, 1996. \end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}{391} \textit{Kanpo} is traditional Chinese medicine. Ms. Matsuda is the fourth child of six siblings, and the second daughter of three. Single-heir inheritance became illegal in Japan after the Occupation-mandated Constitution. Furthermore, Ms. Matsuda’s sex and birth order make her an unlikely candidate to inherit. I present this data to underscore how her unusual circumstances changed even the dynamic of family inheritance. \end{footnote}
business connections with producers of rare medicinal herbs and substances in Korea and China. These connections still exist today.\footnote{Christiènne L. Smith, Field Notes, October 15, 1996, Fukuoka Japan.}

The Matsuda clan, as ex-samurai of medical background, placed a very high value on education, including the education of women. Ms. Matsuda and all of her brothers and sisters are college educated. All of them hold degrees in either pharmacy or medicine. According to Ms. Matsuda, however, it was never expected that the daughters would actually practice medicine or pharmacy. Their educations were meant to place them into a stratum of society where marriages advantageous to the family business could be made. All of the Matsuda daughters married doctors or pharmacists.\footnote{Smith, Field Notes, October 15, 1996.}

Ms. Matsuda herself was married in 1953, at the age of 22. Her husband was a medical doctor who owned his own private hospital. Ms. Matsuda was able to aid the family clinic by ordering, mixing, and selling pharmaceuticals. She also describes her role in the business as providing information which allowed her husband to treat his patients using both Western medicines and Chinese medicines where applicable. Of course, her birth family’s business profited by having
scientifically trained daughters placed so strategically within the medical community.\textsuperscript{394}

Ms. Matsuda became pregnant in the first year of her marriage. The pregnancy progressed normally. A boy was born. He died within the first week of his birth. Ms. Matsuda became pregnant again in the third year of her marriage. The pregnancy progressed normally. A little girl was born. This child also died within the first week of her birth.

Ms. Matsuda became pregnant a third time in the fourth year of her marriage. Her second son also died within the week.\textsuperscript{395}

\textbf{Ms. Matsuda:} And so I left the house.

\textbf{Me:} You left the house? What do you mean?

\textbf{Ms. Matsuda:} I mean my mother-in-law put me out (\textit{dasaremashita}). I mean that I did not even attend the [baby's] funeral. She brought me my pocketbook. She put me out with only a pocketbook and the shoes on my feet. She put two ten yen coins in my purse so that I could ride the bus and return [home to my own family]. That was the end of that chapter in my life. It was over. I was unable to be a woman. That is my fate (unmei). But

\textsuperscript{394} Ibid., October 15, 1996.

\textsuperscript{395} Ibid., October 15, 1996.
that fate allowed me to save the family’s business.396
When I die and go to heaven, I will be able to look at
my grandfather and say, ‘I did it!’ And he will tell me,
‘well done!’ Finally, someone will tell me, ‘well done!’
That is all there is to my life. It’s my fate and I have
to be satisfied with it.”397

Interestingly, Ms. Matsuda converted to Christianity some time
after her divorce. Her discussion of “fate” nevertheless draws upon
Buddhist notions of karmic debt. “It was simply my fate. It was
something that couldn’t be helped. It wasn’t about ‘fault.’ None of us
had any choice. That’s fate. It was painful for me, for everyone, but
that was our fate. It was my fate to learn about business because I could
not be a mother. Because it is my fate, I have to be satisfied” (emphasis
mine).398

396 Here, Ms. Matsuda is referring to the fact that none of males of the family
were willing to accept the burden of inheriting the family business because the
sizeable inheritance tax was a fiscal disincentive. In addition, *kanpo* was seen among
her brothers, who were western-trained physicians, as a backwards, regressive kind
of medicine. Ms. Matsuda herself inherited the business because she had no other
“real” business to attend to; and because she was willing to assume the burden and
the risk associated with paying such a large inheritance tax. At the time this interview
took place, the family *kanpo* factory had finally begun to run in the black after almost a
decade of running in the red (a fiscal crisis caused by payment of inheritance taxes).
Furthermore, Ms. Matsuda was in the process of incorporating the business so that its
survival would be guaranteed regardless of the level of interest displayed by the
individual members of the Matsuda clan. It is in this sense that she sees herself as
having “saved” the family business. For a precise discussion of this part of her story,
55.

397 Matsuda, Misae [pseudonym], "Matsuda Yakuhin Inc.," Personal interview,
October 21, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

398 Matsuda Interview, October 28, 1996.
Divorced women's sexual availability can not be cloaked, masked, or recast in a way that allow them social respectability. They can not claim the respect allotted to the "pre-sexual" single woman; but neither can they claim the respect allotted to a wife, whose mature sexuality has been contained and channeled within the bonds of the marital contract. Divorced women entirely forfeit those "rights" and "comforts" reserved for women who fully comply, or who might yet comply, with normative marital codes. To sexually approach a divorced woman is not taboo. She is disrespected, available, and therefore a reasonable object of sexual pursuit.

V. Marital-Norm Non-Compliance: Clarifying the Link

In arguing that marital norm non-compliance is a catalyst between women and the male-gendered business world, it is necessary to clarify the link connecting marital norm non-compliance and entrepreneurship. Intuition might lead one to suspect that marital norm non-compliance would place the burden of fiscal solvency entirely on a woman who has eschewed or lost her male bread-winner. My research suggest that the link between entrepreneurship and marital-norm aberrance is clearly not financial necessity. In the interviews that I conducted, women who were marital norm non-compliant did not claim financial necessity as a primary motivation for business start-up.
In fact, the only women in my sample who claimed financial necessity as their primary motivation for entrepreneurship were marital norm-compliant.

My interview sample is too small to formulate a statistically rigorous argument against financial necessity as a primary motivation for entrepreneurship among marital norm non-compliant women. However, because Japanese society encourages relationships of dependence (amae), especially between children and parents, marital norm non-compliance in Japan does not bear the same threat to the financial stability of the individual that it does in the United States.\(^{399}\) It is normal, indeed almost normative, for unmarried people – unmarried women in particular – to continue to live with their parents. In doing so, single women do not bear the burden of their own financial support, but continue to share in the greater resource base of the extended family.

Divorced women also commonly return to their natal households, to the households of elder siblings, or at least are taken back into a network of familial financial support.\(^{400}\) It is true that Ms. Makita

\(^{399}\) See Doi, 1973.

\(^{400}\) See Matsuura Kumiko, Kondo Kimie, Yokoyama Hiromi et al. While statistics extolling Japan’s low rate of divorce abound, there are very few scholarly examinations of the socio-economic realities of the lives of divorced women. This is a topic worthy of further investigation.
Kayoko, the entrepreneur accused of having a sexual relationship with one of her business associates, lived alone after her divorce. However, Ms. Makita was orphaned at the age of two, and was raised by an elderly aunt who was no longer living at the time of her divorce. Ms. Makita is only one of two divorced women among my informants who actually lived alone. Living on her own left her even more exposed to the criticism of moral laxity.

Certainly to remain in or to return to the parental household has powerful economic meaning. Businesses, when operated in a family shop or from a parental home, have lower start-up and overhead costs. One informant even told me that living at home allowed her the luxury of foregoing a salary when her company ran in the red. Many marital-norm non-compliant women return to their parental households for reasons of financial security, but this is neither a necessary nor sufficient cause for entrepreneurship. The utility of home business as a way to balance family responsibilities against the necessity (or obligation) to work appears only among marital norm-compliant entrepreneurs. This is a feature which distinguishes these two groups from one another.

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401 Komatsu, Kazuko, "Speak Now!" Personal Interview, February 27, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan. Claiming tax deductions on salaries not actually paid is a common form of tax evasion among Japanese small businesses; and is a typical strategy used to remain fiscally afloat. It constitutes tax fraud, and explains the uneasiness with which Ms. Komatsu confessed this commonplace occurrence to me.
V. Conclusion

In this chapter, I used basic statistical evaluation to demonstrate the existence of a correlation between marital norm non-compliance and entrepreneurship. Twenty-six percent of the entrepreneurs surveyed, more than four times the 1990 national average, were marital-norm non-compliant. Though some women claimed that entrepreneurship caused their divorces, careful evaluation of the interviews suggests otherwise. Furthermore, none of the marital norm aberrant entrepreneurs claimed economic necessity as the reason for business start-up.

Modern business in Japan is gendered male. Japanese women have little or no access to that world if they are born into or marry into a class for whom the normative female role is reproductive rather than productive. The traditional business system is gendered female. Japanese women who are born into or marry into a class for whom the normative female role is productive rather than reproductive easily access the female gendered business world. These business worlds, though divided by gender and class, nevertheless inter-connect: retailers buy from wholesalers, wholesalers are customers at retailers, while large scale manufacturers outsource to single operator manufacturers and more.
As we have seen, there was a significant degree of porosity between *uchi* and *soto* among classes of Japanese for whom women’s economic productivity was both normal and normative. Women moved in and out of private and public space in order to exercise economic agency. This porosity decreased over time as women came to accept state-based middle-class constructions of womanhood that defined the female role as domestic and reproductive, rather than public and productive.

Women who by choice or circumstance are unable or unwilling to satisfy the social requirements central to the normative standards of the middle class threaten sexual segregation of Japanese society and thus are “deviants” in a way that would not have been the case in earlier periods before the boundaries of sexual segregation had begun to harden.

Proximity and control over access to the male-gendered business world is a competitive advantage for women entrepreneurs. However, sexually available women must negotiate the tension generated at the porous interface between the sexually segregated realms. Marital norm compliance contextualizes the relationships between men and women who navigate the waters where *uchi* and *soto* meet. Marital norm non-compliance, on the other hand, can be likened to free radicals. Not yet bound to or no longer bound by the gynofocal realm of
*uchī*, they have greater access than marital norm compliant women to information, assets, markets, information, and networks. Their freedom and access is inherently subversive. The threat that these "free radicals" represent can, in the case of single women, be reduced by manipulation of fictive kinship terms. The unequivocally divorced entrepreneur, the subject of the next chapter, has no such options.
CHAPTER 7
THE ENTREPRENEURSHIP OF INTIMACY:
A CASE STUDY FROM THE MIZU-SHOBAI

"Take yo'self to the blacksmith shop an' get yo'self overhauled!
Ain't nuthin' 'bout you to give a good woman pause!
Nobody wants a baby when a real man can be found!
You been a good ole wagon, but Daddy you done broke down!"
—a Bessie Smith tune

I. Introduction: the Mizu-shoba Defined

Divorced women without access to the male-gendered business world can capitalize on the very thing that sexual segregation is meant to control: sexuality itself. For the marital norm aberrant woman with no means of forging respectable access to the male sphere, sexuality is quite possibly her most powerful asset. In some cases, it

402 Sexual segregation in Japan, like racial segregation in the United States, is a fictive reality, not an actual state of existence. In the racially segregated South, for example, there were many contexts where blacks and whites shared space. Many of these spaces were quite intimate and personal. It was the public sharing of space which was taboo. I hypothesize that sexual segregation in Japan operates quite similarly. As mentioned, the barriers between the feminine arena and the masculine arena are quite porous; and the transgression of the boundary is a behavior which is recontextualized by certain rituals which erase the visibility, or threat, that such a transgression implies.
could be her *only* asset. Sexuality and sexual tension are hallmarks of the vast, disrespected, but vital world of *mizu-shobai.*

*Mizu-shobai* is perhaps most simply described as Japan’s after-hours industry. These constitute a broad array of service-oriented businesses including restaurants, drinking establishments, coffee shops, tea houses, traditional inns, hotels, pay-by-the-hour motels, music and dance halls, karaoke and sex clubs. These typically cater to the middle class business world, although individual businesses within the *mizu-shobai* appeal to men of different ranks, levels of education, and labor categories.

Though most do not, some *mizu-shobai* businesses explicitly revolve around either the self-induced or assisted sexual gratification

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404 At the 2001 Business History Conference in Miami Florida, I gave a paper touching on aspects of the *mizu-shobai.* During the question and answer session, Professor Tsunehiko Yui objected to my inclusion of *mizu-shobai* in the study of female entrepreneurship because the term, which he described as a “slang” expression, has no universally agreed upon meaning. The *mizu-shobai* as a category is not clearly defined. It can includes activities which are illegal. In any case, there is no universally acceptable definition and therefore no reliable data. I wish to thank Professor Yui for his observations which support my contention that formal and informal economies are not separate entities, but are a single continuum representing the entire range of human economic behaviours.
of male customers.\footnote{405} However, not all of the \textit{mizu-shobai} world is disreputable or disrespected. Very fine traditional restaurants and inns are part of the \textit{mizu-shobai} world. In fact, the majority of \textit{mizu-shobai} businesses are basically food and drink establishments. Food and drink, even the abstention from food and drink, are important elements of most ritual behaviours. In Japan, businesses, institutions, and private individuals of all sorts make use of the \textit{mizu-shobai} for a wide range of group functions, both formal and informal. These includes parties, meetings, festivals, vacations, retreats, and conferences, functions which often serve to create or cement group solidarity and cohesion.

The total number of \textit{mizu-shobai} businesses operating in Japan is almost impossible to estimate. This is because many of them, either intentionally, or because of their small size or brief life spans, are not included in local business census reports. Approximately twenty percent of the business owners who responded to the survey I conducted in Fukuoka, 153 businesses in all, operated \textit{mizu-shobai}.

\footnote{405} Anne Allison cites a mind-boggling array of sex-related clubs within the broad context of the \textit{mizu-shobai: no-pan} clubs where panty-less women serve liquor, \textit{soaplands} where hostesses soap guests and offer assisted masturbation, \textit{pinku saron} where the form of assisted masturbation is determined by fee, and many others. Allison points out that the higher the price of the club, the less likely that sexual gratification will occur. The cheaper the price, the more likely direct sexual exchange. Clearly these types of \textit{mizu-shobai} operate on the very edge of Japanese legality. Powerful behavioral precedents on the part of the male middle and upper middle class maintain and preserve this demi-monde of quasi- and frank prostitution in spite of legal prohibition.
businesses. Twenty percent is not an insignificant number of women; and yet, because the vast majority of mizu-shobai owners did not respond to my survey, I believe that this number fails to reflect accurately women's actual involvement in this sector of the service industry.

Figure 7.1 shows marital status as reported by female mizu-shobai entrepreneurs in Fukuoka Prefecture in 1996.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>35.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Reported</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.065%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.1: Marital Status and Mizu-shobai Participation, Fukuoka Prefecture, 1996 – 1997

Certainly, not all mizu-shobai establishments are owned and operated by divorced women. Men are, of course, involved in the mizu-shobai; as are married women.\(^{406}\) Many of these establishments are

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\(^{406}\) For examples, see Yuko and Saigo Ito, "Yakitori-ya Maho," or Domyo Miyuki, "Koaji Sobaya."
owned and operated as conjugal partnerships. However, 35.29 percent of women running mizu-shobai businesses reported being divorced or separated. In total, 53.59 percent of mizu-shobai entrepreneurs reported marital norm non-compliance.\textsuperscript{407} Only 26.14 percent reported being married. In total, 46.6 percent of mizu-shobai entrepreneurs reported apparent marital norm compliance.\textsuperscript{408} More than half of mizu-shobai female entrepreneurs are marital norm aberrant, far more than in any other industrial category.\textsuperscript{409} The mizu-shobai is the only industry where marital norm aberrance is more common than compliance.

Because the mizu-shobai revolves, as an industry, around food, drink, service, comfort, pleasure and intimacy, I argue that it is gendered female. Sex and sexuality also fall within the purview of the female realm. Sex, sex appeal, sexuality, sexual titillation, sexual frustration, sexual potency and impotence in addition to food, drink, service, comfort, pleasure and intimacy, are all part of a unique

\textsuperscript{407} (div/sep+single)

\textsuperscript{408} (married+widowed)

\textsuperscript{409} It is important to distinguish between the mizu-shobai and prostitution. Even though blatantly illegal black market sexual traffic exists within the purview of the mizu-shobai, it does not define it. The former is defined in the Japanese legal code as, "sexual relations with an unspecified party for compensation or for promised compensation. The other party must always be unspecified, while the sexual relation of the mistress with her specified other party is outside the scope of the definition. See M. Takeyasu, "Prostitution in Japan," in United Nations ed., International Review of Criminal Policy January 1954, No. 5 pp. 50 - 59.
industrial vocabulary belonging specifically to the *mizu-shobai*. Patrons utilize this language to negotiate individual, corporate and institutional identities, as well as status, hierarchy, masculinity and power. The *mizu-shobai* must therefore be understood as a vital node of both economic and cultural activity in which entrepreneurs, hostesses, and even sex workers operate simultaneously as subjects (business owners), and as objects upon which specific cultural dialogues are inscribed.

II. A Brief and Conjectural History of the *Mizu-shobai*

The industrial history of the *mizu-shobai* is worthy of careful research. To my knowledge, no analysis of this sector of the service industry in Japan has ever been attempted by an historian of business. However, brief histories which locate the roots of the *mizu-shobai* in the licensed Pleasure Quarters of the Tokugawa period, or which describe the collapse of the licensed prostitution industry and the appearance of the *mizu-shobai*, are to be found in the introductions to sociological


411 There are a frightful number of works detailing the exploits of Western men in the *mizu-shobai*, from "How to" guides, to reflections on the nature of Japanese women based upon their experiences in the *mizu-shobai*. None of these are academic; and most of them are exploitative. If you must examine an example, see Boye deMente, *Bachelor's Japan*, (Rutland: C.E. Tuttle Company, 1962).
and anthropological works dealing with Japan's contemporary and premodern sex industries.  

The Pleasure Quarters were government- and self-regulated "entertainment" districts catering to the booming chonin\footnote{Chonin were the urban commoner classes of the Tokugawa period.} populations of the middle Tokugawa Period known as the Genroku era (1688 - 1703). The Pleasure Quarters, referred to euphemistically as "The Floating World" specialized in eateries, drinking establishments, tea-houses, various forms of sexual traffic, and other entertainments such as music and theater. In addition to the marketing of food, drink, theater and sex, the Pleasure Quarters marketed a number of aesthetic sensibilities, the mastery of which were indicative of taste, masculinity, and status. Cecilia Seigle argues persuasively that more than coition purchased in cash, patronage of Edo's licensed bordellos in the Yoshiwara District was an extremely ritualized affair designed to prolong the patron's anticipation as well as to boost his prestige vis-à-vis his companions.\footnote{The Yoshiwara did provide coition in exchange for cash as well. Seigle, pp. 92 - 128.} This is a particularly interesting argument if considered within the overall context of samurai poverty and

comparative merchant/artisanal wealth. The Pleasure Quarters might be viewed as an arena where poor, status-bearing samurai and wealthy low-status merchants negotiated certain socio-economic and status conflicts being generated by Confucian-based social hierarchies which were at odds with the economic realities of Pax Tokugawa.

Both the Pleasure Quarters and the practice of formal concubinage were two of the so-called “base customs” targeted for eradication by Christian Temperance activists and other feminists between the late Meiji and early Taisho periods.\textsuperscript{415} Concubines, or legal consorts, were individuals brought directly into a household to serve a man in matters both personal and sexual.\textsuperscript{416} The practice of formal concubinage was made illegal in 1890, although evidence suggests that it did not actually die out until the early Shōwa Period.\textsuperscript{417} Furthermore, the status and stature of the licensed Pleasure Quarters themselves declined under the hot competition of black market prostitution.\textsuperscript{418}

\footnotesize


\textsuperscript{416} Yamakawa, pp. 101 - 115.

\textsuperscript{417} See the case of Kitakaze Junko, described in Chapter Three.

\textsuperscript{418} Seigle argues that the Yoshiwara’s decline began in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, rather than the 20\textsuperscript{th}, and was the result of “competition from illegal prostitutes, changes in types of patronage, and the Yoshiwara’s own inflexibility in the face of the outside world.” Seigle, pp. 9 – 10.
Deeply entrenched resistance to the abolition of licensed prostitution made it difficult to eradicate despite intense activism in this regard during the prewar and interwar periods.\textsuperscript{419} In 1946, SCAP ordered the Japanese government to declare null and void old laws regulating the licensed sex industry. However, only in 1956 was prostitution actually declared illegal; and another two years passed before the police began to enforce the new laws.\textsuperscript{420}

As an industry, the \textit{mizu-shobai} most likely evolved alongside the Floating World the illegal sector of the legal sex trade, and flourished during the course of the Pleasure Quarters' long, slow demise. Seigle argues that the illegal sex industry helped to undermined the elite aesthetic values on which the original Yoshiwara had been based.\textsuperscript{421} Continued demand for Pleasure Quarter services throughout the Twentieth century has created a market that neither the moral or eugenic objections made by feminists nor SCAP's assertion of Western legal priorities has done anything to deter.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{420} Seigle, p. 1-13; Takeyasu, pp. 50 - 52.
\item \textsuperscript{421} Seigle, p. 10.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Whatever its roots, the *mizu-shobai* as it now stands consists of service industries which had once been part of the Pleasure Quarter culture. No longer restricted to licensed districts, the after-hours industry flourishes wherever men, women, and money can be found. Certain *mizu-shobai* establishments specialize in the sounds, foods, and etiquette of a traditional Japanese aesthetic. Others are based on the relationship between a single patron and his mistress. One might describe this particular relationship in the modern *mizu-shobai* industry as informal semi-consensual concubinage.\textsuperscript{422} Where such a relationship is not consensual, the relationship should be considered nothing less than sexual slavery.\textsuperscript{423} Other establishments walk the

\textsuperscript{422} Consensual concubinage is somewhat oxymoronic. The meaning of "consent" is extremely problematic when the age, wealth and status differences between the individuals involved are taken into consideration. Also, because a woman consents to enter into the relationship does not mean she has the power to exit or control the relationship. To say that the *mizu-shobai* is exploitative and objectifying are political statements with which I whole-heartedly agree as a committed feminist, and as a feminist activist. However, such statements are not sensitive to the entire range of what occurs in the *mizu-shobai* industry; nor do such statements recognize the agency of the women who, in a society where equal opportunities for women are extremely limited, use what resources they have with efficiency, creativity, and not a little bit of style.

\textsuperscript{423} Sexual slavery was institutionalized during the Pacific War. One aspect of the Comfort Woman debate that I have not seen raised is the terrible continuity between the sexual enslavement of Japanese girls and women in the licensed Pleasure Quarters, with the sexual enslavement of girls and women in Comfort Stations. A most grotesque and self-serving lie prevalent in the Meiji Period concerned the "willingness" of Japanese daughters to sacrifice themselves for their families, as a mark of their filiality. Aoki Yayoi discusses this brilliantly in *Feminizumu to ecoroji* (Tokyo: Shinchoron, 1983). See especially Chapter Two.
fine line separating “soft-porn” from frank prostitution.\textsuperscript{424} The mizu-shobai world includes horrifying extremes of female objectification, as well as heights of aesthetic sensibility quite unattainable by the average Japanese person. And it contains the myriad variations between, as did the Yoshiwara.

Today, the Japanese government puts considerable effort into curtailing the activities of the blatant streetwalker or bordello owner, just as Edo authorities once attempted to curtail the unlicensed, black-market sex trade.\textsuperscript{425} The government has been less willing or less able to regulate businesses operating on the very edge of legality, businesses in which sex, sexualized language, and the objectification of certain women are the very vocabulary used to negotiate and display male status.\textsuperscript{426} In essence, the mizu-shobai industry enjoys as privileged a position in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century as the Pleasure Quarters enjoyed in the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries.

\textsuperscript{424} An example would be the notorious “soapland” of Tōkyō’s Shinjuku district where male customers are lathered using women’s naked, soaped bodies. Sexual gratification, if achieved, is considered an accidental but natural consequence of attending the spa. Because neither party expected to engage in a coition-for-cash exchange, it is not considered prostitution. Intentionality then, becomes the critical loophole.

\textsuperscript{425} Takeyasu, pp. 50–59.

\textsuperscript{426} Allison also makes a powerful argument that the mizu-shobai is necessary to male bonding within a company. Masculinity is created not in the eyes of the hostesses themselves, but in the eyes of a man’s male peers. Hostesses are merely the objects used to create the context where male virility can be displayed to other males. Allison, p. 149.
Japanese corporations are major supporters of the *mizu-shobai* industry. Corporate expense accounts are explicitly established to subsidize expenses incurred by management which must interact with clients, peers, seniors, and juniors in the informal and intimate atmosphere established by hostess bars. In this sense, it is important that the *mizu-shobai* be studied in terms of its structural (rather than merely exotic or sexual) relationship to the male business community. Much of the business done by Japanese men is done within the businesses of Japanese women.\textsuperscript{427}

Anne Allison noted that her informants explain corporate sponsored patronage of hostess bars in terms of unique aspects of Japanese culture.\textsuperscript{428} Like Allison, I do not find such explanations

\textsuperscript{427} "The activity, generally referred to as *settai* when entertaining clients, and *tsukiai* when socializing with colleagues, became popular in the period of postwar economic growth, particularly in the years following Japan's astounding spurt of growth in the late 1960s. Within most large companies, there is a specific budget category for entertainment expenses which are referred to as *settaihi*, *kosaihi*, or *settai kosaihi* (*hi* means expenses, and *kosai* is another word for socializing that is only used in business in relations to expenses. The principle of *settai* is to entertain workers and clients at some place away from work...as a means of strengthening work or business relations. Big business perceives that corporate entertainment is a means of making itself stronger and more competitive, and therefore corporate expenditures for recreation increase even in years when the economy is depressed or when the real economic growth is lower than expected. Belief in its economic value led the Japanese government to endorse the practice with a corporate tax law that, between the years 1954 and 1982, allowed most corporate entertainment to be written off as tax-deductible.... The economic slump of the early 1990s is affecting *settai* even more severely than in the 1980s. It is now most widely used by medium-to-large companies that are financially stable or growing, in businesses relying on trade, investment, or big sales. For these firms, corporate entertainment can consume as much as 5 percent of annual operating expenses, and is considered an "indispensable expense of industrial operations."" Allison, p. 9

\textsuperscript{428} Ibid., p. 82.
compelling.\textsuperscript{429} The Japanese frequently explain themselves in terms of "Japaneseness;" and certainly many Western scholars have been willing to accept such explanations, and to craft their own explanations in such terms. Such provocative issues as authority, power, masculinity, powerlessness, status and social hierarchy are negotiated in the context of women and sex everywhere in the world. This is in no way unique to Japanese corporate culture. Nor is corporate culture the only social venue in which such dramas unfold.\textsuperscript{430}

III. Prelude to the Case Study

From February 1996 to February of 1997, I had an opportunity to conduct a participant observation study of two businesses owned and operated by a marital norm non-compliant entrepreneur. Her experiences offer a compelling example of marital norm non-compliance, the \textit{mizu-shobai}, and how control over access to the male-gendered business world can be used to a female entrepreneur's comparative business advantage.

\textsuperscript{429} Ibd., pp. 82-3.

\textsuperscript{430} This is a topic of great importance not yet taken up by business historians, who in general do not deal with "corporate culture" as the expression is being used here. The intersection of Business History, Gender History, Institutional History and Anthropology needs to be addressed by business historians other than those of us who study the "exotic Other." Business and economy are artifacts of European and American culture and deserve to be studied, reframed, and understood as such, especially in light of Western economic, political, military, and even cultural hegemonies.
Matsuura Kumiko is the owner-operator of "Kumi Kappa," a type of establishment within the *mizu-shobai* industry known as a Snack. A Snack is a small after-hours pub catering to wealthy elite businessmen. It also operates as a day-time *kissaten*, a restaurant which serves hot lunches, tea, and coffee to neighborhood workers, businessmen, and passersby. According to Ms. Matsuura, the Snack/*kissaten* combination is the most "family-oriented" of the after-hours establishments.\(^{431}\) Unlike other bars, pubs, and private clubs, it is open during daylight hours and allows non-members entrance without a fee. Ms. Matsuura also claims that her establishment has no ties to organized crime [*yakuza*], unlike some establishments within the *mizu-shobai*.\(^{432}\)

Ms. Matsuura also owns a ceramics studio and school where she practices and teaches pottery. She has won awards; her work has been featured in prestigious local galleries; and she has also been featured in the news as a local talent of note. I studied pottery under Ms. Matsuura's tutelage, went on retreats, group trips, and took part in school projects as a tuition-paying student for fifteen months.

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\(^{431}\) By this, she could only have meant that the Snack was the least sexualized of sex-oriented businesses within the *mizu-shobai* industry because the *mizu-shobai* includes many restaurants and pubs which do not in the least market sex or sexuality.

\(^{432}\) The *yakuza* are known to be at the center of contemporary Japan's traffic in women which lures, imports, and forces an unknown number of (primarily?) Asian women into sexual slavery.
It was not my intention at the time to take part in a participant observation study of the *mizu-shobai*. I am not trained as an anthropologist; nor did I have any reason to anticipate that such a methodology would serve to answer research questions which at the time, I hoped would produce a narrative history rather than a structural history of entrepreneurship among women.

The situation was accidental, and unfolded step by step when I went behind the bar one busy evening to help my friend clean up the mess from a broken coffee pot. I became increasingly comfortable, over time, and within the context of friendship, with lending a hand to Ms. Matsuura and her staff in small ways when Kappa was at its busiest. Customers became used to my presence in the pub, to my occasional presence behind the bar, and to my frequently awkward use of Japanese. They began to "chat me up," to include me in the fast-paced banter that is part of the snack culture. Before long, attending Kappa on Sunday evenings became a habit. When I failed to attend, Ms. Matsuura and her staff would tease me the next time I showed up, saying that customers had been asking for me, and that particular "admirers" had "missed me."\footnote{The term I've translated as "admirer" was actually "boyfriend."} I was a part of the "good-times" to be

\footnote{The term I've translated as "admirer" was actually "boyfriend."}
had at Kumi Kappa. What began as a joke evolved into a rich, though unexpected, opportunity.

Ethically, it was necessary for me to tell Ms. Matsuura that I was taking notes on the goings-on at Kumi Kappa, at the pottery studio, and even on our informal conversations. I explained that such materials would most likely appear in my dissertation, and that it was also possible that the materials would be published in English. She maintained that neither she nor Kappa had anything to hide and said that my presence would be fun as well as a help. She communicated our conversation to her staff, her students, and also to her customers, though her words always came across, to my ears at least, as a kind of joke. A common saying became, “Be careful what you say! Kuri-chan is writing a book about us!”

434 This conversation took place early in the day before Ms. Matsuura began drinking. It was important to me that her invitation, and this conversation occur while she was not under the influence of alcohol, though it has been my experience that Ms. Matsuura is never quite as drunk as she pretends, and never forgets what occurs while she is intoxicated. I did not want the invitation to be made by the mama of Kumi Kappa, but rather by Matsuura Kumiko. She asked me specifically to refrain from recording conversations, which early on I had wanted to do because my Japanese vocabulary was at times insufficient, and I was not confident of my mastery of the local dialect. Her reasoning was that a tape-recorder would negatively affect the Snack’s atmosphere, which I could certainly understand.

435 I asked her specifically to make sure that her staff was aware of my work and to assure them that their privacy would be preserved. Christienné L. Smith. Field Notes. 11 February, 1996.

436 Christienné L. Smith. Field Notes. 2 March, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan. As will be shown, there was a great deal of overlap between her students, employees, and customers.
I can not know whether Ms. Matsuura's consent occurred with full knowledge and understanding of what aspects of her life would be of interest to me as a scholar, or with a full understanding of how our friendship would unfold. At the time I, myself, did not know what aspects of her life would be of interest or relevant to my study. In truth, I was mostly interested in how her businesses functioned as institutions rather than in the details of her private life. My early journal entries were rather perfunctory observations related to management issues. The formal interviews with Ms. Matsuura also reflect my interest in things like cash flow, and my interest in how both enterprises were situated relative to other businesses that either supplied them or consumed their products and services. However, as I came to know the people as individuals, to love or abhor them, the entries became longer, and more personal. More importantly, they became inextricably tangled in the threads of things that were said and things that were left unsaid. My observations were confused by things that I wanted to ask, but could not bring myself to ask. Overall, the struggle to interpret my observations has been over how to separate conjecture from data, and truth from self-deceit (not lies, but the very real human need to explain oneself in terms permitting self-respect). I have worried about how to weed out shadows cast by imagination, misunderstanding, and by my fear of speaking of and for people who
began as informants, but became more than anything else, dearly beloved friends.

Considering that neither Ms. Matsuura nor I could know how our relationship would evolve, I can only conclude (and feel blessed) that she made a decision to trust me, and to open herself to my scrutiny based on some instinct or some observation of my character that is beyond my comprehension.

IV. Matsuura Kumiko: Herself

I first met Ms. Matsuura because I wanted to continue my study of pottery while doing dissertation research in Japan.\footnote{In my free time, I am an amateur potter and have studied ceramic arts at American institutions.} I heard about her through a mutual friend who, at the time, was an instructor at the university where I was affiliated as a Fulbright Fellow. Ms. Matsuura had taught pottery to my friend’s younger sister and had helped her to launch a career as a professional potter in Japan. My friend also knew that I was interested in studying women entrepreneurs and thought that Ms. Matsuura might prove to be a suitable informant.\footnote{Christiènne L. Smith, Field Notes, 24 October, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan.}

With these objectives in mind, and having acted as a go-between, my friend organized a small dinner party at her home, and invited Ms.
Matsuura, several friends and me to attend. My friend’s home was in the neighborhood where both Kumi Kappa and the ceramic studio were located.

Ms. Matsuura arrived at the party two hours late, and in the company of a friend, a Mr. Konara. They were both clearly intoxicated. Having brought beer, wine, and bourbon, they offered to share it around. Most of us declined; and so, over the course of the evening, the two of them systematically consumed it, becoming increasingly drunk. Though stunned by the sheer quantity of alcohol that Ms. Matsuura drank, I was nevertheless swept up in her personality. She was vivacious, funny, warm, outgoing. Moreover, she was one of the few people who responded positively to my research.

“You can find a lot of women who have their own businesses!” she enthused, and began to reel off the names of people she apparently knew.

Mr. Konara made a disdainful face. “They aren’t anything special! If you want to study an entrepreneur, you ought to study me!”

439 This became a common theme repeatedly uttered by Mr. Konara. I believe that my focus on Ms. Matsuura violated the basic foundation of the patron/mistress relationship, which is to highlight the patron’s accomplishments, the patron’s status. My friendship with and scholarly interest in Ms. Matsuura challenged his monopolization of her time and attention. The more I came to like her and the more I came to dislike him, the more he competed for my attention, at first by showering me with gifts, then by throwing public tantrums, and lastly by repeatedly requesting my sexual favors.
She cracked him on the head with a rolled-up newspaper:  *POW!!*

“Idiot! Are you deaf? She wants to study women! **WOMEN**!”

Ms. Matsuura encouraged my research project with Yoda-like wisdom: “There’s no such thing as try! Decide to do a thing, and then do it! Set your mind, set your heart, forget about failure, then fight!”

She also effusively invited me to visit her pottery studio, and to try my hand at one of her wheels. I backpedaled, feeling shy and wallflowerish; but a drunk Kumiko is a bit like a hurricane. I had to bend beneath the wind of her enthusiasm or risk breaking.

Kumiko turned to him and said, “eleven o’clock?” He agreed with good grace. And that, simply speaking, was that.

The Ms. Matsuura I met the following day was someone else entirely. The change left me breathless. Her face was tired.

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442 Portions of this narrative in which I describe situations that I directly observed are taken almost verbatim from my field note entries, most of which, for some odd reason, were written in the present tense. I have edited them only to increase their readability and to conform to the convention of using the past tense in historical analysis. In other parts of this narrative, I include my own translations of our taped interviews.

443 Konara regularly did what Ms. Matsuura asked of him, no matter the inconvenience or expense to himself. I have often wondered whether this was something particular to the deep feelings that they had for each other, or whether it was part of the complex exchanges that take place between a patron and mistress. It could be both. At any rate, he came to pick me up the next day promptly at eleven. He came from work and was wearing his company uniform. Christiënne L. Smith. Field Notes. 27 November, 1995. Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan.
looked older. She was quiet. She no longer met my eyes. Her smile was seldom seen. The classroom was a silent, intense place. People were working at wheels or in the glaze room with very little chatter. Ms. Matsuura wordlessly motioned me to the clay closet, and helped me roll up my sleeves. I worked for the rest of the afternoon, barely speaking with her. Afterwards, she asked another student to take me to the bus stop and to show me how to find my way home. I was mystified by her change of attitude. I could only conclude that she regretted her alcohol-induced generosity of the night before.

This was not the correct conclusion, however. Over time, I learned that Ms. Matsuura's true personality is fundamentally serious. She is quiet, introspective, shy, reserved, and to some degree, even melancholic. Female students in the pottery studio described her personality as being more like a man's than woman's. Ms. Matsuura agreed with this description. "Being a woman is what I do. It's my job."

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444 She was hung-over.

445 The quiet in the room I am now convinced was because everyone was curious to see what the foreigner would do; and some admitted later to being afraid that I would try to speak English to them. In short, I was an interesting, conversation-stopping spectacle.

446 Christiènne L. Smith, Field Notes, 29 November, 1995, Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan.

447 Christiènne L. Smith, Field Notes, 2 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
But it isn't what I am.\textsuperscript{448} The bright, vivacious, flashy person was merely a persona, the persona of Kappa's \textit{mama}\textsuperscript{449} invoked only with liberal libation\textsuperscript{450} The transition was sometimes wrenching to witness:

One evening after spending the day beach-combing, Kumiko and I came back to Kappa to get ready for the evening crowd. It was around five o'clock, and we sat down at the bar to chat with the staff who was preparing foods for later in the evening. Kumiko put her head down on the arm rest of the bar. I asked her what was wrong. I was worried that she might be having a diabetic crash.\textsuperscript{451} She turned her head to me. There were tears on her eyelashes. She said in an undertone, "I'm tired. I hate this place. I don't want to be here."

I didn't know what to say. "Why don't you take a day off?" I suggested lamely. "You work so hard. You should take some time to yourself!"

\textsuperscript{448} Matsuura, Kumiko, "Kumi Kappa," Personal Interview, 2 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{449} As explained in an earlier footnote, \textit{mama} is an expression used for female proprietors in the \textit{mizu-shobai} industry.

\textsuperscript{450} I believe, though this is based purely on American definitions and norms, that both Ms. Matsuura and Mr. Konara are alcoholics. When broaching this subject with Ms. Matsuura, she replied, "I can't be an alcoholic because I don't experience delirium tremens." The definition of the term is quite culturally specific. I did not bother to inform her that physiological dependency occurs long before delirium tremens becomes an issue. Nor did I point out that delirium tremens occurs when the body is denied alcohol for long periods of time. Perhaps she would experience delirium tremens if she went without alcohol. Christiennne L. Smith, Field Notes, May 21, 1996, Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan.

\textsuperscript{451} Ms. Matsuura is an insulin-dependent diabetic.
She sighed and said, "No. I can't do that. It wouldn't do for *mama* not to put in an appearance."

Mr. Konara sat down next to her and thumped her on the nose with his forefinger. "Wake up Kumi-chan! It's time to get happy! Let's drink!" She shot him an evil look, got up slowly, went through the kitchen, and disappeared into the house.452 I wanted to smack him cross-eyed right where he sat, noisily sucking steamed *edamame* from their shells.453

She came back around twenty minutes later, immaculately coiffured, made-up, bejeweled, and sparkling in a sequined sweater dress. She poured herself a drink, bantered with the staff, then heartily welcomed some people who came in. They must not have not visited Kappa in quite some time because she called out, "There's dust on your bottle, Yamano-sama! I was just thinking the other day that I

452 Like many businesses that are a part of the traditional business system, Kappa shared its kitchen space with the household kitchen. As described in Chapter One, the household economy and business economy are not clearly defined or delineated in the traditional business system. For example, on many occasions, I saw Ms. Matsurara's son open the refrigerator and help himself to items that were also used in the business. This is technically illegal because business expenses are tax deductible. Businesses in the traditional business system regularly break the law, commit what is essentially tax fraud, not because they are trying to defraud the government, but because they do not separate business and home cleanly, as it is separated in the modern business system. This has caused the revenue authorities in Japan no small amount of consternation.

453 Green soy beans eaten as an accompaniment to beer.
ought to throw it out! Do you still drink scotch or have you gotten too old for that?!” Her volume established Kappa’s volume.\textsuperscript{454}

Later, when putting down my observations in journal format, I realized that my attention had been completely redirected from Ms. Matsuura’s unhappiness.\textsuperscript{455} I had forgotten the incident until sitting down to the task of active memory recall.\textsuperscript{456} I wondered whether I was the only person to have noticed that Ms. Matsuura had been in tears less than a half an hour earlier.

Running both Kappa and the pottery studio is grueling work. Ms. Matsuura’s schedule is murderous. She gets up every morning at 7:00 a.m., and after taking a brisk walk, cleans up the pub from the previous night’s revelry, except for the restroom, which is handled by an

\textsuperscript{454} Christiènne L. Smith, Field Notes, 27 January, 1995, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{455} This is the quintessential work of the \textit{mama}, to reflect and amplify her customer’s good mood. Her own Self has no place in the pub. She is, for all intents and purposes, completely invisible; or perhaps, just a mirror.

\textsuperscript{456} By this I mean the process by which I state in my journal literally what I witnessed with my eyes. The beginning of most journal entries is a repetitive recitation of what I saw: this happened, then this happened, then this happened. If I had begun my journal entries thematically rather than systematically, I really think I would have forgotten this incident entirely.

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independent sub-contractor. She plans the next day’s lunch and
evening menus, then telephones her various suppliers to order the
next day’s deliveries. After receiving deliveries ordered the day before
and putting them away, she begins the task of balancing the register
and the account books.

By 10:00 am, her staff has arrived, and begins preparing the
menu for the 11:00 a.m. lunch crowd. Ms. Matsuura relinquishes the
shop to them and goes to the pottery studio where some of her
students have already been working since 9:00 a.m. She remains in
the studio from 10:00 a.m. until 5:00 p.m. During that time, she
teaches, demonstrates techniques, loads kilns, mixes glazes, monitors

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457 In addition to making use of the services offered by another informant in this
study (See Irie Baba, “Sentaku Tsushin Sabisu”), Ms. Matsuura subcontracted care of
the bathroom to a woman entrepreneur. Although I did not have the chance to
interview this woman, Ms. Matsuura explained to me that when she had first opened
Kappa, she wanted to hire the services of professional cleaners to service Kappa’s
restroom. Pollution taboos make cleaning the lavatory something businesses which
handle food prefer, if they can, to leave to a sub-contractor. Somehow, the Ward
officer found out that Ms. Matsuura was planning to hire a cleaning service, and
indicated that all of the Ward’s after-hours businesses made use of this woman’s
services. Ms. Matsuura’s description of conversation between herself and the Ward
officer implied that although she did not object to sub-contracting to this woman per
se, there was a degree of social pressure for her to do so. The bathroom cleaning
woman came to Kappa every morning so early that for the most part, Ms. Matsuura
rarely or never encountered her. She came once a week to receive her payment,
which was made in cash out of the register, and for which no receipt was requested or
offered. Her cleaning services included providing toilet paper, a fresh flower
arrangement once per week, replenishing liquid soap, and cleaning. She also
collected genkan carpet once a week during the winter months, and replaced it with a
clean one. I remain intensely curious about this woman. See Christiennne L. Smith,
Field Notes, 21 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

458 She does not purchase wholesale because the lots she uses are too small. It
also gives her a lot of flexibility in menu if she buys in small quantities. Matsuura,
firings, critiques student work, and unloads deliveries into the studio's out-building. Every successful firing requires her to calculate firing fees for the students. She does not return their fired work until the firing fee has been paid.

Around 4:00 p.m., after many of her students retire to their homes to take care of their own families, she works on her own art. When she can put it off no longer, she also tries to balance the pottery studio's books. She admits that she is often behind in this task. At 5 o'clock, she goes home, cleans up, and appears at Kappa by 6:00 p.m. Kappa closes at 2:00 in the morning, and is open seven days a week. The pottery studio is open Tuesday through Sunday. She does not teach on Fridays. She uses Mondays and Fridays away from the studio to catch up on sleep and to occasionally go on a date with Mr. Konara. Except for national holidays, Kappa is never closed. Ms. Matsuura is always there.

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459 In our interview, Ms. Matsuura made it clear that Kappa's books and the Studio's books were entirely separate. She even claimed that she did not use Kappa's profits to support the studio. Her clarity on this point is noteworthy considering the continuity between Kappa's accounts and the household accounts. As we shall see, some of Kappa's oldest patrons were fee-paying "students" at the studio. Perhaps Ms. Matsuura's assertions can be understood as her attempt to clearly separate the complex "meanings" inherent in money, payment, and exchange in the *mizu-shobai* context from the "meanings" inherent in the artisanal context. Regardless, both businesses were profitable.

460 Matsuura, Kumiko, "Kumi Kappa" Personal Interview, 2 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan
Ms. Matsuura has been living this schedule for nine years. During our interview, she confided to me that she was planning something new for Kappa and for the studio in the near future, although her plans were still secret. She told me that she had purchased the property next door to Kappa and planned to use the building for a new, larger pottery studio. “But please don’t tell anyone else about this,” she requested. “I haven’t yet thought through the details. I’m still figuring out what I want to do.”

The first question that I asked Ms. Matsuura during our interview was the impetus (kikkake) behind her decision to establish Kumi Kappa. She thought about it very carefully before answering, and her reply came from a direction that I had not anticipated: “My father,” she began, looking down at the wooden table, and running her callused fore-finger back and forth along the grain.

“He was a very old man when he married my mother. My mother was his second wife. There was a big gap in their ages. His first wife had died many years earlier. So many years earlier that his children... [were] almost all grown [by the time] he married [my mother]. I have a lot of brothers and sisters... 15, although not all of them are alive, because my mother was my father’s second wife.

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461 Matsuura, Kumiko, “Kumi Kappa” Personal Interview, 2 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan
"My father loved me very much, but he also was old-fashioned, and very strict. I wanted to fool around, you know, to have a good time with my friends after school, but there wasn't going to be anything like that! My sister and I worked in the family canning factory which had a lot of employees. My mother ran a neighborhood restaurant and also had to feed and care for the employees who lived in our house [with us]. My father loved me, but it was a very traditional life, and so I was unhappy. When I had the chance to go to college, I decided I wanted to get as far away from Fukuoka as I could. I wanted to experience freedom, I suppose you could say. It was independence that I wanted."

After obtaining a two year degree in dietetics and nutrition, Ms. Matsuura's parents requested that she return home to Fukuoka and that she accept invitations to omiai. She took a job in a Tokyo corporate cafeteria instead. I asked Ms. Matsuura, "Did your father threaten to stop supporting you financially if you didn't come home after you graduated?"

I have translated "to fool around" from the Japanese verb asobu which means to play. Asobu/asobi are ambiguous expressions that can be completely innocent (as in children playing tag) but also "loaded." In its "loaded" connotations, asobu can mean flirting, dating, drinking, sexual talk, sexual play, and sex acts. It can also mean none of these things. I have observed that when adults use this expression, the precise details of 'play' are never asked, and are never offered. I expect that in this context, Ms. Matsuura meant that she wanted to "hang out" with young friends, some of whom were boys, or one of whom was a boy. The reference to her father as "old-fashioned" suggests that such "hanging out" no matter how innocent, was not tolerated.

Matsuura, Kumiko, "Kumi Kappa" and "Nendo Kenkyushitsu," Personal Interview, 2 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan. Note the premodern structure of the family firm, and note that her mother was both productively employed and reproductively employed within the family business. This marks her birth family as working class.

Omiai are meetings between prospective couples and their families considering making an arranged marriage.
She looked at me as if only a crazed person would ask such a question. "There wasn't any threat. I was asked to come home. I was asked but I wasn't asked." To disobey meant standing on my own two legs. So no. There wasn't any threat.  

When the pressure to return to Fukuoka became unbearable, Ms. Matsuura tried to circumvent their control over her once more. This time, she got married to a boyfriend whom she met while working at the corporate cafeteria. The marriage was immediately disastrous and resulted in divorce six months later. Moreover, she was pregnant, and could not face trying to get her old job at the cafeteria back. Tōkyo now seemed a long way from the support of family, though that support always came with strings.  

However, Ms. Matsuura was determined not to return to her natal household in total defeat. Instead of returning to her father's home, she moved in with her elder sister and brother-in-law. She gave birth to a healthy baby boy, and spent the next four years raising him, and supporting herself working in her brother-in-law's tea retail

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465 I took this to mean that the request was an understood order to return home.

466 Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996.

467 Ibid., 2 February, 1996.
shop. As her young son approached kindergarten-age and required less intensive parenting, Ms. Matsuura began to consider starting a business of her own. Boredom and her tiny salary made her itch for something more interesting, and more lucrative. She also stated quite clearly during our interview that she was driven by a desire for privacy (purabashii). Of living with her sister and brother-in-law, she said, "My Elder Sister and I are close; and we didn't have difficulty living together. It wasn't bad. It wasn't bad but, it was a small house, and as you would expect, I didn't have any privacy. I couldn't go anywhere by myself without being asked, 'where? with whom? when are you coming home?' It wasn't bad but, well, it's hard to be independent when you live with your family."

Of her decision to open a Snack, she explained, "My college degree was in dietetics and nutrition; plus I had some practical experience from my days working in the cafeteria in Tōkyo. I also wasn't opposed to a little drinking and having a good time, so I thought, why not open something like a pub or kissaten?"

468 This part of the narrative was corroborated independently by her sister and brother-in-law.

469 Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996.

470 Ibid., 2 February, 1996.
Ms. Matsuura’s entire family was against the idea. By this time, Ms. Matsuura’s father had passed away; but her mother, as the head of the family, commanded the same authority. In the end, a compromise was reached. Matsuura was given a small house which sat on a piece of family property. Her mother loaned her 500 man with which to renovate the house into a pub on the first floor, and an apartment on the second floor.\footnote{At the time of the interview, 1 man = about 100 U.S. dollars.} Ms. Matsuura’s brother-in-law cosigned a bank loan for another 500 man using the property as collateral. This was the start-up capital she used to equip the restaurant, and to float the operation until it began to generate its own profit. The price for family generosity was that Ms. Matsuura’s mother should move into the living quarters above the bar, and live with her daughter. “Mother worried about me all the time because I was the youngest child. The youngest child gets spoiled, especially little girls.... She didn’t want me to live alone....[s]he thought I might get lonely. So she moved in, just to keep me company. To keep me from getting too lonely by myself.”

Ms. Matsuura admitted that she, “Really wanted to live alone...I didn’t want to live with anyone then, but [in this case] I only had about 50 man of my own money in savings, so.... All together the start-up capital [for Kappa] was 1,000 man. Well...(rueful laugh) 1,050 man.”
Kappa opened its doors in 1971. At the time of this interview, Ms. Matsuura was still living with her mother who was in her nineties.\footnote{Ibid., 2 February, 1996.}

I can not accept Ms. Matsuura's narrative at face value. Although I have no concrete evidence to support the following interpretation, I can not help but read between the lines and conclude that this narrative is, in actuality, in dialogue with another, unspoken narrative, one which she could not share with me, and one which she might not even be able consciously to share with herself.

Ms. Matsuura's claim that she was not "opposed to a little drinking and having a good time" is an interesting self-description which implies that prior to opening Kappa, she already possessed some knowledge of or exposure to the mizu-shobai. This leads me to question her account of the time she spent in Tokyo. Perhaps her 'job' in the corporate cafeteria was, in actuality, a job as a bar hostess?\footnote{During our interview, I asked her the name of the cafeteria, and she could not remember it. I found this strange.} Perhaps she was never married at all? Perhaps the story of her pregnancy, and sudden divorce, are a far too neat and tidy account, officially used by the
family to hide the disgrace of their wayward daughter?*475 Perhaps the sanitized version of the time she spent in Tôkyo is the official version that has been told to her son who has never seen his father?*476

Ms. Matsuura’s complaint about lack of privacy, about having constantly to explain her movements while living in her sister’s house suggests to me that some time after her return to Fukuoka, she became involved with a married man. As a divorced woman with a child, the family would have tolerated a legitimate sexual relationship, one which had the potential to resolve into normal, normative marriage.*477 Because I suspect that Ms. Matsuura had previous experience in the mizu-shobai, and because I suspect that she was seeing a married man, I also suspect she had become the mistress of a man who wanted to set her up in a private club where he could entertain his

475 During our interview, I asked about her family’s response to the news of her divorce. She said breezily that they didn’t care about the divorce because they had been against the marriage in the first place. Such an explanation seems improbable considering that divorce is a source of shame for most Japanese women of her generation.

476 During our interview, I asked Ms. Matsuura about child support payments from her ex-husband. She said that such payments amounted to such a small amount that she did not bother to request them. When I asked whether her son spent much time with his biological father, she said no, that she didn’t even know where he was living anymore.

477 Love hotels are the normal locus for such liaisons.
business friends, and have access to her without the complication and interference of her family.  

Ms. Matsuura's family, facing what can only have been viewed as an extreme crisis, made a strategic decision. Rather than condemning what was, in reality, Ms. Matsuura's personal, and most likely inevitable decision, they co-opted her patron's ability to "give" her a business by setting her up in business themselves. As will become clear, this was a critical development for Ms. Matsuura's long term economic independence, which might have otherwise been seriously compromised. The price tag of family generosity, that she live with her mother, was a strategy used to preserve whatever respectability could be salvaged from a distasteful predicament.

By the 1980's Kappa was turning sizeable profits. Financially, Ms. Matsuura was well-situated, so much so that she was able to save up enough to single-handedly put her son through the most expensive private university in the Prefecture. She also took several trips abroad on her own to England, and to the United States where she was able to

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visit her eldest living half-brother who had migrated to San Francisco in the 1950s. The year 1982 was a watershed. Despite her affluence, her health was crumbling from the effects of the night life, rich food, alcohol, and from diabetes. After an instance of hospitalization, she determined to try to take better care of her health. Hoping that exercise would help to relieve some stress and improve her physical stamina, she decided to visit the local Culture Center to sign up for an aerobics class. While there, she saw a pottery class in session and was amazed. “My word! People can even do that here?!” She only went to aerobics class twice before the lure of pottery overcame her, and she paid a visit to the pottery instructor and begged to be allowed to switch classes. During our interview, she explained,

“[T]he first time I tried [to throw a pot] (She presses both hands hard over her heart) I knew. I knew something.... My friends and family liked my pottery. My mother once said to me, ‘why don’t you do this for a living?’ Her saying that changed my life. Instead of going to the Culture Center once a week, I began going three times a week. I liked clay a lot better than I liked people.”

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479 I emphasize her independent travel abroad to distinguish it from vacations taken with Mr. Konara.

480 Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996.

481 Ms. Matsuura said to me a number of different times that she didn’t like people.
At the end of that first year, one of her instructors suddenly had to move out of the Fukuoka area. There was a vacancy at the Culture Center's pottery studio, and no one to fill it. Even though she had only been studying at the Center for one year, her instructor asked whether she would be willing to take over the position part-time, to "fill in the schedule" when the other instructors were overwhelmed. She leaped at the opportunity.\(^{482}\)

"I did that for six years. Teaching pottery was fun. Joyous. My son complained that I was at the Culture Center more than I was at home. (Laughing) Maybe I ought to have quit when he started to complain, but instead, I decided to study as hard as I could, to make the best pottery that I could, and to teach the students to the best of my ability in order to make [my son's] suffering meaningful."\(^{483}\)

In 1987, Ms. Matsuura held a one-woman exhibition in a well-respected art gallery downtown, sponsored by a major local retail company. The publicity brought regionally respected art critics, and several corporate buyers. It was both a critical and financial success.

"My teacher joked that he thought I could probably open a studio and teach classes all on my own. I could be a pro. It was just a joke; [we] all were laughing. But secretly I took it seriously, and put those words into my heart."\(^{484}\)

\(^{482}\) Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996.

\(^{483}\) Ibid., 2 February, 1996.

\(^{484}\) Ibid., 2 February, 1996.
Ms. Matsuura's family completely supported her decision to open her own studio. When she approached them with a loan request of “300 man – 100 for a building, 100 for a kiln and permits, and 100 for wheels, glazes, shelves, and other equipment,” her mother agreed at once.

“All I needed was a site for the studio. ...Mr. Tanaka had a piece of land that his family wasn’t using, so I asked if I couldn’t lease it from him. He said yes. In 1987 we broke ground, and by December, the pottery studio opened.”

Ms. Matsuura’s first students were mostly customers from Kappa. A few students from the Cultural Arts Center who wanted to continue their studies specifically with her followed her to the new site. Two or three housewives whom she knew from the kodomokai also signed up. In the beginning there were 10 students. By the time of this interview there were 40 regular students, and perhaps a dozen irregulars.

Notably, Ms. Matsuura spoke easily during our interview about Kappa’s profitability, and about her efforts as a manager to generate revenue and to increase profit. When I addressed the same questions

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485 Mr. Tanaka is a regular Kappa customer, and also became a student at the pottery school. He had known Ms. Matsuura for a very long time through the neighborhood children’s association (kodomokai). We will hear more about the circumstances surrounding the leasing of land later in the narrative.

486 The neighborhood children’s association.
in reference to the pottery school, she denied having taken time to even think about the studio's profitability. For example, she does not mark up on materials that students purchase from her. She does not calculate wear and tear on the kiln into tuition or material fees. The firing fees are based on the amount of gas used in each firing, versus a "reasonable" estimation of the number and/or size of pieces each student places in the kiln. She does not mark up other operating expenses like rent, electricity, gas, or water. In fact, student tuition, material fees, and firing fees have remained exactly the same since her first year of operation.  

When I asked her why this was so, she explained, "I keep the fees low because I'm not really a pro. [My students and I] are still learning together." Then she shrewdly added, "[The studio] began to turn a profit when the number of students increased. [Things] were certainly lean (kitto tsurakatta) that first year, but it didn't last long. I haven't run in the red since then. Profit comes from student volume." Clearly, Ms. Matsuura did understand the mechanism for

487 Matsuura interview, 2 February, 1996.

488 Ms. Matsuura spoke easily during her interview about Kappa's profitability, and about her efforts as a manager to generate revenue and to increase profit. When I addressed the same questions in reference to the pottery school, she denied having taken time to even think about the studio's profits. Clearly, she did not want profit, a powerful element in her conceptualization of Kappa, to be a part of her conceptualization of the pottery studio. Ironically, she was able to tell me, in almost the very next sentence, the precise methods and reasoning she had used to make the pottery studio profitable. Ibid., 2 February, 1996.
profitability in the studio, but did not want profit, a powerful element in her conceptualization of Kappa, to be a part of her conceptualization of the pottery studio.

V. Konara Ichiro: Himself

Mr. Konara is the president of an auto dealership which he established in the late 1950s. An eldest son, he was a classical violist in his youth, but he claims that his parents, seeing no future for their son as a classical musician in Occupation-Era Japan, pressured him to find more lucrative work. As one might expect, Mr. Konara is a married man. His wife is allegedly a full-time housewife. He has two college-aged children, one of whom is enrolled at a private university in Tōkyo. The other is enrolled at a university in England.

The Konaras do not live together. He rents a “modest” apartment of his own on the other side of town. Mr. Konara claims that he pays all of the bills for his wife and children, including the mortgage on a new house where his wife moved after the children went to college. The Konaras have been living this way for nineteen years. According to Mr. Konara, he and his wife attend formal occasions.
together, such as weddings and funerals. Otherwise, "I try not even to talk to her except for 'yes, yes I'll send more money!'"  

They reportedly have no intention of divorcing. Mr. Konara solemnly vows that he and his wife will "someday sleep together again, in the grave." This is neither as callous nor macabre as it sounds. The context of the conversation concerned his responsibility to care for his wife throughout her life and also after her death. He explained that regardless of whether or not they could tolerate one another personally, as the mother of his children she had earned the "right" to be buried in the Konara tomb and to be honored as an Konara ancestor. He could not, for mere reasons of personal incompatibility, take away rights that she had properly earned. He then lamented that the younger generation could not understand the importance of responsibility; and also that a foreigner, like me, could not understand something so quintessentially Japanese.

Human relationships defy moral essentialization. Terms used to describe dualities like "mistress and patron," or "husband and wife" are inherently value judgements of the il/legitimacy of relationships which are based on (no more or no less than) types of personal, sexual

490 Christièenne L. Smith, Field Notes: 8 October, 1996, Fukuoka Japan.
491 Ibid., 8 October, 1996.
and economic exchanges.\textsuperscript{492} I would like to argue that the above essentialization of the “patron-mistress” duality erases the reality of exchanges that are not economic. The essentialization of the “husband-wife” duality erases the reality of exchanges which are, in fact, quite mercenary. Both types of relationships include economic, social and personal exchanges. The main differences between the two are in the degree to which they adhere to or deviate from societal acceptance. Without such value-laden constructs, exactly who is Mr. Konara’s wife and who is his mistress becomes blurred. A perfectly rational argument would be that in real terms, Mr. Konara “loves” Ms. Matsuura, but has “prostituted” his wife for the production of heirs. She is to him, nothing more than a borrowed womb.\textsuperscript{493}

I have wondered (without success) about the exact nature of the relationship between Ms. Matsuura and Mr. Konara for as long as I have known them. What can be said with absolute certainty is that the ambiguity of the relationship, its unspoken but understood nature, operates to the satisfaction and advantage of both parties. I can also say with a strong degree of certainty that Japanese society would consider Ms. Matsuura to be Mr. Konara’s mistress. He is what most would consider her patron. What I can not say with any certainty is

\textsuperscript{492} Engels also took this perspective.
what these terms mean and, more profoundly, whether or not they have anything at all to do with the reality of this relationship in particular, or for that matter, with the reality of any human relationship.

A patron is typically understood to be a man of wealth and status who sets a young woman up independently as his mistress. He lavishes upon her all kinds of gifts, money, a home of her own, and trips abroad. In return, she grants him sexual favors and is available to entertain him at his whim.\textsuperscript{494} If she is very lucky, the story goes, he might "gift" her with a pub or bar of her own where he can entertain friends and business associates at his leisure.\textsuperscript{495} By implication, the financial independence of the mistress is extremely fragile: the pub is "hers" because he "gave" it to her. Ostensibly, he can take it away.

The success of the establishment is presumably at the mercy of the patron's friends and associates who regularly frequent it for business as well as for relaxation. In the case of a mistress and her patron, the cash-for-sex exchange that would occur with a common

\textsuperscript{493} A translation of a Tokugawa era term for "wife" among the samurai class.

\textsuperscript{494} This image is described fairly well in Lee Seaman, "Mizu-shobai: The Water Trade and the Position of Women in Japan," in The Japan Christian Quarterly, Summer 1976, XLII/3, pp.148 - 153. This article, however is informed by a missionary perspective, and describes the \textit{mizu-shobai} in terms of its more exploitative and objectifying aspects.

\textsuperscript{495} Please note the similarity in this description to the case of Kato Yumiko, whose marital family forced her to do the very same (Chapter Two).
prostitute is recontextualized to allow the mistress economic freedom from a natal or marital family. It also makes it fiscally possible for a wealthy man of status essentially to support a second(ary) family without endangering the financial security of his primary marital family.

The exact nature of the economic, personal, and sexual exchanges that take place between Ms. Matsuura and Mr. Konara cannot be known. Nor can it be known how these exchanges have changed over time. What I do know is that Mr. Konara and Ms. Matsuura have been "best friends" for ten years. I also know that their relationship, though never publicly defined, is part of a body of "shared knowing" among the students at the pottery studio, among regular customers at Kappa, and with her staff. I heard the following conversation in the pottery studio one afternoon (significantly, neither of the concerned parties was present):

**Student A**: "If something were to happen to Mrs. Konara, I wonder if Mr. Konara would marry sensei, now that she's closing Kappa?"

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496 To have inquired would have violated my perception of the rules of our relationship, and would have violated the rules of my own upbringing. Although it was very much a part of my business as an academic, it was absolutely none of my business as a decent human being.

497 Sensei is a term of respect for a person who has mastered something well enough to be able to teach it to someone else, in this case, Ms. Matsuura.
Student B: “Heaven forbid! (masakad) She's had all this time to get married. If marriage were what she wanted she would have done it a long time ago!”

I believe, but can not confirm that Ms. Matsuura has, indeed accepted financial support from Mr. Konara in the past. For example, Ms. Matsuura claims that she expanded Kappa in 1990 by adding more space to the kitchen, renovating the restroom, and expanding the bar to accommodate eight more tables. When I asked her how much the expansion cost, she said, "600 man." I asked her how she acquired the necessary capital.

“There was a long silence. Then she said, ‘...maybe I borrowed the money.’ I was surprised by this response because she had been able to tell me quite precisely, and with no memory difficulty whatsoever details about start-up capital for Kappa twenty years earlier. I say, showing my surprise, ‘you don’t remember?’ She thinks hard, tilts her head, ‘I really can’t remember...’ The silence stretches out very long. I wait for an answer. She continues, ‘Maybe I borrowed it from a bank?’ I ask, ‘how much did you borrow?’ She calculates, sucks air through her teeth. ‘Maybe 300 man?’ I probe, ‘did you need a co-signer and collateral?’ She pauses, thinking hard. ‘Maybe my brother-in-law cosigned for me? Did I use the house as collateral or...? I can’t remember exactly...’ I press, ‘what about the remaining 300 man? Where did that come from?’ She is silent for so long that I turn the tape-recorder off, waiting for her to jog her memory. She asks me if I want some more tea, and before I can say yes or no, she gets up to get fresh hot water from the kitchen. Finally, I realize that she doesn’t want to tell me where she got the money, but also

doesn’t want to lie to me. When she returns I ask a
different question and the interview resumes.  

I suspect that Ms. Matsuura received all or a portion of the
money for Kappa’s expansion from Mr. Konara, who was her patron in
1990. This would easily fall within the bounds of their relationship.

For example, Mr. Konara told me that he purchased memberships in an
exclusive outdoor golf course for both of them on her birthday. He
frequently talked about lavish vacations that they took together to
Hokkaido, Korea, Hong Kong, Fiji, and Australia. A common thread of
Mr. Konara’s conversation with his male peers in Kappa is his own
generosity. In the snack, he regularly regales his friends and other
customers about the sites and smells of their adventures together, the
delicious foods, the exotic hot springs, the extravagant hotels and
inns. Mr. Konara, more than anything else, loves to hold an audience
spellbound.  

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499 Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996.
500 I do not know exactly how much such things cost in Japan, but I suspect
that one could probably buy a house for what it must have cost. Christiennne L. Smith
Field Notes. 4 April, 1996.
501 In fact, my focus on Ms. Matsuura was a point of contention between us. He
found my interest and focus on her very irritating, and continually urged me to forget
about her and to study him instead. He eventually accused “you and Kumiko are just
alike! You have a hard heart, just like she does! You’re both selfish! Look how much
I’ve done for you and you can’t even be interested in one little thing about me!”
I believe that Mr. Konara's generosity operates similarly to potlatch: he gains status among other elite men through unstinting generosity and through the systematic destruction of surplus wealth. This obscures the exact nature of the economic exchange relationship between them. Certainly if he desired a frank sex-for-cash exchange he could easily obtain this elsewhere with a younger, more beautiful woman, and without the interpersonal complications which surround this specific relationship. His financial generosity to her does not purchase sex, though their relationship might (or might not) include it. The possession of a mistress and the display of her conspicuous consumption of his wealth signals his rank and prestige as a Big Man among other rank-bearing males. The return on his financial investment is not sex with his mistress, but public recognition. In the eyes of his peers, he gains the prestige and status of the Big Man.502

502 This is the image that the samurai class perpetrated about themselves. Money meant so little to the samurai that they would spend it at the drop of a hat, thus gaining prestige. See, for example Kokichi Katsu, *Musui's Story: The Autobiography of a Tokugawa*, Teruko Craig, trans., (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988).
VI. Kumi Kappa: Itself

Kappa draws a rather elite portion of Fukuoka’s male business community. Most of the clientele are owners or in the upper management ranks of manufacturing, construction, or wholesale/retail firms. Two are among the most famous restaurateurs in the entire prefecture. When I asked Ms. Matsuura why Kappa drew such high-brow clientele, and why they have been loyal customers for so long, she replied with swift certainty, “Because Kappa is a respectable place. It’s hard to find a place to relax that isn’t full of perverts or yakuza.” That’s what you’ll find downtown. Have you been there and seen that? Those strange men trying to get men to come into the pubs? Kappa is special because it’s a fun place, but nothing dirty goes on.”

The balance between sexuality and respectability is vital to Kappa’s appeal. Allison discusses the ranking system of hostess bars in Tôkyo’s Roppongi district. I was not aware of the existence of a ranking system in Fukuoka; however, Ms. Matsuura’s description of Kappa’s appeal resonates strongly with Allison’s assertion that the

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503 Organized crime, gangsters, the Japanese mob.

504 Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996.

505 See Allison, Chapter One.
higher class establishment, though creating an atmosphere of the informal, the familiar, and the intimate — generated by sex-talk — can not, indeed must not cross the line into actual sex acts.

Ms. Matsuura has a staff of eight employees. All of them are in their forties. All of them are married and have children. All of them work both day-time and late night shifts. The difference between their day-shift personae and their night-shift personae is so powerful that until I began to frequent Kappa regularly and got to know their names, I actually believed the Snack employees were different from the kissaten employees.

"During the day, when [they are] serving lunch and coffee, they dress and look like busy housewives trying to make ends meet. They exude kindness and generosity. When they welcome customers with "irasshaimase!" it is warm, bright, and friendly. The dishes that they serve are "home-cooking," simple, hot, inexpensive fare from recipes they probably use in their own families. It's like Mom-in-a-can!506 At night, their makeup, sequins, jewelry, and tight fitting clothes give a very different message. These ain't Good Wives and Wise Mothers [sic]. These is women full-growned, with clear knowledge of the carnal aspects of our common human condition glowing in their eyes [sic]."

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506 This passage from my field notes is interesting. Before developing a fully coherent theory of maternalized and sexualized intimacy in the mizu-shobai, this entry indicates that I had sensed some sort of maternalism as part of Kappa's atmosphere. "Mom-in-a-can" was my unsophisticated (and characteristic) way of encapsulating what I was sensing before I was able to integrate it in an intellectual manner.

507 Christienné L. Smith, Field Notes, 13 April, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
Ms. Matsuura's employees have worked at Kappa for a long time. The employee with the shortest tenure has been with the establishment for seven years. The longest has been with the establishment for fourteen. I asked Ms. Matsuura why she hired mature women as employees instead of younger women.

*I hire [mature women] because first of all, as mothers, they know how to cook! Young single women can't cook. Also because [mature married women] have children and need the work more than single girls do. These women's children are old enough now that they need Mom's money more than they need her hand [her presence]. Plus, young women get married, they get pregnant...they'd have to quit soon. Grown women are able to take responsibility. I don't have to hold their hands. I don't have to hover. I can stay out of their way. That's why my staff stays working here so long. I trust them and don't have to do any hand-holding.*

The subtext is that Kappa's hostesses are not sexually available. Their tacit unavailability means that sex-talk and verbal play has no possibility of going further than that. It is mere talk, mere play. To hire single women would mean that Ms. Matsuura would have to worry about her employees' behaviour. As it stands, Kappa's atmosphere is one of clean, safe fun. The rules regarding the availability of the

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508 The salary at Kumi Kappa is between 10 man and 13 man per month, depending on whether or not it is a busy time of year in the restaurant season. Ms. Matsuura says, "perhaps the salary is a little low, but I also let them eat and drink whatever they like. They live right in the neighborhood, so they can run home and come back whenever they need to and they couldn't do that if they had different work. Here we're flexible." Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996.
hostesses do not require explicit utterance. Because of the hostesses' marital status the rules are completely understood.

The real sexual draw to Kappa is Ms. Matsuura herself. She is the only person there who is remotely sexually available. She has had and continues to have many interested admirers, even though Mr. Konara, at the time this research was being conducted, was understood to be, and had been for ten years, Ms. Matsuura’s “very good friend.” Ms. Matsuura’s most ardent admirers are both regular customers at Kappa and students at the pottery studio. Typically, they spend their free time hanging around the studio, helping out by moving heavy objects, and doing some of the harder work like chipping glaze spills from the kiln. Some, like Mr. Konara have become extremely talented potters. Others, like Mr. Tanaka, can only manage the most humble of vessels after many years of practice. These men come to the studio to be near Kumiko, as I discovered by listening to the following conversation which took place on a day when Ms. Matsuura and Mr. Konara were absent from the studio on a golfing holiday.

“Mr. Okazaki: Kumiko was beautiful, I mean really beautiful, ten years ago.

“We Women: (laughing) What?! Did you use the past tense? You’d better not let her hear you say that! The past tense?! She’s still beautiful!”

“Mr. Okazaki: (Smilingly humbled) Yes, she still is beautiful. But when she was young? Oh, you couldn’t look away from her. It was hard in the old days to think of her 320
as ‘sensei.’ I always was calling her *mama*. That’s really why I started coming to the pottery studio, you know. Because she was so beautiful. I met her through Kumi Kappa, and my impression of her really came from Kappa, so it was hard to get used to calling her *sensei*, and not *mama*.

*Mr. Hane:* I’ve never stepped one foot inside Kappa. I always give her the respect she’s due as *sensei*.509

*Mr. Tanaka:* That’s because you can’t hold your liquor! But you’re right, she was a real beauty. Back then, I wanted her to be my girl, and mine alone. When she asked me if she could borrow the land for the pottery school, I told her I’d give it to her for free if she would agree to be mine and no one else’s.

*Mrs. Okazaki:* (Bellowing in mock indignation) So it was YOU who came between our passion! (*Everyone breaks up laughing. An uncomfortable pause.*)

*Mrs. Tanaka:* She could have had anyone; and me, I’ve got this homely face.... I wanted her so badly. I really did. But she said to me, ‘Jiro-kun, think about what you just said. How do you think I feel when you talk like that?’ I was so embarrassed. She didn’t deserve that kind of talk. I went ahead and leased her the property so she could build the studio. I thought if being her friend and being around her is all of her that I can have, then I would be fortunate to have just that much. That’s how I feel. Every day I see her I feel fortunate (*shiauwa*).510

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509 Mr. Hane (pseudonym) was the youngest man who studied at the studio. He claims that he saw her work at a department store exhibit and decided to sign up for classes when he learned that her studio was not far from his neighborhood. The older generation of men at the studio tease him about being a square.

They all agreed with real seriousness, as well as a kind of respect for Mr. Tanaka who had revealed so much of himself, “Oh yes. That’s right. We’re all very very fortunate.” After a pause, I asked, “Are you guys telling the truth, or are these just funny stories?” They both replied, “Oh no. It’s the absolute truth. We can only say this kind of thing because she isn’t here today.”

As discussed previously, Ms. Matsuura told me during our interview that she was leasing the land from Mr. Tanaka, and that he was a long-time friend whom she knew from the neighborhood *kodomokai*. She did not mentioned that he had made a bid for her exclusive favors using his property as a bargaining chip.

In fact, Ms. Matsuura is surrounded by a “stable” of admirers, all of whom are wealthy enough to afford favoring her. Though I hesitate to imply any intentionality on Ms. Matsuura’s part, I do believe that their presence represents a very real threat to Mr. Konara’s status as her “very good friend.” For example, it was not an uncommon occurrence for Mr. Konara, still wearing work clothes, to show up at the pottery studio on weekday afternoons to help Ms. Matsuura clean up.

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511 Ibid., 24 September, 1996.

512 Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996. The *kodomokai* is a common way for women entrepreneurs to network.
Afterwards, they would go off together to dine, and would return to Kappa later in the evening to carouse with the friendly crowd.\textsuperscript{513}

On several occasions, I saw the devastatingly handsome and debonair Mr. Haratada, heir to the most famous restaurant in the prefecture, show up and poke around the studio while Ms. Matsuura and I cleaned up. They went off together, leaving me to lock the door.\textsuperscript{514} On one particular evening, I asked Ms. Matsuura whether she wanted to go and get a bowl of noodles with me after finishing our work. She agreed readily. Ten minutes later, Mr. Haratada showed up, and hung around for a while, making small talk. After a while, Ms. Matsuura told him that I had invited her to go and have some noodles. He looked surprised, packed up a few bowls and cups he had made the week before, and then left without another word. It was apparent to me that he had been waiting to go out with her. Ms. Matsuura deflected my embarrassed apology by saying, “You only get to see for


one year. Him I can see anytime. As we will see, Mr. Haratada increasingly became a threat to Mr. Konara's position as Ms. Matsuura tried to transform her personal and public identity from *mama* to professional artist.

The majority of Kappa's clientele are of Mr. Konara's generation. I noticed that a core of perhaps a half-dozen or so in their seventies, were considerably older than either Mr. Konara or Ms. Matsuura. I once tried to ask Ms. Matsuura about the disparate ages of Kappa's clientele, but she only replied that they were the normal age of men in upper management, and for well-respected members of their communities. I also tried to ask Kappa's customers the same question. Invariably such attempts turned into high-volume debates over the comparative sexual staminas and perversities of old men and young men. Only one of these conversation yielded any data pertinent to my research.

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515 It is important to note that this began to occur after Ms. Matsuura had made the decision to close Kappa. As will be discussed later, Mr. Haratada was a source of inspiration and information for Ms. Matsuura. The closing of Kappa complicated her relationship with Mr. Konara; and this possibly explains her unwillingness to date Mr. Haratada. Christièenne L. Smith. Field Notes. 22 October, 1996. Interestingly, Mr. Haratada opened a new restaurant the same year we met based on Ms. Matsuura's model, using his own hand-made pottery as the serving pieces. The hand-made pottery at Kappa is its signature trademark.

516 Matsuura Interview, 2 February, 1996.

517 Thereafter, I ceased trying to coax research-related material from Kappa's clientele. Such direct attempts invariably ended in failure.
Having been asked, in the context of the debate, whether I preferred skillful older men or energetic younger men, I responded with what coyness I could muster, "well, I don’t have much experience in these matters...but I think we women...well...it doesn’t have to be either-or, does it? In my case, it depends on whether I’m feeling energetic or sleepy. Yes, definitely, it depends on my mood."

There was a round of applause, and exclamations of "ojōzu!" One participant suggested by way of invitation, "If you haven’t had much experience, it’s a good idea to keep an open mind and develop your preference slowly, with plenty of practice." Ms. Matsuura scolded me, "Oh Kuri-chan, there’s no need to be so shy! Friends have to be honest [with one another]! Tell them what you told me the other day, when we both agreed that you and I are exactly the same. We like to have first a young man, then an old man, followed by a young man, and then an old man and then a young man...!"

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518 "What skill!" or "Well done!"

519 Kuri-chan, my nickname, plays on the first two syllables of my name. The first character means “to come,” and the second, the character is a traditional unit of measurement, li (2.44 miles). The meaning is “one who comes from far away.” Kuri also means chestnut, and thus the nickname also is a play on words that references the color of my skin.

The room rocked with laughter. The only person not laughing was Mr. Konara. He nursed his drink silently, grim-faced and oblivious to the general hilarity. Later, while Kumiko was singing a karaoke tune, I sat down with him and asked him what he felt about the "perverted" talk that went on between the customers and his friend:

**Konara:** Well, we're all good friends so it's just play. It doesn't mean anything. And I respect my elders, [like Mr. Norihige and Mr. Taneguchi]. They're very successful businessmen, and real gentlemen in the old Hakata style.\(^{521}\)

**Me:** Were you all friends back in the days before Kappa?

**Konara:** No, we got to be good friends drinking right here.

**Me:** If they didn't bring you, how did you learn about Kappa?

**Konara:** Oh, my *senpai* introduced me—\(^{522}\)

**Me:** Your *senpai*? Is it someone I know?

**Konara:** No. He doesn't come around anymore. You know Mr. Nogata? Well, Mr. Nogata and Mr. Suzuki, and Mr. Takeura, you know them (pointing them out in the crowd), and also Mr. Aoki

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\(^{521}\) To claim that someone is *Hakata*, is like claiming someone is *Edo-ko*, that is, someone who identifies himself or herself with of the *chōnin* culture of the old urban areas. These cultures are seen as a quintessential remnant of traditional Japan.

\(^{522}\) *Senpai* is an older person with higher rank or status. The opposite of *senpai* is *kohai*. The *senpai-kohai* relationship is central to and descriptive of all managerial relationships in Japanese business, as well as in other social contexts.
over there. We’re dōkyūsei.523 We came here together long ago. I was still young, handsome and full of energy. You were just a baby it was so long ago. And Kumiko-sama stole all our hearts. But now, mine’s broken. You could fix it for me, though Ms. Smith, couldn’t you? Would you please? Fix my broken heart for me, and I’ll give it to you.524

In this conversation Mr. Konara revealed that 1) at least two different age-cohorts frequented Kappa; 2) he had been introduced to Kappa along with a group of men who were of his own age-cohort; and 3) the man who introduced them was of an older age cohort. Was this person Ms. Matsuura’s original patron? While I could not ask, and would never find out, I have strong suspicions that he was, based on the following:

On one particular occasion, Ms. Matsuura called me on the phone to tell me that her sister, Ms. Takada Yoko, had invited me to her home for supper. We had been hoping to meet each other for a while, but until then had not had the opportunity. I brought a change of clothes to the pottery studio and later that evening, after we cleaned up, Kumiko and I went to her sister’s house together.

523 Dōkyūsei means that they graduated from the same class, are part of the same age-cohort, or came into a company at the same time.

524 This was a sexual offer. I concluded that Mr. Konara was sulking because he was not the center of attention, and also because Ms. Matsuura had been trading sexual jokes with men other than himself.
Yoko’s husband, was a gigantic, affable man with a loud voice who greeted me warmly. Mr. Konara was there, and then another fellow, older than every one else, perhaps in his mid-seventies. He was introduced to me as “Mr. Tsudeshima, a very important customer of the shop from a long time ago.” At the time, I could not tell which shop, the Takada’s tea shop, Kappa, or the pottery studio.

Mr. Tsudeshima was seated in the spot of honor, at the head of the table farthest from the door. Mr. Konara was directly to his right. I was placed on Mr. Tsudeshima’s left, on the door-side. Mr. Takada sat next to Mr. Konara, and Yoko sat at the foot of the table next to her husband. Kumiko sat next to her sister directly in front of the door, in the position of least status.®

Mr. Tsudeshima, Mr. Konara and Mr. Takada, began to drink like fish. I accepted a beer, and Yoko and Kumiko had juice. After the introductions were over, the atmosphere grew a little awkward. Mr. Tsudeshima said very little, but peeked curiously at me from the corners of his eyes. When he had become more comfortably lubricated, he attempted the following ice-breaker:

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525 The seating arrangement is an important indicator of status. The person with the highest status was Mr. Tsudeshima, followed by Konara, Mr. Takada, myself, Yoko and Kumiko.

526 Ms. Matsuura was on the wagon at this time.
"Your tits are unbelievable, they're so big."\textsuperscript{527}

Kumiko grew serious-faced, and warned him politely, "She's a scholar, so she won't put up with sexual harassment."\textsuperscript{528}

Mr. Tsudeshima ignored her. "How big are they?"

I replied that I would prefer not to talk this way, after all, he would surely not like it if some Drunken Uncle (literal translation) asked his mother, his grandmother, his wife, his sister, or his daughter, about the size of their breasts.\textsuperscript{529} My logic was not convincing.

\textsuperscript{527} Breast conversation is a very common opener in snack dialogue. See Allison, p. 46. This conversation opener is the cue which tells me he is "an important customer of Kappa" as compared to an important customer of Mr. Takada's tea retail shop. As a guest hostess, I did not respond negatively to such talk. Though at first unnerving, I came to see it as a ritual no more meaningful than, "nice weather, isn't it." In this context, however, I was insulted because I had been invited to dinner in the home of my friend's family. I wanted to make a nice impression on her family because Ms. Matsuura was taking such good care of me, befriending me and helping me in my research. "Bar-talk" seemed totally inappropriate. I have no idea how their conversation would have proceeded had I not been there. I have no idea how sex-talk outside of the bar context would have been tolerated.

\textsuperscript{528} This comment is based on an earlier incident in Kappa when a drunk customer crammed his fingers between my legs, and I punched him in the face with my closed fist, knocking him out of his chair. The story became part of "the legend of Kuri-chan," and is part of what made me popular at the Snack. See Christiennne L. Smith, Field Notes, 17 February, 1996, Fukuoka Japan.

\textsuperscript{529} "This is, of course, the unassailable argument; and it was clear he had never thought about his behaviour in this light. ...[H]owever, his wife/mother/grandmother/sister/daughter are probably respectable women not snack owners/hostesses, sister of/friend to snack owners/hostesses...so perhaps Kumiko, Yoko and I can't be counted in the same category of women?..the bottom line is he doesn't know how to have a conversation with a woman if it isn't giving her the husband's order for "beer, food, and bath," or the patron's order for a fuck. He literally seemed incapable of any other conversation." Christiennne L. Smith. Field Notes. 3 March, 1996. Obviously, I was enraged. Whatever scholar's objectivity I possessed was not engaged.

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He stabs again: "They're so big. They look nice and soft. Can I give one a little touch?"

Kumiko told him sharply, "That's enough!"

Yoko said, "How horrible!"

Mr. Konara tried to encourage Mr. Tsudeshima to speak more politely by telling him, "Ms. Smith isn't that kind of girl! She's a very important scholar! She's met the Crown Prince and Princess!"

I say, "Let's talk about the size of your prick. It's so little. It looks nice and soft. How about a little touch?"

There was dead silence. His red face, red from alcohol, grew even redder. Eventually Yoko broke the silence by saying, "that's right! It's the same sort of thing!" Kumiko, trying to hold in laughter, was shaking and vibrating, and covering her mouth with both hands.\(^{530}\)

Mr. Tsudeshima became embarrassed and apologetic. He was also incredibly soused, his words so slurred that everybody kept saying to him, "what? what?"\(^{531}\) He apologized to me profusely, several times. Konara did too, though for what infraction, I couldn't tell.

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\(^{530}\) Allison remarks that the rough sexual joking that is part of the bar room ritual does not allow a hostess to turn the discussion to the customer's private parts. I admit that I said this as nastily and rudely as I could, aping his intonation, inflections, and the grammatical patterns reserved for a man of his age and status.

\(^{531}\) At the time, I thought he was feigning the degree of inebriation in order to white-wash his faux-pas. At the time of this writing, I am not certain if this assessment was correct.
Mr. Tsudeshima suddenly announced to everybody in the room that I was some word which Kumiko translated in pidgin English as “big lady.” He pointed at Kumiko slurring out, ‘Big Mama;’ then at me, braying, ‘big lady.’ Over the next few minutes, I came to understand that by big mama and big lady, he meant that Kumiko was the *mama* of a snack, and that I am a smart, fat(?), female scholar.\textsuperscript{532} I told him that in African American culture, the expression big mama is praise, and that if he had anything to say about Kumiko it ought to be praise. He stuttered in real surprise, then slurred angrily, “That’s no kind of praise! She’s a *Mama*! You understand *Mama*? Don’t you know what that means?”

I replied coldly, “Why don’t you explain it to me?” Our tones were mutually sharp. He said again, “the *Mama* of a Snack is nothing to praise!”

I shot back, “Kumiko’s my friend so if you have something to say about her to me it had better be praise, or else shut your mouth!”\textsuperscript{533} Mr. Konara tried to interrupt us because Tsudeshima and I were pretty much snarling in one other’s faces by now. He told Mr. Tsudeshima that he should act politely in front of an important foreign guest.

\textsuperscript{532} The impact of my size on my relationship with the people in this narrative is noteworthy, but I am still as of the time of this writing, not sure what to make of it.

\textsuperscript{533} It is unthinkable in Japan for an unmarried woman of my age and status to tell a man of his age and status to shut his mouth.

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I spent the next forty minutes or so purposefully ignoring Mr. Tsudeshima, trying to get to know Mr. and Mrs. Takada. This was, after all, the reason I believed that I had been invited to their house.\footnote{Gail Bernstein has since asked me whether or not it was possible that I had been invited as Mr. Tsudeshima’s “date.” My reaction to this possibility is visceral, and not remotely objective.} Mr. Tsudeshima could not bear to be ignored, however, and got progressively louder. He seemed to think that my ignoring him was a language deficiency, and so he switched to broken pidgin English, trying to get my attention. Eventually he whooped, “Kumiko—my—girlfriend!”

Konara muttered softly, “Oh shut up. You’re drunk.”

Now that Tsudeshima had the room’s attention, he hollered, “Kumiko—Me,” accompanied by a coital gesture of finger inserted into a hole created by the other forefinger and thumb. Konara mumbled to himself, to everybody, “Don’t get angry, let’s just put up with it (gaman shio ka ne) He’s my senpai (elder)...Just forget about it.”

Mr. Tsudeshima, now the unequivocal center of attention, brayed in his loudest voice yet, “Tonight I’m going to commit gomeiwa ku.\footnote{The unpardonable act of inconveniencing someone else.} I’m sure you’ll understand Konara, and thank you for being so cooperative, but tonight, I want to have Kumiko. I’d like for you to loan her to me.”
"The room collapsed into the most horrible silence. I was almost catatonic with shock. Kumiko said to me, to defuse me, I think, 'It's okay Christiènne, he's not saying anything about me that's all that bad.' It's clear that Mr. Tsudeshima has broken the rules. Yoko, saying not one word, gets up, goes to the telephone and calls a taxi. No one says anything. The taxi comes. Mr. Takada escorts Mr. Tsudeshima gently down the stairs. He is drunk enough that walking is difficult. Mr. Konara apologizes for Mr. Tsudeshima, saying what a good person he is at heart. I say bitterly that he showed his true heart while drunk. Kumiko's sister breathes a sigh of relief and says, "I'm glad he's gone."  

This narrative is extremely rich. The issue which is important to us at this juncture, is the nature of Mr. Tsudeshima's relationship with Ms. Matsuura and to Kappa. Mr. Konara's repeated apologies for Mr. Tsudeshima's shocking behaviour, as well as his perceived duty to "put up with it" indicates to me that Mr. Tsudeshima arrived at the party in association with Mr. Konara, perhaps by Konara's invitation, or perhaps as a result of an obligatory courtesy on Konara's part. Konara therefore, took a measure of responsibility for his senpai, for his presence at the party, and consequently, for his bad behaviour. Furthermore, it is important to note that Mr. Tsudeshima, an important "guest of the shop from a long time ago," was invited to a

536 "Why am I the only person in the room who is trying to defend her, me with my bad Japanese? Why is she more concerned with my anguish than with her own?" Christiènne L. Smith. Field Notes. 3 March, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

537 Ibid., 3 March, 1996.
function that included Ms. Matsuura's private family. This is a very privileged status that of all of Kappa's customers, only with Mr. Konara enjoyed. Though I can not substantiate it, I am very much inclined to believe that at some point in the past, Mr. Tsudeshima held the same status as Mr. Konara, that is, he was at some point in the time Ms. Matsuura's "very good friend."

VII. From Mama to Sensei: Social Constraint and Mitigation in the Transformation of an Identity

On May 20, Ms. Matsuura called me on the phone and asked if I would be willing to come with her to a restaurant where the sushi was particularly famous. I agreed, and met her at one of the premier sushi bars in the city. Of course Mr. Konara was there. The owner of the restaurant, who was introduced to me as Mr. Yanegata, joined us at a table. Mr. Konara told me that they were old friends; and I also recalled seeing him in Kappa several times. We had a lovely dinner; and while we were drinking tea, Kumiko described to both of them what she was hoping to do in her new business. She talked about trying to bring the two different halves of her life together. She talked about trying to create a place where good food was served on beautiful pottery. She talked about how her students would be exposed to a fuller sense of the functional and artistic aspects of their craft with a studio attached to the restaurant-gallery where their medium would be
both used and displayed. Mr. Yanegata listened respectfully, but after
she finished, didn’t tell her what he thought right away. He called for
more drinks, and encouraged me to flirt with the youngest of his
apprentices.... After the teasing was over, and we had all relaxed a
little more, he addressed Kumiko’s plan. He told her emphatically,
though not cruelly, that her ideas were not sufficiently clear. He said
that she was trying to do too many things at once. He told her to find
one goal, make that goal the theme of her business, and to forget
everything else. Rather than being defensive, Kumiko listened to him
seriously and respectfully. I wondered why Mr. Yanegata’s response
had been negative. I wondered if Ms. Matsuura had been discouraged.
I did not ask. Nor did she volunteer her thoughts.538

The following week, Ms. Matsuura called me on the phone again.
She asked me if I would be willing to go out to a moon-viewing dinner
on the Muromigawa river. I agreed. We met at Mr. Haratada’s tiny
restaurant. Mr. Haratada, and Mr. Kano, his General Manager met us
there. Mr. Konara was not present. After dinner, we watched the
moon set over the river through a big long window that ran the entire
length of the restaurant on the river side. Afterwards, Ms. Matsuura
began to describe her plans for a new business.

“She told Mr. Haratada that she had already purchased the property adjacent to Kappa. She told them that she was hoping to transform her two businesses into a single business. Again, I was struck by the very serious nature of the conversation. She was speaking to men with whom she had flirted and traded rough sexual jests, but she was definitely not speaking as Mama. She was speaking as a businesswoman. They were listening to her seriously. It seems to me that Kumiko is gathering opinions, advice, warnings from some of the best upscale restaurants in the city, and using these to dream, to gather confidence, to garner emotional and informational support from the best of Fukuoka’s male-gendered business world. Through Kappa, Kumiko is connected to the male-dominated business world. Though she dislikes Kappa, and the kind of business she does there, it provides her vital access to men to whom she would otherwise not have access: company presidents, men with financial experience. Over the last week I have seen her utilizing the resources she’s cultivated at Kappa over so many years.”  

In August, I learned that Ms. Matsuura had changed her plans: rather than renovate the two adjacent buildings and attach them, she would raze them both, and build from scratch. Over the summer, she had been negotiating with architects and contractors, and had even had sample blueprints for the new space drawn up. She showed these to me and to her brother-in-law, Mr. Takada, over lunch at Kappa one day.

“I was struck...by how negative Mr. Takada was about the plans. He looked at the blue prints very critically, complained that the studio space was too small, that the windows were placed badly, that no one wanted to eat their lunch while looking through windows at students throwing

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pots. 'It’ll turn their stomachs!' he griped. 'And what’ll you do about the dirt? The place will be filthy!' He also complained, ‘you’ve wasted a lot of space on the parking lot. You could get rid of the parking lot and put in four or five more wheels for your students!’ Ms. Matsuura argued that she needed the parking space for the restaurant guests. He was not moved by this explanation, and continued to scowl, mutter unpleasantly, and to be uncharacteristically sour the whole time."540

In effect, Ms. Matsuura had begun a slow, difficult process of moving herself from the disrespected but lucrative misu-shobai industry into the highly respected but financially humble world of the independent artisan. She faced excruciating pressure from her customers, and from Mr. Konara in particular, who felt betrayed and abandoned.541 Her staff also repeatedly asked her to consider their plight, and to try to include them in whatever future plans she had. She wavered back and forth in her resolve: close Kappa completely, or try to transform it into a smaller establishment that would support her staff, her old customers, her own drinking problem. At one point, she told me,

"Don’t tell anyone at Kappa, but after I tear it down, I plan to quit it all together.’ She went on to say that she had decided to turn the space into a pottery studio exclusively.


541 Though framed as jokes, Kappa’s clientele accused Ms. Matsuura of betraying them, of having a cold or a hard heart. See Christiënne L. Smith. Field Notes. 22 October, 1996.
She said she had been unable to sleep, tossing and turning; and then a new idea popped into her head: ‘I don’t have to keep Kappa. I can get out of the mizu-shobai altogether!’ She said she felt an enormous rush of relief. She said that she hated Kappa, that she was sick of being up at all hours of the night smiling at people she didn’t really want to smile at. She said that she had mentioned her plan to her employees but that they had not really believed her. She said that she had done a good job with Kappa, had taken her responsibilities seriously. She said, ‘but from now on, no more mizu-shobai! I’m going to establish a pottery school. Maybe it will take some time. But I’ll work hard. My first job is to work on increasing the number of students.’

Approximately two weeks later, I learned in a roundabout manner that she had changed her mind back the other way. Her sister Yoko called me on the telephone and asked if I wouldn’t be willing to come over to their house for supper. Not being used to receiving phone calls directly from Ms. Matsuura’s family, I asked if anything was the matter. She explained that nothing was the matter, but that Kumiko had asked her to call because she’d been so busy that she did not have time. I agreed to go. When I arrived, however, the plans had been changed and we were supposed to meet Ms. Matsuura and Mr. Konara at a restaurant somewhere. Mr. Takada drove us to an izakaya.

Kumiko and Mr. Konara were clearly surprised by our arrival. Mr. and


543 A kind of eating/drinking establishment within the mizu-shobai.
Mrs. Takada made perfunctory apologies for interrupting them and climbed into the well around the cold kotatsu.\footnote{A kind of table which in this case was recessed into the floor. A heater is under the table in the recess. This is a common way to keep warm in homes and restaurants without central heat.}

Obviously, Mr. and Mrs. Takada had manipulated the meeting. I did not want to be part of the manipulation, but wasn't sure how to get out of it. We ordered food and ate, but no one was having a good time. I was afraid Kumiko would be angry with me even though I hadn't had anything to do with whatever was going on. Mr. Takada broke the tension bluntly:

“What’s this I hear about you deciding to run a kissaten in the new studio? That’s a stupid idea, I told you before, and I’m telling you again!”

Ms. Matsuura answered, “I have a responsibility to my employees. If I close Kappa they won’t have work. They’ve worked for me for years. I can’t do that to them.”

Yoko replied, “If they like working so much, sell them the business. Give them your customers. Give them your support. But don’t run it yourself. Let them run it.

Ms. Matsuura parried, “None of them want that kind of responsibility. Plus, their husbands won’t let them. None of them has what it takes.”
Mr. Takada thundered, “Then let their husbands take care of them! They’re their husband’s responsibility, not yours!”

“What’s wrong with a kissaten?” Kumiko wanted to know. “There won’t be any alcohol served, and only a light lunch in the afternoon. I plan to close by four o’clock.”

“Because your friends will be after you to go drinking with them: Because you’ll start out serving coffee, then one day you’ll serve beer, then shochu, then whisky, and then you’ll be back in the snack business, that’s what wrong with kissaten!” argued Mr. Takada.

Yoko said much more gently, “Aren’t you finished with that part of your life? You’ve worked very hard to take care of [your son] and to put him through college. You’ve given your staff many years of good work. You’ve looked after them. Taken good care of them. Isn’t that enough? What about your health? It’s time for you to take care of yourself now. Be selfish for yourself, now. This is your big chance, isn’t that so, Miss Smith?”

Before I can recover from the terror of being called upon to speak, Mr. Konara whines, “But what about me? And what about your poor customers? If you close Kappa—”

Mr. Takada has a big voice and isn’t afraid to use it. “Shut up, you! This is a family matter!” Mr. Konara cowers, and doesn’t say anything more. There’s a long silence. Ms. Matsuura is staring at the
table. I offer very timidly, using the humblest grammatical patterns in my arsenal,

“I know this is a family matter, and I’m sorry to put in a word but—”

“That’s alright, Ms. Smith,” Mr. Takada assures firmly, “Don’t apologize. We’d like to hear what you think!”

“Well, Kumiko-sama, you really don’t like *mizu-shobai*. You’ve told me that many times. I believe you because I’ve seen your face when you have to go to Kappa. You don’t like to be called *Mama*. You prefer to be called *sensei*. Kappa makes you so unhappy. Maybe you might be happier if you tried to do what you love full-time. Not part time, not half-time, not some of the time, but all of the time, everyday, for as long as you like. You also could sleep in in the mornings...” I wanted to tease her a little to lighten the atmosphere. “Wouldn’t it be okay for you to be just a little more selfish?”

Yoko beamed approval at me. The conversation continued like this for around twenty more minutes until people seemed out of breath. Poor Kumiko was totally cowed. She didn’t say anything. Mr. Konara had lain down on the tatami mat, had fallen asleep, and was snoring like a wet dog.”


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Ms. Matsuura was torn between her customers and employees and her family's undistilled hostility toward any connection between the new facility and her life in the *mizu-shobai*, her alcoholism, and the diabetes which, considering her occupation in the *mizu-shobai*, was a virtual death sentence. By October, she seemed to be toeing the family line with regards to closing Kappa completely. I asked her if she had any fears about closing Kappa and opening the new studio.

“She said that she had none at all. She said she felt bad, though, about abandoning Kappa's customers. They have apparently been telling her, 'but now we have nowhere to go!' I told her that I suspected that they would be able to find some place to go. She said yes, but that it had been her work, her responsibility to create a safe, comfortable place, where the customers were good people. She said, 'Up until now, I've lived my life thinking about other people, taking care of other people, my customers, my son, my mother. Now I want to spend some time thinking about me.' I thought that was alright, for her to think about herself, and to live for herself a little bit now. I asked her why she wasn't nervous. She said that she has the type of personality that is never afraid once she decides to do something. She said that this is her secret for success. She said, however, that deciding to do something takes her a really long time. I asked her how many years she had been thinking about getting rid of Kappa. She said for about ten years, though the idea got clearer around eight years ago. She smiled, then, and said with sudden realization, 'Just around the time I got into pottery I started wondering whether I could find some way to quit Kappa.'

546 She once confessed to me, "I can't sleep at night without at least two or three stiff drinks." See Christiënne L. Smith. *Field Notes*, 5 September, 1996.
Ms. Matsuura closed Kappa in December of 1996. She threw an enormous farewell party which was attended by over 400 guests. They included Kappa’s customers, her pottery students, teachers, her family and neighborhood friends. She wore the same kimono that she had worn at the party celebrating Kappa’s grand opening more than twenty years earlier. I wondered how her seeming triumph would turn out. The last blueprints that I saw before the ground-breaking included a small coffee shop. In a recent correspondence, Ms. Matsuura did not mention the coffee shop at all. She writes, “the number of students has increased to 80 regulars. There’s a waiting list of people who want to study here, so students who don’t come regularly are asked to leave. I am so busy loading, firing, unloading and cleaning the kilns that I don’t have time to work on my own projects. We’re open every day of the week from ten in the morning to ten at night except for Thursdays....”

In her letter, she also congratulated me on my recent marriage, after which she comments, “Really, I truly want to be married, but...I’ve been selfish my whole life. I’m strong willed. So I can’t [marry]. [Lately, Mr. Konara and I have done nothing but fight, so nowadays we’re not seeing each other. It’s sad, and I miss him, but I don’t know
what else to do about it. I guess it’s *que sera sera.* It just can’t be helped.\footnote{Matsuura, Kumiko. Personal Communication. December, 15, 1999.}

She also writes, “Look at my terrible handwriting. I’ve just had three big bottles of beer. I’m drunk, and I’m wondering: will you be able to read what I’m writing to you?”\footnote{Matsuura, Kumiko. Personal Communication. December, 15, 1999.}
A CONCLUSION

“If I ever get to Heaven, I’ll look for Gramma’s hands.”
—Bill Withers tune

1. Introduction

As a social historian, I conceive of business, economy, and entrepreneurship as powerful cultural artifacts which contribute to social coherence and stability; or, alternatively, to social incoherence and instability. It is this perspective that has informed my investigation of female entrepreneurship in twentieth century Japan. Japanese women have exercised economic agency from at least as early as the Tokugawa Period. Their role as economic agents has been strongly affected by the premodern business system’s collision with western industrial capitalism. This monumental encounter resulted in two historical narratives each vital to the other in understanding the history of entrepreneurship among women.
The first narrative concerns the birth of a new business system capable of isolating the threat of Western imperialism by competing effectively in the expanding international industrial capitalist economy. The modern business system that evolved was clearly the child of its premodern parent. For example, the zaibatsu were kin-based corporations in which family and business were contiguous in many ways. However, the institutionalization of factory modes of production increasingly separated the locus of production, processing, and management from within the home. The sectors of the economy which were slowest to accommodate this separation remained accessible to women’s entrepreneurship, and have continued to be accessible from the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries.

The second narrative concerns the State’s manipulation of class-based gender norms to harness working women’s economic energies in pursuit of industrial parity with the West. At the same time, however, the State sought to confine elite women’s normative social role to the home. When the industrial economy shifted from dependence on light industries to an emphasis on heavy industries, the elite gender norm of the domestic woman was increasingly universalized. This process was disseminated through the compulsory system of education which was also used to inculcate the entire population with a single historicized explanation of Japan’s position in the world, its putative
cultural uniqueness, and the "traditional" nature of Japan's historical past. The long-term result of greatest importance to this study is the dismembering of the memory of female economic agency.

The splintering of the premodern system under the impact of its collision with industrial capitalism resulted in the birth of enterprise structures that experienced increasing discontiguity from the kin-based corporation over historical time. Although I have gone to great lengths to distinguish the traditional business system from the modern business system, both should be understood not as fundamentally different systems, but as systems situated on opposite ends of a spectrum. Between them are infinite degrees of variation.

The relationship between the premodern and traditional business systems is structural as well as ideological. Actors and agents in each business system consume the products and services provided by the other. Products and services, elements of material culture, are not blank inputs, but flow through human conduits who inscribe them with meanings which are at times precise and legible, at other times, imprecise and illegible.

I have chosen to illustrate this argument using a concrete case study. I had an opportunity to observe one woman's two businesses at close quarters for more than a year. At the same time, I studied other businesses and other business owners, the majority of which were not
involved in the *mizu-shobai*. Admittedly, the *mizu-shobai* in general, and Ms. Matsuura’s business in particular, are unusual in several respects. However, it would be a grave analytical error to overemphasize the exceptionality of this industry, and the particularity of this one business. Both the *mizu-shobai* as an industry, and Kumi Kappa as an enterprise are fundamentally grounded in the same overarching cultural and historical contexts shared by all business and by all industries in the Japanese economy. If nothing can be said about Japanese business using *this* case study of *this* specific business in *this* particular industry, than *nothing* can be said about Japanese businesses using *any* case study of *any* business in *any* industry.

Oppositely, I am arguing that *insofar as anything can be said* using a single industry and the example of an individual firm, the *mizu-shobai* in general, and Kumi Kappa in particular, will serve well, if not better than other industries because of the dramatically exaggerated role that gender, locality, hierarchy and intimacy play in the human relationships that are forged within the *mizu-shobai* as an industry. The very exaggerated nature of utterance within the *mizu-shobai* is why it is the best industry from which to study business as an artifact of the culture in which it functions. In the *mizu-shobai*, cultural inscriptions are exaggerated, deep, and therefore legible. By using this case study and this industry, I hope to explain the complex interplay between
gender, hierarchy, space, liminality, modernity and tradition which are vital to the creation and marketing of Japanese modern identity.

II. Modern Business, Traditional Business: Creating and Marketing Intimacies

The traditional business system and the modern business system intersect within Kumi Kappa’s walls. In Kappa’s kitchen one will find a refrigerator manufactured by Sanyo. In the bar is a karaoke machine produced by Sony. In the cabinet are bottles of bourbon manufactured by Suntory. If you arrive early enough in the morning, you will see vegetables delivered in trucks manufactured by Daihatsu. On the other hand, Kappa’s four walls shelter and contextualize the lives of a tired woman, her ninety year old mother, and her bachelor son. Kappa’s roof and walls encompass a space that is public (soto), private (uchū), both, and neither. That space is a liminal one in which social scripts are enacted, frequently negotiated, temporarily suspended, and occasionally transgressed.

Marshall Sahlins argues that in so-called primitive societies, the rules governing the exchange of durable goods is qualitatively different from those governing the exchange of consumable goods. Among such peoples, foodstuffs are normatively proscribed from pecuniary exchange:
"About the only sociable thing to do with food is to give it away, and the commensurably sociable return, after an interval of suitable decency, is the return of hospitality or assistance... One notes with interest normative injunctions against the sale of food among peoples possessed of primitive currencies... [where] balanced exchange is run of the mill. But not foodstuffs....staples are insulated against pecuniary transactions and food shared perhaps, but rarely sold. Food has too much social value -- ultimately because it has too much use value -- to have exchange value."\(^{548}\)

Primitive peoples are not the only ones for whom foodstuffs possess social value. The consumption of food, and by extension drink, is redolent with deep psycho-social meanings in all societies, and is arguably the fundament of humankind's most sacred and enduring rituals. The practice of partaking is an act repeated daily, familially, religiously, even nationally. The social meanings with which food is inscribed are so very basic to the human experience that to refuse food, to be refused food, to refuse another food are acts which transcend mere barriers of language and culture, and possess inestimable social, religious, and political power. Sahlins remarks that,

"[F]ood dealings are a delicate barometer, a ritual statement as it were of social relations, and food is thus employed instrumentally as a starting, a sustaining, or a destroying mechanism of sociability. The sharing of food...symbolizes an identity of interests.... Food is never

shared with an enemy.... Food is not shared with strangers.... Food, offered in a generalized way, notably as hospitality, is good relations.... Hospitality often turns enemies into friends, and strengthens the amicable relations between groups foreign to one another. But then, a complimentary negative principle is implied, that food not offered on the suitable occasion or not taken is bad relations.... [Pecuniary] traffic in food [occurs only] between foreign interests.\textsuperscript{549}

It is important to understand that food and drink, objects central to the \textit{mizu-shobai}, are components necessary to the forging and maintenance of relationships of intimacy between the Self and the Other.\textsuperscript{550} Food and drink serve a broad variety of ritual purposes in Japan. For example, they can serve as a mode of communication by proxy. To communicate to the rest of the family that her daughter has reached the age of menarche, a mother will serve a special dish of sweet red beans. Gifts of food and drink articulate hierarchy, preserve ties of friendship, or recognize obligation. At specific times of year, prohibitively priced food and drink items are commonly given as gifts expressly for such purposes. Even the small obligatory gift [\textit{omiyage}], often a food item given when visiting someone’s home or is presented

\textsuperscript{549} Sahlins, pp. 215 - 216.

\textsuperscript{550} In contemporary America, kinship and community interconnections are comparatively weak, or even seem irrelevant because of the dominant meta-mythos of the individual. Americans tend, therefore, to lose sight of the ritualized nature of food consumption and the role that it plays in their own culture. It is, however, unmistakable in cultures where the forging and maintenance of group identity remains vital, to tribal communities for example, to Gatherers and Hunters, and relevant to our purposes here, it is vital to the Japanese as well
to one’s coworkers when returning from a brief vacation, serve in the former case, to balance hospitality received during the visit, or in the latter case, as an apology to co-workers for one’s absence.

Sex is similar to foodstuffs in its power to catalyze human intimacy, whether real and permanent, or imaginary and transitory. The giving and sharing of food, or the giving and sharing of Self represent a generalized reciprocity creating mutual obligation, and thus sociability between people. Note that although the sexualization of intimacy is part and parcel of the *mizu-shobai*, it is distinct from prostitution, which represents the ultimate balanced, non-binding, pecuniary exchange. The *mizu-shobai* is more than a food, drink, and sex industry. Its special product (or service if you will) is the creation and marketing of intimacy, a necessary and sufficient condition for creating and sustaining human sociability. The intimacies created within the ritual space of the *mizu-shobai* are meant to forge and maintain inter-personal, inter- and intra-communal, and inter- and intra-institutional relationships, both formal and informal.

On the one hand, the business that went on within Kappa’s walls was coldly mercenary. I witnessed hostesses begging drinks from customers only to discreetly pour them down the sink behind the bar,
knowing full well that an empty glasses would be refilled.⁵⁵¹ Ms. Matsuura's response to my curious inquiry concerning such behaviour was to show me how to do it without being obvious. “Every empty bottle is a new diamond ring,” she said.⁵⁵² On the other hand, something genuine and vital was also going on. Mr. Tanaka’s sentiment that he was a fortunate man if only he could be in Kumiko’s company provides a clue to Kappa’s real product: human intimacy.

Significantly, the intimacies created and sold within the context of the mizu-shobai are not everywhere the same. As explained in Chapter Seven, the mizu-shobai includes an extremely heterogeneous range of after-hours businesses. Marital status is an important factor which contextualizes the relationships between an entrepreneur and the non-kin males with whom she does business. Such contextualization is important to the style and flavor of intimacies proffered within the mizu-shobai. Ms. Matsuura’s family insisted that her elderly mother move in when Kappa was built in order to forestall the sexualization of Kappa’s atmosphere beyond a certain level. Ms. Matsuura herself underscored the parameters of the intimacies served in her establishment by hiring women who, at least normatively speaking, were sexually unavailable. Furthermore, she tapped their

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³⁵¹ Christiënne L. Smith, Field Notes, 18 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
domestic skills as well as their moral authority as normatively-compliant wives and mothers to further endow her establishment with respectability, which was also heightened because it was known to operate during day-light hours. Thus Kappa's atmosphere was intended to be intimate, friendly, adult, but decidedly not pornographic.

The intimacies marketed within the *mizu-shobai* include sexualized intimacy at one end of the spectrum, and maternalized intimacy at the other. As discussed in Chapter Six, a married woman who works in the liminal space where business transactions with non-kin males necessarily occur is, to some degree, insulated from the possibility of the sexualization of intimacy. Therefore married women entrepreneurs offer an intimacy within their businesses that can best be described as maternal. This is an expression used by business women regularly when describing their management styles.

Associations between motherhood, food, feeding, fecundity, and nurturing are so basic as to be self-evident. That such associations obtain in Japanese culture can be seen in the autobiographical and biographical narratives of motherhood. As explained in Chapter Four, the meta-memory of Japanese motherhood revolves around suffering, endurance, and love as expressed through food.

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552 Christiènne L. Smith, Field Notes, 1 March, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
This style of intimacy is best exemplified in my neighborhood
restaurant, Fujino Ryotei, whose owner, Yamazaki Fujie, denied
owning a business and identified herself as a professional housewife
in Chapter Four. Mrs. Yamazaki was very proud of her home-cooking
which she learned from her mother who also ran a small inn in Oita
Prefecture. During our interview, Mrs. Yamazaki reminisced about the
student riots in the late sixties, and about how terrified she was that
the students would smash her windows. She offered them special
discounts as a way of buying protection from mob violence:

“One time, "I could hear them talking about me in the
alley. 'Not Grandmother's house!' Yeah, let's leave
Grandma's House out of it! Her cooking is as good as my
Mom's!' Yeah, and she gives it to us for cheap!' Alright,
not her house!'”553

One of her regular customers with whom I often chatted was a
tired-looking, perpetually rumpled businessman who arrived, more
often than not, already reeking of scotch and cigarette smoke. Mrs.
Yamazaki grilled generous portions of fish for him, refilled his miso-
soup, and served him one heaping bowl of rice after another. She
produced mounds of home-made pickles from a barrel without even
being asked for a second helping. He told me, “Coming to this place

553 Yamazaki Fujie, "Fuji no Koryotei," Personal Interview, " 21 February, 1996,
Fukuoka, Japan.
reminds me of my old Mom [he used the expression *fukuro*, literally meaning, 'old sack']. This place is the best. Top notch. It's quiet. The food is good. I like to watch the baseball highlights, and sumo."

I asked him, "What about going home?"

He jumped as if I'd run a hot needle under his fingernail. "That's no kind of place to go!" he grimaced. "There, all I get is leftovers scraped from the bottom of the pot.... tepid...[wrapped] in cellophane...[heated up for] sixty seconds in the microwave."

As noted earlier by Sahlins, "About the only decent thing to do with food is to give it away." This explains, to some degree, the difficulty that many entrepreneurs in this portion of the *mizu-shobai* have identifying themselves as business owners. Pecuniary motivation would completely undermine the sincerity of maternal intimacy which ideally is warm, spontaneous, natural, and motivated by love, not love of profit. The spatial contiguity between home and business creates the potential for a woman's dominant identity as mother to protrude into the liminal space where the boundaries between public and private

554 Christiènne L. Smith, Field Notes, 19 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

are fluid. A clearly articulated profit motive never emerges among female *mizu-shobai* operators of this type.\(^556\)

I am not proposing that only married women market maternal intimacy. Nor am I proposing that only divorced women market sexualized intimacy. Different categories within the industry maintain different ratios, as it were, of maternalization to sexualization; and individual enterprises within a given category can be said to differ in terms of variations in the ratio. Indeed, the creation and maintenance of a specific ratio of maternalized intimacy to sexualized intimacy is the defining feature of individual entrepreneurs and their marketing strategies in the *mizu-shobai*. After all, wives also have access to non-kin males who pass in and out of the liminal space within their homes where public and private are poorly defined. Hence all establishments within the *mizu-shobai*, even the most exclusive and high-brow, are tainted by the proverbial whiff of brimstone.

Another example of the maternalistic intimacy created in a different type of *mizu-shobai* can be clearly seen in a couple, Mrs. Maeda Fumie and her husband Maeda Saigo, whom I interviewed as conjugal

\(^{556}\) Ironically, in all of the conjugal partnerships included in my study, wives invariably collected money, paid the staff, ordered stock, handle accounts payable and accounts receivable. The profit motive cannot consciously coexist with the maternal motive to selflessly satisfy, to fill the empty bellies of children. This is distinct from female *mizu-shobai* operators whose businesses primarily market a more sexualized intimacy.
partner entrepreneurs.\textsuperscript{557} They are owner operators of an after-hours restaurant known as a ‘yakitori-ya,’ which serves a variety of grilled foods on skewers. The Maeda’s planned their restaurant, Yakitori-ya Maho,\textsuperscript{558} to appeal specifically to home-bound parents with small children. To occupy this market niche, the Maedas created a special, low-priced children’s menu. Furthermore, their staff is comprised entirely of neighborhood high-school students, all of whom are too young to drink alcoholic beverages. Somewhere, Mr. Maeda acquired an admirable repertoire of sleight-of-hand magic tricks; and these he frequently uses to entertain his customers’ children while skillfully operating the grill, sometimes with hilarious results.

Mountains of pillows and blankets are available for tired children. Mrs. Maeda, when she can’t get to it herself, directs her employees to cover children with blankets, to fetch them pillows, or to carry their limp sleeping bodies to an empty tatami room where they can sprawl out without being stepped on. The room also has a sizable collection of coloring books, crayons, and battered *manga* appropriate for

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{557} Maeda, Fumie and Maeda Saigo [pseudonyms], "Yakitori-ya Maho," Personal Interviews, 9 September, 1996 and 10 June, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.}
different ages. Parents who come to Yakitori-ya Maho are able to enjoy a leisurely night out of the house at an affordable price.\textsuperscript{559}

An example of a \textit{mizu-shobai} business which balances sexualized intimacy with maternalized intimacy is Koaji Sobaya established in 1964 by Mrs. and Mr. Domyo, conjugal partners. The restaurant serves cuisine revolving around the Japanese buckwheat noodle.\textsuperscript{560}

Koaji Sobaya’s customers, most of whom, according to Mrs. Domyo, are businessmen working in the downtown area, are served by six women in their twenties or early thirties, elaborately garbed in kimono, obi, tabi, and geta. The servers wear their hair high, and their collars low to expose the napes of their necks, which in a “traditional” aesthetic is understood as sexually alluring. Both Mrs. Domyo and her daughter oversee the wait staff, greet customers at the door, help them in and out of their shoes, and invite them to return soon, “because we will be waiting for you!” They were more conservatively, though

\textsuperscript{559}Yakitori-ya Maho creates a safe, friendly, family-oriented intimacy that I have never encountered elsewhere in the \textit{mizu-shobai}. Generally, married couples, especially married couples with children, do not go to after-hours establishments together. Significantly, Yakitori-ya Maho is located on the first floor of a shopping center. The business owners live in tiny apartments on its second floor in close proximity to their shops, but not completely contiguously to them.

\textsuperscript{560}Mr. Domyo had been twelve years deceased at the time of the interview. Domyo Miyuki [pseudonym], "Koaji Sobaya," Personal Interviews, 4 September and 14 September, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
impeccably dressed, in age-appropriate kimono. Mrs. Domyo explained that,

"Soba has a very delicate flavor that can easily be ruined by any number of things. If the flowers on the table have a strong fragrance, it ruins the taste of the soba. If you scorch the nori [seaweed] just a little, it will ruin the taste of the soba. A [serving] girl can't even wear perfume or it will ruin the taste of the soba. And they can't be clumsy."

"That's right," interjects her daughter. "Or too loud."

"Yes. And they can't be ugly," Mrs. Domyo laughs. "An ugly old woman like myself, or like her [indicating her daughter] absolutely mustn't serve soba. Not good soba. The server, like everything else, must be a perfect accompaniment. I don't know but maybe that is why some people might say that we are different from other restaurants."

"That's not it," Mrs. Domyo corrected. Both of them were laughing as if I had said something clever. "Ugly old women make the best soba."

Her daughter concurred, "Young girls can't make soba at all."

"Right, right. It's that good soba can't be served by an ugly old woman is what I am trying to say."

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561 Christiënne Smith, Field Notes, September 4, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
562 Domyo Interview, 4 September, 1996.
563 Ibid., 4 September.
Of course, a variety of issues concerning age, hierarchy, and the segregation of labour are tightly linked within this series of utterances. For our purposes, however, it is sufficient to observe that Mrs. Domyo believed that careful control of atmosphere was essential to the success of her business. Atmosphere included the quality of the food; but the quality of the food was predicated upon the femininity, grace, and appearance of the women who provided the service. In a word, it was not simply the noodles, but the attractiveness of the servers which established the shop's ambience and reputation.

So far, I have provided examples of intimacy as it is created and marketed within the *mizu-shobai* where intimacy is most easily discerned because of the confluence of food, drink, and sexuality. However the commodification of intimacy is not particular to the *mizu-shobai*. It is particular to businesses within the traditional business system where intimacy is easily established because of the spatial, fiscal, and managerial contiguity between business and home. Indeed, household and business contiguity, as well as the ideological coequivalence between the two creates a tension in the traditional business system between balanced pecuniary exchanges, explained by Sahlins as occurring only between unrelated strangers, and generalized reciprocities incurring social debt, and thus binding individuals, families, and communities together.
Consider Mrs. Yatsuka Yoshie, who opened her tiny boutique, called “Oshare-sama” in 1968, one month after the coal mine that employed her husband had shut down for good.\footnote{Yatsuka, Yoshie [pseudonym], “Oshare-sama,” Personal Interview 3 June, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.}

“Oshare-sama, as a shop, is no more than four short strides wide and eight medium strides long. It opens into a rather shabby open air mall... Mrs. Yatsuka’s husband sat in the stair-well at the back of the shop that led up to their apartment on the second floor. The stairs were packed to the point of being a fire hazard with boxes, and all manner of personal items. I saw a laundry basket with folded clothing, two packages of disposable diapers, one of which was open, the spilled contents of what looked to be a first aid kit, a milk crate with books and canned goods.

“Mrs. Yatsuka’s two daughters... were [standing beside their mother]... who wedged herself behind the register counter but in front of a shelf piled high with folded garments and teetering mannequin busts. I sat on the opposite side of the cash register next to what appeared to be a changing room. This consisted of a cloudy mirror above which hung a wire clothes hanger bent into a
rough circle and suspended from [the ceiling from] what looked like fishing line. Plastic shower-curtain rungs had been sewn to the hemmed edge of a faded bed sheet, which hung from the circular “shower rod” gerry-rigged from the metal hanger. The presence of this nod to privacy was rendered moot by the fact that the area was crammed ass-high to a ten-foot-giant with piles of battered boxes.\footnote{Christiènne Smith, Field Notes, June 3, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.}

During our interview, a customer of undetermined middle age who was also blind, arrived with a friend. She was hoping to buy a light sweater to wear on cool spring evenings. I turned my tape recorder off for the next hour, but the following is my field note description of the transaction:

“Mrs. Yatsuka and her daughters greeted the customer by name. Mrs. Yatsuka introduced me as well, explaining that I was a researcher who studied Japanese business. We exchanged pleasantries. Mr. Yatsuka asked the woman about her involvement in some sort of wild-mushroom club which turned into a detailed conversation about how different types of wild mushrooms tasted, where they grew,
what kind of miso paste is best to use with them and other things that I didn’t catch....

“Mrs. Yatsuka observed her customer shrewdly during the chit chat, and commented, ‘You always seem to stay the exact same size! I wish I had such good fortune!’ Everybody laughed a little, and wistfully agreed. Then a flurry of activity ensued.

"Mrs. Yatsuka’s eldest daughter went to a rack and began choosing sweaters. She asked, ‘Did you enjoy wearing that light powder blue blouse that you bought last time? There isn’t much powder blue this year, but what about a nice celery color...’ Etc. Etc. Etc.

“Meanwhile, Mrs. Yatsuka had begun to unbutton her customer’s blouse.... The woman suddenly remembered, ‘Oh, I just bought some new brassieres, so I have to put one on before [trying on a sweater].’

“Oh, that’s a good idea,’ commented Mrs. Yatsuka as she deftly peeled the blouse from her customer’s back and passed it to the daughter behind the counter. ‘A different brassier will make for a completely different fit.’ The woman’s friend took a sealed package from a shopping bag and passed it to Mrs. Yatsuka, who opened it, shook out
the new bra, and clipped off the tags with scissors [handed to her by] the daughter behind the counter.

"At this point, I sneak a look at Mr. Yatsuka to see what he's making of the matter. He seems quite nonchalant, and has simply turned his eyes elsewhere to give her privacy....

"Mrs. Yatsuka squeezed behind the woman, and then proceeded to unfasten her brassier, hook by hook. When she had taken it off, she passed it to the daughter...[behind the counter]... who cut a length of fancy paper to wrap the garment in. She tied the package with a bright ribbon and placed in a shopping bag.... Mrs. Yatsuka was guiding her customer's arms through the bra straps, and then cupped the woman's left breast in her palm to settle it comfortably in place, and then did the same with the right breast. She seemed as comfortable handling her customer's body as any mother washing her newborn's bottom.

"[T]he woman... simply stood there, arms slightly raised, shifting and shrugging to make sure that nothing pinched. Mrs. Yatsuka ... adjusted the straps carefully....

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They ... proceeded to pull sweaters over her head, and to pull them off again, to put the rejects back on the shelves, or to wrap the desired items in paper and ribbon. The entire process lasted about 45 minutes. She chose two sweaters based on how they felt to the touch, the drape of the fabric, and on the entire group's lively debate over the suitability of colors for a woman of her age, personality, and for the season.

"...I calculated the payment to be about 130 US dollars. The cash was not put in the register, but in what looked like an old cigar box from which they also made change.... The elder Yatsuka daughter used her own hairbrush to fix the woman's hair which had become slightly mussed during the proceedings. They talked her through refreshing her lipstick....

"...[The customer] kept one hand on her friend, who carried the shopping bags. [As she left], she said to me warmly, 'enjoy your time in Japan.

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Good luck with your research.

"I think I learned more about Japanese business in that single hour than I have in the last two weeks of interviewing."566

III. Business Inscriptions in Translation

Figure 8.1 contains the most important spatial, gender, labour, and hierarchy categories that we have discussed throughout this dissertation. These categories are not arbitrary; rather they exist as or resonate with tropes that are the chassis on which all Japanese cultural norms ride. Importantly, these tropes are binary; they are mutually predicated one upon the other; each pair is complimentary, not oppositional, as noted by Lebra.567

566 Ibid., June 3, 1996.
567 Lebra, Constraint and Fulfillment, p. 301.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>female</th>
<th>male</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>shitamachi</td>
<td>yamanote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional</td>
<td>modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honne (inner feelings)</td>
<td>tatemae (public face)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low-status</td>
<td>high-status</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**working class** | **middle class**
---|---
blue-collar | white collar
low skill | high skill
part-time | full-time
low-status | high-status
low wages | high wages

**premodern bus. system** | **modern bus. system**
---|---
petty business | big business
parochial | international
backwards | progressive
traditional | modern
Japan/ese | not Japan/ese (West)

Figure 8.1: Confluence: Situating Gendered Space, Labour, and Business as Japanese Cultural Tropes

For example, women's businesses within the *mizu-shobai* have character traits that would situate them as female, low-status, inside, private, and emotive. Other businesses which are similarly situated with *mizu-shobai* are those which maintain significant spatial, fiscal, and managerial contiguity with the home, those which are associated with the traditional business system. Further characteristics include
their association with a lower class or blue collar aesthetic usually associated with the shitamachi, or "downtown" areas of "old Tōkyō," known as "Edo," or in the Fukuoka case, "Hakata." The gendering of space, labour, business, and status are ideologically rather than objectively situated. Individuals do cross between these gendered realms; to do so, they must play the appropriate role for each script.

A common saying in Japanese is *onna wa toshi o toru to otoko ni naru,* meaning something like "as she ages, a woman will become a man." This saying encapsulates the association of high status with the male gender. A woman gains status with increasing age, and in doing so obtains the power and status normatively reserved for men.368

For example, Ohashi Kazu, president of a media promotion conglomerate runs a range of nested firms from a central office in posh, downtown Roppongi. These include Management Japan, a modeling agency, the So Company, the advertising agency, Bobcat House, a Event Promotion Agency, Kay Office Limited, a fashion agency, Tonsu Collection, an art import agency, and many more. She speaks French and English fluently, and uses both to make deals all over the world. Significantly, Ms. Ohashi is divorced. She claims, "My personality is

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368 Ibid., p. 303.
really somewhat mannish. My voice too. Many men mistake me for a man after talking on the phone. When we meet face to face they say, ‘Hunh? You? A woman?’ When speaking on the telephone Ms. Ohashi uses the expression boku, which is a Japanese word indicating first person singular that is reserved for men. She also uses other male-gendered speech patterns while doing business. Women normally refer to themselves using the polite expression watakushi. Significantly, even men, in business contexts make use the more formal and polite version of the first person singular. Thus Ohashi’s use of male speech patterns would have been idiosyncratic even for a man in a similar position. Her transgression into the male gendered sphere has caused her to construct her own identity as masculine, and to also be perceived as masculine.  

The cultural tropes in Figure 8.1 are not mutually exclusive. The female gendered tropes occupy a subordinate but complementary position to male gendered tropes. Similarly, the traditional businesses

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570 Tokumaru, pp. 66-68.

571 As noted elsewhere, Lebra argues that widows succeeding to house headship can take on a gender-neutral or male gender in certain circumstances. Lebra, 310. Recall, also, the Ms. Matsuurawas described by housewives in her ceramics studio that she was more like a man than a woman, and that she herself concurred. The wives of the Osaka merchants are also depicted in literature as being ruthless, mercenary, and singularly unfeminine. See Yamasaki, Toyoko. Bonchi. Harue and Travis Summersgill, trans. Honolulu. University of Hawaii Press. 1982.
system occupies a subordinate but complementary position to the modern-business system. Characteristics associated with the high-status, male-gendered, modern business system included *tatamæ*, the false front typically worn before the hostile outside world of Others. *Honne* is reserved for the intimate, inner world of close kin and family.

Japan's idealized traditional Self, is situated within the female gendered realm. The idealized Japan is centered in the parochial, *shitamachi* spirit of the native Tōkyoite. The "Edo-ko" as he is called, is the quintessential Japanese spirit. He is the homely, honest, hard-working man whose integrity is his utter lack of artifice. His lack of cunning as well as sophistication embody the purest traditional, Japanese aesthetic. He is the tea-bowl fundamental to the tea-ceremony: plain, simple, profoundly masculine, but also emasculated by the process of ideological self-colonization. Japan's Dark Skinned Other is its secretly cherished, but nevertheless humiliated, *humiliating* traditional, backwards Self. Japan of the Economic Miracle is the colonizer.

The intimacies marketed by female entrepreneurs in the *mizushobai* are, in a word, nativism. To partake of a perfectly prepared bowl of ramen noodle soup, to sing *karaoke* with one's peers about the nostalgia felt for the home village, to sip hot *sake* served with the attentiveness and loving kindness of one's very own Mother, is to
engage in a ritual recreation and affirmation of a lost or otherwise marginalized element of a dismembered identity.

"The past is idealized as a paradise full of good neighbors; everyone was kind; everyone lived as one big happy family. As reassuring as a womb, it was 'warm' and it was 'wet', both adjectives incessantly bandied about and forming a virtual triumvirate with the word 'yasashi' -- gentle... The modern townsman looks back on halcyon rural and shitamachi urban pasts with unmitigated nostalgia, even though the quality of farm life depended precariously upon crop yields, and the inhabitants of sprawling city slums toiled for pittances.... Urbanization, industrialization and progress have been pushed too far;... [B]lamed correctly and sometimes xenophonically on the Second World War, paradise lost is viewed as a tragedy. Permeating the ever-changing mizu-shobai in which things are anyway never what they were, nostalgia colours the male popular imagination with poignant visions of the vanished prostitute's quarters and the good old agapeic rural life. It characterizes the universal view of the village household -- the furusato -- the mythical rural 'sweet home' that few have ever really known except as a favorite name for thousands of homely little urban restaurants."^72

The traditional business system may be marginal, but it holds at least a controlling share of cultural capital, both real and imaginary.

Women's businesses in the traditional business system create Japanese identity by completing it. Japan without furusato, is like America without the Blues.

The intersection between the modern Japanese business system and the marginal premodern system can be conceptualized as the dialectic between modernity and tradition, a dialectic which results in economic growth as well as economic stability. Such stability is grounded in the preservation of a coherent cultural identity, even as that identity evolves over time. Entrepreneurs among working class, lower middle class, poorly educated, low-status bearing men and women are major arbiters of Japanese notions of a "traditional" Self, a Self which was painfully dismembered during Japan's rapid transformation from feudalism to industrial capitalism begun in the 19th century.

Japanese women entrepreneurs are engaged in a subtle but complex dance in which a dismembered historical heritage is "re-membered" within the confines of their shops, factories, restaurants, and push-carts. The dismembering of Japanese women's cultural and historical past, as well as the institutionalization of a reconstructed domestic myth, forms a critical element of Japanese modernity discourse across the twentieth century. The paradox of female entrepreneurship and its invisibility informs the structure of modern Japanese identity and is simultaneously informed by it. The erased continuity of female entrepreneurship between the 19th and the 20th centuries represents a definitive "cultural decision" on the part of
Japanese consumers to forge intimate connections and continuities between their “modern” present and the “traditional” past, a past necessary to the survival of a coherent idealization of traditional Japaneseness.

Japanese women’s businesses are vital nodes of economic activity where identity-generating exchanges take place. These are fundamental to the construction and maintenance of images of Japan’s past and therefore of Japanese cultural identity. Japanese women entrepreneurs have provided the Japanese economy and consciousness with the psycho-social stability necessary to survive the terrible transformations experienced over the course of the twentieth century.


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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A:
CENSUS DATA
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<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Male Primary</th>
<th>Male Secondary</th>
<th>Male Homework</th>
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<th>Female Secondary</th>
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Table A.1: Self-Employment by industry, sex, and order of precedence for Yahata City, 1920

a 1920 Population Census of Japan, p. 130.
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<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Male Primary</th>
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<td>116,946</td>
<td>133,926</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>12,172</td>
<td>193,066</td>
<td>4,457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture</td>
<td>11,494</td>
<td>6,329</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>11,909</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>120,889</td>
<td>1,112</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2,142</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>164,689</td>
<td>33,203</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>7,476</td>
<td>62,935</td>
<td>2,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>86,139</td>
<td>51,195</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>16,469</td>
<td>99,382</td>
<td>4,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>54,198</td>
<td>9,928</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>18,547</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>47,977</td>
<td>8,276</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>2,210</td>
<td>16,939</td>
<td>2,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Industries</td>
<td>11,625</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Service</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>18,160</td>
<td>12,128</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>13,392</td>
<td>23,481</td>
<td>1,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>632,346</td>
<td>256,621</td>
<td>1,667</td>
<td>52,561</td>
<td>429,610</td>
<td>16,978</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.2: Self-Employment by industry, sex, and order of precedence for Fukuoka Prefecture, 1920

b Ibid., p. 106.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Male Employers</th>
<th>Male Self-Employed</th>
<th>Male Total</th>
<th>Female Employers</th>
<th>Female Self-Employed</th>
<th>Female Total</th>
<th>Totals: M+F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>107,593</td>
<td>10,950</td>
<td>118,543</td>
<td>5,011</td>
<td>7,086</td>
<td>12,097</td>
<td>13,0640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture</td>
<td>3,140</td>
<td>2,953</td>
<td>6,093</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>23,704</td>
<td>30,051</td>
<td>53,755</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>5,034</td>
<td>6,013</td>
<td>59,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>30,768</td>
<td>37,620</td>
<td>68,388</td>
<td>5,285</td>
<td>16,124</td>
<td>21,409</td>
<td>89,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>4,315</td>
<td>5,002</td>
<td>9,317</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>1,845</td>
<td>4,014</td>
<td>5,859</td>
<td>2,08</td>
<td>2,271</td>
<td>2,479</td>
<td>8,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Industries</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>2,085</td>
<td>2,174</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>2,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>171,714</td>
<td>92,814</td>
<td>264,528</td>
<td>11,526</td>
<td>30,980</td>
<td>42,506</td>
<td>307,034</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.3: Entrepreneurship Among Men and Women by Industrial Category for Fukuoka Prefecture, 1930.

* 1930 Population Census of Japan, p. 110.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Male Employers</th>
<th>Male Self-Employed</th>
<th>Total Male Entrepreneurs</th>
<th>Female Employers</th>
<th>Female Self-Employed</th>
<th>Total Female Entrepreneurs</th>
<th>Total M+F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>1,190</td>
<td>2,024</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>2,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>1,934</td>
<td>2,317</td>
<td>4,251</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>1,306</td>
<td>5,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Service</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Industries</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,922</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,834</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,756</strong></td>
<td><strong>418</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,329</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,747</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,503</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.4: Entrepreneurship Among Men and Women by Industrial Category in Moji City, 1930$^d$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Male Employers</th>
<th>Male Self-Employed</th>
<th>Total Male Entrepreneurs</th>
<th>Female Employers</th>
<th>Female Self-Employed</th>
<th>Total Female Entrepreneurs</th>
<th>Total M+F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>1301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>1,669</td>
<td>2,715</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>1,168</td>
<td>3,883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>2,879</td>
<td>2,825</td>
<td>5,704</td>
<td>2,418</td>
<td>1,139</td>
<td>3,557</td>
<td>9,261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Service</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Industries</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>4,795</td>
<td>5,477</td>
<td>10,272</td>
<td>4,330</td>
<td>1,571</td>
<td>5,901</td>
<td>16,173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.5: Entrepreneurship Among Men and Women by Industrial Category in Yahata City, 1930*

* 1930 Population Census of Japan, p. 114.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Male Employers</th>
<th>Male Self-Employed</th>
<th>Total Male Entrepreneurs</th>
<th>Female Employers</th>
<th>Female Self-Employed</th>
<th>Total Female Entrepreneurs</th>
<th>Total M+F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1,585</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>2,159</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>2,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>3,187</td>
<td>4,203</td>
<td>7,390</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>7,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>3,991</td>
<td>5,191</td>
<td>9,182</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>1,830</td>
<td>2,789</td>
<td>11,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>1,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Service</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Industries</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>9,365</td>
<td>11,269</td>
<td>20,634</td>
<td>1,226</td>
<td>2,743</td>
<td>3,969</td>
<td>24,603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.6: Entrepreneurship Among Men and Women by Industrial Category in Fukuoka City, 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Forestry</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility/Transportation/Communication</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale/Retail/Financial/Insurance/Real Estate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov't Not Elsewhere</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.7: Firms Operated by Individuals by Industrial Category, All Japan, in 1948. Figures have been rounded to the nearest thousand.®

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Forestry</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility/Transportation/Communication</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale/Retail/Financial/Insurance/Real Estate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov't Not Elsewhere</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.8: Firms Operated by Individuals by Industrial Category, All Japan, in 1949. Figures have been rounded to the nearest thousand.\(^h\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Forestry</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility/Transportation/</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale/Retail/Financial/</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance/Real Estate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov't Not Elsewhere</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.9: Firms Operated by Individuals by Industrial Category, All Japan, in 1950. Figures have been rounded to the nearest thousand.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Self-Employed With Employees</th>
<th>Self-Employed Without Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>17,321</td>
<td>3,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1,136</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2,516</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale/Retail/Eat/Drink</td>
<td>4,479</td>
<td>1,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/Insurance/Real Estate</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transpt./Communication</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>1,778</td>
<td>1,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov't not otherwise listed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>28,550</td>
<td>6,958</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.10: Employment Category by Sex, Industry, for Designated Cities in Fukuoka Prefecture with Populations of Less than 50,000, 1950.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Category</th>
<th>Self-Employed With Employees</th>
<th>Self-Employed Without Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1,265</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1,026</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>3,602</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale/Retail/Eat/Drink</td>
<td>9,396</td>
<td>3,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/Insurance/Real Estate</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transpt./Communication</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>5,364</td>
<td>2,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov't not otherwise listed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>21,530</td>
<td>6,088</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.11: Employment Status by Sex and Industrial Category, for Designated Cities in Fukuoka Prefecture, 1950, Population 50,000 +.\(^k\)

Table A.12: Percentages of Total Self-Employment by Sex and Size of City, Fukuoka Prefecture (Complied from the 1950 Census).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities of Population &lt; 50,000</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Employees</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Employees</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities of Population 50,000 +</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Employees</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Employees</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>Aquaculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940¹</td>
<td>598,602</td>
<td>27,864</td>
<td>2,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955ᵐ</td>
<td>750,970</td>
<td>2,786</td>
<td>4,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960ⁿ</td>
<td>1,015,460</td>
<td>3,003</td>
<td>6,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965ᵒ</td>
<td>827,346</td>
<td>1,011</td>
<td>5,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975ᵖ</td>
<td>553,917</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>3,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980ʰ</td>
<td>431,282</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>3,891</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>Mining</th>
<th>Construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>113,884</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>530,200</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>112,553</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>223,717</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>1,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>297,943</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>2,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>479,775</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>4,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>575,899</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>7,672</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


_storey, pp. 54-55_
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wholesale/Retail</th>
<th>Transportation/Communication</th>
<th>Finance/Insurance/Real Estate</th>
<th>Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>4,295,537</td>
<td>1,132</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>619,200</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>308,000</td>
<td>699,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>557,533</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>7,097</td>
<td>434,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>574,766</td>
<td>1,424</td>
<td>10,921</td>
<td>461,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>754,582</td>
<td>1,968</td>
<td>24,843</td>
<td>505,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>656,444</td>
<td>2,712</td>
<td>39,166</td>
<td>612,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>722,070</td>
<td>3,919</td>
<td>41,827</td>
<td>645,317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*In the 1945, 1975, and 1985 census, real estate is treated as a separate industrial category from finance and insurance. As the remaining represented years treat them as the same industrial category, I have combined them here as a convenience.
APPENDIX B

ENTREPRENEUR BIOS
Nakahara Kyoko was born in 1949. In 1978, she and her husband, as a conjugal partnership, jointly owned and operated a drafting and perspective illustration sub-contracting firm. Their marriage ended in divorce in 1984, at which time Ms. Nakahara established her own sub-contracting firm Atorie Kyoko, which specialized narrowly on the work of perspective illustration.

Aoki Michiyo was born in 1951. She began Hinode Services Ltd. in 1987 after long experience in the advertising planning, designing, and copy-editing industry. Hinode Services began as a one-woman sub-contracting firm which received sub-contracted work from other sub-contracting agencies. By the time of our interview, Hinode had reversed its position, and was putting out work to out of house sub-contractors that could not be completed in-house.

Ito Yuki, born in 1949, and her partner Kimura, Etsuko, born in 1947, started Shoren-sha in 1986. Ito and Kimura are freelance photo-


575 Aoki Michiyo[pseudonym], "Hinode Services Ltd.," Personal Interview, 24 May, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

Journalists. They market their work in the competitive magazine and journal industry. They also accept sub-contracted assignments.

Shojima Hiroko\textsuperscript{577} was born in 1947. Sekkai Maru Design Limited, which she began in 1986, is a landscape architecture design and consulting firm. Sekkai Maru Ltd. does both contractual and sub-contractual work, and also puts out sub-contracting work that cannot be completed in-house.

Kôjima Mami\textsuperscript{578} was born in 1945. Her business, Mami Hana-ya, which she began in 1992, offers formal training in the art of ikebana. She also designs and delivers flower arrangements for 26 different restaurants every ten days to two weeks. So successful are her designs that she is commonly approached to do contract-based artwork for a variety of business contexts. Although she is listed here with service contractors, it is important to note that she still accepts sub-contracted work from her own senior instructors, just as she passes sub-contract work to her own senior students.

\textsuperscript{577} Shojima, Hiroko [pseudonym], "Sekkai Maru Ltd.," Personal Interview, 9 November, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{578} Kôjima, Mami, [pseudonym], "Mami Hana-ya," Personal Interview, 15 February, 1997, Fukuoka, Japan.
Makita Kayoko\textsuperscript{579} was born in 1941. She is the president of Adobaiza Media Kenkyusho Incorporated, a marketing research and advertising consulting firm which went into operation in 1984. This firm conducts survey research in the housewife consumer population, packages such information for presentation, and markets it to major marketing firms and advertisement agencies.

Irie Baba\textsuperscript{580} was born in 1930. She is an independent hairdresser who, in 1962, started a laundry delivery service geared to tiny \textit{mizu-shobai} operations in her neighborhood. Each morning she collects soiled \textit{shibori} (hand towels) and other items to be laundered, and farms them out to several laundry services on a sub-contractual basis. She also delivers clean laundry daily to each of her customers.

Kondo, Kimie\textsuperscript{581} was born in 1962. Kondo Limited, established in 1992, specializes in packaged etiquette training courses for college graduates newly hired by companies in the Fukuoka area. The training courses include intensive grammatical training in formal speech,

\textsuperscript{579} Makita, Kayoko [pseudonym], "Adobaiza Media Kenkyusho, Inc.," Personal Interview, 10 May, 1996.

\textsuperscript{580} Irie, Baba [pseudonym], "Sentaku Tsuahin Sabisu," Personal Interview, 5 December, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{581} Kondo, Kimie [pseudonym], "Kondo Ltd." Personal Interviews, 23 October, 1996, and 5 November, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
customer service, professional presentations, Japanese and Western
dining manners and the like.

Yokoyama, Hiromi582 was born in 1968. Her company, Ai Sensu Sabisu Ltd., was established in 1996 to provide color consultation services to businesses. These include analyses and consultation on the use of color to improve product packaging and appeal, to improve office, clinic, and factory atmospheres, and to improve inter- and intra-company relations by applying color schemes to décor, logos, advertisements and to business and industrial environments.

Kitamoto Naomi583 was born in 1946. Like many medical professionals in Japan, she established her own independent clinic in 1988, Sawada Harikyu-in. Having specialized in obstetrical acupuncture at a major Fukuoka Hospital, her clinic has become well-known for successfully treating ailments specific to women. She also has cultivated a working relationship with university and college athletics departments which train nationally ranked female athletes. Among her clients are nationally recognized judo, track and field, and

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582 Yokoyama, Hiromi, [pseudonym], Ai Sensu Sabisu, Ltd., Personal Interview, 3 June, 1996.

gymnastics competitors. Ms. Kitamoto had more than 300 regular clients at the time of the interview.

Matsuura Kumiko was born in 1948. Her business, Matsuura Nendo Kenkyushitsu, a ceramics studio, opened in 1986. By the time of our interview, Ms. Matsuura had approximately 40 students who studied the mechanics of wheel thrown techniques, glazing, and firing. In addition, she provided other educational opportunities for her students by taking them on tours of regional production potteries, museum exhibits and gallery shows. She also arranged field trips in which students dug native clay, collected glaze minerals from volcanic deposits, and processed organic compounds necessary to the manufacturing of traditional glazes.

Tonomura Mari was born in 1931. Masami Juku, which opened in 1985, is a cram school for students who require advanced preparation for high school entrance examinations. Masami Juku specializes in remedial mathematics, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus and beginning statistics. Mrs. Tonomura also owns Tonomura


Kyosan Incorporated, which she established in 1961. Although Tonomura Kyosan manages commercial space for lease, it is included in the service category because it also provides professional accounting services to small businesses.

Hanawa Emiko\textsuperscript{586} was born in 1939. Hanawa Bijinesu Insho-in Limited, established in 1962, prints pamphlets, instruction manuals, company bulletins, public relations publications, commemorative publications, union bulletins, business cards, posters, and all manner of items involved in the internal communications of big businesses, and other large-scale public and private institutions.

Watanabe Michiko\textsuperscript{587} was born in 1961. She started Appeal Baby Sabisu, Inc. in 1990 in order to provide state-licensed child-care professionals to parents looking for private day care arrangements for their children. Appeal Baby Sabisu Inc. maintains over one hundred state-licensed child care specialists available for contract. In addition, Appeal Baby Sabisu Inc. operates three day care facilities for their clients, who can access them when their contracted sitter is ill, or

\textsuperscript{586} Hanawa, Emiko [pseudonym], "Hanawa Bijinesu Insho-In Ltd.," Personal Interview, 22 October, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{587} Watanabe Michiko [pseudonym], "Appeal Baby Sabisu, Inc.," Personal Interviews, 22 November, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
when special circumstances require extra baby sitting beyond the terms of the contracted agreement.

Uehara Satoko\textsuperscript{588} was born in 1950. Daidokoro-ka, which she began in 1968 is a bento [box lunch] catering service. She accepts orders from nearby offices and companies to provide fresh, home-made lunches for their staffs, and for informal client meetings.

Komatsu Kazuko\textsuperscript{589} was born in 1968. After working as an English language instructor at a small conversation school, she started her own conversation school, Speak Now! in 1992. Speak Now! had 3 full-time conversation instructors and 6 part-time English conversation instructors at the time of the interview. It offers conversation courses for a wide variety of students, from pre-school children to retired adults.

Saito Fumiko\textsuperscript{590} was born in 1938. Buraidaru Homu, established in 1961, provides full-scale wedding services within the budgets of the

\textsuperscript{588} Uehara, Satoko [pseudonym], "Daidokoro-ka," Personal Interview, 23 March, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{589} Komatsu, Kazuko [pseudonym], "Speak Now!" Personal Interviews, 27 February, 1996 and 3 September, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{590} Saito, Fumiko, [pseudonym], "Buraidaru Homu," Personal Interviews, 11 April, 1996 and 4 September, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
average Japanese family. Ms. Saito specializes in creating intimate private wedding ceremonies which are held entirely within her elegant facility. Her services include everything from clothing rental, to make-up, to decorations, catering, photography, and video recording. She is an entrepreneur of note frequently interviewed by newspapers and magazines in the Fukuoka area.

Kato Yumiko\textsuperscript{591} was born in 1946, and opened Berusai Horu, Limited in 1986. Berusai Horu is several businesses operated within the same facility. It includes an after-hours restaurant, a wedding hall, a confection manufactory, and a confection retail and gift shop.

Kitakaze Junko\textsuperscript{592} was born in 1921. Her business, Kitakaze Mental began around 1936 as a black market operation supplying scarce luxury goods to red-light district establishments. The business was formalized, and became legally legitimate in 1949. It was finally incorporated in 1985 as Kitakaze Mental Inc. It specializes in mentai, a highly spiced fish roe which is Fukuoka Prefecture’s signature delicacy. They handle approximately 15 percent of the mentai that is wholesaled

\textsuperscript{591} Kato, Yumiko, [pseudonym], "Berusai Horu, Ltd." Personal Interviews, 18 October, 1996 and 30 October, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{592} Kitakaze, Junko [pseudonym], "Kitakaze Mental, Inc." Personal Interviews, 4 April, 1996, 12 April, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
to restaurants, gift shops, open air markets, and department stores across the Prefecture.

Sawada Hitomi[^593] was born in 1944. Her exotic fur import business, Hina Boeki Incorporated was established in 1977. In addition to importing furs for wholesale, she also designs women’s fashion furs, and retails them in her own chain of retail stores.

Kunio Miura[^594] was born in 1925. She and her husband, as a conjugal pair, opened a humble neighborhood dry goods store in 1947. At the time of our interview, Mrs. Kunio had been a widow for seventeen years. She claimed that nothing had changed in the store since 1947 except the brand names, the packaging, and the style of the slippers that they sold.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>DOB</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Start Date</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Omori Himeko</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Dento no Iro</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Textile design, manufacture, and retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanzawa Kiriko</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Hanzawa Saketen</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Beverage retail shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishii, Keiko</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Mata Nyu</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Second hand clothing retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matsuda, Misae</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Matsuda Yakuhin Inc.</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Pharmaceutical &amp; Chinese medicinal retail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


596 Hanzawa, Kiriko [pseudonym], "Hanzawa Saketen," Personal Interviews 20 August, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

597 Ishii, Keiko [pseudonym], "Mata Nyu," Personal Interview, 16 October, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>DOB</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Start Date</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kobayashi, Yuko*</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Amway Japan</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Amway product representative/distributor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatsuka, Yoshie®</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Oshare-sama</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Clothing retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sato, Yaeko®®</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Sato Shokuhin Kogyô, Inc.</td>
<td>Between 1966 - 1970</td>
<td>Fish-cake Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domyo, Miyuki®®</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Koaji Sobaya</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


600 Yatsuka, Yoshie [pseudonym], "Oshare-sama," Personal Interview, 3 June, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.


602 Domyo, Miyuki [pseudonym], "Koaji Sobaya," Personal Interviews, 4 September and 14 September, 1996.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>DOB</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Start Date</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yamazaki Fujie</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Fujino koryotei</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakakihara, Junko</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Ishiyaki Sakakihara-ya</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Restaurant, Catering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maeda, Fumie</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Yakitori Maho</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizobuchi, Kiy o</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Hakata Okonomiyaki</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

603 Yamazaki, Fujie [pseudonym], "Fuji koryotei," Personal Interview, 21 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.


606 Mizobuchi, Kiy o [pseudonym], "Hakata Okonomiyaki," Personal Interview, 19 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
Shirai Yachie\textsuperscript{607}
\begin{itemize}
\item Name: Shirai Yachie
\item DOB: 1916
\item Company: Haku-ei Distilleries
\item Start Date: 1952;
\item Industry: \textit{Shochu Manufacturer}
\end{itemize}

Hayakawa Sanae\textsuperscript{608}
\begin{itemize}
\item Name: Hayakawa Sanae
\item DOB: 1937
\item Company: Hayagen Denki
\item Start Date: 1975
\item Industry: Electronic circuit board assembly
\end{itemize}

Tokunaga, Ryoko\textsuperscript{609}
\begin{itemize}
\item Name: Tokunaga, Ryoko
\item DOB: 1954
\item Business: Huppal Huppal Ltd.
\item Start Date: 1993
\item Industry: Parenting and Child Care Magazine
\end{itemize}

Kato, Kayo\textsuperscript{610}
\begin{itemize}
\item Name: Kato, Kayo
\item DOB: 1937
\item Company: Kayo sho-in
\item Start Date: 1972
\item Industry: Publishing house
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{607} Shirai, Yachie [pseudonym], "Hakuei Distilleries, Inc." 6 May, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{608} Hayakawa, Sanae [pseudonym], "Hayagen Denki, Inc.,” Personal Interview, 16 February, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{609} Tokunaga, Ryoko [pseudonym], "Huppal Huppal Ltd." Personal Interviews, 13 September, 1996 and 30 September, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.

\textsuperscript{610} Kato, Kayo[pseudonym], "Kayo Sho-in, Inc.,” Personal Interview, 24 October, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Arai Noriko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DOB</td>
<td>1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company</td>
<td>Atorie Nori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start Date</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Aranami Noriko*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DOB:</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company:</td>
<td>Aranami Sangyô Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start Date:</td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry:</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

611 Aranami, Noriko [pseudonym], "Aranami Sangyô, Inc.," Personal Interview, 3 December, 1996, Fukuoka, Japan.
APPENDIX C:
SURVEY DATA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Pop 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Male 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Female 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Pop 15 Yrs.+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>16,770,040</td>
<td>20,201,801</td>
<td>36,971,841</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>18,283,558</td>
<td>21,838,548</td>
<td>40,122,106</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>20,288,257</td>
<td>23,984,324</td>
<td>44,272,581</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>22,919,259</td>
<td>26,747,925</td>
<td>49,667,184</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>25,537,946</td>
<td>29,713,689</td>
<td>55,251,635</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>28,763,864</td>
<td>33,268,600</td>
<td>62,032,464</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>30,447,429</td>
<td>35,189,385</td>
<td>65,636,814</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>31,648,908</td>
<td>36,729,156</td>
<td>68,378,064</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>32,157,757</td>
<td>32,967,337</td>
<td>65,125,094</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.1: All Japan Marital Norm Compliance, 1950-1990 (married + widow/ers)¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Pop 15 Yrs. +</th>
<th>% Male 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Female 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Pop 15 Yrs.+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>713,836</td>
<td>852,927</td>
<td>1,566,763</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>775,752</td>
<td>927,915</td>
<td>1,703,667</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>852,317</td>
<td>1,013,481</td>
<td>1,865,798</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>908,223</td>
<td>1,074,943</td>
<td>1,983,166</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>973,720</td>
<td>1,155,662</td>
<td>2,129,382</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1,085,414</td>
<td>1,281,270</td>
<td>2,366,684</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,229,124</td>
<td>1,366,704</td>
<td>2,595,828</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1,201,574</td>
<td>1,727,585</td>
<td>2,929,159</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1,452,567</td>
<td>1,452,567</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.2: Fukuoka Prefecture: Apparent Marital Norm Compliance, 1950-1990 (married + widow/ers)
Table C.3: All Japan Marital Norm Non-Compliance, 1950-1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Pop 15 Yrs +</th>
<th>% Male 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Female 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Pop 15 Yrs +</th>
<th>Diff M-F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>229,138</td>
<td>530,739</td>
<td>759,877</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>-301,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>270,401</td>
<td>611,240</td>
<td>881,641</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>-340,839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>284,770</td>
<td>719,524</td>
<td>1,004,294</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-434,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>270,379</td>
<td>702,864</td>
<td>973,243</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>-432,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>321,611</td>
<td>839,594</td>
<td>1,161,205</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>-517,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>388,031</td>
<td>904,818</td>
<td>1,292,849</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-516,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>532,064</td>
<td>1,129,136</td>
<td>1,661,200</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-597,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>748,971</td>
<td>1,466,440</td>
<td>2,215,411</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-717,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>901,317</td>
<td>1,677,442</td>
<td>2,578,759</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-776,125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Pop 15 Yrs +</td>
<td>% Male 15 Yrs.+</td>
<td>% Female 15 Yrs.+</td>
<td>% Pop 15 Yrs +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>11,508</td>
<td>24,505</td>
<td>36,013</td>
<td>1.04%</td>
<td>2.10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>14,648</td>
<td>29,958</td>
<td>44,606</td>
<td>0.94%</td>
<td>1.86%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>15,511</td>
<td>36,512</td>
<td>52,023</td>
<td>1.18%</td>
<td>2.54%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>14,511</td>
<td>36,314</td>
<td>50,825</td>
<td>1.05%</td>
<td>2.36%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>16,620</td>
<td>44,727</td>
<td>61,347</td>
<td>1.15%</td>
<td>2.74%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>18,950</td>
<td>46,737</td>
<td>65,687</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>25,393</td>
<td>59,304</td>
<td>84,697</td>
<td>1.47%</td>
<td>3.23%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>36,805</td>
<td>79,368</td>
<td>116,173</td>
<td>2.12%</td>
<td>3.54%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>91,523</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>4.48%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.4: Fukuoka Prefecture: Marital Norm Non-Compliance, 1950-1990
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Pop 15 yrs +</th>
<th>% Male 15 yrs.+</th>
<th>% Female 5 yrs.+</th>
<th>% Pop 15 yrs.+</th>
<th>Diff M-F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>8,864,987</td>
<td>7,168,574</td>
<td>16,033,561</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>1,696,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>10,126,073</td>
<td>8,344,187</td>
<td>18,470,260</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>1,781,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>10,962,562</td>
<td>9,099,011</td>
<td>20,061,573</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>1,863,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>12,220,884</td>
<td>10,205,161</td>
<td>22,426,045</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>2,015,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>12,357,557</td>
<td>10,111,660</td>
<td>22,469,217</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>2,245,897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>11,946,023</td>
<td>9,375,614</td>
<td>21,321,637</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>2,570,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>12,383,277</td>
<td>9,167,234</td>
<td>21,550,511</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>3,216,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>13,651,696</td>
<td>10,585,589</td>
<td>24,237,285</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>3,066,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>15,271,129</td>
<td>12,149,579</td>
<td>27,420,708</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>3,121,550</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.5: All Japan: Unknown Marital Norm Compliance, 1950-1990
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Pop 15 Yrs +</th>
<th>% Male 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Female 15 Yrs.+</th>
<th>% Pop 15 Yrs +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>384,920</td>
<td>292,110</td>
<td>677,030</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>429,644</td>
<td>356,067</td>
<td>785,711</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>444,841</td>
<td>386,273</td>
<td>831,114</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>459,170</td>
<td>429,990</td>
<td>889,160</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>458,979</td>
<td>433,828</td>
<td>892,807</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>449,715</td>
<td>405,107</td>
<td>854,822</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>472,027</td>
<td>408,630</td>
<td>880,657</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>500,369</td>
<td>436,680</td>
<td>937,049</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>498,436</td>
<td>498,436</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.6: Fukuoka Prefecture: Unknown Marital Norm Compliance, 1950-1990