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Introduction to Gendering Modern Japanese History

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Gendering Modern Japanese History



Introduction

Gender, as Joan Scott asserted in 1986, is a useful category of historical analysis.¹ In the last quarter century, gender has emerged as a lively area of inquiry for historians and other scholars. Gender analysis has suggested some important revisions of the “master narratives” of national histories—that is, the dominant, often celebratory, tales of the successes of a nation and its leaders.² These narratives, like all histories, are provisional and incomplete and, to varying degrees, reflect the changing material, discursive, and ideological contexts of their times.³ To mention just two of the fields of history that had traditionally formed the core of national(ist) narratives—colonial history and political history—bringing in gender has begun to alter the dominant narratives in those fields.⁴ Recent colonial studies examine such issues as gendered notions of expansion; virility among colonizers and colonized; and relations between men and women, women and women, and men and men on the colonial periphery. Because political histories look at the meanings of citizenship and participation, gender, like race and class, clearly has utility as a category of analysis.

While modern Japanese history has not yet been restructured by a foregrounding of gender, historians of Japan have, indeed, begun to embrace gender as an analytic category. Interested readers can barely keep up with the exciting new scholarship in the form of journal articles and monographs in both Japanese and Western languages. If the experience of previous turns in Japanese historiography is any guide—for example, in the 1950s and beyond, interest in the course of Japan’s modern development led to the categorizing of historical patterns as

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stages of modernity, and interest in social groups defined by categories such as material circumstances, cultural identities, occupation, religion, or residence has complicated and enriched the master narratives of Japanese history—gender too will emerge as an important issue in redefining master narratives in modern Japanese history. This interdisciplinary volume attempts to ignite the process of redefinition by bringing together research by Western-trained historians of Japan and historically minded scholars in other disciplines.⁵

Problematizing gender in an anthology on modern Japanese history recognizes the stimulating developments in that field of scholarship.⁶ A number of Japan scholars, including some of our contributors, have been engaged in research in women's history for over a decade, and are now producing works in the area of gender history. Gender history emerged from women's history outside the Japan field as well, although the sometimes rivalrous tension between women's history and gender history in other fields has not been replicated in Japan studies.⁷

This volume, which assembles articles on men as well as women, on theories of sexuality as well as on gender prescriptions, and on same-sex as well as on heterosexual relations, takes the position that history is gendered. To say that history is gendered is to make two interrelated claims. First, historians invariably, though perhaps unconsciously, construct a gendered notion of past events, people, and ideas. That is, we engender the past, creating ways of thinking about the past through our notions of gender (and other categories we take for granted) in the present. A gendered history, like any type of history, is an invention of historians. History attempts to view ideologies, discourses, practices, bodies, and institutions as both derived in part from notions of gender and, conversely, constantly reifying these notions.

Second, the assertion that history is gendered arises from the discovery and publication of evidence that societies, ideologies, and discourses in the past were ordered in varying degrees by notions of gender.⁸ While gender was certainly not the only organizing principle in any given society—class, status, race, and various other factors have on many occasions trumped gender—people and institutions have often been implicated in the creation of gendered legal, social, cultural, political, and economic systems, institutions, and ideas. We do not believe that gender is an essential derivative of “biological” sex—indeed, “sex”

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is given definition through “gender”—but we do believe that laws, customs, ideologies, and the structures of societies, based as they have often been on the idea that gender is biologically determined, contribute to the social construction of gender. In other words, gender acts as if it is “real” despite being constructed and constantly redefined.⁹ The articles in this collection address both of these claims, building on earlier efforts to incorporate gender perspectives into modern Japanese history.¹⁰ Together these essays construct a history informed by the idea that gender matters because it was part of the experience of people in the past and because it often has been a central feature in the construction of modern ideologies, discourses, and institutions. Separately, each chapter examines how Japanese in former times (en)gendered their ideas, institutions, and society.

In the past several decades, there has also been notable interplay between history and other fields, as evidenced both by cooperative projects between historians and scholars in other disciplines and by the interest of these scholars in examining the hypotheses, concepts, and theories of other fields, especially anthropology, literary or cultural studies, and sociology.¹¹ This volume, then, a historical project in Japanese gender studies whose contributors represent social sciences, history, and cultural studies, reflects larger trends toward interdisciplinary exchanges in the fields of history and women’s and gender studies.

This volume demonstrates that it is important for historians of modern Japan to continue to engage with research on gender. Modernity in Japan as elsewhere has encompassed changes in notions of gender and gender roles as well as economic, political, and cultural changes.¹² To understand Japan since the nineteenth century, especially the role of gender in its modern transformations, the authors of this volume aim to encourage cross-disciplinary dialogue around issues of gender among Japan specialists. Moreover, in order to advance the field of gender studies, it is important for historians of gender in Japan to exchange ideas with researchers pursuing cross-cultural approaches to gender and gender studies in other regions.

The time period covered by this book can be called the “long twentieth century,” from the late nineteenth through the twentieth century. If, strictly speaking, scholars use “modern” to refer to the period 1868–1945 and popular writers use it to refer to Japan since 1868, the long

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twentieth century encompasses a longer “modern” period than these common definitions. The long twentieth century spans three commonly used eras of Japanese history: the final two decades of the Tokugawa (1603–1868), or early modern period; the modern¹³ period (1868–1945); and the contemporary or postwar period (1945–present). As with most historical eras, these have been typically defined by political trends and events—decentralized, hereditary rule by samurai under the Tokugawa shogunate from 1603, followed by a centralized, civilian administration promoting national strength and imperial expansion under a strong monarch and constitution after 1868, and after World War II a centralized government under a revised constitution that relegated the emperor to a symbol of the state and outlawed resorting to war. A long twentieth century helps make gender changes in modern Japan more readily visible, because the continuities and changes that fascinate historians stand out more sharply in relief when observed in a longer time frame.

Modernity/Modernization in Japan

As a historical study, this exploration of gender in modern Japan also addresses modernity and its interpretations. Interpretations of modernity have influenced studies, including gender studies, of Japan and other parts of Asia and most of the rest of the world, due to similar concerns of historians and scholars in other disciplines. These issues include the formation of nation-states; the establishment of representative governments; the mobilization of mass participation in national affairs; the rise of industry along with associated changes in values, social life, and culture; the elimination or weakening of hereditary principles in occupations and leadership; and more recently, gender change. All of them are processes that have affected many regions of the globe for at least the last century or two.

Modernity studies of Japan do not by any means begin with this book, but as we shall see, modernity studies tracing gender change are relatively new. In fact, under the rubric of “modernization” studies, particular concerns related to “modernity” have long infused studies of Japan.¹⁴ Modernization studies as well as the responses to that approach—visions of modernity that focus on radical political economy or the perspective of conflict, humanism, or victimization, on the one

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hand, or postmodern considerations of ambiguities and multiple identities, on the other—have had a significant impact on Japanese history and Japanese gender studies.

For most of the Cold War era (1946–1989), modernization theory was the dominant perspective in the United States informing studies of Japan and the rest of Asia as well as studies of Africa and Latin America. Although the modernization perspective was not monolithic even at its height from the 1950s to the 1970s, on the whole studies of this type presented a group of interrelated changes culminating in a society characterized by a capitalist economy and a representative government.¹⁵ As the only non-Western industrialized country before the 1970s and one that was a Cold War ally of the United States, Japan was showcased as a model of industrial development, capitalism, and democracy in the competition between communist and free enterprise blocs for the loyalty of emerging nations. The discussion of history was often, though certainly not always, celebratory. The following quick introduction to Japan in the three eras of its long twentieth century is drawn from standard modernization sources. The absence of gender in this sketch reflects its relative neglect in modernization studies of Japan.

As Japan modernized in the late nineteenth century, rising educational levels, the flowering of textile and handicraft production, the spread of production for the market, a vibrant commercial economy, urbanization, migration, the importing of Western texts, institutions, and techniques, and the forced opening of diplomatic and trade relations with Western countries laid the foundation for the building of new infrastructures and a centralized, increasingly “modern” state. This permitted Japan to increase its military power, resulting in imperialism and domestic bureaucratization. In the early years of the modern period, officials and intellectuals initially stressed self-reliance and rising in the world over hereditary occupations and lifelong loyalty and deference by inferiors in return for benevolence by superiors. But Meiji-era leaders’ fear that political movements rooted in popular rights (which these leaders saw as the masses’ self-interest) would undercut an agenda designed to maximize national strength provoked them to revive earlier values of loyalty and filial piety in order to institute policies of obedience to superiors, repression of individual interests, and loyalty to the emperor.¹⁶ The modern quest for national strength and security also led

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the Japanese to overseas wars and several waves of territorial expansion, including the acquisition of Taiwan (1895), the annexation of Korea (1910), the seizure of Manchuria (1931), and war with China, the United States, Great Britain, and their allies (1931–1945), including the occupation of much of the South Pacific and the Asian mainland (1937–1945).

Following defeat in the Pacific War, the Allied Occupation (1945–1952) dismantled the Japanese empire, abolished the armed forces, and implemented reforms in education, the constitution, civil code, family, and economy with the aim to demilitarize Japan and foster democratic institutions, ideologies, and attitudes. Industries, infrastructure, and housing stock lay in ashes, but Japanese will, know-how, and energy along with American procurements during the Korean War brought about economic recovery by 1955 and a position as the number two economy in the world by the late 1970s. Japan has gained recognition as an advanced economy and constitutional democracy, and Japanese consumer products and culture ranging from cars and advanced electronic devices to sushi, pop music, fashion, comic books, and DVD cartoons are in demand around the world. In contrast to the emphasis on continuities throughout the period under consideration in this volume, modernization studies foregrounded discontinuities between the pre- and postwar eras.

Rejecting the modernization approach that celebrated institutional development, progress, and the benefits of social change, historians, writing against the turbulent backdrop of the late 1960s antiwar and social protest movements, produced new studies of Japan that probed exploitation, resistance, and conflict.¹⁷ Instead of touting Japan as a model of success for non-Western nations, these studies exposed the dark underside of economic and political changes, including their negative impacts on ordinary farmers and workers, women, and minorities. This triggered two trends that have continued from the 1970s to the present, a turn first to social history and then to cultural history. From these directions have emerged, since the mid-1970s, several streams of gender history, including, in roughly the following order, women's, men's, and sexuality studies.¹⁸ The frontiers of Japanese modernity studies remain in social and cultural history. They include not only gender history and studies, but also the social and cultural histories of colonialism; the analysis of the social and cultural dimensions

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of Japanese modernism in elite society and popular culture; the interrogating of the links between race, ethnicity, identity, and citizenship; and tracking the particularities of individual as well as collective experience.¹⁹ The articles in this volume take up all these issues, and view them through the lens of gender. They are also mostly in accord with a view expressed by Harry Harootunian that

see[s] modernity as a particular mode of experience that is not necessarily and only reducible to the empirical domain, as many historians have believed. Instead of examining the material transformation of Japanese society as an instance of some hypostatized conception of the social—the very subject and substance of social and political history—we need to read this episode not for the familiar story lines authorized by such historical narratives but rather as the production of experience that tried to catch hold of the moving present (“fleeting and fragmentary,” as Baudelaire described the modern present) and thus give it meaning and direction.²⁰

From the 1980s, ideas deriving from linguistic and critical theories have influenced Japanese historiography and Japanese gender studies, as some scholars have attempted to move beyond Japanese modernity or modernism and embraced postmodern approaches to what many see as the postmodern state and society.²¹ However, as Harootunian and Miyoshi have pointed out, “as the term itself suggests, analyses of Japan as postmodern find it difficult to elude the earlier terms, conclusions, and debates of modernity and even modernization studies.”²² We have presented the historiographical categories of modernization studies, modernity studies, and postmodernism as distinct in this introduction, but all may be, in the end, interwoven in the interpretations of gender in modern Japan.

Studying Gender

Just as a fuller consideration of gender is beneficial to studies of Japanese modernity, learning from gender studies outside the Japan field offers new vistas on gender and processes of gender change in Japan’s long twentieth century. Key issues in gender studies that help illuminate modernity studies are identity and linkages between gender and power. Recent gender theory highlights the relative neglect of individual experiences and, perhaps more tellingly, weaknesses in the conceptualiza-

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tion of identity in both modernization and modernity studies concerning Japan. Themes of gender construction and contestation have, in the last two decades, characterized research on gender in Japan. These themes play a major role in this volume, and they are joined by new approaches to gender studies that focus on identity (or subjectivity) and gender ambiguity.

In considering the relationship between gender and subjectivity or identity, it is possible to state that external labeling of gender may be at odds with self-identified gender, and those constructions of gender by other persons, groups, or society may be at variance with the perceptions and experiences of the individual. Individuals' identities are complicated by their multiplicity.²³ That is, individuals are constituted by a mix of characteristics derived from their gender(s), ethnicities, class, intermingling with others and their ideas, as well as other factors. Historical context also affects notions of individuals' identities; postmodern ideas of multiplicity differ from the modern emphasis on the unitary subject. In Japan's long twentieth century, individuals have constructed and experienced complex, fluid identities, while social institutions and the state have attempted to craft and enforce unitary constructions of gender. Social history and postmodern orientations lead us to question the success of these efforts to invent unitary gendered subjectivities. Indeed, throughout the long twentieth century, ambiguity has characterized notions of gender identity as well as gender norms. Variability in gender performance, including performance of sexuality in the early modern period, male and female androgyny in the 1910s–1920s, and female refusals in the 1990s of marriage, motherhood, and domesticity, reinforces the salience of ambiguity in constructions of gender. An examination of the Japanese case enriches the broader scholarship on genders, identities, and subjectivities and the role of contemporaries, historians, and subjects themselves in their construction.

"Gender" has not always been viewed as a constructed category describing relations of human beings. Historically, it came into use among Western feminists in the 1960s as a means of destabilizing "sex," which was seen as biologically determined and the basis for sex-difference-based discrimination.²⁴ "Gender" could be seen as a socially constructed notion with some attachment to sex.²⁵ That attachment was the basis on which different societies in various historical eras con-

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structed different notions of gender. That is, sex was taken as the irreducible foundation on which all sorts of “cultural artifacts, specifically those of personality and behavior, [were] thrown or [were] superimposed.”²⁶ Feminists who used “gender” in this way found that it satisfied the need to explain both commonalities and differences among women and encouraged the possibility of social transformation. As attractive as this view was, however, it was grounded in a kind of biological determinism and made unfounded transcultural assumptions about “women” and “men.”²⁷ In its more egregious form, it made false universalizing claims about women transculturally and ahistorically; in its more modest form, it suggested that women’s reproductive biology caused men and women to react in similar ways across many different cultures.

One way to avoid biological determinism is to reverse the relationship between “sex” and “gender.” This is done by some feminist historians, most notably Joan W. Scott: “We cannot see sexual differences except as a function of our knowledge about the body, and that knowledge is not ‘pure,’ cannot be isolated from its implication in a broad range of discursive contexts.”²⁸ Philosopher Judith Butler expresses this more boldly: “[S]ex is a gendered category.”²⁹

If “biological sex” is not the grounding for gender, it cannot stably ground gender identity either. How, then, does a gendered subjectivity or identity come into being?³⁰ Joan Scott’s work on “experience” may be useful in addressing this question. She acknowledges that understanding one’s identity as a subject permits one to speak from her or his “experience” and, in turn, for historians of difference to use a diversity of previously unheard voices as an exciting way to widen historical perspectives. Yet, at the same time, she notes the limitations of taking for granted the identity of those whose experience is being recounted, as it fails to question why subjects are able to speak or act—that is, have agency—and “precludes analysis of the workings of [the ideological] system and of its historicity; instead, it reproduces its terms.”³¹ Scott analyzes the problems that even well-intentioned historians of difference, studying the experiences of heretofore ignored groups, may face. Less charitably, identities may be defined for commercial reasons—consider the magazine publishers discussed in this volume by Barbara Sato—or defined for academic or other reasons—see the critics ana-

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lyzed by Ayako Kano. More perversely, perhaps, identities may also be defined for political reasons by those in power. Part of the process of Japan's modernity from the late nineteenth century throughout World War II was the state's defining its power in relation to its subjects, and, as in modernizing states elsewhere, this included gender construction. Thus, as Kathleen Uno notes, "good wife, wise mother" ideology, developed and fostered as an important part of womanly identity, was closely bound with national needs over the course of seventy years of Japanese history. Even more ominously, Haruko Cook tells us that in 1944 Saipan women were given a false gendered "identity" in order to have them "speak," as it were, from a patriotic grave (false because it was constructed from misleading fragments of reality, and in quotation marks because it was not an identity claimed by any living, real woman).

Admittedly, allowing outside forces to define others' identities, then, is fraught with problems: what is the agenda of the definer? On the other hand, for political purposes it might seem highly useful to reify the gendered subject (that is, define woman as a category), as many women have done, for instance, in the course of organizing to identify, oppose, and negotiate with the processes that define them. Even though defining woman as a category will produce an essentialized subject, this is not, however, necessarily a problem for activists. Consider, for example, the Japanese men and women of the late nineteenth century who advocated rights for a set of people understood to occupy a subordinated group called women. As Barbara Molony indicates, women's rights were defined by a neologism, *joken*, whose presumed universality (to all women, that is) preserved social status disjunctions and hierarchies produced by identifications other than gender (e.g., class, regional origin, or ethnicity). Or consider the activism on behalf of women undertaken by Hiratsuka Raichō, as analyzed by Sumiko Otsubo. Ostensibly supporting all women against all diseased men, Hiratsuka's proposal ignored protection for some classes of women, particularly sex workers.

"Masculine" and "feminine" are conceived by some feminist historians and other theorists, possibly aware of the problems of essentializing, in terms of relations of power. But this perspective has limitations, too. As Jane Flax writes, "If subjectivity is constituted by pregiven categories like masculine and feminine, no individual subject can escape the effects

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of these categories. . . . [T]hese categories will continue to generate particular forms of subjectivity beyond the control of individuals.”³² If masculine is to feminine as powerful is to weak, things can look rather bleak both for progressive activists and for historians seeking to understand gender in the past. Positing a binary power relationship may undermine our understanding of gender in Japan. For example, although unequal power relations were embedded in the texts studied by early modern Japanese schoolgirls, Martha Tocco writes, they paled in significance to the empowering role of those texts’ promotion of female literacy. Decades later, during the Taishō era, Otsubo notes, Hiratsuka and other feminists attempted to regulate male subjects and their sexuality.

It appears, then, that the concept of the gendered subject must be nuanced to be useful for understanding gender in Japan, as elsewhere. Perhaps the most notable need is to historicize notions of gendered identities. The importance of historical change is recognized in insightful introductions to each of the seven volumes of the 1994–1995 series *Nihon no feminizumu*. In the volume on “sex roles,” Inoue Teruko’s introduction takes up the issue of historical changes in sex roles and their effect on the formation of gender identity.³³ (Though we do not view socially constructed sex roles themselves as subjectivities or identities, their performance is, in many ways, analogous to the performance of gender.) In another introduction in that series, Ehara Yumiko stresses that “motherhood,” rather than being simply an essential part of women’s gendered identity, is constructed, institutionalized, and politicized.³⁴

Wakita Haruko, one of the editors of another important collection, *Jiendā no Nihonshi*, places the (spatial) binary division of two sexes in the Meiji period. In her preface, she notes that this modern (*kindaiteki*) division created a public (man) / private (woman) dichotomy.³⁵ Janet Hunter, Andrew Gordon, Theodore Cook, and Donald Roden, in this volume, show us a much more permeable boundary between public and private. As Hunter notes, jobs came to be identified as either masculine or feminine, and, in turn, both employers and workers came to apply the gendered division of the workplace to individual workers’ identities. Nevertheless, women’s work, like men’s, was in public, even if the public workplace was itself divided by gender. Gordon describes a signifi-

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cant moment in the evolution of gendered subjectivities in his analysis of the New Life Movement in postwar Japan. By virtue of their gender identity, women were to claim the home and men the workplace. Yet, the home was hardly private, nor were women seen as divorced from a public identity when they focused their performance of gender in the home. Cook shows us male schoolteachers in the Meiji era being called upon to act as “mothers” to help create the new Japanese male, a fascinating bridging of public and private spheres. Roden indicates that the public gentleman was, in part, a performance based on personal hygiene, a distinctly private behavior.

Unitary notions of gendered subjectivity are also called into question when we consider sexuality. Gregory Pflugfelder describes public worry about teenage girls’ same-sex attachments in the early twentieth century. The critics of this anxiety argued that it reflected an improper focus on the girls’ sexual identity. Mark Driscoll’s analysis of Japanese sexologists’ treatment of male and female sexualities shows the importance of fracturing and historicizing a unitary concept of sexuality; sexologists’ work, done against a backdrop of discourse on modernity, colonialism, state building, military organization, and so on, influenced men’s and women’s sense of their gendered subjectivity. Setsu Shigematsu’s depiction of the contemporary “ladies’ comics” creator and artist Uchida Shungiku shows us a stunningly complex woman with a command of her sexuality that in no way fits into the stereotyped female norm.

If one part of the process of modernity was the reification of the gendered subject, often as a unitary subject for purposes of labeling and control, then the nuancing of the subject as one with multiple subjectivities parallels our unease with universalizing ideologies in the contemporary (postmodern) era. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, in the introduction to their collection, *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, write that, “We see postmodernism as a critique of modernist agendas as they are manifested in various forms and locations around the world.”³⁶ Following up in her own chapter in the collection, Grewal notes that many feminists of color do not “share the position of the subject as individual (i.e., unitary and centered and created out of the binaries of Self–Other, Subject–Object) that has been part of the Western philosophical tradition.”³⁷ Rather, Grewal calls for a multiple subject (which she calls the “collective subject”) and

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reminds her readers that sharing a time and place does not mean that all women will share the same multiplicities.³⁸ (For example, all Japanese women of, say, 1900 did not share the same multiplicities.) In this volume, Donald Smith's chapter, which addresses Korean women in Japan, and Barbara Brooks's chapter, which examines nationality and citizenship of Japanese women in the colonies, support that insight.

The notion of "hybridity" may be a useful model for working with gendered subjectivity in Japan and elsewhere.³⁹ Although the concept was developed to address "the borrowing and lending across porous cultural borders,"⁴⁰ and generally has an activist sense of negotiating those flows rather than a passive sense of absorption by osmosis,⁴¹ it can be helpful in understanding multiple subjectivities.

Metaphors of hybridity and the like not only recognize differences within the subject, fracturing and complicating holistic notions of identity, but also address connections between subjects by recognizing affiliation, cross-pollinations, echoes, and repetitions. . . . Instead of endorsing a drift toward ever greater atomization of identity, such metaphors allow us to conceive of multiple, interconnecting axes of affiliation and differentiation.⁴²

This mode of analysis is particularly applicable to the topics addressed in this volume by Roden, Molony, Driscoll, Brooks, and Smith. As we have noted earlier, modernity in Japan involved state formation, the rise of industry, mobilization of mass participation in national affairs, changes in values, social life, culture, and identities, and interactions with non-Japanese in colonies and in Western countries. Modern manhood and womanhood in the Meiji era, as discussed by Roden and Molony, were strongly influenced by selected Western ideas of manhood or womanhood. To gain international respect, Japanese males should exhibit the qualities of modern English gentlemen; to gain respect as subjects at home, Japanese women might borrow from contemporary Western ideas linking personhood with modern education. At the same time, men and women were not unitary subjects created on Western models, but a shifting blend of characteristics that could be called on in different contexts. As Driscoll notes, discourse about sexualities was influenced by Western as well as Japanese ideas that were themselves affected by the course of Japan's modern development. Brooks and Smith discuss Japanese and non-Japanese both in the colonies and in metropolitan Japan. Shifting notions of gender in the two

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settings were the product of cross-pollination and both settings reinforced (in the case of colonial power) and undermined (in the case of gender) relations of power.

Structure of the Book

The essays in this book are organized into five sections that probe major themes in the field of gender studies, such as the construction of identities and sexualities; gender and imperial regimes; divisions of labor in households, economy, and society in general; and definitions and theories about gender, power, and the state. At the same time, the essays have implications for both new and classic issues in Japanese history in the long twentieth century—the shaping of modern and contemporary selfhood or subjectivities; the interpretation of cultural expressions of elite and ordinary Japanese; the policies, institutions, and ideas of imperialism and war and their impact on Japanese society; and gendered patterns of participation in economy, voluntary associations, polity, and culture. Each of these sections reveals that a consideration of gender can help to explicate the shaping of modern Japanese history.

Part 1: Gender, Selfhood, Culture

Genders and subjectivities intersect in complex ways. Notions of the self are not only generated by the subject or individual but also developed within historically changing discursive contexts that are influenced by state goals, the mass media, schools, and other institutions. These chapters address important issues in the construction of modern Japanese “masculinities” and “femininities,” including changing assumptions about the educability of women, the demeanor and character of the modern gentleman, and the search for self-fulfillment of young middle-class women.

These chapters, which examine gender, selfhood, and culture, open new perspectives on Japan’s transition to modernity. Early modern institutions of government, finance, foreign and domestic trade, education, law, social relations (particularly the status groupings required in the old regime), and the military were rejected in favor of new, often Western-modeled institutions. But modernity was also permanently embedded in the reconstructions of gender, the molding of the self,

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and the transformation of culture. Even before Japan developed such visible signs of modern strength as overseas colonies, Japanese modernizers were eager to develop men and women of “civilization and enlightenment” (*bunmei kaika*). These were code words for the creation of new subjects (in both senses of that word) whose modern acceptance of the “self” would make them, and Japan, deserving of Western respect. In a sense the new women and men were the cornerstone of modernity and, thus, one of the principal reasons for the West’s growing, though still grudging, respect for Japan.

Martha Tocco’s chapter in this volume contends that female education in the modern era was shaped by early modern Japanese ideals and practices, not just by imported Western notions. This revisionist view challenges notions of gender in Japan that overemphasize Western influence in the creation of modern schools for women. Donald Roden traces the evolution of gentlemanly ideals in Japan from their mid-nineteenth century moorings until the end of the nineteenth century. He explores transitions from the learned but rough warrior activists (*shishi*) in the last days of the shogunate to the refined gentleman and his coarser variants in the modern period. Roden’s investigation of the qualities ascribed to the gentleman has particular relevance for the construction of manliness and the culture of gender in the middle class and above. Barbara Sato argues that self-cultivation (*shūyō*), a focus on personal success originally intended for men aspiring to upward mobility, was ardently embraced by many younger middle-class women who encountered the notion in popular books and magazines of the early twentieth century. Spurred by publishers seeking profits, the young women’s desires for self-improvement lured them beyond the confines of domesticity and thereby promoted a certain degree of gender convergence. The new women’s culture that emerged advocated attitudes and behavior somewhat at odds with good wife, wise mother (*ryōsai kenbo*), the state’s expectation for women.

Part II: Genders, Bodies, Sexualities

As Thomas Laqueur in *Making Sex* (1990), Linda Nicholson in “Interpreting Gender” (1994), and many other scholars have shown, genders, bodies, and sexualities, and even that seemingly solid category, sex, are

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historically contingent. These chapters examine the continuing process of constructing genders, bodies, and sexualities in historical context.

In modern regimes, the articulation of appropriate sexualities and issues surrounding the body are often linked to power, and the case of Japan since the late nineteenth century is a good example. While Giacomo Puccini's 1904 opera, *Madame Butterfly*, presented the international power relationship of Japan to the United States in gendered terms that were almost a caricature in their theatrical starkness, nevertheless, the opera's contemporaries would have easily recognized the embodiment of the two countries as masculine (United States) and feminine (Japan). The control of sexuality and the body have been important concerns for leaders in Japan. No sooner had Japan opened its ports to international visitors than disease became an issue in foreign affairs. Some of those diseases, such as the cholera outbreak in the 1860s,⁴³ had nothing to do with sexuality, but some were linked to prostitution.⁴⁴ Successive Japanese governments, by involving themselves in the regulation of sexuality, clearly stated that definitions of sexuality were within the purview of the state. Official versions of sexuality as patriarchal and heterosexual were by-products of modernity. But the expanding public discourse of the modernizing state offered commercial media outlets, public pundits, and emerging feminist voices opportunities to weigh in on the topic of sexuality, and they introduced a broader spectrum of sexualities. As the articles here show, sexuality was discussed in many contexts, including the rise of female education, the movement of men and women throughout the empire and the potential for cross-cultural sexual contact, the developing concerns about race and sex, the modernization of the delivery of health, and the rise of female self-expression and feminist agency that contested the relationship of sexuality to power.

Gregory Pflugfelder analyzes the role of female sexuality in the emergence of the same-sex love (*dōseiai*) construct in discussions of the experiences of young women attending girls' schools in the early twentieth century. He explores some of the differences between female-female and male-male *dōseiai*, and considers their meaning in the gender system of modern Japan as a whole. Mark Driscoll analyzes the writings of three Japanese sexologists in the early twentieth century. He finds that these pioneering sexologists did not engage in wholesale adoption of prevailing

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Western notions. He debunks conventional views that tolerance for male-male sexual practices in the early modern period was destroyed by the intrusion in the Meiji period of Western notions denigrating masturbation and same-sex sexual relations. Driscoll also argues that the construction of a ferocious male sexual desire demanding gratification was one of the reasons for the founding of army brothels and places the construction of notions of female sexuality in the context of Japanese colonialism. Otsubo examines the attempts of feminists of the New Woman Association (1919–1922) and their male supporters to gain passage of a eugenics law that would regulate the bodies of males seeking to marry by forcing them to undergo premarital tests for sexually transmitted disease and allowing women to break off engagements with infected men. Their direct approach to the legislative arm of the state to limit male sexuality challenged notions of unrestrained satisfaction of male heterosexual desire, female agency, and female exclusion from the state.

Part III: Gender, Empire, War

Imperialism and war often transform gender and society. These three authors consider crucial issues in the engendering of Japan's imperialist agenda and military development—including the formation of masculinity as the modern army evolved, gender and the formation of Japanese colonial societies, and shifting notions of womanhood under the stress of total war.

The building of an empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries accompanied Japan's quest for modernity. A modern army and navy were deemed essential to national security. Paralleling the shift in the role of the military was the shift in the meaning of manhood, as the nation went from concern about being a victim to inflicting imperialism on its own neighbors. Within a half-century of the founding of modern Japan, membership in the modern state had come to embrace certain masculine and military values. Numerous historians have treated Japan's expansionism in Asia, its changing diplomatic roles in Asia and in world arenas, the impact of world economic problems, the rise of nationalism and the demand for self-rule in colonies around the world, and the road to World War II. But none has brought in gender as a significant element in state-building through empire and war. These essays

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re-examine the last 150 years of history through the lens of gender and suggest new approaches to empire and imperialism. They look inward as well, analyzing the meanings of membership in the nation, and attempt to answer the question of whether inclusion was earned through military service, nationality, or sacrifice.

Theodore Cook examines the creation of the “soldier” in modern Japan and the ways in which gendered views of state service, citizenship, obligation, and rights emerged. He addresses the meaning of manhood in a nation first concerned about not being a victim of imperialism, then becoming an imperialist power itself. Modern conscription broke with the warrior tradition. Service in the modern army created new linkages between common men and the state and also facilitated social and sexual encounters outside the village. Despite the small number of men actually conscripted, the soldier became an important model for pre-World War II Japanese manhood. Barbara Brooks discusses gender in the colonial societies of Korea and Manchuria. Significantly, Japanese women outnumbered Japanese men on the frontier; Japanese colonial women were lauded as pioneers and were encouraged to marry Korean and Russian men in the early years; and single women were praised for working to support the empire. Brooks contrasts these patterns with European colonial experiences, while showing similarities in the patterns of interpenetration of colonial and metropolitan cultures. Gender was used as a tool of imperialist penetration by women on the borders at the same time that Japanese women in the colonies subverted gender and hybridized ethnicity. While some women negotiated their membership in the state, others were subject to manipulation. As Haruko Cook notes, the gendered rhetoric of nationality and citizenship could also be subject to manipulation. Cook explores the creation of the myth of women’s self-sacrifice through death during the battle of Saipan in the summer of 1944. While women had been exhorted to a life of frugality, hard work, and bearing children during earlier phases of World War II, this new myth valorized women’s dying in defense of the empire and became the basis for a new model of feminine behavior in the war’s final stage. She raises the question of whether, by putatively “offering” their lives for the empire, women at last achieved a place in the imperial state equivalent to that of men.

Part IV: Gender, Work, Economy

Scholars who have dealt with the intersection of gender, work, and the economy have often arrived at one of two opposite and equally unsatisfying conclusions: that work is liberating in that it destroys gender differences; or that women in the economy are to be pitied. These three chapters advance discussion of gender far beyond those simple ideas. They suggest an increasing importance of gender in Japan's industrial economy as well as the mutual constitution of corporate needs, gender ascription, and, in the case of Smith's chapter, race and ethnicity, in the twentieth century.

The standard narrative of the development of the Japanese economy since the mid-nineteenth century is well known. The economy has been both lauded as an example of successful growth by a late developer and vilified as an example of growth at any cost. Studies of Japan's modernization have stressed the building of the infrastructure (media, communications, transportation, finance) in the early years of the Meiji period; the establishment of pioneering industries in mining, textiles, shipbuilding, and chemicals; the changing role of agriculture; the importance of the munitions sector; and the role of the government in supporting industrial and economic development. Studies of the decades following the end of the Meiji period have focused on Japan's need to negotiate its role in the larger and often hostile international arena and on the unequalizing effects of capitalist development on farmers, laborers, employers, and people under colonialism. In the postwar period, Japan was seen as enjoying the fruits of an economic miracle until the recession started in the early 1990s. Recovering from deep poverty, starvation, and a lack of housing in the first years after the war, Japan's economy grew by leaps and bounds for thirty years. Accounts of Japan's economic growth have taken for granted stages of modern development, but few have been informed by a deep analysis of the role of gender and its construction in the context of the economy. These three essays open new avenues of inquiry about gender. They consider the reification of stereotypes of men and women as workers as well as the negotiation and subversion of those stereotypes. They relate the success stories in the prewar and postwar eras to the fashioning of gendered roles in the family and the factory.

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Hunter addresses the reasons for Japanese employers' increasing segmentation of the textile labor force by sex, age, and marital status during the early twentieth century and considers the generally overlooked employment patterns of men in that crucial industry. Furthermore, she suggests long-term effects of the mutual constitution of gender-segregated employment patterns and gender ascription. Smith's analysis of the gender division of labor among Korean coal miners in Japan during the interwar period provides important lessons about the ways in which ethnic discrimination, gender stereotypes, cultural differences, and the logic of capitalism interacted to shape the lives of individual workers. Gordon discusses the postwar New Life Movement, a set of loosely connected initiatives of government offices, women's groups, and corporations aimed entirely at women. He argues that the corporate manifestation of the movement naturalized a model of gender relations in which women of all social strata managed the home so that men could concentrate on the workplace.

Part v. Theorizing Gender

Both gender discourse and gender ideology have a long and changing history in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Japan. These four essays examine the assumptions and political agendas of critics, rights advocates, and segments of the state- and corporate-based economic interests in theorizing gender in different historical eras.

This book is itself part of the interpretation of Japan and the discourse on gender. We hope these essays will shed light and open up new avenues of investigation rather than channeling discussion in limited ways. Participants in history, while often reflective about how they will be perceived by posterity, usually theorize primarily for political ends. Gender in Japan was theorized both by those who sought to tear down essentialist limitations on women's rights (while often preserving "woman" as a category for political reasons), and by those who used the power of the state to expand women's usefulness to the nation. In both cases, construction of gender was in conjunction with power.

Molony examines varying strains of "women's rights" (*joken*) and their similarities and differences with late nineteenth-century Japanese arguments for expanding men's inclusion in the state. She suggests how gender was embedded in notions of the state and society and was in-

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strumental in the defining of “modernity” in the early twentieth century. Uno contends that there was a linkage between the state’s female gender expectations and Japan’s imperial expansion. *Ryōsai kenbo*, a synthesis of early modern wifedom and late nineteenth-century imported notions of motherhood, was established by the Education Ministry as a model of ideal womanhood in 1899 in the aftermath of the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Following each war that gained territory for the empire, a reassessment of the mobilization of women resulted in contested reconstructions of *ryōsai kenbo* that expanded norms of women’s societal participation. Kano argues that a powerful strain in Japanese literary criticism of the 1980s incorporated transhistorical femininity (“some things about Japanese women never change”) and reverse Orientalism (“Japan is uniquely different from the West”). These assumptions have operated as two wheels of a perpetual motion machine, driving and reinforcing each other. They have led to a denial of Japan’s masculine aggression toward its neighbors as well as an antifeminist affirmation of the status quo of gender relations in Japan.

Shigematsu interprets the paradoxes of contemporary female sexuality and individual empowerment by looking at the work of Uchida Shungiku and its role in cultural production in the 1990s. She places Uchida’s work and significance in the context of the last several decades of feminism in Japan, from “women’s liberation” in the 1970s through the promotion by the state and corporate interests of their own versions of feminism since the mid-1970s. While Uchida serves as a model for the type of sexual ambiguity highlighted in this volume and for the female transgression lauded by many feminists, Shigematsu notes that Uchida is also emblematic of the corporate world’s commodification of sex, of women who transgress gender boundaries for their own advancement, and of the state’s emphasis on hard work as the route to individual success.

Conclusion

An analysis of gender enhances understandings of Japanese modernity. As the field of Japanese studies has turned away from modernization perspectives grounded in Cold War concerns valorizing capitalist society, institutions, and culture, modernity perspectives placing more emphasis on themes of conflict, inequality, or exploitation as well as post-

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modern perspectives have come to the fore. Influenced by interpretations of modernity and the postmodern, this book aims to contribute to both social science and cultural studies of Japan by further historicizing gender construction, gender contestations, and gender ambiguity. In the preceding decades, a significant amount of research has emerged on gender construction and contestation in Japan's long twentieth century. However, gender ambiguity in Japan has been only lightly pursued.

If it can be said that deliberate state construction of male and female gender operated at a relatively low level in the early modern period, then current research suggests that on the whole that trend continued in the first several decades of the modern period. However, from about 1890, the Japanese government and its supporters made greater efforts to intervene in the construction of distinct male and female genders. Sexuality came under greater regulation, and heterosexuality was increasingly defined as normative for men and women. Despite contestation by individuals and groups and modifications by administrators and political leaders, especially during the mobilization for World War II, the continuities were probably greater than the changes in the official visions of woman as patriotic "good wife, wise mother" and man as servant of the state or loyal soldier. Nevertheless, to some extent gender expectations varied by class as well as ethnicity, race, and residence, that is, for Japanese and non-Japanese subjects at home and in the colonies.

Despite the demise of the wartime self-sacrificing soldier and mother, the legacy of public man and private or domestic woman has endured in the postwar period. Contemporary gender expectations are reflected in the attitudes and representations of the salaryman warrior, stoically enduring grueling overtime and spurning vacations to gain family income and prestige, increase corporate earnings, and raise the nation's exports, and of the housewife/mother lovingly yet efficiently managing all aspects of the household from budget and menus to cleaning, yardwork, childrearing, and perhaps even her husband.

However, even as boundaries of male and female gender were being delineated throughout the long twentieth century, they were continually being tested—especially those that created separate spheres or the paired binaries of public man/private woman often prominent in the agendas of modernity. From the 1880s until the twenty-first century,

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gender expectations have been contested by feminist movements and female workers' organizations and by individuals, including female and male students, educators and intellectuals, young and middle-aged women, and single and married women. Recent research reveals ongoing contestation of the postwar conventional wisdom about gender, e.g., domesticity as woman's primary destiny and performance of sexuality beyond heterosexual and marital sex.

While histories of women, men, and sexuality have deployed binaries of victimization and resistance used by Japanese men and women in their lived experiences and struggles, gender ambiguity has also been a characteristic of Japanese society and culture. In the early modern period, for example, there was no necessary one-to-one correspondence between sex and sexuality, whether in male-female sexual relationships or in same-sex liaisons. Furthermore, it was acceptable, indeed it was art for men to act as women on stage in the kabuki theatre; some even said that the female impersonators (*onnagata*) performed a more perfect femininity than could have been enacted by women had they been permitted to perform on the stage.

At the dawn of the modern era, as we have seen, the state attempted a greater differentiation of gender spheres while some men and women contested those moves. Thus, an unsung but salient characteristic of modernity has been continuing gender ambiguity. Multiple voices contributed to notions of gender, impeding the state's initiatives to define the masculine and the feminine to advance its nationalist agenda and blurring the boundaries between the two. Against state policies, individuals and organizations called for access to higher education for women, female suffrage, and continued acceptance of same-sex sexual relations. Desire for less rigid gender prescriptions has, at times, also slowed the progress of unified movements contesting the state. For instance, the classic debate, which occurred in Japan as elsewhere, between those who took a position of essentializing women as mothers and those who argued for women's rights irrespective of maternal roles hindered the emergence of a united feminist movement. At the same time, since the modern period, ambiguities derived from contestations, undefined attitudes and behaviors, and contradictions in policies and norms have provided space for men and women to perform their gender or sexuality in varying ethnic, class, or regional contexts. During the

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early Occupation years, moral chaos in the wake of defeat increased gender ambiguities. But by the 1970s, economic policies and industrial discipline attempted to reinscribe women's place as the home even as married women were allowed to enter the wage labor market under inferior conditions. In the late postwar period, boundaries between maleness and femaleness are again blurring—that is, there is again a swing toward gender ambiguity.

Indeed, in the long twentieth century, Japanese modernity has been characterized by oscillation between gender boundary construction and gender ambiguities. The ambiguities are particularly informative as they call into question binary models, e.g., the equations of woman/private/inside and man/public/outside. While research on the construction of gender norms by the state and other social actors as well as research on resistance to received norms has become established over the past several decades, the notion of gender ambiguity is relatively new and bears further exploration in Japan and elsewhere.

Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno

Notes

1. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1053–1075.
2. Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), introduction; Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History* (New York: Norton, 1994), chapter 6.
3. *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France*, ed. Jo Burr Margadant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), introduction.
4. For works that have produced a new narrative on colonial history, see e.g., Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995); Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995). On the reconfiguring of the meanings of rights and politics, see e.g., Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988).
5. The interdisciplinary collaboration of this volume reflects a long tradition in the field of Japanese studies as well as recent trends in the fields of history and gender studies. Interdisciplinary collections in Japanese studies (in English) have abounded since the 1960s and 1970s. See e.g., the six-volume series on modernization, including *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization*, eds. John W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen; *The State and Economic Enterprise in Modern Japan*, ed. William W. Lockwood; *Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan*, ed. Ronald P. Dore; *Political Development in Modern Japan*, ed. Robert E. Ward; *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, ed. Donald Shively; and *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, ed. James W. Morley (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965–1971); *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy 1900–1930*, ed. Sharon Minichiello (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998). Interdisciplinary volumes on specialized issues include, e.g., *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, ed. Thomas J. Rimer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism*, eds. James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995); and *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from*

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the 1910s to the 1930s, eds. Louise K. Tipton and John Clark (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). Interdisciplinary anthologies on women include: *Proceedings of the Tokyo Symposium on Women*, eds. Merry I. White and Barbara Molony (Tokyo: International Group for the Study of Women, 1978); *Women in Changing Japan*, ed. Joyce Lebra et al. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1976); *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); *Re-Imaging Japanese Women*, ed. Anne Imamura (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); *Japanese Women Working*, ed. Janet Hunter (London: Routledge, 1993); *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (New York: Feminist Press, 1995); *Gender and Japanese History*, eds. Haruko Wakita, Anne Bouchy, and Chizuko Ueno, 2 vols. (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999); and *Women and Class in Japanese History*, eds. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Haruko Wakita (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1999). Publications such as *Stories by Contemporary Japanese Women Writers*, eds. and trans. Noriko Mizuta Lippitt and Kyoko Iriye Selden (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1982); *To Live and To Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913–1938*, ed. Yukiko Tanaka (Seattle, WA: Seal Press, 1987); *This Kind of Woman: Ten Stories by Japanese Women Writers 1960–76*, ed. and trans. Yukiko Tanaka (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982); *Unmapped Territories: New Women's Fiction from Japan*, ed. Yukiko Tanaka (Seattle, WA: Women in Translation, 1991); Rebecca L. Copeland, *The Sound of the Wind: The Life and Works of Uno Chiyo* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992); *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, eds. Paul Schalow, Janet A. Walker, and Janice Brown (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Hayashi Fumiko, *I Saw a Pale Horse* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1997); Joan E. Ericcson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997); Phyllis Birnbaum, *Modern Girls, Shining Stars, the Skies of Tokyo: Five Japanese Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); *The Father-Daughter Plot: Japanese Literary Women and the Law of the Father*, eds. Rebecca L. Copeland and Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); and Jan Bardsley's "Discourse on Women in Postwar Japan: The Housewife Debate of 1955," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, English Supplement, no. 16 (1999) make one hope for more collaboration between literary scholars and historians. Excellent multidisciplinary collections in women's/gender studies are too numerous to name, but a few are most helpful for scholars approaching this as a new field of inquiry. See e.g., *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (Albany, NY: SUNY Press,

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1992); *Feminists Theorize the Political*, eds. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (New York and London: Routledge, 1992); *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); *Feminisms in the Academy*, eds. Donna C. Stanton and Abigail J. Stewart (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995); and *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange*, eds. Seyla Benhabib, Judith Butler, Drucilla Cornell, and Nancy Fraser (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).

6. Currently Japanese gender studies lacks historical monographs treating both maleness and femaleness, but important directions are suggested by Donald Roden, "Taishō Culture and the Problem of Gender Ambivalence," in Rimer, *Culture and Identity*, 37–55; Robert J. Smith and Ella Lury Wiswell, *The Women of Suyē Mura* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982); and Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). Some works by social scientists discussing both genders in contemporary Japan include: Dorinne Kondo, *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Anne Allison, *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Muriel Jolivet, *Japan: The Childless Society?* (New York: Routledge, 1997); and Yuko Ogasawara, *Office Ladies and Salaried Men* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Pioneering English language works on Japanese women's history include: Joyce Ackroyd, "Women in Feudal Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Third Series, 7 (Nov. 1959): 31–68; and Dee Ann Vavich, "Ichikawa Fusae: Pioneer of Woman Suffrage," *Monumenta Nipponica* 22, nos. 3–4 (1967): 402–436. Next followed works stimulated by the growth of Japanese social history from the mid-1970s, e.g., Lebra et al., *Women in Changing Japan*; Mikiso Hane, *Rebels, Peasants, and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan* (New York: Pantheon, 1982); *Recreating Japanese Women*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Anne Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Conjunctions of feminism and Japanese women's history resulted in writings such as: Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983); E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Female Textile Workers and the Failure of Early Textile Unionism in Japan," *History Workshop* 18 (Fall 1984): 3–28; Vera Mackie, "Feminist Politics in Japan," *New Left Review*, no. 158 (Jan./Feb. 1988); Mikiso Hane, *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows* (New York: Pantheon, 1988); E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); Sharon H.

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Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women, 1890–1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Kathleen S. Uno, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor," in Bernstein, *Recreating Japanese Women, Feminism and the State in Modern Japan*, ed. Vera Mackie (Melbourne, Australia: Japanese Studies Centre, 1995); Helen Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan: A Political Biography of Katō Shidzue* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996); Hélène Bowen Raeddeker, *Treacherous Women of Imperial Japan: Patriarchal Fictions, Patricidal Fantasies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women: Gender, Labour, and Activism, 1900–1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Ayako Kano, *Acting Like a Woman in Modern Japan: Theater, Gender, and Nationalism* (New York; Houndmills [England]: Palgrave, 2001); and Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Some pioneering works in men's history are: Donald Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Earl Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai to Salaryman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); and Andrew Gordon, *Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry, 1850–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), chapter 1. Later works on the history of men include many works on topics related to sexuality: Ihara Saikaku, *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, trans. Paul Schalow (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990); Mikito Ujiié, "From Young Lions to Rats in a Ditch," in *Imaging/Reading Eros: Proceedings for the Conference, Sexuality and Edo Culture, 1750–1850*, ed. Sumie Jones (Bloomington: East Asian Studies Center, Indiana University, 1996); Tsuneo Watanabe and Jun'ichi Iwata, *The Love of the Samurai: A Thousand Years of Male Homosexuality*, trans. D. R. Roberts (London: Gay Men's Press 1989); Makoto Furukawa, "The Changing Nature of Sexuality: The Three Codes Framing Homosexuality in Modern Japan," trans. Angel Lockyear, *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, English Supplement, no. 7 (1994): 98–127; Gary Leupp, *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); and Gregory Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse 1600–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). Although works on the history of sexuality beyond male sexuality are few, see Smith and Wiswell, *The Women of Nye Mura*; Roden, "Taishō Culture"; Robertson, *Takarazuka; Choreographing History*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); Ann Allison, *Permitted and Prohibited Desires* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996); Chizuko Ueno, "Collapse of Japanese Mothers," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, English Supplement, no. 10 (1996): 3–19; and Sabine Fröhstück, "Then Science Took Over: Sex, Leisure, and Medicine at the Beginning of the Twentieth

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Century,” in *The Culture of Japan Seen through Its Leisure*, eds. Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück (New York: SUNY Press, 1998). See note 18 for references to later works and trends and additional works interpreting gender in contemporary Japan.

7. Tensions between women’s and gender studies have emerged in various contexts. As Linda Nicholson notes in “Interpreting *Gender*,” *SIGNS* 20, no. 1 (1994), destabilizing “woman” can lead to fear that politics in the name of “women” will not be possible. Sally Baden and Anne Marie Goetz, in “Who Needs [Sex] When You Can Have [Gender]?” *Feminist Review*, no. 56 (1997): 3–25, show that while academic feminists no longer contest “gender,” some politically active women outside the academy, both on the right and on the left, reject thinking in terms of gender for different reasons. See also, for example, Gisela Bock, “Women’s History and Gender History: Aspects of an International Debate,” *Gender and History* 1 (1989): 7–30; Linda Gordon, “What’s New in Women’s History,” in *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, ed. Teresa de Lauretis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 20–30; and Tanya Modleski, *Feminism Without Women: Culture and Criticism in a ‘Postfeminist’ Age* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991).

8. To be sure, people in the past did not necessarily view their societies as ordered by gender. “Gender” as an analytic category is a recent phenomenon. Initially used as a grammatical marker of categories, it was not limited to two (some languages have three or more), nor to femaleness and maleness alone. It has been applied by feminist scholars to societies in the last three decades.

9. The notion that “gender” is socially constructed is supported by the evidence offered by biologists that there are more than two “sexes.” Biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling, in “The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough,” *The Sciences* 33, no. 2 (1993), notes that there are individuals with various combinations of “male” and “female” sex organs. Moreover, scholars in various disciplines have noted that widely diverse societies have preferred to operate with more than two genders. Sabine Lang, in “There Is More than Just Women and Men: Gender Variants in North American Indian Cultures,” in *Gender Reversals and Gender Cultures*, ed. Sabrina Petra Ramet (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 185, writes: “In most North American Indian cultures, there exist not only two genders, woman and man, but three or four: women, men, men-women, and women-men. This cultural construction of more than just two genders, the ‘cultural expressions of multiple genders . . . and the opportunity for individuals to change gender roles and identities over the course of their lifetimes,’ is referred to as *cultural variance*.” Lang cites Sue-Ellen Jacobs and Jason Cromwell, “Visions and Revisions of Reality: Reflections of Sex,

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Sexuality, Gender and Gender Variance,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 23, no. 4 (1992): 63. Some African societies also reject the notion that there are just two genders determined by genitals. See e.g., Ifi Amadiume, *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books, 1987). For Southeast Asia, see e.g., *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*, eds. Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

10. To our knowledge, the first session on Japanese women at a major North American conference was held at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in 1978. Since the mid-1980s, around a half dozen sessions on women, and more recently on masculinity and gender, have been held at every AAS meeting. Meetings of the American Historical Association since the late 1980s have usually included one or more sessions with papers on Japanese women and/or gender. The Berkshire Conference Program Committee has included a Japanese historian during the last four planning cycles, and several papers on Japanese gender topics are presented at each session.

Although the conferences and workshops at Washington, Michigan, and Princeton all contained “gender” in their titles, each focused on women alone. The 1993 *Journal of Japanese Studies* “gender symposium” likewise dealt only with women. Outside the Japan field, even the highly regarded *Engendering China*, ed. Christina Gilmartin et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), is overwhelmingly a collection of articles on women.

11. Works from social science, cultural studies, and activist perspectives that have aided historians’ understandings of women’s estate and their agency in advocating social change include Lebra et al., *Women in Changing Japan*; Susan Pharr, *Political Women in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Takie S. Lebra, *Japanese Women: Constraint and Fulfillment* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1984); Gail Lee Bernstein, *Haruko’s World: A Japanese Farm Woman and Her Community* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983); Chizuko Ueno, “Origins of the Japanese Housewife,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (1987): 444–449; Anne Imamura, *Urban Japanese Housewives: At Home and in the Community* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1987); Mary C. Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Sumiko Iwao, *The Japanese Woman: Traditional Image and Changing Reality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); Glenda Roberts, *Staying on the Line: Blue-Collar Women in Contemporary Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1994); Margaret Lock, *Encounters with Aging: Mythologies of Menopause in Japan and North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and many articles in *U.S.-Japan Women’s Journal*, En-

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glish Supplement. See note 18 for additional works and trends in cultural studies, social science, and activist perspectives.

12. Denise Riley, *Am I That Name? Feminism and the Category of "Woman" in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), sees the category of "woman" as connected to modernism. See also Joan Kelly, "The Social Relations of the Sexes," in *Women, History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 1–18; Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988); and Barbara L. Marshall, *Engendering Modernity: Feminism, Social Theory, and Social Change* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1994).

13. In popular writing, modern Japan often refers to both the modern and contemporary periods. Japanese historians generally distinguish between the modern and contemporary periods, but they too may refer to Japan during the era from 1868 to the present as modern Japan.

14. See for example, Marius B. Jansen, "Stages of Growth," *Japanese Studies in the United States*, Part I: *History and Present Condition*, Japanese Studies Series XVII (Tokyo: [Ann Arbor, MI]: Japan Foundation; Distributed by the Association for Asian Studies, 1988–1989), 27–68; Sheldon Garon, "Rethinking Modernization and Modernity in Japanese History: A Focus on State-Society Relations," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 53 (May 1994): 346–366; J. Victor Koschmann, "Introduction to the English Edition," in *Total War and "Modernization,"* eds. Yasushi Yamanouchi, J. Victor Koschmann, and Ryūichi Narita (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Series, 1998), xi–xvi; and *The Postwar Developments of Japanese Studies in the United States*, ed. Helen Hardacre (Leiden ; Boston ; Köln: Brill, 1998). For Japanology, see for example, *Constructs for Understanding Japan*, eds. Yoshio Sugimoto and Ross Mouer (New York and London: Kegan Paul International, 1989); and Yoshio Sugimoto, *An Introduction to Japanese Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Regarding other influences on interpretations of Japan, see Richard Minear, "Orientalism and the Study of Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 50 (1980): 507–517; *Othernesses of Japan: Historical and Cultural Influences on Japanese Studies in Ten Countries*, in *Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien der Philipp-Franz-von-Siebold-Stiftung*, eds. Harumi Befu and Josef Kreiner, Band. 1 (Munich: Iudicum-Verlag, 1995); and Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998).

15. The original essay is John W. Hall, "Changing Conceptions of the Modernization of Japan," in Hall and Jansen, *Changing Japanese Attitudes*, 7–41. See also

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the other five volumes of the Princeton modernization series cited in note 5; *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan*, eds. John W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968); and *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, eds. Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

16. Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

17. The following sample of works reflects what we are calling modernity studies—varied responses to modernization's approaches ranging from radical political economy to humanism, conflict perspectives, and modernism: John W. Dower, "Introduction," in Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), xx-xxxix; Hane, *Rebels; Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*, eds. Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1982); Herbert Bix, *Peasant Protest in Japan, 1590-1884* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); and Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). Research on *modanizumu* can also be included in modernity studies; Sato (7-8) calls it "a neologism that combined the English *modern* with *ism*. In journalistic circles from approximately 1924 until the late 1930s, this 'modernism' became identified with the latest 'lowbrow' fads and fashions that were representative of the everyday. To be modern in Japan during the interwar years connoted being in the social vanguard of the age . . . but not that the commodification of daily life had its grounding in Western modernism, which indeed remained on the plane of 'high art.'"

18. Also see the references on women's history, men's history, gender history, and sexuality history in notes 6 and 11. Important recent scholarship on Japanese gender issues in the contemporary period includes: Fujimura-Fanselow and Kameda, *Japanese Women*; Joy Hendry, *Understanding Japanese Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); *Voices of the Japanese Women's Movement*, ed. AMPO-Japan Asia Quarterly Review (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996); Sandra Buckley, *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Mariko Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998); Ochiai Emiko, *The Japanese Family System in Transition: A Sociological Analysis of Family Change in Postwar Japan* (Tokyo: LTCB International Library Foundation, 1997); *Queer Japan: Personal Stories of Japanese Lesbians, Gays, Transsexuals and Bisexuals*, eds. and trans. Barbara Summerhawk, Cheiron McMahill, and Darren McDonald (Norwich, VT: New Victoria Publishers, 1998); Robin LeBlanc, *Big-*

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de Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Helen Hardacre, *Marketing the Menacing Fetus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Ruth Ann Keyso, *Women of Okinawa: Nine Voices from a Garrison Island* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Tiana Norgren, *Abortion before Birth Control: The Politics of Reproduction in Postwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Nancy Rosenberger, *Gambling with Virtue: Japanese Women and the Search for Self in a Changing Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); Karen Kelsky, *Women on the Verge: Japanese Women, Western Dreams* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001); Satoru Ito and Ryuta Yanase, *Coming Out in Japan: The Story of Satoru and Ryuta*, trans. Francis Conlan (Melbourne, Australia: Trans Pacific Press, 2001); and *Men and Masculinities in Japan: Dislocating the Salaryman Doxa*, eds. James E. Roberson and Nobue Suzuki (New York: Routledge/Curzon, 2003).

19. Preoccupation with modernity, or its converse, tradition, has not yet ended in Japanese studies, and can be seen as a result of reacting to modernizationist issues or interpretations. See for example, Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*; Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Kevin Michael Doak, *Dreams of Difference: The Japanese Romantic School and the Crisis of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Miniciello, *Japan's Competing Modernities*; Vlastos, *Mirror of Modernity*; Kathleen Uno, *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1999); Tipton and Clark, *Being Modern in Japan*; and Harry D. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

20. Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), xvii–xviii.

21. See for example, Stephen Heine and Charles Wei-hsun Fu, "Introduction: From 'The Beautiful' to 'The Dubious': Japanese Traditionalism, Modernism, Postmodernism," in *Japan in Traditional and Postmodern Perspectives*, eds. Stephen Heine and Charles Wei-hsun Fu (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1995), vii–xxi, and *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Special Issue: Postmodernism and Japan 87, no. 3 (1988).

22. Masao Miyoshi and Harry Harootunian, "Introduction," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Special Issue: Postmodernism and Japan 87, no. 3 (1988): 396.

23. Kondo, *Crafting Selves*; and Rimer, *Culture and Identity*. Also note the multiple components of subjectivities.

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24. Jane Flax, in "The End of Innocence," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, eds. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 454, has noted that feminists constructed gender categories as a way of analyzing power relations in their own cultures and experiences. Thus, gender relations may not be a "unitary relation present in all cultures."

25. This discussion borrows extensively from Linda Nicholson, "Interpreting *Gender*." Nicholson calls this the "coatrack" view of self-identity.

26. *Ibid.*, 81.

27. *Ibid.*, 82, 89.

28. Scott, *Gender and the Politics*, 2.

29. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 7.

30. Even if one believes that two distinct sexes exist in nature prior to gender, we should recall that this idea, too, must be placed in its historical context. That is, until the late seventeenth century in the West, it was commonly believed that only one sex existed, and that women's sex was simply men's sex inverted. See Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 8.

31. Scott, *Gender and the Politics*, 25.

32. Flax, "The End of Innocence," 455.

33. Inoue Teruko, "Nihon no joseigaku to 'seiyakuwari,'" in *Seiyakuwari*, vol. 3, *Nihon no feminizumu*, eds. Inoue Teruko, Ueno Chizuko, and Ehara Yumiko (Iwanami shoten, 1995).

34. Ehara Yumiko, "Seido to shite no bosei," in *Bosei*, vol. 5, *Nihon no feminizumu*, eds. Inoue Teruko, Ueno Chizuko, and Ehara Yumiko (Iwanami shoten, 1995).

35. Wakita Haruko, "Jogen," in *Jiendā no Nihonshi*, eds. Wakita Haruko and Susan B. Hanley, vol. 1 (Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1994), iii. In English, see also Uno, "Women and Changes," and her *Passages to Modernity*.

36. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, "Introduction: Transnational Feminist Practices and Questions of Postmodernity," in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, eds. Grewal and Kaplan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 2.

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37. Inderpal Grewal, "Autobiographic Subjects and Diasporic Locations: *Meatless Days* and *Borderlands*," in Grewal and Kaplan, *Scattered Hegemonies*, 234. Grewal is focusing here mainly on the works of Gayatri Spivak and Norma Alarcón.
38. Inderpal Grewal, "Autobiographic Subjects," 240–241.
39. For more on hybridity, see Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).
40. Rita Felski, "The Doxa of Difference," *Signs* 23, no. 1 (1997): 12.
41. Ien Ang, "Comment on Felski's 'The Doxa of Difference': The Uses of Incommensurability," *Signs* 23, no. 1 (1997): 62.
42. Felski, "The Doxa of Difference," 12.
43. Susan L. Burns, "Constructing the National Body: Public Health and the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Japan," in *Nation Work: Asian Elites and National Identities*, eds. Timothy Brook and Andre Schmid (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 20–21.
44. Sheldon Garon, "The World's Oldest Debate? Prostitution and the State in Imperial Japan," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (1993): 710–733.