

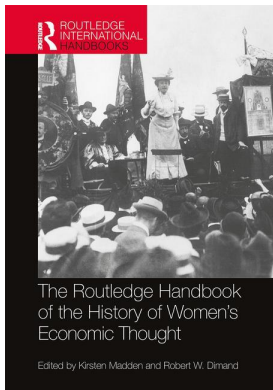
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5

JAPANESE WOMEN'S ECONOMICS, 1818–2005¹

Aiko Ikeo

Overview

The position of women in Japanese society has been shifting with changing international relations. As an island country, the opportunity of international exchange for the Japanese was extremely limited by the technology of sailing vessels prior to the steam engine. Peaceful cross-border activities were accomplished by a few correspondents (old diplomats), Buddhists, and adventurers. Turning points are witnessed in 1854 (the end of isolationist policy), 1868 (Meiji restoration), and 1945 (the conclusion of WWII).

Only a few documents preserve the thought of women of Japan from earlier millennia, but those contributions are noteworthy. *The Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves* (*Manyōshū*, 20 volumes, seventh–eighth centuries) preserved many *tanka* (short) poems, including works by the genius woman *tanka* poet Nukata-no-okimi (active in the seventh century). It is noteworthy that *tanka* composing and *tanka* rhythm were important parts of noble women's culture in Japan.² More than a dozen court ladies are known for their wonderful poems and/or diaries written based on the observation of seasonal connotation and elegant daily life inside the imperial house. The two women writers, Sei Shōnagon (c.966–c.1025), who wrote *Pillow Book* and *Diary* (1008–10), and Murasaki Shikibu (c.973–c.1014), who authored *Tale of Genji* and *Diary and Poetic Memories*, are well known outside Japan.

Before 1603, both Kyoto and Nara served as the capital city. The imperial house was in Kyoto even during the Tokugawa period (1603–1867) while the Tokugawa shogunate situated its main castle in Edo (now Tokyo). The shogunate implemented an isolationist policy, with one notable exception which allowed for diplomatic relations with the Dutch in Dejima, Nagasaki. Its policies covered a ban on the construction of large sailing boats and bridges over rivers in Honshū (Japan's mainland). During the Tokugawa period, Confucian and Chinese books were imported via Nagasaki and read by Japanese male thinkers. The education for daughters differed from education for sons; women were expected to play the role of mother and wife inside “*ie*” (house/household). Against the isolationist policy and Confucian thought, Makuzu Tadano is the first woman of Japan to write a treatise on political economy, *Solitary Thoughts* (1818).

Japan's open-up policy of 1854 and the Meiji restoration of 1868 brought many changes to the country. Kikue Yamakawa, Koko Sanpei, and Setsu Tanino experienced and observed the

changes happening both in women's social status and more generally throughout society. They eventually became leaders for women seeking equal rights after 1945, when Japan lost the Asia-Pacific campaign.

In the Meiji period, many men began to commute to their workplaces. Departing from the old, male-centered "ie" (family business) system, the government hoped to form the new "ie" system in which a man could work for a company or a public institution. Japanese household economics was innovated by Sumi Oe (the founder of *kaseigaku*, household management) and Tomoko Matsudaira (Ochanomizu University for women), who firmly connected *kaseigaku* and economics. It emphasizes house/household management (including business and assets). The roots of *kaseigaku* trace back into the household management explored by Ekiken Kaibara, a male Confucian scholar of the Tokugawa period. After 1945, Akiko Ito and Eiko Shinotsuka placed the household at the center of economic analysis. Further, Ito examined the standard of living and the weight of housing loan planning. It is noteworthy that parts of the analysis bear some resemblance to Gary Becker's *Human Capital* (1964), which focused on households and education, generating both empirical studies and theoretical discussion.

Political and educational reforms for equal rights for women were brought by the Allied occupation force from September 1945 to April 1952. In 1947 Japanese women finally obtained their right to vote. Also in 1947, many former male-only universities began to take women as regular students.³ Keio University most attracted capable women, and the university welcomed and trained them to become professionals earlier than any other (formerly male) universities. Keio produced Yoko Sazanami (international economics) and Yoko Sano (human resource management), the first women economists in their respective fields. These formally trained women economists then encouraged younger economists (including Eiko Shinotsuka) to engage in advanced research. Using Gary Becker's phraseology, Shinotsuka became an economist through on-the-job-training at the Japan Center for Economic Research and came to contribute to the field of labor economics.⁴

Tokugawa period: the first woman *samurai*

Makuzu Tadano (1763–1825) and her Solitary Thoughts (1818)

Makuzu Tadano was the single powerful woman scholar of the isolationist Tokugawa period. She has received proper attention from several Japanese women historians. Yoneko Suzuki edited *A Collection of Makuzu Tadano* (1994) and included a survey of scholarly articles published before Tadano (1994). Then two excellent biographies, Bettina Gramlich-Oka (2006) and Tamiko Seki (2008) became available.

Makuzu Tadano was born to a daughter of the *samurai* medical practitioner Heisuke Kudo (1734–1800). Her mother was a daughter of a medical doctor in the Edo house of the Date Family of Sendai domain. Heisuke's library contained some books on Western medicine including the Japanese translation (1774) (from the Dutch translation) of Adam Kulmus' *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* (Anatomical Tables, 1722). Heisuke became famous by opening a medical school and publishing a hundred books on medicine. Well-informed people such as Japanese diplomats for the Dutch, and visitors from the Matsumae domain (which traded with Russia) assembled in Heisuke's house. Tadano (1812) wrote that Heisuke was acquainted with a Dutch man. Heisuke submitted his proposal "On the Information of Ezo" (1783) (including his suggestion for an open-up policy) to the Tokugawa shogunate, but it was forgotten due to a change in shogunate. The woman *tanka* poet Aoko taught Makuzu about composing poetry and reading Japanese classics including *Kokinshu*

(a collection of *tanka* poetry from the tenth century). Makuzu listened to her brother Genshiro reading *the Analects of Confucius* aloud and thus received instruction in Confucian ethics. This was unusual because historically, Confucianism is substantially the domain of male scholarship.

Makuzu read books in her father's library and listened to the conversations and discussions between her father and other doctors on new medicines imported via Nagasaki from China and other countries. Medical doctors knew the merit of international trade and tended to support a more open policy, particularly for the importation of more medicines and books on medical science. They understood the disadvantages of trade restriction, although it is hard to tell how much they were concerned about higher domestic prices of medicine.

Moreover, Makuzu's economic discussion was heavily indebted to her father Heisuke's exposure to economics. It is noteworthy that Heisuke received lectures on international trade and taxation from Konyo Aoki (1698–1769). Aoki was one of the four shogunate officials who specialized in reading books (in Japanese, Chinese, and Dutch). His lectures seem to be based on Shundai Dazai (1680–1747).⁵ Dazai's *On Political Economy* (1729) and its supplement discussed government policies, political economy (managing the economy and saving the people), the efficient utilization of domestic resources (land, talented people, and their skills), and the effect of trade with foreign countries.

In 1797, Makuzu married Iga Tadano, a *samurai* of Sendai, and moved there. After raising the children of Iga and his first wife, Makuzu spent her days writing *Old Stories* (1812) and *Solitary Thoughts* (1818).

Makuzu Tadano's *Solitary Thoughts* (1818) showed her knowledge of Western countries such as Russia and the Netherlands.⁶ She confidently argued for the opening-up of Japan and maintained that international trade would bring benefit and enrich Japan. She paid attention to those products that were not produced in Japan and referred to the fact of foreigners carrying a watch because "Tadano recognized time as a crucial element of social conditions. Our idiom 'time is money' is useful in understanding how late Tokugawa society required a restructuring of time due to greater commercialization" (Gramlich-Oka 2006, p. 223). Tadano listed those products exported from Japan (via Nagasaki), namely gold, silver, copper, iron ore, and medicines. She noted that the sugar price was higher than the salt price in Japan whereas the opposite was true in some foreign countries. She wrote about the flow of money, the fluctuation of the prices of goods, and a steep rise in prices right after the event of a big fire. She described the competitive bidding for public construction of a castle and stated that the lowest bidder was to be selected for the project. Observing increasing competition for money among merchants and town people, she repeatedly mentioned that humans were fond of competition by their nature and that their behaviors were motivated to make more money by want. She maintained that if senior councilors and other officials start a business by being "wise men," they would be able to receive "just profit" and that their engagement in international trade would be able to enrich Japan.

Tadano highly valued only "sincerity" in "the way of sages" (Confucian classics), which discriminated against women throughout the literature. She argued that we should not apply Confucianism to Japan, Confucianism was "simply a system made by human beings and borrowed from China" (Gramlich-Oka 2006, p. 211). Her radical statement, "Both the teachings of Buddha and the way of the sages are systems created by human beings; they did not arise of their own accord," was often quoted by scholars (for example, Gramlich-Oka 2006, p. 212). Tadano evaluated the nativist Motoori Norinaga's *Commentary on the Records of Ancient Matters* (1798) and referred to *Tale of Genji*, *Ise Story*, and *Essays in Idleness*.⁷

Bakin Takizawa (1767–1848), who corresponded with Makuzu Tadano, published his "Commentary of Solitary Thoughts" in 1820. He quoted fully from Tadano's *Solitary Thoughts* (1818) and vehemently criticized her arguments with citations from Confucian

literature. Takizawa's quotations tell us correctly that Tadano was opposed to both the caste system and the isolationist policy. Takizawa described her as "a woman thinking like a man," in praise of her.⁸

Women activists and the radical changes for women after 1854 and 1945

Japan abandoned its isolationist policy in 1854 and gradually opened its door to many countries. In 1867 the Tokugawa shogunate returned its power to the Japanese emperor, and in 1868 the new government came into power. This series of events is called the Meiji restoration. Three women (Kikue Yamakawa, Koko Sanpei, and Setsu Tanino) observed the radical changes triggered by the open-up policy of 1854 and later changes brought by the Allied occupation from September 1945 to April 1952. These three women raised concerns about the treatment of women in Japanese industry and were activists promoting better working conditions.

Kikue Yamakawa (1890–1980)

Kikue Yamakawa was a feminist activist, critic, and prolific writer through her whole life (Ikeo 2000c). She was concerned about the working conditions of women and the changing role of women in family life. She joined the women's liberation movement and the socialist movement in the 1920s, undertook a folklorist project around 1940, and became a civil servant at the Bureau of Women and Minors in the Ministry of Labor from 1947 to 1951.

Kikue Yamakawa's *Record of Women in Two Generations* (1956) describes the lives and experiences of her mother Chise Morita (1857–1947) and herself up to the 1940s. Chise Morita's father, Enju Aoyama, and three uncles were scholars of Chinese learning, edited *The Grand History of Japan* (397 volumes, 1657–1906), and taught at the School of Mito. The turbulent changes after 1854 brought civil war to Mito. Yamakawa (1974) tells us how she and her family survived the turmoil (Ikeo 2000c).

Kikue was born in Tokyo in 1890. She was the third child of Ryunosuke and Chise Morita who moved to Tokyo from Mito. From 1908 to 1912, Kikue studied at the Women's School for English Study (now Tsuda University).⁹ In 1916 Kikue was married to Hiroshi Yamakawa (1880–1958), who was an intellectual leader of leftwing activists. Kikue suffered from tuberculosis soon after her marriage and recuperated in the suburbs of Tokyo. During WWI, Japan increased its exports of industrial goods to those countries to which the fighting European countries had decreased exports, such as India, and Japanese firms gained large profits. In contrast, the working conditions for Japanese laborers were worsened because their wages did not keep up with rising consumer prices.

During the period of her relatively good health, at the request of economist Tatsuo Morito, Kikue Yamakawa delivered a talk on "The problems of women at work" at a meeting of the Society of Social Policy in 1918. The transcript appeared in *Kokka-gakkai Zasshi*, the journal of the Law Department of the Imperial University of Tokyo (the University of Tokyo after 1947) in 1919. Her speech went as follows:

"Woman at work" has become an issue since the industrial revolution. Capitalism has emerged in Japan. Now women participate in the workforce in the process of industrialization and continue to do household affairs and rear children. The on-going accumulation of capital and wealth has caused various problems differently among the women of middle and working classes. On one hand, later marriages are not unusual for women of the middle or bourgeois class because they become professional and earn

enough to secure economic independence. On the other hand, a number of other (young) women together operate machines in a (for example, cotton) mill. Their poor working conditions have a grave influence on their mind and body, and cause various problems such as ill health, sterility, low birthrate, and a bad effect on our future generation as a whole. These women are low paid because they have no family to support.

It is not surprising that the protection of women workers became a topic at the first meeting of the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Washington D.C. However, the male delegates from Japan, representing the government, employers, and laborers, unanimously objected to the article of protection for women workers, by maintaining the uniqueness of Japanese circumstances. Nonetheless, Yamakawa's speech seems to have opened the door to a woman (Tomoko Matsudaira) to audit regular courses at the Imperial University of Tokyo. These special arrangements were necessary because the university did not allow women to enroll as regular students before 1947.

In 1923, the Tokyo metropolitan area was shaken by major earthquakes. Kikue, Hitoshi, and their son Shinsaku survived although their house collapsed. Kikue moved from Tokyo to Kobe to recuperate further when she managed to sell the lumber from her collapsed home.

In 1925 Kikue Yamakawa was back at the forefront of the women's liberation movement. At the time, she criticized the socialist men who were arguing for the abolition of the women's divisions in trade unions and were objecting to the organization of the women's allies. She continued to persuade socialist men of the importance of the particular problems of women in the course of the proletarian movement toward a socialist revolution. From the late 1920s, Kikue began to increase awareness of the situation of women. She translated feminist works by Mary Wollstonecraft, August Bebel, and Edward Carpenter.

Kikue Yamakawa took care of her sick son from 1930 until 1935. Losing the freedom of speech and press, Kikue and Hitoshi Yamakawa could not earn by writing any more. They began to keep quail, and sold their eggs to restaurants. Kikue and her son moved into a rural farming village, Okamura in Kamakura-gun, in 1936.

Encouraged by the folklorist Kunio Yanagita (1875–1962), Yamakawa published *Women of the Mito Domain* (1943a, 1992) and *The Village Where I Live* (1943b). She knew nothing about farming and had no friends when she moved into the village which was filled with native farmers. She learned about farming, conducted hearings with the village people she met, and collected the materials in a facility to which a researcher in the Ministry of Health and Welfare had given her access. Yamakawa (1943b) included both the description of the lives of the village people and the oral history narrated by them to her.

In August 1945, the Pacific campaign ended. In 1947, the Ministry of Labor which included the Bureau of Women and Minors was established. Kikue Yamawaka was appointed the first Director-General of the Bureau, and boldly decided to give the nearly 250 staff positions in prefectural offices only to women, after becoming irritated by receiving the recommendations only for male candidates (Tanino, 1982). In 1952, Yamakawa agreed to resign from the position, when it was "recommended" she do because she did not pass the civil servants' examinations.

After that, Yamakawa participated in many activities supporting women's liberation and continued to publish many books (Yamakawa, 1956, 1974). In 1981 ten volumes of her *Collected Works of Kikue Yamakawa* were published with one supplement.

Koko (Takako) Sanpei (1903–78)

Koko Sanpei was an economic historian. Born in Fukushima in 1903, she graduated from Tokyo Women's Christian University in 1928 and then studied as an auditor in the School

of Economics and Political Science of Waseda University from 1928 until 1931. In 1931 she became a researcher in the Takahashi Institute for Economic Research and in 1940 she joined the Japan Institute of Labor Science. She did fieldwork on rural villages and factories with the aim of improving working conditions. After WWII, she became a member of the Employment Security Council at the Tokyo Prefectural Labor Office in 1948, and a member of the Minimum Wage Council at the Ministry of Labor in 1952 (Ikeo 2000a).

Sanpei's first book *The Historical Development of the Cotton Spinning Industry in Japan* (1941) is regarded as the first masterpiece produced by a Japanese woman in the field of economic history. Sanpei uncovered the fact that women were the main workforce in Japan's cotton-spinning industry, which was the key sector in Japan's early capitalist economy. She described the introduction of a modern spinning technique into Japan by the government around 1870. She observed that the gradual diffusion of modern techniques and machines was accompanied by a fall in home manufacturing of cotton handicraft and the decline of hand looms in rural areas. Cotton growing in Japan decreased as imports from India increased. Later Sanpei (1961) included statistical data and a chronological table of the weaving and textile industry in Japan.

Sanpei (1941) discussed in detail the fierce competition between Lancashire (England) and Japan over India's cotton cloth market, especially in the early 1930s (Ikeo 2000a). Sanpei's *Rise and Fall of Home Manufacturing and Industries in Japan* (1944) traced the historical changes in Japan's six major traditional industries (indigo blue dye, Japanese paper, lacquer, green tea, rapeseed oil, and china and porcelain) from the closed-door era (1639–1854) to the modernization period (Ikeo 2000a).

Sanpei's *History of Working Women* (1956) was one of the best books for enlightening women. It was published with the strong encouragement of Kikue and Hiroshi Yamakawa. She traced the process of women's participation as the labor force and their conditions before, during, and after WWII. When Japan started the war against China in 1937 and restricted the production of cotton goods for private use, many women lost their jobs in the textile industry. At the same time, men were drafted and sent off to war. As a result, women had to fill the positions that had been occupied by men. Twenty percent of the jobless women from the textile industry began to engage in farming in their home villages. The remaining 80 percent plus many housewives were forced to work in the munitions factories and in heavy industry. This was work which had previously been believed to be impossible for women to engage in.

Sanpei (1956, p. 134) writes:

The war brought women from the home to the workplace, and a new variety of workplace at that. The prejudice that women were neither good at nor able to work outside the home had been overcome. Women themselves learned from their experience that they can do many things that men can if only they get the relevant training and the doors are open to them. Women can become liberated by getting themselves jobs and earning a wage. This was the major turning point in the history of Japanese women.

Nonetheless, those women were removed from their jobs after the war concluded and men came back home.

Setsu Tanino (Setsuko Ochiai) (1903–99)

Setsu Tanino (Setsuko Ochiai) was born in Chiba Prefecture in 1903, and graduated from the Department of Social Work in Japan Women's University in 1926. She unexpectedly found a job in the Ministry of Home Affairs, the most powerful ministry in pre-WWII Japan. She

became the first woman probationary factory supervisor in 1928. At that time, Japan was regularly criticized internationally (including by the ILO) for the practice of night work and long hours. Inside Japan, the necessity for a female factory supervisor was realized by male factory supervisors and scholars based on their voluntary inspection of textile mills. Men could not observe the real working and living conditions of women workers, especially in the textile industry, because 80 percent of workers were from remote villages and lived in company residences. Tanino was the only woman (probationary) factory supervisor during the 1930s when the function of the factory supervisor increased in importance in Japan's rapidly developing industrial society (Ikeo 2000b).

Tanino wrote reports on the conditions of working women based on documents sent from factories. She also stayed in the residence of a spinning mill (usually overnight and once for a month) to experience night work with women workers. She occasionally conducted "surprise" inspections of mills to investigate the real working conditions of women. Her reports and articles appeared in several governmental journals such as *Industrial Welfare*, *Social Works*, and *Welfare Japan*. Yet a report on extremely miserable working conditions was not published until 1985 (Tanino c.1936).

Tanino and Suzuki's "On the effect of the prohibition of night work" (1931) is a summary of her investigation of the production and the workers' physical conditions in the textile industry during September and December 1929 after women's and minors' night work was legally prohibited in July 1929. The actual results crucially depended on the operating speed of spindles and crankshafts, the dexterity of workers, the quality of raw materials, and the environment of working rooms. On the one hand, the labor productivity actually increased because workers began to handle more spindles than before and the number of ill workers declined. On the other, the injury rate remained unchanged.

Tanino's "The participation of women in the labor force during the past five years" (1933) is a report compiled in response to a request by the ILO. During the severe depression of the early 1930s, it was surmised in many countries that the unemployment of male workers was – at least partially – caused by women's participation in the labor force. Tanino investigated this hypothesis during 1927 and 1932. She found that the respective number of men and women workers decreased, and that the ratio of women to men workers declined during the period. A few more women began to work in the textile industry and machine manufacturing than before, whereas the number of women working in coal mines conspicuously decreased because the legal prohibition of women's underground working was scheduled to come into effect in September 1933. Yet more women were employed than men in the newly developing service sectors (transportation, communications, hotels, and restaurants).

Tanino also compiled three reports for submission to the ILO in order to respond to the severe criticism from many countries of Japan's "poor" working conditions. It was believed that Japan's exports had increased after it abandoned the gold standard in December 1931. Japan was fiercely criticized for "social dumping" at the 1933 general assembly of the ILO and further condemnation was expected at the 1934 assembly. In 1934, Fernand Maurett, the Deputy Secretary-General of the ILO, was sent to Japan to inspect conditions. When he visited a new textile mill, he unexpectedly found good education facilities for the women workers who lived in the company residence. In fact, employers had to provide better welfare facilities and fringe benefits (to make up for low wages) because it was becoming harder for them to secure new women workers as the poor working conditions gradually became known in remote (farming) areas (Kitagawa, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 257–9; Taikakai, 1971, pp. 450–2; Ikeo 2000b).

Tanino's "A note of a woman probationary factory supervisor" (c.1936) was first published in 1985. It was the record of the unannounced inspection of small factories, which were the basis for Japan's export industries in the 1930s. In textile mills, Tanino was surprised to see women

workers competing fiercely, both at individual and at group levels. She witnessed a girl with flu and a fever forced to work by her team-mate, with the expectation of gaining an award for the team. With regard to the remittances of young workers in large factories to their parents in remote villages, the parents tended to believe that factories which allowed the children to remit the most money were the best. Tanino remarked that the parents did not usually notice how low the children's pocket money was.

Japan's military force began to fight with China in July 1937. Many men in the prime of life were drafted to the battlefields and women had to fill the vacant positions on Japan's mainland. In a series of reports including her "Women's advance into machine shops and their adaptability" (1939a) and "Working women and welfare facilities" (1939b), Tanino called attention to the need for immediate improvement of working environments for women because women were suddenly working in the machine shops and munitions factories which were designed specifically with men in mind.

In September 1947 Tanino became the section chief at the Bureau of Women and Minors in the newly established Ministry of Labor and began to work under Director-General Kikue Yamakawa. Tanino became the third Director-General in the Bureau in 1955 and held the position for a decade. In 1965 she retired from the Ministry of Labor and became a member of the judging Committee of Labor Insurance.

Household economics

While three women became leaders documenting labor problems and advocating change for women workers, a different group of women, who taught at women's universities, innovated the field of household economics in Japan. The Meiji government (established in 1868) abolished the old *han* (feudal domain) system and newly established prefectures in 1871. In 1872 it promulgated the new education system. In 1875 it founded Japan's first institution of higher education for women, Tokyo Women's Normal School (now Ochanomizu University). In 1884 Toyo Eiwa Jogakko (women's school) was opened in Tokyo by Martha J. Cartmell, a missionary sent by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (currently the United Church of Canada).

'New Japan' needed more highly educated men to adapt to the changes of shifting from a closed, feudal community with little outer communication to an open, modern society with international trade. Some men worked outside of their households (*ie*) for the public sector or for private companies. They commuted to their workplaces while their female family members had to manage the new life at home. Other men kept working in their households (*ie*) and started modern family businesses with relatives.

These women "economists" paid attention to empirical facts and focused on the household (*ie*), rather than the individual, as the unit of decision-making in consumption and life planning. The powerful role of men decreased in the household, while that of women increased. To understand the importance of this household work, we need to understand the "*ie*" system established in the Tokugawa period (1603–1867).

The "*ie*" system

"*Ie*" translates as house or household. Originally, *ie* was an economic unit for running the (family) business and sharing daily life in the Tokugawa period. When the Confucian philosopher Ekiken Kaibara (1630–1714) said, "Each *samurai* (feudal) warrior, farmer, artisan, or tradesman owns an '*ie*'-household" (Kaibara 1711), he referred to the class system of the four groups which



1. house
2. household
3. household members share a house
built on a site purified by a
ground-breaking ceremony

Figure 5.1 Meaning of the Kanji character “ie”

was institutionalized in this hierarchical order from the top to the bottom by the Tokugawa shogunate. Yet, the typical “ie” should be found in the house of a merchant or tradesman and the house of a *samurai* warrior.

In the early Meiji period, a selection from Kaibara’s *Precepts on Household Management* (1711) and other writings (Kaibara 1710, 1713), which had been originally authored for men, were used as the textbook for women. Kaibara summarized four maxims in household management as follows:

The discipline of house/household management includes four maxims. First, make a living by working in the family’s business. Second, increase the fortune by thriftiness. Third, protect oneself by caution. Fourth, love a person in empathy. Empathy is to do what he likes and not to do what he hates by imagining in your mind how he must feel in his mind. A house or household manager must keep these four maxims.

Kaibara 1711, quoted in Tsunemi 1971, p. 124

It gave women the essence of household management. The Meiji edition of Kaibara’s *Household Management* included the following conception of lifecycle:¹⁰

A man must have a plan to do at each stage of his lifetime, namely from the age of ten to sixty years old. At age 10, he must follow the instructions of his father and mother who support him. It is called the plan of living. At age 20, he must pursue scholarship, master a skill, support the family business, and rise in the world. It is called the plan of advancement. From the age 20 to 40, he must run his household affairs and keep the family business as planned. It is called the plan of household. At age 50, he must make a plan for his offspring. His offspring are too young to know the world. Father must make a plan for his children. It is called the plan of old man. Over the age 60, he must make a plan for those left behind after his death. It is pointless to regret at the moment of his death that he has not done something for his afterlife. [It is called the plan of death.] The people in the world should practice these five plans.

Kaibara 1711, quoted in Tsunemi 1971, p. 124

In the Meiji period, a woman (mistress), instead of a man (the eldest son or adopted son), had to make these five plans for her family lifetime. This was an expansion of women’s responsibilities from the earlier Tokugawa period, when a woman was expected to be no more than a “good mother” inside “ie”-household. It is noteworthy that Confucian literature was widely learned in Japan but women were not formal recipients or contributors to the scholarship (see the former section on Makuzu Tadano in this chapter as well as Zurndorfer (2014)). This idea of “good mother” was not created by women, but it was formed and sophisticated on the basis of the male Confucian scholar Kaibara (1710, 1711, 1713) including precepts on health, joy, and happiness.

The Meiji government promoted the expanded role of “good wife/wise mother” rather than “good mother” to be suitable to the new “ie” life of the modern period. Intent on promoting

this new role, the government entrusted to women the task of developing a curriculum and educating young women. Women obtained a new opportunity of becoming instructors at normal schools for women's education to train future good wives/wise mothers.

Sumi Oe (1875–1948)

Sumi Oe accepted the policy of promoting the model of “good wife/wise mother” and established Tokyo Kasei Gakuin (Women's School for Domestic Science [*Kaseigaku*]) in 1925. She was born in Nagasaki and her father Moritaro (former farmer, Buddhist of Nichiren sect) worked for the House of Glover (an arms dealer who gave rich information of foreign affairs to aspiring Japanese youth). Reading Yukichi Fukuzawa's *Encouragement of Learning* (1872–76) and looking for a better opportunity in Tokyo for his children, Moritaro took a position at the Ministry of the Navy (and a little later at the Ministry of the Imperial Household); then the rest of the family settled there in 1880. After studying at Toyo Eiwa Jogakko (1889–94), Sumi Oe was christened and taught there for several months. Passing the exam to enter Tokyo Women's Normal School (Ochanomizu University), she became a student in the Department of Domestic Science.

As she was especially good at English, she was sent to England by the government from 1902 to 1906. She studied at the Training School of Domestic Science, Battersea Polytechnic, and then took the hygiene course at Bedford College. She studied various disciplines (chemistry, physiology, physics, etc.). She learned that English workers paid little attention to budgetary constraints and spent most of their weekly wages at once, soon after they were received, without considering putting money aside for savings and for living expenses for the rest of the week. This kind of “observation” by her and others was transmitted to Japanese educators and led them to emphasize the importance of monthly pay (instead of weekly pay) and of keeping household accounts (Shibanuma 1999).

Returning to Japan, Oe established Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, a women's school to train future brilliant housewives to manage their household rationally and to care for their families under the constraints of their husbands' earnings. Her *The Essence of Applied Domestic Science* (1916) provided the blueprint for an efficient and comfortable house. She recommended a house with an inner courtyard so that family members could share an intimate space and natural sunlight. In her model house, a woman could run the household with a maid by taking care of family members and ordering supplies from door-to-door tradesmen.

An additional goal of Oe's *kaseigaku* was to train future wives of businessmen, who ran family businesses or planned to start businesses. The educational courses included asset management operation, such as loan planning and renting a house or property. Oe regarded “borrowing money for the purpose of making more money” or “business loan” as a secret virtue that paved the way to expand a business by way of borrowed capital.¹¹ Oe (1916) defined *kasei* as “the discipline of governing a house/household,” and she believed that the quality of the house/household would affect the welfare and strength of the nation. Oe wrote:

A nation is nothing but a whole set of houses/households politically unified by the government. Therefore, whether a nation is strong or weak as well as whether it is civilized or primitive must depend on the conditions of houses/households which are members of the nation. The good conditions of *kasei*, namely the good management of a house/household, are naturally related not only with the happiness in the house/household but also welfare and strength of a nation. The house/household manager should pay great attention to this regard.

Oe 1916, quoted in Tsunemi 1971, pp. 188–9

For Oe, the aggregation of “*ie*”-households becomes a national economy. A housewife must consider the following points (Tsunemi 1971, p. 189):

- 1 To promote the health (joy and happiness) of the members in the house or household
- 2 To increase the wealth of the house or household
- 3 To educate children to become healthy citizens of the next generation
- 4 To promote peace and mutual friendship among members of the house or household and their relatives and to enhance the grace (dignity) of the house

Believing that “physical training” was very important, Oe had a kitchen laboratory with attention to hygiene built in her school and gave practical cooking training using thermometers, scales, and other equipment. Her cooking lessons resembled chemical experiments at a science lab. She was eager to introduce the latest home appliances such as refrigerators, ironing tools, and washing machines. In this sense, it can be said that a “good wife/wise mother” is synonymous with a “rational and progressive consumer.”¹² Yet we should note that other private women’s universities were established with the purpose of promoting the cultivation of woman’s spirit of self-reliance (or self-support).

Tomoko Matsudaira (1894–1969)

Tomoko Matsudaira was the first woman economist to teach at an institution of higher education. She was born in Tokyo and studied at Tokyo Women’s Normal School from 1913 to 1917. Although the system of higher education was reformed in 1919 and 1920, no national university changed their policy against women. The president of Tokyo Women’s Normal School, Genichi Yumoto, came up with a plan to upgrade the curriculum in household economics under the three pillars of “Health (Joy and Happiness),” “Education for Children,” and “Household Economy.” He decided to send some graduates to men-only universities to take regular courses as special students. Matsudaira was chosen to study at the Economics Department of the Imperial University of Tokyo (the University of Tokyo) for the then regular three-year program (1919–22). She was supervised by Susumu Kawazu (1875–1943) and Kakujiro Yamazaki (1868–1945, specialized in money and banking) (Kurita et al. 2016).

In 1921, she was appointed to the Tokyo Women’s Normal School and offered a course on household economics. In 1925, she began publishing many books, indeed three books in a year (Matsudaira 1925a, b, c). Her first book, *Household Economics* (two volumes, 645 and 504 pages, respectively) was indebted to her former supervisor Kawazu’s advanced textbook *Economics* (1924) and the then leading economist Tokuzo Fukuda’s introductory *Textbook in Economics* (1911). It is interesting to note that Kawazu’s *Economics* (1924) eliminated the German and European elements from Fukuda’s *A Study of Economics* (1920), the best research monograph on the German historical school in Japan; thus Kawazu had de-Germanized or de-Europeanized Fukuda (1920), which had discussed German history and institutions in detail, to make it more abstract and more fitting for Japanese students (Ikeo 2017).

Matsudaira’s writings reflect both contemporary Japanese and Western economics literature through her reading of Kawazu’s and Fukuda’s books. Therefore, her books are premised on *kaseigaku* and her contribution could be found in her improvement of the form of household accounts more suitable to both weekly or monthly flow management and yearly asset management. Using Knut Wicksell’s phraseology, volume one of Matsudaira’s *Household Economics* (1925a) took a general approach to economic (household) life, the national economy, public finance, and the supply of public goods. She encouraged women (as consumers) to enjoy the

technical progress occurring in the world by purchasing new products and electric appliances. Volume 2 took a monetary approach to economic life. In it, she explained household accounts, savings, and financial goods (stocks, bonds, and bank deposits), and included the maxim “Don’t keep all your eggs in one basket” to call attention to the risks in financial trading and family business.

Matsudaira (1925a, volume 1, pp. 649–50) connected early modern thrift or economizing and modern rational thinking to the household as follows:

Economizing (*setsuyaku*, thrift, savings) means to reduce consumption as much as possible and to satisfy our wants as much as possible, that is the most effective utilization of our goods. Economizing is the most important knowledge in the use of goods.

Economizing is the opposite of extravagance and an application of the first principle of “economics.”

We have to take economizing of goods, effort, and time into consideration. For example, in cooking, it is necessary: (1) To decide the menu suitable to our health and family welfare by expending as little as possible; (2) To find better cooking methods in time, nutrition, digestion, and family tastes; (3) To improve kitchen and cooking equipment (gas stove rather than fire wood stove).

Matsudaira (1925a, volume 1, pp. 653–4) discussed rational thinking and scientific knowledge:

Women should be conscious about advances in consumption style and the rationalization of economic life, and they should make a big contribution to both the household and society. Thanks to the use of modern science and technology, great progress has been made in production methods of the past century. However, the consumption style remains unchanged. Women should learn modern science and make a special study of lifestyle, and then master the science and technology applicable to our lifestyle. Women are truly responsible for developing our lifestyle.

Matsudaira urged women to bring technical progress into the household and improve the standard of living. She also encouraged them to keep household accounts for budgetary efficiency (Matsudaira 1930). Eventually their household accounts became a source of econometric analysis (Ikeo 2014, p. 80). She continued to publish many books in household economics by adding current events and reflecting her new reading (Matsudaira 1948–9, 1953, 1954, 1968).

Akiko Ito (b. 1919)

Akiko Ito was born in Tokyo and graduated from Tokyo Women’s Normal School in 1941. She was appointed an assistant at Ochanomizu University in 1952 and promoted to full professor in 1971. She was good at econometric analysis and collaborated with economists linked with Hitotsubashi University. Ito and Koichi Emi (an econometrician at Hitotsubashi University) edited the ambitious advanced textbook *Household Economics* (Emi and Ito 1982). The third edition (1997) covers household planning, occupation and income, income and expenditure, lifestyle and consumption, the choice of savings, family and lifecycle, the connection of households and firms, general prices, public finance, social security and welfare, standard of living, and “household and the world economy.”

Ito’s *Standard of Living* (1977) came out after Japan’s economy enjoyed rapid growth in the 1960s, when the focus on GDP as the index of economic welfare aroused fierce criticism. She

painstakingly traced the historical changes in the standard of living and its size from the Meiji period to 1970. She paid attention to the structural changes in occupations (farmers, laborers, and white-collar professions) and the income differentials by occupations. She noticed the differences in the estimations of income and Engel's coefficients calculated by several econometricians. Referring to the United Nations (UN) Research Institute for Social Development's concept of the level of living index, which included "welfare," she discussed the index of nutrition, housing service and health as well as expenditure on education and leisure, and the data on human security (death rate, unemployment rate, rate of those insured for medical services, and rate of pension recipients). She examined Japan's livelihood protection system in detail.

Ito's *Housing Loan and Household Management* (1988) statistically studied the impact of housing loans (the biggest purchase in a household budget) on household asset management. Using the National Survey of Family Income and Expenditure, she unexpectedly uncovered that households with housing loans kept almost the same consumption level as households without, and that the former households had a larger income than the latter households. In 1988, Ito also co-edited *Dictionary of Household Economics* with Shigetake Iizuka, who specialized in small- and medium-sized enterprises.

In a personal communication, Ito's co-author Iizuka said: "Many women economists were working on household economics but household economics is just the economics with emphasis on particular points (household behavior and asset management)". The evolution of Ito's major contributions to economics is a case in point.

It seems that asset management (at an introductory level) started earlier in *kaseigaku* (household economics) than in economics. Household economics has become more technical by using statistical and econometric analysis; it can be said that there is a shift away from "good wife/wise mother" training toward more of a microeconomics emphasis on rationality.

Eiko Shinotsuka (b. 1942)

Eiko Shinotsuka is a labor economist skilled in econometric techniques and served as the first woman member of the Policy Board of the Bank of Japan during 1998–2001. Graduating from Musashi University, she started her career by working for the Japan Center for Economic Research (JCER) in 1965 and became a researcher in 1968. After teaching part-time at three universities, she was appointed an associate professor at Ochanomizu University in 1987, promoted to a professor in 1992, reappointed in 2002, and retired in 2008. She obtained her doctoral degree (in commercial science) based on Shinotsuka (1989) without formal graduate coursework from Keio University in 1990.¹³

Shinotsuka's *Women's Labor in Japan* (1982) found that a woman's labor supply depends on whether she is single or married and on the family age structure when she is married. A woman is supposed to make a spending plan based on her budget (salary) and satisfaction when she is single. However, she makes decisions on her labor supply under consideration of her whole family and life stage when she is married. Shinotsuka referred to Paul Howard Douglas and Hiromi Arisawa's earlier findings.

Shinotsuka's *Employment Adjustment in Japan* (1989) statistically examined the shifting labor market conditions after the oil shocks. It was believed that the lifetime employment system predominated in sizable corporations in Japan instead of employment adjustment responses to changing market conditions. She witnessed that employment adjustment was actually taking place among many companies: reducing extra works and new recruitment and laying off part-timers, temporary employees, and even full-timers (through voluntary retirement). It became

clear that immediately after the oil shocks small enterprises increased employment whereas large enterprises decreased employment, and that companies came to regard middle-aged women part-timers as adjusting variables (shock-absorbers) in facing environmental changes. She also noticed the on-going micro-electronics revolution had a significant impact on the labor demand in the 1980s.

In 1986 Shinotsuka ran an annual JCER research project and wrote the report “The Equal Employment Opportunity Law and its impact on management.” Twice a month she invited JCER personnel directors from sizable companies in the electronic machinery, textile, steel, chemical, retailing, financial, educational, general trading, and information technology industries, as well as vocational advisors from universities and the editor of a job-hunting magazine. She conducted hearings on their attitudes toward the new law (effective on April 1986) and found their new interest in recruiting women graduates from four-year universities instead of two-year colleges. She assigned chapter authors and co-edited with Tadashi Hanami *Management and Labor in the Age of Equal Employment Opportunity* (1987). This book might have enhanced personnel directors’ awareness of the new law. She was a woman *samurai*.

Formally trained academic economists after 1947

After 1947, Keio University attracted excellent women including Marxian economists (according to Kiyoko Imura). Non-Marxian women economists were trained at the Keio Economic Observatory, which was established in 1959 for the promotion of empirical studies and the communications between business leaders and economists. Keio women economists encouraged other women to engage in the economics profession.

Yoko Sazanami (Kawashima) (b. 1932)

Yoko Sazanami is the first Japanese woman economist to work for the UN and the first woman economist to teach at a formerly all-male university in Japan. She is a renowned economist specializing in international trade and trade policy. She graduated from Keio University in 1955. A Fulbright grant brought her to Harvard University itself (not Radcliffe College – the women’s college associated with Harvard).¹⁴ J. S. Duesenberry’s course on economic growth and business cycles stimulated her to consider the challenges accompanying economic growth. She obtained her master’s degree in 1957. She was an economist in the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs in New York during 1959–1962¹⁵ and she worked with Jacob L. Mosak (who specialized in trade and general equilibrium analysis) on economic problems of Southeast Asia for the annual *World Economic Survey* and on primary goods matters for the annual *Commodity Survey*. She linked existing trade theories with empirical studies in her research.

She was appointed an assistant in 1962 and an associate professor in 1967 at the Keio Economic Observatory. Receiving her doctoral degree from Keio University, she was promoted to associate professor in the Economics Department. Before retiring from the university, she published seven books (in Japanese), 58 papers in Japanese, and 24 papers mostly in English (Sazanami 1998).

Sazanami’s *Economic Growth and International Competitiveness* (1968) works toward a theoretical integration of international trade and economic growth under the assumption of technological progress and increasing physical capital. She paid attention to the differences in problems faced by two groups of countries. One group consists of underdeveloped countries exporting primary goods and facing volatility in their prices caused by changes in natural conditions, the

international environment, and speculative trading by international investors. Primary goods such as coffee beans, cocoa, and rubber plants grow only in this torrid zone and it is hard to stop producing them in response to declines in price once their cultivation is initiated. Another group consists of the countries exporting industrial goods and importing raw materials. Sazanami argued that international trade leads to more efficient use of resources and higher real income in the world. She confirmed that late-comers need new technology via capital goods imports and that developed countries welcome the expansion of the world market for such goods.¹⁶ She found that after around 1950 Japanese firms increased exports due to increasing labor productivity, which was stimulated by intensive investment and technical progress through the purchase of patents.

Sazanami's *International Division of Labor and the Japanese Economy* (1980) examined the expanding world trade in the 1960s and 70s by using inter-industry relations analysis, and discussed the on-going industrial adjustment initiated by oil shocks and floating exchange rates. She revealed that an impact of tariff reductions by the GATT rounds and the effort of economic integration (such as the formation of the European Economic Community, EEC) caused an increasing trade of intermediate goods (machinery parts). This increasing intermediate goods trade was also promoted by the fragmentation of the production process and the specialization in the production of industrial parts among advanced countries, especially within the expanding EEC economy. She argued that economic integration and its expansion would promote international production, especially intra-industry trade, by the strategic decisions of multinational corporations.

After 1980, Sazanami participated in many international conferences and projects on trade. She contributed her papers "Japanese trade liberalization" (1984), "Japanese trade in the Pacific rim" (1987), "Telecommunication and information services" (1988), "Trade and investment patterns and barriers in the United States, Canada, and Japan" (1989), and "Determinants of Japanese foreign direct investment" (1992). She offered a course on the Japanese economy at University Paris 1 Pantheon-Sorbonne. At that time, she co-organized with J.-L. Mucchielli (who had served the French Embassy to Japan for the research of Japanese multinationals) the French-Japanese conference on "Europe and Japan under the new era of competition and cooperation" in February 1992, which focused on the establishment of the European Union the following year. At the time, France and Europe supported the policy of inviting foreign direct investment as they expected decreasing unemployment and trade deficits as well as technology transfer. At the conference, Sazanami gave the paper entitled "Strategies of Japanese manufacturing firms: Their impact on trade flows between Europe, Asia, and North America." The revised version (Sazanami and Ching 1997) was included in the English version of the proceedings (Buckley and Mucchielli 1997).

Sazanami instinctively grasped the new challenges emerging from a changing international environment and organized effective research projects with several younger economists. For example, because of similar research on the US, Sazanami invited Shujiro Urata and Hiroki Kawai to co-author *Measuring the Cost of Protection in Japan* (1995). They examined the causes of the differentials in the prices of tradable goods inside and outside Japan. Their inter-industry relations analysis showed that Japanese consumers suffered from welfare losses caused by higher domestic prices compared with international prices of these goods. Also in 1995, Sazanami and other leading international economists fully examined the changes to be expected by the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and shed light on the results of the GATT negotiations, the trade in services (GATS), and dispute settlements (Sazanami and Nakakita 1997). In 1997, Sazanami and Fukunari Kimura organized a research project on the formation of a sub-regional market and the role of Japanese firms

in East Asia. They witnessed Hong Kong's absorption by China under the policy of "One Country, Two Systems," and observed the contagion of currency and financial crisis occurring in East Asia in that year. They questioned the dollar-peg policy which had been implemented by several ASEAN countries and their quantitative analysis mainly focused on the regional trade in East Asia including China during the 1990s, namely the pre-crisis period (Sazanami and Kimura 2000).

In 1998 Sazanami served as the chair for the Financial Crisis Management Committee of the Deposit Insurance Corporation in assessing the financial conditions of several sizable banks. The committee judged the possibility of bail-outs to avoid systemic risks under the uncertainty associated with the fallout from the Southeast Asian financial crisis. At the time, some economists expected further financial contagion beyond East Asia and in fact the IMF (2014, p. 30) stated that in hindsight "spillovers from Asia had raised borrowing costs, and precipitated sharp declines in oil and other commodity prices" and that they hit Russia and some Eastern European countries. Sazanami's reputation in international economics might have eased some anxiety felt by international scholars and policy makers outside Japan even though domestic finance was outside of Sazanami's specialty.

Yoko Sano (b. 1931)

Yoko Sano specialized in human resource management. She graduated from the Economics Department, Keio University in 1954. She was appointed an assistant for the Keio Economic Observatory in 1960 and a professor in the Commerce Department in 1972. She obtained her doctoral degree in economics in 1970. She visited the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of Illinois University for a year from September 1964. She stayed for a shorter period at the Australian National University, Glasgow University, ESSEC Business School, Cranfield Business School (both in Europe), and Philippine National University. She assumed the presidency of the Japan Society of Human Resource Management in 1987–1989, the Department Chair at Keio in 1989–1991, and the presidency of Kaetsu University in 2001–2005. She skillfully employed her expertise (human resource management) in running the Commerce Department and the university.

With the support of many male colleagues, she co-authored several books, including *Pay Determination of Small and Medium Enterprises* (1971), *Women Labor Economics* (1972), and *A Study of Job Transfer* (1978). Sano and her colleagues occasionally conducted surveys of employers and employees. They found a variety of pay systems and their trends as well as the female ratios at the micro and macro levels and their trends. They sometimes collaborated with the Ministry of Labor (now Ministry of Labor and Welfare) and indirectly with the ILO. Sano paid attention to the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (effective in April 1986) and expected that an increasing number of more highly educated women would find regular positions over part-time work and more opportunity for career development. The findings and analysis, especially in her *Internal Labor Market* (1989), show that the style of both office works and production line operations (in manufacturing) has been dramatically changed by the introduction of new technology such as micro-computers, automated systems, and home working systems. The phrase "internal labor market," which is often used by Japanese business economists, implies high mobility of employees and subsequently high frequency of their turnover within an organization or group of companies. The managers of a sizable company preferred this employment practice rather than lay-offs. However, Sano (1997) noticed the new trend of some employers departing from this practice in facing rapid globalization, which she thought was mainly caused by the accelerating progress in information communication technology.

Conclusions

The historical globalization process is associated with increased opportunities for a few Japanese women to participate in economics. The opportunities involved constructing knowledge concerning women in the Japanese workforce, making policy proposals associated with Japan's integration into the global economy, becoming economic activists for women's liberation and enlightenment, educating young women to become rational and progressive consumers at home, and, in the second half of the twentieth century, becoming professional economists and leaders in Japan's government bureaucracy.

In the early nineteenth century, Tadano became the first woman to contribute to recorded economic thought. In part, this isolated contribution from a woman is due to the opportunities afforded her from the intellectual background of her family and their social status. Apparently, traditional Confucian thinking obstructed women from contributing outside "ie" – the household – and deterred changes in men's mentality against women's social participation. Thus, it took roughly another century for opportunities to open for additional contributions to economic thought from Japanese women after Tadano. In part, these opportunities arose because of challenges from the international order about working conditions in Japan. In the early twentieth century, women were needed to study women's working conditions in Japanese industry because of requirements imposed by the ILO. And in the early twentieth century, the first opportunities emerged for women in academia as the notion of "ie" evolved from a household-centered economic structure to an industrial- and corporate-centered economic structure. Those opportunities were strictly limited to training women as rational, efficient consumers. It was after Japan's complete opening to the forces of globalization in the second half of the twentieth century that formal opportunities opened for women in economics departments and within the government bureaucracy. The Equal Employment Opportunity Law for Men and Women (effective in 1986 and revised in 1997) might have had a positive impact on the hiring of women economists in Japan.

Notes

- 1 I thank Shujiro Urata, Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Alisa Freedman, Nobuko Nagase, and Kirsten Madden for their valuable information and comments related with this chapter.
- 2 *Tanka* is a 31-syllable poem consisting of five lines in the pattern 5-7-5-7-7; the dominant form in classical Japanese poetry (*waka*) from the seventh century to the present (*Encyclopedia of Japan*, August 12, 2017).
- 3 Prior to 1947, Tohoku Imperial University (now Tohoku University) took the first three women regular students (in 1913) and was followed by Waseda University (in 1939).
- 4 See Ikeo (2000d) on Japan's academic environment during the period of 1945–1970.
- 5 Gramlich-Oka (2006, p. 267) called my attention to the importance of Dazai Aoki authored no economics book but did write a book on the sweet potato.
- 6 Tadano's writings had Buddhist and Shinto elements, too. Iga had a friend who was a Shinto priest who owned a good library and another friend who was a Rinzai-sect Buddhist priest.
- 7 *The Records of Ancient Matters* (completed in the eighth century) was a book on the history of Japanese *kami* (deity) and emperors.
- 8 It is noteworthy that it was legal to publish a criticism against the opposition to the Tokugawa policies, whereas it was illegal to openly criticize the policies.
- 9 Women's School for English Study (Tsuda University) was established in 1900 by Umeko Tsuda (1864–1929). In 1871, five girls (including her, the youngest) accompanied the Iwakura Mission to the West. They remained in the US and three of them studied there for ten years. In Japan Tsuda taught at the School for Noble Women. Then she revisited the US to study biology and education at Bryn Mawr College from 1889 to 1892 (National Archives of Japan, 2016).
- 10 Kaibara referred to the Song philosopher Zhu Xin Zhong.

- 11 Sumi Oe was indebted to her own mother for this idea (Ohama 1978, pp. 17–18).
- 12 Chapter 2 of Sand's *House and Home in Modern Japan* (2003) includes an illustration of "The Housewife's Laboratory."
- 13 Shinotsuka (2008) and Japan's National Dietary Search website <http://iss.ndl.go.jp/books/R100000002-I000000230495-00> (accessed January 27, 2018).
- 14 There is a complicated history of women as degree earners from Harvard University. "It's complicated: 375 years of women at Harvard" (Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University) www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/schlesinger-library/exhibition/its-complicated-375-years-women-harvard (accessed September 2, 2017).
- 15 Japan joined the UN in 1956.
- 16 After the loss in WWII, Japan resumed private exports and imports in August 1947 and the single exchange rate was fixed at \$1 = ¥360 in April 1949. Japan exported textile goods to advanced countries and machines to Southeast Asian countries in the 1950s.

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