

Food Wars: Impacts of Gender on the Japanese Kitchen

Winner, Humanities

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Introduction

Sushi chef Ono Yoshikazu stated in a 2011 interview with *The Wall Street Journal*, concerning why there are so few female sushi chefs, that “The reason is because women menstruate. To be a professional means to have a steady taste in your food, but because of the menstrual cycle women have an imbalance in their taste, and that's why women can't be sushi chefs.”^[1] Ono is the son of renowned sushi chef Ono Jiro, who was profiled in the 2011 documentary *Jiro Dreams of Sushi* directed by David Gelb, and who is arguably one of the world's most well-known sushi chefs. The film shows Ono making sushi in his small subway restaurant where reservations must be made months in advance. The film has helped to promulgate a certain image of the sushi chef outside of Japan, but this image has a long history. Indeed, as the above quote suggests, there are prescribed qualities associated, not just with the profession of sushi chef (*itamae*), but the profession of chef in general in Japan. These qualities are coded as masculine, and, therefore, gender the profession of chef.

I argue that the gendering of the chef profession is mainly due to a combination of Japan's long history of the concept of a “master” in areas of artisanship, and its interplay with gender roles in society. This idea of mastery comes from the martial arts tradition of *shu-ha-ri*, requiring an apprentice to repeat simple tasks until they become second nature. Only after this process can one begin to be creative in one's field. While it is not explicitly stated that women cannot be martial arts masters, masters are referred to using masculine pronouns, suggesting that female mastery is at least uncommon if not extremely rare.^[2] Moreover, in her review of the research done on women in sports in general, and martial arts specifically, Follo states, “Even more disconcerting is the lack of research that has been conducted in the area of martial arts, perhaps one of the few areas where women may be able to challenge gender norms the most by challenging the male gendered role of protector.”^[3] Despite its potential to help women overcome power dynamics, the martial arts continue to be an area where there is room for change. When martial arts ideology becomes aestheticized and applied to professionals and artisans such as chefs, the gendered hierarchy is likewise carried over. Opinions like the one held by Ono permeate the kitchen in a way that turns it into a gendered arena.

Gender Roles in Modern Japanese History

To analyze how the profession of chef has been gendered, it is first helpful to understand the role of women in Japan from a more general historical standpoint. An example of this can be found in the work of Hidaka, who took a sociological approach to this topic by interviewing male and female Japanese

participants.^[4] She approaches the topic from a feminist standpoint by defining the hegemonic masculinity in Japan through the image of the salaryman (*sarariiman*), generally considered to be a male office worker who works for a specific company for his entire life while his wife stays at home. This is an image that came to prominence in the economic boom of the 1950s.^[5] To some extent, the prominence of the masculine image of the workplace in general comes from this time. In theory, today's Japanese workplace is meant to be one of equal opportunity, regardless of gender, since the establishment of the 1968 Equal Employment Opportunity Law.^[6] In 1999, this law was revised to include punishments for non-compliance, and in the same year, the Basic Law for Gender Equal Society was established.^[7] Prior to these laws, companies could advertise for workers based on gender, female workers received little training, and women were forcefully retired prior to marriage or pregnancy.^[8] This bears a striking resemblance to the kinds of comments made by Ono as seen above.

Although it can be argued that these practices have decreased or disappeared since the institution of the aforementioned laws, Hidaka argues that they persist, based on the continuing pressure to retire early, lack of promotions for women, and increasing lawsuits by women against employers for discrimination.^[9] Moreover, in her research, male participants noted that they had not had women as bosses and they had been trained separately from female colleagues.^[10] One participant stated "that he was simply not able to imagine women to be as competent as 'us' [men]."^[11] Hidaka's work goes into detail about participants' generalizations against women at work. Ultimately, she argues that the male workers:

manifested their resistance to women's advances into their territory by both sexualisation (through sexual harassment) and desexualisation of women (the evaluation of elite women either as manly or unfeminine). Most participants were able to enjoy the patriarchal dividend because of the support of their families (and in particular, that of their wives).^[12]

This suggests that, despite legal attempts to create an equal opportunity workplace, labour and power continue to be gendered as masculine and, as will be seen, are reinforced by the gendering of the domestic sphere as feminine. While it is unfair to suggest that all male workers adhere to this mentality, or even that the ones who do, do so maliciously, it does represent a significant hindrance to employees, male or female, who do not want to live according to these values.

While the salaryman is the ideal masculine archetype, there is also a corresponding female archetype. The idea that women are unfit for work or that the family takes precedence over career goals can be traced back to the Meiji era of Japanese history (1868-1912), with the ideal of the Good Wife, Wise Mother. While there are a variety of works concerning this ideal, Koyama presents the most well-rounded argument in her suggestion that the Good Wife, Wise Mother (*ryosai kenbo*) was specifically an ideal pertaining to a certain train of thought, which promoted women as part of the nation state from within the home and as a way to enforce power dynamics.^[13] These traits were able to steadfastly continue because, as Koyama asserts, the ideal allowed for the "illusion" of equality between genders while enforcing gendered traits through treating male and female as opposites.^[14] What this means is that women were encouraged to be educated, to become wise mothers, while simultaneously having their role as a mother first and foremost reinforced. In this sense, the wife is good because she adheres

to domesticity while providing the necessary wisdom to educate her children. In this way, women are being encouraged out of the home (for school) for the purpose of returning to the home. As Koyama argues, this is not just an ideal rooted in the Meiji era, but rather, it applies to how women are expected to act even today.^[15] This is reinforced by Hidaka's research, which shows the push for women to marry and have children rather than work. Ultimately, these examples suggest that the gendered Japanese kitchen has historical roots in the way women were and still are viewed, and what their role in society is considered to be in comparison to men.

Previous Scholarship: Women in the Kitchen

This general overview of women in the work force and their role in society can be applied specifically to the kitchen, both professional and domestic. Harris and Giuffre define the chef as a leader over lower level workers, due to either work experience or educational qualifications.^[16] This creates a structure within the global restaurant industry that mimics that of an office and is susceptible to similar gendered conditions. However, unlike the role of women in the office, the role of women as chefs in Japan has received relatively little scholarship. Scholarship has instead focused primarily on Western countries, such as the United States. Indeed, there are not even statistics on the number of female versus male chefs in Japan or in Tokyo.^[17] There are, however, statistics relating to the United States:

According to data from the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, in 2013 only 20 percent of chefs and head cooks in the culinary industry were women. Starchefs.com, an online magazine dedicated to the occupation, conducted an industry survey in 2005 and reported that men held 89 percent of executive chefs, 82 percent of sous chefs, 66 percent of line cooks, and 60 percent of management positions.^[18]

It is reasonable to assume that similar statistics would present themselves in Japan. Indeed, if the dominant perspective were that held by Ono, then Japanese statistics would trend even more in favour of men.

While these figures reveal the lack of women in the professional kitchen, what has caused this to be so? Harris and Giuffre offer a variety of reasons in their comprehensive study which interviews American chefs. The first is that the profession itself needed to be gendered as masculine in order for it to be taken seriously: "The exclusion of women was integral in raising the status of the occupation."^[19] In this sense then, there is a connection between reliability and gender, relating specifically to the work place, in that masculinity is connected with the idea of prestige. Women are coded as helpers or learners, whereas men are coded as leaders or teachers. Moreover, these hierarchies become reinforced through the integral role of food media, where the chefs and commentators are predominantly male, serving to reinforce the gender divide that brought about the legitimization of the career.^[20] This will be seen to be especially true of Japanese media later on.

Within the kitchen, some male chefs help to enforce the kitchen's masculinity by suggesting that female cooks must gain respect through a variety of tests of strength or endurance, which, unfortunately, sometimes include harassment.^[21] In this sense, the feminine body is incapable of handling the job

itself.^[22] The profession is tied to physical strength, but also equally to emotional strength. Indeed, through their interviews with female chefs, Harris and Guiffre noted:

there is the underlying current that female chefs are required to manage their emotions at all times. Expressions of frustration, anger, and disappointment, particularly when displayed through the gendered act of crying, were used as a sign of women's lack of professionalism and inability to handle the requirements of being a chef.^[23]

In this example, biology is used as a means of legitimization for why women should not be in a male codified profession. Codifying what is feminine and removing it from the kitchen reinforces the legitimization of the profession previously discussed. Combined with this is the idea that women who adhere to these standards are also criticized for straying from acceptable gendered actions by being too tough or too detached. Of their participants, the authors write that "these women are forced to walk a fine line between professional competency requiring assertive, agentic behaviour and gender normativity that stresses passivity and commitment to communal goals."^[24] This creates a double bind for female cooks so that they are forced out of the kitchen no matter what actions they take, and gender becomes a rigid construct with highly prescribed actions and imagery.

Although this scholarship does not specifically analyze the Japanese kitchen, these figures and analysis are likely very similar to that which would be found in Japan for a number of reasons. Firstly, the gendered roles discussed above correspond with the previously discussed roles of women in the workforce in Japan and also correlate with what little analysis has been done concerning the Japanese kitchen (to be discussed shortly). Secondly, since the American occupation of Japan in the post-war era, Japan has adopted many American values concerning a citizen's rights, especially given that the Japanese constitution was written by a committee of Americans specifically applying modern American values to the constitutional rights, and that this constitution remains to this day.^[25] Indeed, the constitution provides that, "Japanese nationals are to be 'equal under the law' and not subject to discrimination 'in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin' (Article 14)."^[26] As the work of Harris and Guiffre has shown, these values have been proven to be less valid in the lived experience in the United States, the country which instated this constitutional article. Moreover, Aoyagi suggests in his work on gender in Japan that:

throughout the postwar period, Japanese bureaucrats and politicians, most of whom belonged to the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), continued to form their policies in accord with the vision of women as domestic agents. Many other formal and informal institutions followed their lead.^[27]

He goes on to use examples such as laws restricting reproductive rights, to suggest that while, on paper, women were legally equal to men, in reality, they were not.^[28] With these values shaping modern Japanese social structures, it is reasonable to suggest that similar gender divisions impact social structures within the Japanese kitchen, both professional and domestic, in a similar way as they impact the American kitchen. Indeed, it should be noted that social constructs concerning women's roles in society are not unique to Japan. Indeed, women globally have been construed this way, especially in relation to cooking.

Previous Scholarship: The Japanese Kitchen

While most of the scholarship has concerned Western countries, a few academics have studied the relationship between gender and cooking in Japan, albeit from slightly different standpoints. Relating back to the idea on women's role in modern society, originating in the Meiji era, Imai's work suggests that the Good Wife, Wise Mother ideology was expressed explicitly through cooking. Imai uses a case study of the Meiji-era magazine, "*Hocho-Ambai*" to analyze how it expresses gender through culinary teachings.^[29] Her findings suggest that the conceptualization of the Good Wife, Wise Mother coincided with the conceptualization of cooking as a teachable theory based on technique, rather than nutrition, in that education became a stressed component of women's lives in order to fulfill the "wise" aspect of the trope.^[30] This meant that through culinary education during this time, the kinds of hierarchies articulated by Harris and Guiffre were being established, where the Wise Mother aspect was taught both through culinary education, to become a better mother, as well as passed down from mother to daughter. This can be seen in Imai's analysis when she argues that, while the idea of culinary education allowed for both male and female participation in the same culinary schools, "women who received the same culinary education as men were not considered equal to men in society. They were not allowed to work as actively as the men, in equal positions as the men, but were required to work as merely assisting men."^[31] Furthermore, the main objective in many of the magazine articles geared towards women was to teach them homemaking techniques, such as treatment of servants, meal preparation, hosting, etc. ^[32] In this case, cooking is used to differentiate spheres in which it is acceptable for each gender to work, so that the domestic is feminine and the professional is masculine. Historically, the Meiji era represents the modernization of Japan, at the moment of industrialization and thus the formulization of social structures. Thus, to some extent, these hegemonic social structures can be considered to influence those in effect today and in relation to the previously discussed research on the workplace.

Against the idea that the domestic kitchen is gendered as feminine and the professional kitchen as masculine, one could argue that in modern times, these boundaries have become blurred by men entering the domestic kitchen. While men have indeed done so, this in fact helps to reinforce the gendering of each space. An example of this can be found in Yuen's work on the gendering of the boxed lunch (*obento*) as a construction of the domestic kitchen and the notion of home cooking as essential to women's roles. If the domestic sphere is feminine, then the *bento* epitomizes this role through the expectations on the housewife to prepare this meal for her family to take to work or school as a means of support, and is "subjected to the judging eyes of the school teachers and the children's classmates."^[33] In comparison, Yuen's work also looks at the relatively new image of the *bento danshi* (boxed lunch boy) who has made his way into Japanese popular culture since the publication of a newspaper article in 2008 describing the phenomenon. The *bento danshi* can be defined as "single men who bring their own *bentō* (boxed-lunch) to work and eat them in the office." At first glance, this seems like a challenge to the feminized kitchen space. Instead, analysis suggests a reinforcement of existing structures so that the *bento danshi* serves as another example of the feminized kitchen. Yuen, by analyzing cookbooks and other forms of media that have *bento danshi* as their audience, argues that the kind of discourse used to promote men's *bento* preparation is different from that of women.^[34] This discourse reinforces gendered space division by suggesting that, although the men are cooking from the home, it is not for the home, meaning that this activity is a temporary one done out of obligation in

order to support men's more accepted role at work.[35] Yuen writes, "by drawing upon and emphasizing practical reasons such as economic recession and health management to justify the *danshi's* entering of the home kitchen, cooking becomes a choice and not a chore for these cooking men." [36] In this sense then, the hegemonic force of the unmarried, masculine cook allows him fluidity not allowed to the housewife, so that he may enter the domestic kitchen out of choice, but also leave at will for a more desirable professional space. While these men are cooking out of necessity, the way in which this activity is presented, as seen in Yuen's analysis of Japanese media, says more about the women's roles it is reinforcing than about the men who are cooking. In this way, it functions to show the lack of choice women have in the kitchen and that even when they participate in an accepted manner, men doing the same task achieve higher praise and attention.

Not only do print media reinforce these gendered viewings of cooking in Japan, but television does so as well and arguably, given its pervasiveness, to an even greater extent. This has been studied by Holden who suggests that there is a variety of characteristics of masculinity that Japanese food television shows promote through food. Indeed, these shows clearly use markers to demarcate cooks based on gender, where women are presented either as the talent brought in for their celebrity status, or the housewife.[37] Even when female cooks are shown as presenting advice, rather than being referred to as chefs, they are specifically called "*riyori kenkyu ka*- literally 'food researchers,'" a role which, Holden explains, "tends to soften the impression left when a woman is offering advice to a male announcer or host." [38] This continues to play into the idea of women as helpful in the home, or in the professional kitchen as aids only. As Holden suggests, moreover, this also creates a narrow space for alternative forms of masculinity, both in the domestic and professional kitchen. Even though non-traditional men appear on the shows, they are depicted less frequently and are there solely for their fame or personality, in a similar way to the depiction of women.[39] In this example, the television shows perform gender for an audience so that they receive subtle visual cues concerning kitchen hierarchies.

The Aestheticization of Culinary Mastery and Martial Arts Ideology

While previous research sheds some light on the lack of female presence in the workplace in general and as professional chefs specifically, it does not account for the highly aestheticized nature of the profession of chef. The glamorization of the profession, as seen in *Jiro Dreams of Sushi* and other works by Gelb, suggests that there is something else impacting the gendered kitchen. As Ono's son's remark from the introduction of this work suggests, not only is the kitchen gendered, but, in some cases, hostile to female cooks. If films such as *Jiro Dreams of Sushi* are taken as primary sources which epitomize this aspect of professional cooking, in a similar way to the *bento danshi* cookbooks used as primary sources in Yuen's work, or the *Hocho-Ambai* magazine of Imai's work, then they can be seen as promoting a certain discourse. This discourse construes the profession of chef through the lens of martial arts ideology, so that professional cooking is not only tied to the masculine body, but that body is placed upon a pedestal to reinforce societal gender hierarchies through its aestheticization. Therefore, I propose that martial arts aesthetics should be considered to be another cause for the lack of women working as professional chefs in Japan.

To tie this concept into previous scholarship, Harris and Guiffre use Pierre Bourdieu's work on cultural production as a way of discussing chefs in Western countries, but the theoretical framework is applicable in the case of Japan as well. This concept suggests that the creation of art, in this case culinary art, is created within pre-established societal structures, including gender, which affect the ability of the creator to create and how their work is received, ultimately re-creating societal hierarchies.^[40] In this way, food as an artwork serves to reinforce hegemonic gender roles and power dynamics when it limits the ability of women to create, as well as have their creations received positively.

Based on this idea, martial arts can be applied to cooking in a few crucial ways. Firstly, like the Good Wife, Wise Mother trope, popular martial arts ideology can be traced to the Meiji era, when the Kano school of Judo was first theorized.^[41] What is so significant about this form of martial arts is that it was considered to be applicable to life in general.^[42] The implication here is that hegemonic gender norms found in martial arts help to reinforce these norms in society. As well, this school of martial arts is, as Shun argues, one example of the popularization of martial arts in general, beginning just before the 1990s and leading to its role as "a 'national sport' (*kokugi*) and body culture which came to symbolize Japan's modern national identity."^[43] If martial arts are not just a sport but also a way of life, then it is highly plausible that its reach permeates into work culture and the kitchen. Indeed, the focus of Judo from this school reinforces previously discussed ideals concerning the masculine kitchen. One way it does so is to prescribe a set of practices that prioritizes tradition. This can be seen in the work of Inoue, who describes the way in which the school's founder, Kano, argued for the reverence of old masters despite changing principles.^[44] This reverence is applied through the long held tradition *shu-ha-ri*, which is not only used in martial arts, but became applicable to other traditional forms of art such as *chanoyu* (tea ceremony), becoming cemented as a form of Japanese aesthetics. To define the concept, Wicks writes:

Sen no Rikyu (1522-91), one of the most well-known tea masters, advocated the idea of *shu-ha-ri*, which is that of observing rules to the point of perfection and then eventually departing from those rules further and further, keeping the basics in mind. This is another way of saying that a person's eventual status as a master-artist, whether that person is a tea master or practitioner of the martial arts (the concept is used in the martial arts as well), depends foundationally upon first perfecting, almost slavishly, the existing tradition of established rules. In the development of one's abilities, though, this respect for perfection-in-action is never lost.^[45]

Although this description itself is not specifically gendered, I argue that the tying of mastery to the body through masculine characteristics genders the concept. In one sense, this theory is based on rule preservation or status quo preservation, suggesting a lack of challenge to this status quo. This sets up the difficulty of changing any social structures created by this philosophy. The kind of social structure that this philosophy then creates is one that is gendered because of its bodily emphasis. This has two implications. Firstly, the physicality of martial arts relates to gender in the way that it uses the body in task repetition. Repetition and a connection to sport suggest stamina, which is also, in hegemonic thought, gendered as masculine. Once this repetition is complete, the master can transcend the bodily restrictions in order to be creative. This is hegemonically suited to men because, as prominent feminist scholar Firestone argues, women are perceived to be unable to transcend the body due to reproduction and their role as mothers.^[46] She writes, "throughout history, in all stages and types of culture, women

have been oppressed due to their biological functions.” [47] Powell adds to this when he writes, “Not only is the dominant culture sustained in this way, but women are alienated because of their reproductive capacity and the historical division of labour which surrounds child-rearing.” [48] In this way, the female body is natural and unrefined, whereas the masculine body is refined so that it is able to transcend bodily connection. This gendering of the body is supported by Follo’s work which suggests that, similarly to the female chefs in Harris and Guiffre’s study, female martial artists have to walk a thin line between maintaining enough strength to compete in their sport and appearing too masculine, lest they be socially labeled as deviant from gender norms. Follo argues this leads to their invisibility within the sport. [49] Secondly, class becomes implicated. Since mastery is here defined by repetition of tasks for long periods of time, it suggests a certain amount of economic freedom within which to repeat these tasks, which is more often restricted for women who would have to juggle both domestic and professional work. Both of these issues become reinforced by Edwards, who suggests that sports are used in Japan as a way to build national identity. [50] This suggests that, through a complex relationship, martial arts ideology affects women’s ability to participate in the concept of *shu-ha-ri* and thus women are unable to be considered masters.

Jiro Dreams of Sushi is a primary example of these ideals. The *shu-ha-ri* model is precisely the method used by Ono. As he states in the film, over a background of classical music and as the camera slowly moves over scenes of Ono preparing each piece of *nigari*, “You must dedicate your life to mastering your skill. That is the secret to success and is the key to being regarded honourably.” [51] This quote uses the language of martial arts such as, “master,” and “honour,” suggesting a link to the martial arts aesthetic. For Ono, this is the spirit of the *shokunin* or the artisan. In the film, one of his apprentices defines the *shokunin* when he states, “the way of the *shokunin* is to repeat the same thing every day.” [52] Moreover, the film uses interviews with food critics, such as Yamamoto Yasuhiro, in a similar way that both Holden, and Harris and Guiffre, argue masculine experts are used as validation. Yamamoto begins by relaying his credentials as a food critic and then states of Ono, “He repeats the same routine every day. He even gets on the train from the same position.” [53] All of these male ‘experts’ reinforce the kitchen as a masculine space: there is not a single female commentator in the entire film. Moreover, the imagery of repetition and the idea of the *shokunin* correlates with the ideology of *shu-ha-ri* previously discussed. This is not just the words of the people being depicted, but also through the film imagery as art. Using a variety of film angles, slow motion, and other film techniques, overtop a selection of European classical music or Phillip Glass compositions (all composed by men), the film aims to connect the artistic expression of sushi with that of film and music, further reinforcing the idea of mastery. In this primary source, the idea of the master, one who relies on martial arts ideology, helps to anchor the chef firmly in the masculine.

Ono’s remark that women are biologically unsuited to be chefs is rooted in Japanese history and social structures that persist to this day. Indeed, the action of cooking in Japan has been coded by gender, which reinforces societal hierarchies. This comes from Japanese modern history, beginning with the Meiji period in which the construction of modern gender identities was formulated, and continuing through the post-World War II era in which work place hierarchies during the economic boom became gender-based. Unfortunately, most scholarship has been concerned with Western countries, but their

statistics on the dominance of men in the professional kitchen are likely representative of Japan. This is backed up by what scholarship has been done on Japanese cooking. Indeed, the Japanese kitchen has been gendered through a division between domestic and professional which reinforces gender roles in society. In combination, it can be argued that not only is the kitchen space gendered, but also it has been aestheticized through media in a gendered way that also focuses on the body and creativity, which can be traced to an ideology of martial arts. Where much of the scholarship on Japanese cooking focuses on very specific aspects of gender in the kitchen, here it becomes important to recognize all of the issues in combination, in order to maintain a fuller picture of the Japanese kitchen. While that kitchen has been hostile to women in the past, there is hope that because this issue has been recognized, there will be change. An article in *The Guardian* in 2015 depicted the all-female sushi restaurant, Nadeshiko Sushi, with the aim of creating a space specifically for women to enter the profession. [54] While this remains a novelty for now, perhaps this is the creation of a new space, one where gender restrictions are transcended.

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[5] *Ibid.*, 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, 115.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 116.

[9] *Ibid.*, 117-18.

[10] *Ibid.*, 118.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*, 136.

[13] Shizuko Koyama, *Ryōsai Kenbo the Educational Ideal of 'good Wife, Wise Mother' in Modern Japan*, (Intimate and the Public in Asian and Global Perspectives; v. 1. Boston: Brill, 2013), 8.

[14]Ibid., 184.

[15]Ibid., 7.

[16]Deborah Ann Harris, and Patti Giuffre, *Taking the Heat: Women Chefs and Gender Inequality in the Professional Kitchen* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 2.

[17]Justin McCurry, "A raw deal: the female chefs challenging sushi sexism in Japan," *Guardian*, Dec. 25, 2015.

[18]Deborah Ann Harris, and Patti Giuffre, 3.

[19]Ibid., 18.

[20]Ibid., 45.

[21]Ibid., 86.

[22]Ibid., 94.

[23]Ibid., 97.

[24]Ibid., 131.

[25]Glenn D. Hook and Gavan McCormack, *Japan's Contested Constitution Documents and Analysis* (Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies/Routledge Series. London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 1.

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[29]Miki Imai, "Culinary Education in the Magazine "Hocho-Ambai"-Enlightenment for Both Men and Women by Cooks-," *日本調理科学会誌*,40, no. 5 (2007): 41.

[30]Ibid.

[31] Ibid., 46.

[32]Ibid., 44.

[33]Ibid., 222.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid., 223.

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[37]Todd Joseph Miles Holden, "The overcooked and the underdone: Masculinities in Japanese food programming," *Food and Foodways*, 13 (1-2) (2005): 51.

[38] Ibid., 51-52.

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[42] Ibid., 168.

[43] Ibid., 163-3.

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