

ōeru: a paradigm shift

Ana Ingrez

*Ōeru: a paradigm shift* idealiza um Japão contemporâneo que se baseia numa sociedade matriarcal, partindo de algumas premissas presentes no filme *Happy Hour* de Ryusuke Hamaguchi. Nesta sociedade, as mulheres vivem sem estarem condicionadas a uma aparência e um comportamento considerados "femininos" impostos pelo homem (que se consolidam inevitavelmente nas culturas com tradição patriarcal). A fala suave, cuidada e gentil, a cessão opinativa e calma são padrões considerados desejáveis que não se aplicam nesta sociedade ficcional.

No Japão real existe um conjunto de regras de vestuário profissional, tanto para entrevistas de trabalho como no próprio escritório de emprego. Estas normas são baseadas num sistema de género binário (obrigando uma escolha), impostas pelo olhar masculino. Há uma discrepância de número de regras entre géneros. O homem tem de vestir um fato e sapatos formais, com cores como o cinzento e o azul-escuro e sem padrões. É um pouco o que também se verifica em algumas sociedades ocidentais. Porém, a mulher ao vestir um fato com saia (podendo escolher calças) esta não pode subir mais que 10 cm acima do nível dos joelhos quando se senta. É também obrigatório a utilização de saltos-altos, não priorizando o conforto pessoal. Em variadas empresas é proibido uma mulher utilizar óculos, porque não é considerado "feminino" ou porque transmite uma atitude fria.

Matriarcado não é o oposto de patriarcado, mas sim uma reformulação mais igualitária da sociedade. Neste Japão matriarcal a mulher tem um papel central tanto na família como na política, assumindo posições de poder. A família imperial é controlada pela imperatriz e os conselhos governamentais são constituídos maioritariamente por mulheres. A mulher define a maternidade e as suas condições. Não é esperado que um homem se dedique apenas ao seu trabalho e que a mulher tenha como responsabilidade a casa e os filhos (proveniente do princípio feudal danson-johi), possibilitando um equilíbrio de obrigações. É encorajada a comunicação quando há um problema, em oposição do kuuki o yomu (a ação de conseguir ler situações para além das palavras) que frequentemente não permite falar sobre uma injustiça, causando um ambiente desconfortável. Apesar destas diferenças existem ainda algumas possíveis agressões - tal como o assédio sexual - que são punidas pelas várias leis criadas de forma a proteger o cidadão.

Na nova realidade ficcional segue-se a vida de uma mãe casada que pretende mudar de carreira profissional. As responsabilidades familiares são distribuídas igualmente pelos membros da família, permitindo-lhe ter um emprego a tempo inteiro. Concorre a várias entrevistas de trabalho, onde tem liberdade de escolha sobre aquilo que veste. Esta liberdade permite-lhe explorar a sua própria individualidade, sem ter de se preocupar com o male gaze. Este projeto pretende analisar e criticar os paradigmas atuais na sociedade japonesa que afetam a mulher, utilizando como foco e exemplo o vestuário profissional feminino.

O lugar da mulher na sociedade neste allohistory altera muitos fatores, libertando-a de todos os preconceitos e requisitos impostos pelo male gaze. Sendo que estes são variados escolheu-se focar num contexto mais particular: o vestuário no ambiente profissional. No Japão real, são impostos um conjunto de regras de vestuário feminino tanto na procura de trabalho como no próprio escritório de emprego. Há indústrias que facilitam e permitem mais liberdade, mas esta é a realidade em áreas de grandes corporações e empresas. Existem limitações como não se poder utilizar óculos, terem de utilizar saías um pouco acima do joelho, utilizarem saltos altos, maquilhagem (mas não qualquer tipo), entre muitos outros.

Para este projeto pretende-se criticar esta falta de liberdade, desenvolvendo um *project room* que exemplifica esta nova realidade ficcional no vestuário profissional. Neste irão ser apresentados dois pólos opostos na sala, onde um exemplifica o lado real do Japão e o outro o ficcional. A sala em si terá um áudio a tocar, com sons típicos de escritório. As mesas vão estar organizadas e decoradas como cubículos de escritório, de forma a que o observador esteja envolvido neste cenário.

Do lado real será demonstrado um conjunto de roupa feminino profissional típico, acompanhado por uma imagem que demonstra algumas das regras impostas neste vestuário. Irá ser acompanhado por uma voz feminina a tocar, que dirá "sim" e "não" em japonês, reforçando esta ideia de imposição.

Do lado oposto, tratando-se da ficção, será projetado um vídeo que exibe várias roupas diversificadas, representando a liberdade que as mulheres têm para se vestir num ambiente profissional na sociedade matriarcal japonesa. Irá ser acompanhado por um áudio com conversas descontraídas entre mulheres, em japonês, mostrando a liberdade que sentem. De forma a reforçar esta ficção, irá estar exposto um jornal ficcional que remete o observador a este Japão ficcional.

### Yumi Ishikawa set off the #KuToo movement against Japan's rigorous workplace dress codes for women.

The first time Yumi Ishikawa, a Japanese model, actress and temp worker, took to social media to call for an end to employers requiring female workers to wear high heels, her tweet was shared nearly 30,000 times. Why do we have to work while hurting our feet?" she wrote in January, highlighting the explicit gender discrimination in such workplace policies. "Whereas men can wear flat shoes."

Seizing on the social media commiseration, she gathered 18,000 signatures on a petition she submitted to the labor ministry calling for a law that would bar employers from forcing women to wear heels. Ms. Ishikawa, 32, went on to become the public face of Japan's #KuToo movement, a pun on the Japanese words for shoes (kutsu) and pain (kutsuu).

Wearing high heels is not the only dress standard that some employers in Japan demand of female workers. Some companies ban women in public-facing jobs from wearing glasses (a requirement that recently sparked backlash on social media), while others require hosiery and makeup. Men, too, can also be subject to dress codes, such as a requirement to wear suits.

In response to Ms. Ishikawa's petition, the labor ministry has said it needs to "raise awareness" of the issue, but has not said how it plans to do that. And since the hashtag #KuToo went viral, two major cellphone service providers, Softbank and NTT Docomo, have relaxed dress codes, and they permit women to wear shoes without high heels although Docomo says its changes have nothing to do with the movement.

Ms. Ishikawa says she never intended to make high heels her signature issue. But she's not surprised it's the topic that has gotten the most attention so far. "It's very easy to understand why it's so important," she said.

he ' lotoko Evranny of ie Japanese Kebet Who's Fighting High Heels, The New York Times (2020 lapanese Rebel Who's F We checked in with Ms. Ishikawa to learn more about the person behind the movement. She showed up for the interview in Tokyo wearing — you guessed it — sneakers. Excerpts follow.

### As a child, did you buck against rigid gender codes in dress, such as in Japanese school uniforms?

In elementary school, I didn't really like wearing skirts. I wanted to be able to wear clothes like boys or talk the way they talked. My parents often scolded me because I talked in a quite rough way. It was believed to be not ideal for girls. It's not that I wanted to be a boy, but I kept thinking, "Why can't I talk the same way as boys?"

As a junior high school student, I had many opinions about school rules. Wearing a scarf was banned in wintertime, and students were ordered to wear only one type of coat or jacket in the winter, and tights were banned in winter for girls, and also braids were banned. But at that time the teachers seemed quite scary, so I didn't dare to confront them. With high school entrance exams, I didn't want to be regarded as a disobedient type of student in my school marks.

### Did you talk to your classmates to see if they felt the same way? Did you ever feel like youcould speak out together?

From middle school through high school, we always had the feeling that we weren't supposed to express our opinions. I felt a kind of tacit pressure on women. Women were not supposed to talk much or speak out as much as men did. Rather, they are expected to respect men. And through various media and TV programs, that message came across.

## You work as a model. What is the culture of modeling in Japan?

When I first worked as a swimsuit model for videos and magazines, I got the impression that female models were not respected enough. Editors or directors did not regard our opinions at all. There was no real physical violence, but the agents or editors would force models to do things they did not want to do, even until they cried. Images that I did not consent to be published, were published anyway. They made me put on swimsuits that exposed more of my body than I wanted, and yet they ran the photos.

At that time, I believed that was an unavoidable thing as a model. The adults around me were saying, "This won't sell unless you do this." The other female models themselves would say, "We just have to accept it." But after 2017's #MeToo movement, I finally realized that this could be a crime, and it was very natural for me to get upset or angry at these demands.

### You have said that advocating for a ban on high heel requirements is not the only cause you are fighting for: What are some of the other issues that you think are important for women in Japan?

If a woman is sexually progressive or assertive, people criticize you. I want to change these attitudes. For example, if you pose nude, people will criticize you or try to take you down. [Earlier this year, Ms. Ishikawa posed nude for a feminist collection of essays and photographs.] Sometimes it's taboo for women to talk about sexual topics and it could lead to sexual crimes against her. People think you'll just sleep with anyone. A woman should be allowed to decide with whom she wants to have sex. People often say that because you are a nude model, you have to put up with sexual harassment or assault. It's as if because you dress sexually, you deserve to be a victim of groping or harassment. But that is so wrong. Este país é alvo de fascínio e admiração por várias pessoas, originárias de variadas culturas e experiências. É um país que devido à sua história no século passado (especificamente a 2ª Guerra Mundial, dando-se foque às bombas de Hiroshima e Nagasaki) se fechou durante umas décadas, abrindo-se à interligação, intercomunicação e partilha mais recentemente. As gerações mais antigas ainda têm o peso histórico presente, mas as mais recentes estão dispostas a uma mudança.

Com esta partilha de cultura para o exterior, formaram-se vários grupos que se consideram fãs. Seja da língua, dos filmes, da banda desenhada (manga), dos desenhos animados (anime) ou dos jogos. A própria cultura japonesa originou múltiplos conteúdos em diversos suportes que são consumidos não só localmente, mas também internacionalmente. No entanto este fascínio feito pelo exterior muitas vezes acaba por ser criado por um conjunto de estereótipos e preconceitos. É formado apenas por aquilo que passa para fora do país e que por si mesmo é representado. Facilmente um fã de anime julga que o Japão é de uma certa forma, estando longe da realidade. É importante considerar que se está a consumir conteúdo japonês, que não é livre de certas tendências sociais, enquanto se é um espetador exterior sem o mesmo conhecimento cultural. O Japão é um lugar onde há grandes opostos. Existe um desenvolvimento tecnológico grande e há uma enorme aposta no entretenimento. Mas há uma inflexibilidade quando se trata da tradição. Esta é muito presente no cidadão japonês, moldando a forma como age. Se ao mesmo tempo há grandes avanços tecnológicos, há uma paragem no tempo socialmente. O grande conservadorismo impede que se façam mudanças importantes. Por estas razões escolhi trabalhar com o contexto japonês. É um país que gosto mas que também critico. É um lugar que facilmente cria falsas ilusões, originadas por aquilo que enviam para fora. Porém quando se sai dessa bolha apercebe-se que a realidade é outra. Tive o prazer de o visitar e, apesar de ter sido uma turista, permitiu-me observar um conjunto de fatores e acontecimentos através dos meus próprios olhos.



### porquê o vestuário?

Existem múltiplas problemáticas associadas à mulher japonesa. São impostos um conjunto de regras e de desejos pelo homem que definem as liberdades do género. Não só moldam a forma de como devem agir, mas também o que devem fazer, como o fazem e onde o fazem. Penso que algumas destas são mais evidentes e mais faladas internacionalmente, porém o vestuário não é grande alvo de discussão. Há conhecimento que existe uma sexualização do uniforme escolar, proporcionado pelos variados suportes multimédia. É um tópico discutido devido à idade jovem das raparigas que vestem esse uniforme e, de facto, é problemático - dentro e fora do país. Mas esse vestuário específico e o que o rodeia é um assunto já de certa forma "sabido". A roupa profissional feminina, no entanto, não é tão discutida.

### White socks and prim navy suits unleash male libidos in Japan

Every weekday, 14-year-old Junko Satoh is forced to wear the clothes that have a nation in sexual and moral turmoil. Cotton socks, loafers and prim navy suits are not the stuff that unbuttons most male libidos, but to Japanese men wrestling with a Lolita complex, school uniforms have become highly provocative.

Cursing their fate, as Junko does when she is groped by unseen hands on crowded subways, schoolgirls in uniform are becoming a national sexual obsession in Japan. So much so that those aged between 13 and 18 can't stray far from the school gates without being propositioned, according to a recent survey carried out in Tokyo, in which an astonishing three in four of the girls questioned said that they had experienced solicitation for sex by older men.

The reasons are twofold. First, Japan's media has turned the once innocuous schoolgirl into a sex object, making largely unsubstantiated claims about the availability of underage sex for cash. Second, a small percentage of schoolgirls, some as young as 12, are said to be cashing in on the media attention by dabbling in prostitution.

"Nowadays, older men seem to think schoolgirls are all prostitutes," says one unnamed middle-class Tokyo high school student turned hooker, interviewed in trend-spotting magazine Sapio. "We were in a shopping centre the other day and a 40-year-old man came up to us and said: 'I know what kind of girls you are. How much do you want?' At first we said we were available only for dates, but when he wouldn't settle for that, we said OK.

"He then took us to a cafe, bought us cake and started making arrangements. I freaked out and said I couldn't do it that day 'cos I had my period. He said: 'That's OK, I don't mind periods.' My friend and I were totally revolted. So I insisted we meet in some faraway suburb another time. When I told him we didn't have enough money for the train trip, he immediately gave us \$350 each. Of course we never turned up."

Prostitution has long been big business in Japan, but only over the past few years has sex with minors become an issue. In keeping with the curiously genteel argot surrounding Japan's sex industry (or so-called "pink" trade), the rather coy moniker for this recent trend is "enjo kosai", roughly translated as "compensated dating". A more literal interpretation is "support-exchange", which also describes the transaction between clients and women who barter sexual favours for financial support in the shape of rent, dinner and presents. It is also how Japan's legions of hostesses supplement their regular income: in hostess bars in entertainment districts, male clients expect drinks served with deference and the chance to flirt and maybe more when the bar closes.

These women's younger sisters are now being roped into the same paid-for sex game. Along with the media's fixation on uniformed schoolgirls as sex goddesses have come magazines devoted to schoolgirl icons, shops specialising in the sale of their used underwear and the notorious telephone clubs, chat lines on which men pay to be connected to potential "dates". In Tokyo, over a third of high-schoolgirls say they have used these clubs. For many, they are just a giggle; for others, they represent the means of gaining cachet among their peers.

The desire for money is paramount in Japan. Cases of genuine hardship driving youngsters into prostitution are rare: despite the recession, the country is buoyant with residual wealth and the need to possess imported brand-named goods has become something of an obsession in certain quarters of Japanese society. The high price of these goods means that many young girls are tempted into lucrative enjo kosai in order to afford them. In a Tokyo local government survey carried out last year, 38.1% of the students participating in it said they did so for money. A Chanel lifestyle, after all, is hard to keep up on pocket money alone.

Reiko Shimada, 18, is one such enjo girl. So unembarrassed

is she about her "part-time job" that she has even gone on national TV to talk about it. Clients, she points out, can be very generous. On the subject of one of the dozen or so men who have paid between \$300 and \$800 to have sex with her and her friends, she says simply: "He made us laugh. He bought nice gifts and he always paid first."

An authority on the subject of schoolgirls as sex objects is Shinji Miyadai, a professor at Tokyo Metropolitan University and author of The Choice of Uniformed Schoolgirls. He sees enjo kosai as evidence of a sick society. "Japanese people today live for money and high-image products. These are their values," he says. "What can adults say to these girls? They are just imitating the adults."

Others point the finger of blame elsewhere. Concerned parents believe the phenomenon highlights inadequacies in the education system, in particular a rigid curriculum which introduced sex education only last month. Educators, meanwhile, blame the parents. What kind of guidance can Japan's young expect, they say, when the typical salaryman spends, on average, fewer than 15 minutes each day talking to his family? Is it any wonder child prostitution goes unnoticed by guardians? A survey conducted last year by the Asian Women's Fund revealed that those students who are "less attached to their family" are more likely to indulge in enjo kosai, while another poll has suggested that girls who have little rapport with their fathers are more likely to sell themselves.

(...) The nation still can't decide whether its schoolgirls are victims of a manipulative media or wanton handmaidens of consumerism gone mad. Shinji Miyadai believes lessons on not selling their bodies cannot be instilled in youngsters because "value cannot be taught. The problem here is not schoolgirls' uninhibited sexual behaviour, but the perpetuation of the image of them as pure, correct, beautiful or inhibited."

Maybe when the Japanese media moves on to a new source of titillation, schoolgirls will lose their allure. But it won't stop the pornography of materialism eating away at Japan.

# womenwearing glasses', The Independent(2019 Maya Oppenheim, Japanese companies 'baı

# *Woman says she was forced to put lenses in when she had an eye infection and suffered pain*

A ban on women wearing glasses in companies across Japan has sparked outrage after the practice emerged.

The reasons for the rule differ from industry to industry, according to local media, but some retailers reportedly said shop workers in glasses left customers with a "cold impression".

While traditional restaurants argued that spectacles do not suit old-fashioned styles of Japanese clothing, employers in the beauty sector argued customers would not be able to see female worker's makeup clearly enough beneath glasses. Safety issues were cited as the reason behind the spectacles ban in the airline sector.

It remains to be seen if rules barring workers from wearing glasses are enforced by formal company regulations or are instead imposed via culturally established norms.

Anger in the country surfaced after Japanese network Nippon TV ran a story about firms that make female workers wear contact lenses instead of glasses.

The hashtag "glasses ban" has gained increasing traction on Twitter since Wednesday – with one woman saying she was forced to put lenses in when she had an eye infection and subsequently suffered pain and discomfort.

Some women in Japan condemned the measures by tweeting images of their glasses.

Uma Mishra-Newbery, executive director of Women's March Global, hit out at the bans.

"The policing of women's bodies and what we wear continues to be a tool to enforce patriarchy," the campaigner told The Independent. "It's 2019 and still women are fighting to be seen for our value and work."



Critics have compared the prohibition of glasses to stringent rules in some Japanese schools that make children with lighter hair dye their hair black so they fit in with their fellow pupils.

The country saw another recent backlash over firms forcing women to wear heels in offices. More than 31,000 have signed a petition calling for the requirement to be banned.

The issue of sexual harassment continues to be prevalent in the country that has the poorest gender equality among the G7 nations. A recent survey of 1,000 working women found that 43 per cent had experienced sexual harassment, and more than 60 per cent of them did not report it.

# Eri Izawa, Gender and Gender Relations in Manga and Anime, MIT(2000)

Manga and Anime, as inviting and open as they may seem, are at heart the products of Japan's culture. Despite its technological advancement, Japan somehow manages to retain much of its historical character, in addition to blending in the overwhelming influences of the West. The Japanese treatment of gender and gender relations has taken many turns over the last millennium, and manga and anime reflect those changes. Still, at the core of the culture lies certain fundamental beliefs that are proving difficult to change.

Recently, too, there is growing controversy over gender roles in Japan. An American friend recently complained bitterly over the pervasiveness of sadistic, (heterosexual) male-oriented Japanese pornography in Japan. She says that the message that women are sexual objects has become almost epidemic in Japanese culture, and that male chauvenism is everywhere. Many career women in Japan seem to be so disgusted with things that they refuse to marry. And too many men are expected to sacrifice themselves to their jobs, to the point of having no family involvement. When a man retires, he sometimes becomes trapped in a family he doesn't know, with nothing to do, and he tends to die soon after from his sudden lack of purpose.

I am not an expert in this topic; however, maybe I can provide some insight into Japanese culture and its reflection in manga, as well as some recent trends in manga. I am writing, by the way, from the point of view that individuality is more important than one's gender --- and hence to stereotype genders and to force people to conform to those stereotypes is not a good thing. I personally think we'd all be better off if each of us picked up the stereotypical strengths of both genders, if, say, men were more nurturing and women were more likely to speak and be heard.

### Historical and Modern Attitudes

Historically, like almost every culture on the planet, Japan has tended toward idealizing male dominance and female submissiveness. However, women have not been invisible, especially in Japan's early years. Some of Japan's greatest literary figures were women, such as the novelist Lady Murasaki, who lived about a thousand years ago. Some of Japan's earliest rulers were empresses. However, when Japan became war-oriented and feudal, women quickly became second-class citizens. Most women were treated as they have been treated throughout history: as merchandise, or servants, and as heir-producing machines. This is not to say men were free from societal chains; men in Japan are expected to conform to societal expectations, too, and males were expected to devote themselves to their tasks with great diligence and hard work.

Unlike in the West, however, some women, not just men, were trained as samurai and ninja, and they fought with the long, halberd-like naginata. Supposedly, for a woman to touch a sword was a dishonor to the sword; conversely, it was (up until recently) considered disgraceful for a man to use a naginata, a "woman's weapon." Women samurai were not given the "honorable" and less pleasant way of committing suicide by cutting open the abdomen; they were given, instead, the "easy" way out --- cutting their own throats.

Still, that some women were trained for combat at all is an insight into the Japanese attitude toward women. Women, though second-class, are important assets to a family. Like any culture, most men and women come to care for each other, and a man heard deprecating women at the pub might be willing to risk his life for his wife. And that is one of the characteristic quirks of Japanese culture.

The macho ideal of a strong, cool male fits the Japanese ideal very closely. At home, some Japanese men tend to order their wives about. They have a tendency to speak gruffly, and use the wife's first name. "Kyoko, the tea!" or "Mayuko, please get me more coffee." Wives, meanwhile, are generally expected to refer to their husbands with the polite form of "you," or "anata," and they are expected to use more polite phrases and to obey their husbands. An interesting exception to this, however, are many families with children. Some parents take to calling each other as "Mama" or "Papa" (or "okaasan" and "otousan"); hence, not only do the children refer to their mother as "mama" or "okaasan," but so does the father (and vice versa). "Let's ask mama when she gets home," the husband might say. "Papa, is this your wallet?" the wife might say. This is extended further once the parents become grandparents, and they start calling each other "grandfather" or "grandmother," just as the newest generation does.

At work, though, it is reported that women are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Many college-educated women simply aren't hired, even if they're qualified. There is still an expectation that a married woman will quit her job to stay at home. Sexual harassment, though technically illegal, is apparently common at the workplace, and both men and women are expected to regard it as normal.

In society in general, naked women are plastered here and there --- from subways to the TV set (yes, even prime time TV). As one American family in Japan put it, "At first the kids would stare at the TV set [because of the prevalence of female nudity], but after a while, they got used to it." Pornographic bookstores are pretty common, and business men are frequently seen reading pornographic books openly, in public. Much of the recent pornography, reports a friend, is based on sadistic themes.

As I've said of men before, often they are expected to spend most of their waking hours at work, or on business-related entertainment outings. He feels he must shoulder the entire burden of financially supporting the household, and for this, he needs to sacrifice himself to his job. Children sometimes grow up without knowing their fathers, and sometimes the mother will admit she prefers not having her husband around, because he gets in the way. A recent trend has more and more women putting off marriage or even not marrying at all.

Of course, not all is this bad! There are brilliant and capable women in various professions, from government to science; and there are men who are wonderful fathers, loved by their children and wives. One person has reported that there is very little open discrimination left in many professional fields.

So much for the background on Japanese gender relations. Yes, much of it sounds fairly dismal. But how are gender relations depicted in the manga and anime?

There is quite a range these days. If we took the "average" of the attitude to relationships (at least in young people's manga, not in adult-oriented stuff), I think that the average attitude would come out to be male-chauvenistic. but a lot less so than twenty years ago, and possibly less so than Japanese society itself. As much as there are stereotypical manga where girls are weak and wilting or perhaps just lust objects, there are newer manga where girls are equal partners, or sometimes even "ahead" of the guys. This is interesting, because the rest of Japanese society does not appear to be quite as enlightened. Perhaps manga-writers think, upon further reflection, that the key is in the individual writers and what they want to create. Some writers (as in any field) want to lead society in new and better directions; some writers care only about money and in generating more sales: and there is a whole mixture in between.



I must say this: I do not think there is anything wrong with women who choose to play a supportive, devoted role of cheerleader and comforter to their men and children. Plus, I do not necessarily think sex is a bad thing. However, I think that women should have as much opportunity and encouragement to work and learn and discover as men do --- I believe there are many intelligent and capable women out there who have unique talents to contribute in ways other than cheerleading or housekeeping or child-rearing --- and that for this to happen on a larger scale, stereotypes must be overcome. Moreover, there needs to be the knowledge in both genders of what is possible, and what the fruits of understanding each other can be. And perhaps a good number of manga-writers agree with me.

Finally, here is a new note, spurred by a recent discussion with a person in Japan. She informs me that, while girls' comics are eager to show the heroine as the victim who endures classroom or peer or even parental harassment and abuse. boys' comics rarely present the hero in this kind of situation. even if minor male characters may be presented thus (this observation is also true from my experience, though Doraemon is a notable exception). She notes that boys endure just as much if not more peer abuse as girls endure. and that many more commit suicide (sometimes naming their tormentors in their suicide notes). I would suggest that comics must re-examine their treatment of both females and males. (The recent ads and articles in some of the boys' weeklies, encouraging those being picked on to hang in there. are useful but are simply not enough.) If there is one thing comics can provide, it is the solace of finding someone like yourself in the pages: but if one cannot find that easily, or if, even worse, you are told in those pages that you are a societal failure, then the pains of life can become seemingly unendurable.

Romance japonês que segue a vida de três personagens femininas, demonstrando variadas situações através de perspectivas pessoais. São abordados tópicos considerados sensíveis pela sociedade japonesa, todos em torno da mulher. É um título que gerou discussão e polémica no Japão.

### "A Novelist Breaks the Code of Being a Woman in Japan

Mieko Kawakami, whose novel "Breasts and Eggs" was just published in English, has become something of a feminist icon in her male-dominated country. To explain the pressure felt by women in Japanese society, the novelist Mieko Kawakami recalls a playground prank from elementary school. The boys would run around and flip up the skirts of certain girls to catch a glimpse of their underwear. That was mortifying enough. Yet it was just as shameful for the girls whose skirts didn't get flipped.

"It meant you weren't popular," said Kawakami, 43, the author of "Breasts and Eggs," a best-selling novel in Japan that was published in English in April. "It's a humiliation among women not to be desired by men. That's a very strong code in Japanese society."

It's a code she knows well, but one that she — and her characters — have gone about transcending. "Breasts and Eggs," which won one of Japan's most coveted literary prizes in 2008, helped establish her as one of the country's brightest young stars.

Kawakami has since become something of a literary feminist icon in Japan. Although "Breasts and Eggs" riled some traditionalists with its frank portrayal of women's lives, those detractors are outnumbered by her fans, many of them younger women.

They relate to Kawakami's sharp identification of society's expectations for women and the efforts of her characters to upend them. In "Breasts and Eggs," the narrator, Natsuko Natsume, muses about the tyranny of beauty as she tries to understand her elder sister's obsession with breast implants.

"When you're pretty, everybody wants to look at you, they want to touch you," Natsuko writes. But she no longer cares if she is attractive to men. Natsuko, also a novelist, is interested in procreation, but not sex. Her editor is a single woman who says not having children feels "perfectly natural."

> Another writer, a divorced mother, skewers the oversize ego of a male peer at a literary reading and declares that "no man will ever understand the things that really matter to a woman." A former colleague describes her mother — and herself — as little more than "free labor" for their husbands (and uses a vulgarity to describe female anatomy to boot).

> Though Japan's prime minister, Shinzo Abe, has promoted a platform of female empowerment, the countryhas lagged behind other developed nations in women's representation in politics, the executive suite and academia. At home, women are saddled with a disproportionate amount of housework and child care.

Still, there are signs that Japanese women are pursuing their own agendas. They are postponing or forgoing marriage in record numbers. When a woman called for employers to stop making female workers wear high heels, she gathered tens of thousands of signatures on a petition and submitted it to the labor ministry, prompting some businesses to relax their dress codes for women.

In the literary world, too, Japanese women are carving out an increasingly prominent role. "Breasts and Eggs" won the prestigious Akutagawa Prize, and Kawakami has joined a growing list of Japanese women whose work is being translated and gaining attention in the West. They include Yoko Ogawa, whose novel "The Memory Police" was a National Book Award finalist last year and is on the shortlist for the International Booker Prize; Sayaka Murata, another Akutagawa Prize winner, for "Convenience Store Woman"; and Hiroko Oyamada, whose debut novel, "The Factory," was published in English in December.

Kawakami gained even more renown as a feminist voice after a 2017 interview she conducted with Haruki Murakami, perhaps Japan's most celebrated modern novelist.

In that interview, which recently appeared in translation, Kawakami — whose work Murakami has championed — questioned the "persistent tendency for women to be sacrificed for the sake of the male leads" in his fiction, echoing the frustration of other critics. (Murakami responded to Kawakami's critique by noting that his focus was not on "individualistic characters," but on how people interact with the world.) To be described as a feminist writer in Japan "still has to some extent a negative image," Kawakami said in an interview via Zoom.

When "Breasts and Eggs" won the Akutagawa Prize, Shintaro Ishihara, then Tokyo's right-wing governor and a member of the prize committee, described the novel's tone as "selfish" and "unpleasant and hard to listen to." After Kawakami told The Asahi Shimbun, one of Japan's largest newspapers, that women should not have to use the word "shujin" — "master" — to refer to their husbands, critics took issue with her on social media.

> But fans have made her works best sellers. "Breasts and Eggs" has sold more than 250,000 copies in Japan, and when Kawakami edited a special edition of a literary magazine, Waseda Bungaku, it sold out within days.

> The English edition of "Breasts and Eggs" was published by Europa Editions in a translation by Sam Bett and David Boyd. The novel explores the extent to which women can get along without men, especially in the fundamental act of reproduction. Natsuko, who remains single throughout the novel, explores artificial insemination with a sperm donor, a rare path to motherhood for unmarried women in Japan.

> "It's not accepted among women who are in their 40s who have secure jobs and a certain income to come to a situation where they want to have a family but don't have a partner," said Kawakami, who researched the culture of in vitro fertilization while writing. "If they are looking for a sperm bank, they don't come forward. Japan is so conservative when it comes to women and sex."

Many of her characters are single mothers or the children of single mothers, as is Kawakami herself. She grew up in Osaka, Japan's third-largest city, as the middle child of a grocery store worker who still stocks shelves part-time. In "Breasts and Eggs," she wanted to convey the city's distinct dialect and humor.

When she was 14, Kawakami said, she lied about her age to secure a part-time job at a factory that made parts for air-conditioners. To help with the family finances, she worked as a convenience store cashier, a restaurant dishwasher, a dental assistant and a bookstore clerk. Growing up working class, she learned that "in most cases the rich stay rich and the poor remain poor," she said. "Even with effort you cannot always change your life, and I had this severe lesson as a child."

From its opening sentence, "Breasts and Eggs" is forthright about class: "If you want to know how poor somebody was growing up, ask them how many windows they had."

> To help support her younger brother when he was in college, Kawakami worked as a bar hostess. She later moved to Tokyo to pursue a music career, but it quickly stalled.

> Makiko, Natsuko's elder sister in "Breasts and Eggs," works as a hostess at a down-at-theheels bar. Kawakami depicts the economic insecurity of such work, and the shifting hierarchies among the hostesses, as younger women displace older ones for the favor of customers.

Their concerns are particularly salient in the time of the coronavirus. With Japan under a state of emergency, several cities have requested the closure of nightclubs and bars associated with the sex industry, to contain the spread of the virus. Women who work in such places are particularly vulnerable, as many of them are estranged from their families and have nowhere to go if they cannot work. An economic relief package initially excluded workers in the sex industry, but they were later added after an outcry among advocates.

The coronavirus "is widening the gap in society, I must say," Kawakami said. She worries about blind spots among the mostly male policymakers who are crafting Japan's response to the pandemic. The male lawmakers "know nothing about how women are managing child care or housework" with schools closed and office staff working from home, she said.



The English translation of "Breasts and Eggs" follows the publication of some of Kawakami's shorter works in literary magazines and English-language collections. A novella, "Ms Ice Sandwich," was released in 2018 by Pushkin Press in a translation by Louise Heal Kawai. In that work, narrated by a fourthgrade boy, Kawakami features a female character who may or may not have had cosmetic surgery and is cruelly judged for it.

"She's foregrounding the things women go through to kind of achieve what would be considered to be a socially acceptable appearance," said Kathryn Tanaka, an associate professor of cultural and historical studies at Otemae University in Nishinomiya. "We talk a lot about single motherhood or cosmetic surgery or infertility, but we talk about them on the surface," she said. "Her works force you to go underneath and think about how these become issues through relationships, and how they are affecting individuals."

Kawakami said young female fans often approached her at readings, asking for autographs and crying. Something about the loneliness of her characters, or their desire for something more than what is expected of them, resonates emotionally. Kawakami said she would be pleased if her novels provided solace that readers ultimately outgrow.

"Maybe I will be happy if they look back from the future and say, 'I used to read Mieko's books when I was young,'" Kawakami said, "'but now I don't have any reason to read them."

Motoko Rich, A Novelist Breaks the Code of Being a Woman in Japan, The New York Times (2020)

### filmes de Yasujirō Ozu

Early Summer, Late Spring e Tokyo Story de Yasujirō Ozu são três longa-metragens consideradas clássicos do cinema japonês. Abordam temas de família e a posição da mulher numa sociedade japonesa pósguerra. São representações relevantes para o tema tratado no projeto, assim como o próprio tratamento de imagem é importante.

### "Ozu's Angry Women

### Parent-Films?

At this centennial celebration of Yasujirô Ozu, I would like to speak not about the smiles his films evoke, but about the anger depicted in them. While Ozu's women have often been described as models of feminine virtue, I want instead to point out the gestures of indignation that those women display, and thus show the modern aspects of Ozu's mise en scène.

While much has been said about women in the films of Kenji Mizoguchi or Mikio Naruse, discussions of Ozu's women are much rarer. In particular, practically nothing has been said about their anger. That omission is likely due to the fact that many people's memories of Ozu's films have been shaped by the ubiquitous image of the father, especially those starring the legendary actor Chishû Ryû.

Even the formalist David Bordwell, when discussing Late Spring (1949) in his book Ozu and The Poetics of Cinema, wrote that 'Ozu can still depict the self-sacrificing parent as solitary, in a fashion analogous to the epilogu of The Only Son (1936)', and he classified Late Spring as a parent-film. The stories of Ozu's later films have often been summed up in the following terms: the sorrow of a widower as he marries off his daughter. But few people seem to have recognised that unconsciously suppressed in such summaries is the story of the sorrow naturally felt by the daughters who are married off by their widowed fathers.

### Angry Gestures

By raising these two views of Ozu's films, I do not intend to criticise one by praising the other. Nor is it my intention to emphasise the modernity of young daughters resisting their fathers' authority. All I want to do is point out the often overlooked instances of anger shown by women, as directed with an exquisite touch by Ozu.

In the screenplays there is no mention of the women getting angry. But in the films, especially the later works, we find many cases of women, both married and single, performing gestures of anger. They show their emotional reaction not by raising their voices or changing their expressions - only with their bodily actions. And what is required for those gestures is no more than an ordinary piece of cloth - a towel or a neckerchief. Whenever I see one of these props in the hands of a young Ozu woman, I grow tense with the expectation that the screen will soon reverberate with her anger. I would like to examine how that happens in three films: An Autumn Afternoon (1962), The End of the Summer (1961) and Tokyo Twilight (1957).

### The Towel Around the Neck

In An Autumn Afternoon, Shima Iwashita is shown ironing with a red and blue striped towel around her neck. The garden seen through the glass door is already swathed in nighttime darkness. No one else in the family is present, but anyone seeing hthis woman hard at work would be struck by a sense of imbalance. For Ozu, towels are normally props for men; wearing a towel around the neck is not a suitable appearance for an unmarried woman. This woman's status is as the daughter of a family that lost its mother early. Though she is now of marriageable age, she is still keeping house for her widowed father. In this sense, Iwashita's character is an extension of the female image defined by the marriageable women played by Setsuko Hara as the heroines named Noriko - the characters that Robin Wood analysed in his fascinating study 'Resistance to Definition: Ozu's 'Noriko' Trilogy'.

But, even when she was alone in the house, Hara never appeared with a towel around her neck; nor did Yôko Tsukasa in Late Autumn (1960). The only woman who appears in a guise similar to Iwashita is Chikage Awashima, who wears a towel around her neck in Early Spring (1956). But that is only because she is playing the weary wife of a humble office worker. Ozu's young unmarried women normally display the skin of their milky-white necks to the light; not even by mistake would they be shown with such a sloppy appearance. So what is happening to Shima Iwashita in An Autumn Afternoon?

### The Father's Insensitivity

When the father played by Chishû Ryû returns home, he stumbles past his ironing daughter in a way which clearly shows that he has drunk more than usual. Leaning onto the low table, he plops himself down and stares at his daughter with a hard gaze. Anyone who has been following the story will immediately recognise what his awkward manner means. He has just seen the pitiful life of his former high school teacher, who has grown old together with a daughter who missed the chance to get married. When a friend who was also present teases him that he, too, will end up like that if he isn't careful, Ryû takes the comment seriously.

Now he blurts out to his daughter as she does the housework: 'Aren't you going to get married?' Annoyed at his daughter's brusque refusal to respond to him, the drunken father nags her even more fiercely about marriage. The daughter is at an age when she might very well be attracted to men. and even though the widowed father is drunk, his heavy-handed repetition of the word 'marriage' and his lack of any delicacy towards his daughter irritates viewers, making us wish that he could interact with her differently. Even if he doesn't adopt a sophisticated strategy like the father (also played by Ryû) who in Late Spring pretends to be about to remarry so that his daughter will also wed, the father in An Autumn Afternoon exhibits none of that close, almost incestuous affection for his daughter.

### Tossing Away

Annoyed by his daughter's cool response, the father tells her to come and sit with him. Ozu begins this scene with shots from two different distances. In the first, the camera shows the daughter from a considerable distance as she finishes her ironing, folds the laundry, stands up and approaches her father. As she is about to sit down, the camera switches to a closer bust-shot of the daughter who is strangely expressionless. In the second shot, she tips her head slightly and quickly slips the towel off her neck.

By revealing both the daughter's womanly charms and her decision to refuse her father, that brief gesture grabs the viewer's heart. The tragedy of An Autumn Afternoon is that the father is not perceptive enough to recognise his daughter's anger as expressed by her gesture of tossing away the towel. We cannot forgive his insensitivity merely because he is played by Ryû; Ozu has clearly directed this scene from the viewpoint of the deeply wounded daughter.

### Rejection

If the moment when the towel is slid off the daughter's neck is overlooked, then the meaning of the entire scene will be read only from the father's side; the daughter's anger will be ignored. But the agent of this quick sliding action with the towel is the daughter herself, and Ozu clearly put the towel over her neck at the beginning of this sequence in order to capture that very moment with the camera. To confirm this, just recall the gesture used by Ineko Arima to remove her neckerchief in Tokyo Twilight. She has begun to think that she is not her father's real child, so she goes to learn the truth from her mother, who left her husband and child to live with another man. Unusually for a post-war Ozu film, Tokyo Twilight is set in a cold season, and the daughter's face seems frozen as she sits formally in front of her mother, who is delighted by her daughter's unexpected visit.

The daughter then tilts her head slightly and removes the neckerchief in a single quick motion. This chilly gesture suggests strongly that she is rejecting her mother, and her expressionless face matches perfectly that of Iwashita in An Autumn Afternoon. It is natural, of course, for a woman ironing to wear a towel around her neck, or for a woman walking in the cold to wear a neckerchief. The issue is not the towel or neckerchief itself but the camera's direct capturing of the young woman's gesture of whipping it from around her neck. For Ozu, that gesture expresses the daughter's anger.

Just like these expressionless young women who show their distrust toward their father or mother through their gestures, so does the young wife played by Chikage Awashima in Early Spring show her distrust toward her husband, who has had an affair with an unmarried woman. Ozu must have put the towel around her neck at the beginning of the scene with the intent of filming its eventual removal at the critical moment.

### A Momentary Gesture

The object of the women's anger is not only their fathers. The gesture of indignation is duplicated, with the same swiftness, in front of the mother and the husband. That action of pulling the towel or neckerchief away from the neck is very brief and might even be missed, but as such it plays an important role in enlivening the scene. In this visual expression of distrust, conveyed not emotionally through words or facial expressions but with an instantaneous, deadpan motion, I see the modernism of Ozu's mise en scène.

That instant is a small detail which has no narrative significance. But from a thematic viewpoint, its repetition performs a function that cannot be ignored. We then understand that many scenes in Ozu's films are enlivened with women's anger through gestures of throwing down various everyday props – not only towels. As the premise for that understanding, we must first look at how the women perform a gesture that contrasts with throwing down – specifically, picking up.

## Picking Up

As many know, one of the roles of the housewife in Ozu's films is to help her husband change his clothes after he has returned home from work. In most cases, the husband's change of clothing is shown openly as a leisurely ceremony: he removes the suit that he wore to the office, and changes into a kimono more suitable for relaxing at home. The wife's actions are distilled in her gestures of conscientiously picking up each item of clothing. Characteristic of Ozu is that the husband does not hand his jacket or shirt to his wife but instead just drops them at random onto the tatami. The wife bends over for each item and gracefully picks it up. None of the actresses pick up the dropped clothing with a smoother, more relaxed motion than Kuniko Miyake in Late Autumn.

But it would be an absolute mistake to interpret these gestures as depicting the uncaring arrogance of the husband or the patient servility of the wife in the Japanese household. Ozu is clearly exaggerating here. At the suitable moment, he has the husband pull his handkerchief out of his pocket and drop it on the floor - an awkward action that, in Ozu, can only be performed by the actor, not the actress. In contrast, the actress' action of bending over and picking up the handkerchief is full of grace. The wife's lightness and flexibility of motion clearly show her superiority to her husband. In fact, Ozu's women are experts at picking up. In Late Spring, Haruko Sugimura does an amusing turn with her sharp-eyed spotting and picking up of a wallet on the grounds of a shrine. Both Kyôko Kagawa in Tokyo Story (1953) and Setsuko Hara in Late Autumn bring a refreshing rhythm to uneventful scenes by picking up something from the floor of a classroom. While Ozu seems to have experienced great pleasure at having his actresses perform this gesture, his actors were not allowed to pick things up so gracefully.

## Throwing Away

In Ozu's gestural logic, the opposite of the picking-up motion must thus express anger. Often, in Ozu's works, a moment comes in which a women suddenly throws away an object she is holding. In almost all cases, the object flung onto the floor is clothing.

Like Kuniko Miyake in Late Autumn, Kinuyo Tanaka in Equinox Flower (1958) skilfully helps her husband as he changes clothes after coming home. But at one point, as if protesting her husband's stubborn refusal to agree to their daughter's marriage, she throws down the bundle of his clothes that she has conscientiously picked up and held in her arms. In The End of the Summer. the daughter played by Michio Aratama is already married, but her father's selfish behaviour causes her to toss away in silence the clothing that she has carefully taken out of the wardrobe. In Late Autumn the daughter played by Yôko Tsukasa is upset with the behaviour of her mother. Setsuko Hara. In front of her mother, she roughly tosses away the cardigan sweater that she has just taken off. In Floating Weeds (1959), when the travelling actress played by Machiko Kyô learns that she has been betrayed by her partner, she suddenly throws down the towel she has been holding.

The instantaneous gestures of indignation depicted in these films then become anger expressed through speech and facial expressions in Late Autumn, when Mariko Okada speaks like a female prosecutor giving closing arguments before men as old as her father. The invigorating energy of that long speech is supported by the angry gestures of the women briefly sketched in the other films. Refusing to sit in the chair offered to her, rashly criticising their inconsiderate behaviour, Okada succeeds in extracting an apology from the men – even though she becomes funnier the more serious she appears. This scene leaves the strong impression that, for Ozu, only the anger of women can be justified.

### Ozu's 'Slowness'

As shown by the title of Jonathan Rosenbaum's perspicacious essay 'Is Ozu Slow?', (3) Ozu's works are often regarded as flowing with a leisurely passage of time, eliminating every detail that might drive people on or complicate the situation. While individual conflicts might occasionally be depicted – such as the discharged soldier who pushes his wife down the stairs in A Hen in the Wind (1949) or the loud cursing match in the rain between the man and woman in Floating Weeds – Ozu's films have been characterised as concluding with a restoration of order.

It is true that almost all of the characters seem to accept the course of events without resistance, and refrain from stirring up the story. But does that mean that the scenes of women yanking towels or neckerchief from their necks or suddenly throwing down armfuls of clothing are merely peripheral episodes? These gestures by women seem to be not so much representations of boldly outlined anger as brief visual sketches that introduce no change into the narrative.

## The Ceremony of Farewell

However, on the evening of the day that Ineko Arima pulls her neckerchief off in front of her mother in Tokyo Twilight, her life ends in a suicidal accident without her having ever told her parents that she secretly had an abortion. That earlier gesture before her mother can only be said to have foretold an unavoidable narrative change. And what about Iwashita in An Autumn Afternoon? Here again we must not overlook a decisive event, for in this film she resigns herself to marriage without ever recovering her former deep trust in her father. This is clear from a comparison with the very similar last scene of Late Spring. As Kijû Yoshida has pointed out in his outstanding book Yasujirô Ozu's Anti-Cinema, while there is a clear repetition between these two works. the differences are much more striking. Those differences are apparent in the dryness of the farewell scene between the dressed-up daughter and father on the morning of the wedding in An Autumn Afternoon, as well as in the depiction of the father alone that evening. 'an image that is extremely prosaic, artless, and bland'.

By that time, Ozu was fully aware that his story of the sorrow of a widower as he marries off his daughter was no longer tenable, and could not be repeated even in fiction. When Shima Iwashita, ironing with a towel around her neck, yanks that towel away in front of her father in this posthumous film, Yasujirô Ozu may have been announcing, within her gesture, a farewell of his own."

> Shigehiko Hasumi and Rouge, Yasujirô Ozu: International Perspectives (2003)





## investigação projetual, criação da ficção

### 'There are almost no women in power': Tokyo's female workers demand change

Japan has a 27.5% gender pay gap and ranks just 110th in the world for gender equality – but social change is slowly happening

Last week, after Yumi Ishikawa's petition against being forced to wear high heels at work went viral around the world, responses ranged from solidarity – with some cheering Ishikawa and denouncing "modern footbinding" – to surprised disappointment. In 2019, in a liberal democracy such as Japan, could the issue of women's rights still be stuck on stilettos?

But the global spotlight on the hashtag #KuToo (a pun on a word for shoes and a word for pain) may have obscured what's really happening in Japan. "It's so trivial," says one senior female publishing executive, who wished to remain anonymous. After all, on the streets of Tokyo, there is a growing movement for real change for women, not merely more comfortable footwear.

"We are so surprised that overseas media paid so much attention to the high-heel issue," says a member of abuse survivor organisation Spring. "There is a much more serious and deeper issue: Japan's sex-crime issue." On Tuesday night, bearing placards reading "Say no to sex crimes" and "Judges need human rights education", hundreds of women and men gathered near the Imperial Palace. The "flower demonstration" is a peaceful monthly protest against sexual violence, sparked by a string of recent acquittals in sexual assault cases.

One of the highest-profile women to attend was Mizuho Fukushima, a member of the House of Councillors and a former chair of the Social Democratic party. "More attention needs to be on the offenders, while victims shouldn't be judged," she said at the protest.

It is a big progressive step for a country that remains mired in deep-seated conservatism when it comes to gender roles. Japan remains a shocking 110th in the world for gender equality, according to the World Economic Forum. At the recent abdication of Emperor Akihito, women were not even allowed into the ceremony room, let alone eligible for the Chrysanthemum throne.

Last year nine medical schools admitted rigging entrance exams to exclude female applicants. In the world of sumo, an outcry erupted after female medics, who had rushed to the aid of a stroke victim, were ordered away from the ring, a male-only space.

> But if Japanese women have often been stereotypically portrayed as submissive and weak, this idea may be dissipating at the start of the new Reiwa era. The flower demonstration is the highest-profile example, and was set off by an unusually cruel court verdict. The case involved a father who was accused of repeatedly raping his 19-year-old daughter. The court accepted that he had nonconsensual sex with his daughter – but said it could not prove that she resisted, and acquitted him.



Similar protests have been held in nine cities across the country, and more than 40,000 women have signed petitions demanding justice. Many sexual assault survivors have started to speak out about their experiences. including Jun Yamamoto, head of Spring.

"We hope to create a society where victims will be warmly and emphatically told: 'We believe you. It's not your fault,' and be strongly supported," Yamamoto says. "To that end, a victim-centred approach must take root in Japan."

Yamamoto is a leading lobbyist for a change in the sexual assault law, which the government rewrote in 2017 for the first time in over a century. The new law included forced anal and oral sex in the definition of rape, raised the minimum sentence for rape to five years from three, and made prosecution possible even if victims do not press charges. But there is lots more to be done, she says, including greater support for victims. Another target is institutional discrimination. Last week, 36 women filed suit with the Tokyo district court against Tokyo Medical

University, seeking a combined 143m yen

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admitted rigging entrance exams to systematically exclude female applicants, favouring less-qualified men.

After it was exposed, some people defended the policy, using the rationale that because some women would leave the profession to have children, more male doctors would stave off a future labour shortage. The scandal prompted a government investigation, and plaintiffs hope the suits will discourage similar gender discrimination in future.

Meanwhile, even something as apparently straightforward as being allowed to wear whatever shoes you like continues to prove tricky. In response to the #KuToo petition, Japan's minister of labour, Takumi Nemoto, told parliament that requiring high heels in the workplace was perfectly acceptable – sparking further outrage at the government of Shinzo Abe, whose "Womenomics" policy is supposedly attempting to bring more women into the workforce.

"Womenomics' is BS," says the publishing executive. "They need to work on raising the level of women first. But it's so hard to speak out publicly. In private we complain to each other, but in public the atmosphere is so difficult: men control everything. It's so deeply rooted. There are almost no women in power, so of course you think: is it only because of my ability that I don't advance? Or is it something else?" Many such challenges remain at the highest levels of politics.

The former Olympics minister Yoshitaka Sakurada recently urged all Japanese women to have "at least three children", prompting women on social media to point out that blaming women wouldn't solve Japan's record-low birthrate. And despite Abe's policies, only one in 10 politicians in the lower house of parliament, the House of Representatives, are female, and there is only one female member of the 20-member cabinet, an actual decline from the beginning of his tenure.

A record-high 70% of women are working, but the wage gap with men remains a stark 25.7%, according to a 2017 OECD report. Four out of five listed companies have no women on their boards.

> Etsuko Kato, professor of cultural anthropology and gender studies at International Christian University in Tokyo, says a fundamental change in attitude is needed to create a female-friendly working environment.

> "We need to change the sense of values – a good work ethic doesn't mean long hours or even going to an office, if you start to think a talented worker is someone who can manage more work in less time," she says. "Also, if you're good, you are able to choose when and where you work, so this kind of attitude could change the system more effectively. With the development of the internet, it is possible to change such an attitude in many industries."

> There has been some movement in business. Traditionally male professions, such as sushi restaurants, have been a challenging field for women to break into. Some traditionalists say women's hands are too warm to keep the fish fresh, while others say long hours are a barrier.

Hiroshi Abe, of Abe Sushi, which has seven restaurants across the city, is a rare restaurant owner who doesn't care about the gender of his staff, and has actively recruited female chefs. "There is a great chance both for women and men chefs, as the industry has been growing," he says. "Female chefs are appreciated, as they take care of some details that male chefs don't notice."

There is also the persistent argument that Japanese women remain influential in areas of the domestic economy. Traditionally, they dominate household spending and childcare, with husbands bringing home pay and wives managing savings and spending, including a monthly allowance for the man. Even today, seven out of 10 households operate in this way, according to the Ouccino Research Institute. That model looks increasingly old-fashioned, however. Kato says the gender gap has consistently narrowed for the past 30 years, a trend hastened by the discrediting of Japan's male-dominated industrial model through years of economic malaise. "There are young women in their 20s and early 30s who want differently," confirms the publisher.

Nevertheless, Kato argues that more attention must be paid to men's attitudes: no matter how loudly Japanese women speak out, nothing will change unless male attitudes do too.

"To create a truly more equal society," she says, "we need to wait for conservative Japanese men over 50 to retire."

Nanako Yamamori, 'There are almost no women in power': Tokyo's female workers demand change, The Guardian (2019)

## kimono rack (Ikō) with scrolling foliage and Tokugawa family crest (18th century, Japan)



"As numerous extant examples demonstrate, in the Momoyama (1573-1615) and early Edo periods artisans from various painting schools depicted on folding screens an array of sumptuously patterned garments, including Noh robes casually draped over kimono racks. These compositions of garments on lacquer clothing stands appeared in paintings as "advertisements" for kimono makers as well as in paintings of both brothel scenes and the interiors of military residences. In fact, a twelfth-century document mentions the interior furnishings appropriate for a room in an aristocrat's house, including a clothing stand draped with garments. By the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, lacquer clothing stands had become a conventional item included in the bridal trousseau of wealthy women. The kimono rack on view could have been part of the trousseau of a Tokugawa princess."

> Mary Griggs Burke Collection, Gift of the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, 2015

# karuta, no Samurai Museum em Tóquio



## jornal japonês



The Japan Times

THE NEWS WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR



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## posters japoneses como investigação para a identidade gráfica

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now she turns her head to the right but that means nothing



