

A nighttime photograph of a university campus. In the foreground, a calm pond reflects the warm, golden light of street lamps and the dark silhouettes of trees. The middle ground shows a path lined with bare trees and several glowing street lamps. In the background, a building with lit windows and a large, abstract sculpture are visible against the dark sky. The overall mood is serene and quiet.

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Editors' Note

AIU's Student Journal of International Liberal Arts continues to strive for excellence and engagement in the field of academic writing. Our student-led group aims to provide a platform for all AIU students to showcase their skills and passion in their prospective fields of interest.

We would like to thank faculty and the student body for consistently contributing to the journal during remote learning. As with previous editions, we have received a number of papers on many different themes and topics. This semester's journal continues to uphold high standards for the work published, which we hope will inspire more student submissions and participation.

Student contributions include not only academic articles, but also creative writing and art pieces. In the current 9th edition, Hikari Onuma created the collages and monochrome art pieces that appear throughout the journal. We also thank Yoshihito Kudo for his night view of AIU that he supplied for the cover photograph of this 9th edition.

As we prepare to go back to in-person learning, we hope that those of you that have yet to experience the fully in-person environment at AIU will enjoy all of the new opportunities that in-person learning at AIU can offer.

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Artist's Note

Hikari Onuma, Collage and Ink Drawings

Hikari Onuma created the two collages that appear in this edition of the journal, on pages 5 and 22, during the summer of 2021 after her first semester at AIU. To create these colorful pieces, she used old flyers and magazines she found while cleaning her room at her family home in Saitama.

Inspired by a famous fashion designer, she did the quick 3-minute ink drawings that appear on pages 44 and 76 from her observation of a live model on pieces of paper larger than the artist herself.

Onuma hopes to work eventually in the field of ethical design, and in addition to doing art as a hobby that helps her relax in her busy life, she has a strong interest in the environment.



ミモロ・保田
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Exploring Memeki Village's Cultural Landscapes: On Satoyama Landscape, Shrine Activities, and the Yashaki Legend

by Dan Roh

Dan Roh is a senior student majoring in Global Studies. Her essay "Exploring Memeki Village's Cultural Landscapes: On Satoyama Landscape, Shrine Activities, and the Yashaki Legend" was submitted in JAS 380 Akita Studies II under the supervision of Professor Ayumi Sugimoto. Dan has a deep interest in geography, especially in urban and rural geography. After learning rich cultural heritages in Akita while taking Professor Sugimoto's course, she has decided to delve into cultural geography of Akita, an area she is fond of, under the main theme of "cultural landscape." As for her future research endeavors, she would like to further develop her research putting emphasis on finding values and meanings of Akita's cultural landscapes in the recent globalizing world.

Introduction

Akita, a prefecture in Japan's Tohoku region, is now so-called Japan's most rapidly shrinking city. Its population is projected to decrease 41% by 2045, by when half of the estimated 600,000 residents will be older than 65 (Takenaka, 2018). Also, during most of its history, Akita has been considered part of Japan's *michinoku*, the "distant land," with most of its land covered with mountains (Quiñones & Mihoko, 2011).

Nevertheless, it might not be enough to deem Akita as just *Michinoku*. Akita's rich cultural heritages, which stemmed from its marvelous nature, are often undervalued, and blinded by the aging population. Historically speaking, Akita had been a notable historical site, although it has not been part of the recorded history for a long time. For instance, Kakunodate in Akita was the birthplace and home for *Rangaku's* leading scholar, Odano Naotake (Quiñones & Mihoko, 2011). *Rangaku* was the Dutch studies in the mid-18th century, while Odano's one of critical contributions was illustrations in Japan's first book about human anatomy. Furthermore, Shirakami Sanchi, an extensive mountain range throughout Aomori and Akita, was declared Japan's one of the first UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1993 ("*Shirakami Sanchi*," n.d.).

Considering these rich heritages on Akita's regional sites, the unexplored lands certainly deserve a better lens to be seen through. In this respect, Memeki village, a small village within Yuwa in Akita, demonstrates how the place needs a minute observation to discern genuine values. Based upon examination of cultural landscapes of Memeki village, this paper will delve into the following research questions;

What cultural landscapes does Memeki village hold?
How have they been evolved? What insights, values, and implications do they hold?

Methodology

For this research paper, three main methodologies were used. Firstly, the field research to collect data of

local assets was done through online fieldworks, provided in JAS380 Akita Studies II. It also includes the record of a telephone talk with Mr. Tadashi Kudo, a leader of the Yuwa Guide Volunteer Association. Secondly, in-depth information about Memeki village's community was provided by Mr. Masayuki Kyogoku's interview, who is the chief priest of Takao Shrine Satomiya and the staff of the Akita Bungaku Shiriyokan. Lastly, scholarly journals, books, and other sources for the literature review were collected from platforms like Proquest, JSTOR, and EBSCO. Throughout the research, I flexibly used data and information collected through the three methods in an attempt to seek answers of the research questions.

Literature Review

What is a Cultural Landscape?

To begin with, what are cultural landscapes? UNESCO's World Heritage Committee (2008) defines a cultural landscape as follows;

Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the "combined works of nature and of man"... They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal (p.85).

Under this umbrella term of a cultural landscape, UNESCO (2018) suggests three main categories. Firstly, it is the "landscape designed and created intentionally by man"(UNESCO, 2018, p.13) that is the most easily identifiable. Landscapes that were constructed for aesthetic reasons, including garden and parkland landscapes, fall into this category. They are, not always, but often involved with religious or other monumental constructions. Secondly, it is the "organically evolved landscape" (UNESCO, 2018, p.13); this landscape was built based upon initial social, economic, administrative,

and/or religious necessities, which evolved into the present form adopting to its natural environment. This second category is further divided into two sub-categories: (1) a relict (or fossil) landscape in which an evolutionary process has been ended at a particular time in the past: (2) a continuing landscape that keeps an active social role in the present society closely involved

with the traditional lifestyle, while retaining the evolutionary process in progress. Finally, the last category is the "associative cultural landscape." (UNESCO, 2018, p.14) Such landscapes hold powerful religious, cultural, or artistic linkages with the natural elements.

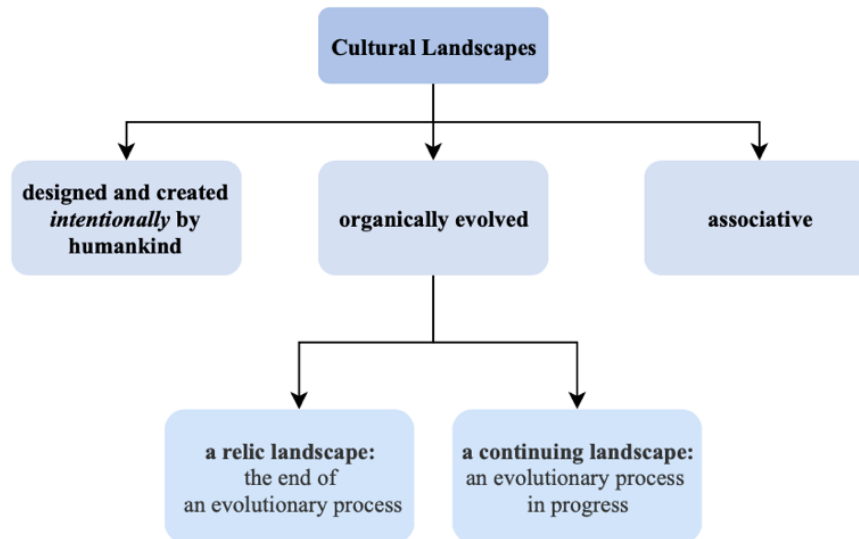


Figure 1. The diagram of cultural landscape categories (original)

With this regard, the term cultural landscape "embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment" (UNESCO, 2018, p.86). Cultural landscapes often comprise specific sustainable land-use techniques that consider unique attributes and limits of the natural environment that people reside by, with a specific "spiritual relation" to nature. Therefore, protecting cultural landscapes leads to the development of modern sustainable land-use techniques and the maintenance of natural values in that landscape, which holds biodiversity within it.

Based on the definition of cultural landscapes provided by UNESCO, here I suggest three different cultural landscapes of Memeki village:

1. Satoyama Landscape (organically evolved-continuous)
2. Shrine Activities (associative)
3. Yashaki Legend (associative)

From the following sections, relevant discourses regarding the three cultural landscapes will be reviewed.

Satoyama Landscape: Its Definition and Traditional Knowledge

According to Takeuchi et al. (2016), *satoyama* landscape refers to a "production landscape" (Takeuchi et al., 2016) that initially produced various goods necessary to sustain human livelihoods; therefore, *satoyama* landscape was traditionally shaped by

agricultural activities, use and management of forest and aquatic resources that created high self-sufficiency of the local area that was substantially dependent on local resources. This traditional Japanese rural landscape, formed through active human-nature interactions over centuries, holds a high level of biodiversity. Furthermore, people kept a sustainable manner of land use by forming specific measures to prevent the overuse of resources (Takeuchi et al., 2016). Therefore, *satoyama* landscapes are one of the manifestations that illustrate how a reasonable amount of human intervention contributes to keeping biodiverse habitats.

In contrast to active interactions between natural surroundings and villagers in the past, people started to neglect *satoyama* and move out to cities since industrialization (Takeuchi et al., 2016). At this point, the meaning and the concept of "satoyama landscape" had been expanded to state an "an ecosystem consisting of a diverse mosaic of agricultural and nonagricultural lands, including farm fields, rice paddies, irrigation canals, ponds, and human settlements, as well as woodlands" (Satsuka, 2012, p.80). As mentioned earlier, the population outflow to cities and the shrunk, aging farming populations generated the decoupling of social and ecological systems, which has continued to the present day (Takeuchi et al., 2016). Regarding the dissociation of the natural landscape from the social system along with much fewer human-nature interactions, many researchers argue to revive the circulation of resources within local areas and conserve

satoyama landscapes. For instance, Takeuchi et al. (2016) suggest local production for local consumption and ecotourism that provides enjoyment of nature and fresh foods as possible solutions for the revitalization.

Furthermore, traditional knowledge, which is the "knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities" (Takeuchi, 2016, p. 33) is an inseparable by-product from interactions between locals and satoyama landscape, as Centikaya (2009) argues. His study proves that traditional knowledge is one of the most significant cultural services that have emerged from human activities in satoyama landscapes (Centikaya, 2009). Considering values that traditional knowledge possesses, including its linkages between Japanese cultural identity, history, and traditional occupations, degradation of the satoyama landscape is intimately related with such values' disappearance.

The Evolution of Shinto and the Communal Shrine Activities

Japan is a country where it is difficult to draw a clear line between the 'religious' and the 'secular' since religious practices pervade various secular spheres (Hendry, 2013). Due to the mixed, syncretic religions, many Japanese people find themselves non-religious despite practicing so-called religious activities on a daily basis (Hendry, 2013). For instance, most Japanese people pray at shrines that also work as a place for annual events and communal gatherings. Within this religious syncretism, Shinto plays a critical role in the religious and secular spheres of Japan.

Hendry (2013) mentions that Shinto is associated with the "very foundation of Japan's identity as a nation" for its association with Japan's ancient mythology of imperial line. The word "Shinto" is directly translated to 'the way of the kami'; kami, which means 'gods,' is also applied to natural objects like trees, mountains, seas, and animals as well that stress Shinto's deep relation with nature (Hendry, 2013).

As mentioned above, Shinto is profoundly manifested in Japanese society, as shrines become the center of the local festivals. Within the process of such festivals and on a daily basis, communal cooperation are required. Members of a neighborhood community are "supposed to share the benefits and duties" (Hendry, 2013) of the local relationship, while festivals demonstrate the strength of communal participation and support (Hendry, 2013). Thus, the shrine's participatory activities that encourage communal cooperation prove how 'religious' activities can be intertwined in other social, cultural spheres; they illustrate how religion leaves an imprint on one landscape, through culture and lifestyle, represented by religious structures, religious traditions, and religious observance as Park (2004) points out.

Local Narratives: Local Legends and Japanese Oni

Legends are traditional story, associated with a certain locality or a person ("legend," n.d.). They may include mythical qualities, supernatural beings, or

explanations about natural phenomena while slightly differing from myths with a deep symbolic meaning.

According to Sinamai (2017), stories and narratives about a place prove the human-nature interactions throughout time. Specifically, a metaphor in them shows how the landscapes would behave towards human beings and human activities and how they communicate with humans. He (2017) further argues that cultural landscapes become 'houses' for myths, folklores, and narratives that play a role in the preservation of community cultures in the present time. Therefore, those narratives are "a reflection of a community's translation of space over a long period of time" (p.405).

In Japan, local narratives about kami (deities), hotoke (Buddha-nature), and yokai (goblins), for instance, denote people's wish for safe and comfortable living in harmony with their surroundings; the supernatural is an integral part of Japanese people's everyday life (Mitsuyo, 2017; Reider, 2010). Particularly, oni has sustained its longevity throughout generations of Japanese literature, religions, art, and alongside Japanese society (Reider, 2010). There are several arguments for oni's origins, varied from a purely Buddhist creation to roots in Chinese thoughts. Concerning oni's symbology, it sometimes expresses gentle aspects, despite the monster imagery, of being "harbingers of prosperity to humans," for instance. This also proves the interrelations of being kami from the other world (Reider, 2010). Reider (2010) claims that those positive aspects of oni can symbolize the "anti-establishment" vis-à-vis certain forms of hegemonic authority, as "other" or outsider. Thus, in this sense, oni plays a role as being "other" or "stranger" who is marginalized and silenced by the mainstream society within the local Japanese narratives.

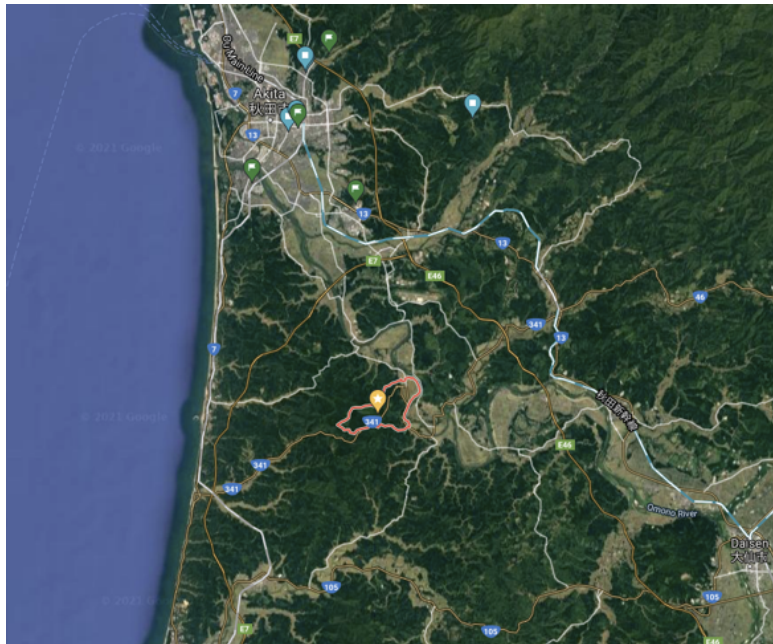
Analysis

The Case of Memeki Village

Memeki village is located in the Yuwa area of Akita Prefecture (Picture 1). As mentioned earlier, the village, which is surrounded by Omono river and Mt. Takao, possesses three represented cultural landscapes: satoyama landscapes with traditional knowledge, shrine activities, and local narratives of Yashaki legend. From now on, I will analyze each cultural landscape by using collected data and key concepts.

1. Satoyama Landscape

Memeki village is located within the satoyama landscape, which is a mosaic of various land types, including farm fields, human settlements, rivers, and woodlands. As seen in Picture 2, Memeki village represents a satoyama landscape with mountainous ranges, rivers, rice fields and paddies, and human settlements in harmony.



Picture 1. The location of Memeki village (the red-lined area) next to the Omono river (Takao shrine that will be discussed later is also pinned with a yellow star) (source: Google Map).



Picture 2. Satoyama landscape of Memeki village

Satoyama landscape's high level of biodiversity can also be witnessed in Memeki village. In Mt. Takao, various types of perennial and ephemeral plants, ranged from katakuri (dogtooth) to fukinoto (Japanese butterbur flower bud), can be found. Also, the Omono river has natural vegetation alongside the river, although the natural river flows had been embanked after the conservation work, as Mr. Kudo explained.

Furthermore, Memeki villagers have been actively interacting with their surroundings, retaining food and natural resources in a sustainable manner. According to Mr. Kudo, Memeki villagers could earn the main food supply at Mt. Takao in the 1940s and 50s. In spring, people collected sansai, the edible mountain plants, and ate them until winter by drying and pickling them. In

fall, people collected wild mushrooms while collecting charcoal during winter to make earnings. Mt. Takao was the main source of protein, as people hunted rabbits and birds to earn meats and fur. Also, Mt. Takao has been considered a sacred place that led people to manage their nature sustainably. For instance, when cutting down the thick trees, people firstly prayed for kami in Mt. Takao, according to Mr. Kudo.

Notwithstanding the decrease in such human-nature interactions, Memeki's satoyama landscape still facilitates the production and preservation of traditional knowledge. Mr. Kudo also demonstrated the transmission of traditional knowledge, explaining how his grandfather taught him the hunting skills and knowledge about wild animals. The represented

traditional knowledge is the kinds and locations of sansai, mountain vegetables, in Mt. Takao. As Memeki's local farm shop, in which sansai collected by villagers is being sold, illustrates, traditional knowledge of sansai is still sustained "by the sharing and transmission of knowledge between individuals, communities, and generations" (Cetinkeya, 2009, p.6).

2. Shrine Activities

In Memeki village, there are shrines called Okumiya and Satomiya. While Okumiya is located on top of Mt. Takao, 383 meters high, Satomiya was built for worship, considering Okumiya's difficult access on a daily basis. Regarding the shrine management, Mr. Kyogoku explained the four roles of shrine parishioners from 90 houses: 1. To hold shrine festivals: 2. To manage and preserve religious institutions and the surrounding environment: 3. To collect the management fund: 4. To manage the cedar forest of the village. The two villages divided by the Omono river take turns to do shrine works, although the obligations are not mandatory.

One of the shrine's critical roles is holding local festivals that seek the common goal as a community and keep local traditions. Although jichikai, an autonomous neighborhood council, oversees Shinto festivals, it is hard to separate the organization from the shrine community. In the case of Memeki, Bonden festival is one example, in which people visit every house in a neighborhood, blow horagai, a trumpet shell, and sing a song. During his interview, Mr. Kudo said that the "sustainment of shrines and festivals is the barometer of how healthy the community is." He also emphasized the role of community, saying "if there is no community, there will be no shrine in the first place." Furthermore, since religious syncretism that blurred the barrier between the religious and the secular fields also manifest in Memeki, shrine activities demonstrate a good example of the religious sphere resonating with communal cooperation, while shrine parishioners practice Buddhist and Taoist beliefs at the same time.

3. Yashaki Legend

The Yashaki legend traces back about 12 centuries ago when Yashaki with demon blood came over to the village and fell in love with Yoneko at first sight. Yashaki married Yoneko and enjoyed his power over the Mt. Takao area. However, he lost power after losing a fight with General Sakanoue no Tamuramaro and fled to the mountains in Oga. The village name Memeki is said to be originated from the name of Yoneko, using the same character to mean a "demon lady." The story was first written in *kinoheidayu-kei* that recorded the Takao shrine's origin during the Edo-period. Rogetsu Ishii, a poet from Memeki, is the one who rewrote the story as the newspaper serial. According to Mr. Kudo, Rogetsu Ishii contributed to sustaining the Yashaki legend due to easy access and reading of the newspaper.

On the other hand, the model of Yashaki is assumed as Aterui, who used to rule the Hokkaido and Tohoku area as the last leader of Emishi. It is also said that it is why Tamuramaro, who is portrayed as a barbarian-

quelling general, came to fight against Yashaki. Based on Reider's (2010) claim, Yashaki is then oni that stood against the hegemonic power and became marginalized by the mainstream society; he represents a group of Emishi who was considered "barbarians" and expelled by the central government, despite his demonic blood.

Furthermore, the sites related to the story in Mt. Takao demonstrate how narratives show the "communication" between the place and people. For instance, oni no sumotoriba, the demon's wrestling arena, in Mt. Takao is where Yashaki wrestled with his son in the narratives. Local people still enjoy their picnic and have lunch there, remembering the passed-down unique local narratives. Like so, the Yashaki legend includes local people's admiration and love towards their natural surroundings and furusato, one's hometown, according to Mr. Kyogoku.

Discussion

As reviewing the three cultural landscapes of Memeki village, we understood their origins, functionalities, and values. Satoyama landscape in Memeki is an organically evolved landscape, which resulted in continuing interactions between villagers to respond to their necessities. It still keeps an active social and cultural role within the region, making it a cultural landscape in evolutionary progress. Next, shrine activities are associative cultural landscapes that sustain various religious, cultural, and social linkages with their environment; the shrine is at the center of the village management and conservation of local cultures. Lastly, the Yashaki legend is also sustained as an associative cultural landscape aroused from Memeki's natural surroundings and holds strong linkages with the community.

Looking at the three, we can discern the foremost, critical element at their center: community. The community of Memeki villagers is the agent that has been sustaining the biodiverse mosaic lands, shrine works that maintain local cultures, and the traditional narratives going down for generations. In that sense, the community sustaining their village and local features contributes to strengthening the unique local identity. Hence, the value of cultural landscapes lies there within a community, establishing Memeki's unique characteristics discernible among other regions; the holistic view towards Memeki village with their cultural landscapes creates the "Memeki identity" all together.

Conclusion

In this paper, I explored three cultural landscapes of Memeki village, analyzed based on essential concepts of *satoyama* landscape, Shinto activities, and local narratives of oni. To sum up, the *satoyama* landscape of Memeki, with Mt. Takao and Omono river, is categorized as an organically evolved, continuous cultural landscape formed through human-nature symbiosis for resource collections. Furthermore, it is now and then a treasury of traditional knowledge, transmitted from generation to

generation. Shrine activities of Memeki, on the other hand, is an associative cultural landscape that holds a religious and a cultural linkage connected to their surroundings; they sustain neighborhood cooperation and local cultures through given duties and celebrations of local traditions, like Bonden festival. Also, Japanese religious syncretism allows Shrine activities to align with the social sphere of the village, further encouraging the community bond and cooperation. Finally, Memeki's local narratives of oni, the Yashaki legend, also belongs to an associative cultural landscape, showing how local people had communicated with the natural surroundings, Mt. Takao. Not only the Yashaki legend possibly includes the historical connotation of the last Emishi leader considered as the "other" against the hegemonic power, it shows the love of local people towards their hometown. More importantly, the three, seemingly separated elements, resonate within the common agent, community. The community of Memeki has been actively producing, sustaining, and

transmitting cultural landscapes throughout centuries. Here, the values of Memeki's cultural landscapes with the local identity are found to be sustained and strengthened by the local community.

Research Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The limitations of this research lie in the fact that relevant data of Memeki village was mainly collected through online fieldworks. Although they provided me ample sources, there may have been distortions within the data analysis as I could not collect them directly by myself in the actual field.

For future research suggestions, here are possible research questions to be explored more: What are the implications of Memeki's cultural landscapes in the rapidly globalizing, urbanizing world; what are effective ways to archive and transmit tangible, intangible cultural landscapes for future generations?

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Revitalization of Ainu Culture in Hokkaido

by Rika Hamayama

Rika Hamayama is a senior student majoring in Global Studies. Her essay "Revitalization of Ainu Culture in Hokkaido" was submitted in the Introduction to Japanese Society course under the supervision of Professor Kaeko Chiba. Hamayama has had an interest in indigenous studies, specifically in the indigenous cultures and traditions of Ainu communities in Hokkaido, Japan. After visiting sites, where Ainu communities and their cultures flourished, in Asahikawa, Nibutani, and Shiraoui in Hokkaido, she began to research how the Ainu communities in present day act to inherit and revitalize their cultures and traditions. Ms. Natsuki Kawakami, the interviewee in Hamayama's essay, also inspired and encouraged her to pursue her research on revitalization of Ainu cultures. As for Hamayama's future research endeavors, she would like to investigate initiatives to disseminate Ainu languages in Hokkaido with a comparison to language education programs of Te reo Māori in New Zealand.

Introduction

Ainu is the indigenous people in the northern part of Japan, mainly residing in Hokkaido. Nowadays, Ainu people live throughout Japan, speaking in Japanese in public and dressing in westernized clothes just like other people. In 2008, Nibutani Ainu Museum was reported in the New York Times as a center of cultural revitalization and negotiation with the Japanese government (Onishi). In the following year, traditional Ainu dance, called *sinot*, *rimse*, *horippa*, *upopo*, or *heciri*, depending on the region, was nominated as an intangible cultural heritage by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2009). A YouTube channel focusing on the Ainu language and traditions run by a youth Ainu activist, known as the *Shito* channel, also attracts approximately 10,000 audiences. Concerning these upward worldwide recognitions, the author will research what other initiatives are taking place in Hokkaido, what the motivations to revitalize the Ainu culture and language activists have, and what ambitions and hope there are for the next generation. Hence, this paper covers the following topics: historical background of the Ainu people, current issues surrounding Ainu communities, and initiatives taken by an activist in Hokkaido.

Historical Background of Ainu People

Since Ainu cultures and languages have been inherited verbally for a long time, few documents explain their history. Moreover, many historical documents on Ainu are mainly from the perspective of non-Ainu people living in Japan (Ota, 2012, p. 16). In the 12th century, the origin of Ainu culture called *Satsumon* culture, which exchanged earthenware transformed into a new culture that produced rituals and Ainu patterns, was born (Hokkaido Ainu Association, 2016, p. 2). In the 13th century, a headman government was established in Ainu communities as the commodity economy developed (Hokkaido Ainu Association, 2016, p. 2). The habitat of the Ainu people was extensive between the 17th century and 19th century. Their habitats, called *Ainu mosir*, included current Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and Shumshu Island (Hokkaido Ainu Association, 2016, p. 1).

Due to the Meiji Restoration in 1867, a new assimilation policy implemented by the government prohibited the Ainu communities from their traditional hunting and fishing (Noguchi & Fotos, 2000, p. 46). In 1871, the government prohibited the tradition and customs of Ainu people, such as tattoos, and forced them to learn Japanese (Hokkaido Ainu Association, 2016, p. 3). In 1901, the government accelerated assimilation by educating Ainu children in Japanese at a separated institution from non-Ainu children (Hokkaido Ainu Association, 2016, p. 3). After the world war, although many Ainu owners returned to their homeland, *kotan*, once they had to abandon, it was almost impossible to take them back from the farmers (Cornell, 1964, p. 301). Moreover, the number of *kotan* declined because of the discriminatory policies. In 1986, Nakasone, the Prime Minister of Japan at that time, made a slip of the tongue that "Japan was an ethnically homogenous nation" (Hokkaido Ainu Association, 2016, p. 4). With the Act on the Promotion of Ainu Culture, and Dissemination and Enlightenment of Knowledge about Ainu Tradition, etc., enacted in 1997, the government began promoting Ainu cultures (Takasaki & Okada, 2014, p. 12). Nevertheless, because of the repeated discrimination and assimilation by the Japanese government and society over 150 years, Ainu communities in present days struggle with issues discussed in the next section.

Current Issues Surrounding Ainu Communities

Three current issues surrounding the Ainu communities in Hokkaido are discussed in this section. Firstly, the number of people who voluntarily contribute to the communities has decreased due to the discrimination and assimilation against Ainu descendants throughout hundreds of years. Ishihara points out that a large number of Ainu descendants reject to identify themselves as Ainu and live as "silent Ainu" in order not to financially or socially struggle (2018, pp. 3-9). There is also an issue of an aging population, which results in fading cohesiveness and unity to maintain the communities (N. Kawakami, personal communication, July 6, 2021). Therefore, rather than a decline in the population of Ainu descendants, the main problem is the increasing number of Ainu descendants who keep their distance from the communities.

Secondly, the Ainu communities lack a nationwide awareness of cultural revitalization. According to a national census targeting citizens in Japan over 18 years old, more than 90 percent of all the age groups, regardless of gender, answered that they recognize Ainu people (Cabinet Public Relations Office, 2018, pp. 2-3). When it comes to recent preservation, inheritance, and revitalization of their culture and language, only 30 percent of the respondents were aware of it (Cabinet Public Relations Office, 2018, pp. 4-8). Hence, promotions of the Ainu communities' current initiatives are necessary to establish the permanent rights of the Ainu as the indigenous people in Japan.

Thirdly, Ainu communities in Hokkaido are in a dilemma of losing their languages despite recent promotions of Ainu cultures and traditions. In other indigenous communities, such as those in Latin America, the governments' multiculturalism and indigenous cultural rights did not contribute to the revitalization of the indigenous languages because of socioeconomic inequalities between indigenous and non-indigenous groups (Yoshioka, 2010, p. 9). Similarly, Ainu descendants have social and financial disadvantages in Japan. These three issues need solving for the successful revitalization of Ainu culture.

Initiatives Taken by an Individual Activist in Hokkaido

Ms. Natsuki Kawakami is an activist of the Ainu cultural revitalization who identifies herself as an Ainu and whose relatives are Ainu descendants from Nibutani, Biratori. She has attended the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples hosted by the United Nations twice. She has been exposed to Ainu culture from her early childhood at an association that reserves and inherits Ainu culture and currently teaches and performs traditional dance and embroidery in Sapporo. She also educates a wide range of students from elementary school to employees at enterprises about Ainu cultures. In an interview that the author conducted, she mentioned several hardships in her revitalization activities. One of them is the difficulty in teaching Ainu cultures in an enjoyable manner to those indifferent to them (N. Kawakami, personal communication, July 6, 2021). Especially among elementary school students and students who visit Sapporo as a school trip, some know nothing about Ainu and its culture, even the Ainu people in Japan (N. Kawakami, personal communication, July 6, 2021). Even then, Ms. Kawakami attempts to entertain those students while providing knowledge of Ainu so that the moment of learning will be memorable and contribute to producing new scholars who appreciate Ainu culture as a study. Concerning education of Ainu culture, she also points out that the number of instructors who can teach Ainu cultures at educational institutions from elementary to university is scarce in Hokkaido (N. Kawakami, personal communication, July 6, 2021). When she was an elementary school student, her teacher for social studies stated in class that "Ainu people no longer exist in Japan" (N. Kawakami, personal communication, July 6, 2021).

On the very next day, she brought her traditional clothes, attus, and headband, matanpus, to school and

showed them to the teacher to claim that "Ainu people are present" (N. Kawakami, personal communication, July 6, 2021). Her experience implies a lack of knowledge and opportunities to learn about Ainu at a systemic level.

Another issue is that activists, including Ms. Kawakami herself, are the minority among the Ainu people, noting many different degrees of identities as Ainu in Hokkaido. Some never identify themselves to be Ainu, while others secretly do so to avoid discrimination from non-Ainu, as stated in the previous section (Ishihara, 2018, pp. 3-9). She argues that the activists hesitate to promote Ainu cultures conspicuously or assert their rights as indigenous people (N. Kawakami, personal communication, July 6, 2021). She also explains that it is common for Ainu adolescents to undergo the period of attempting to abandon their identities as Ainu, and some return to their communities, whereas others leave. This period either brings on more actors to enhance the Ainu communities or reduces the number of actors for the next generation. At the end of the interview, Ms. Kawakami also commented as follows:

I want to achieve a society where the generation of my grandchildren are proud of being Ainu and normally live as Ainu rather than a society where Ainu people face reverse discrimination.
(Personal communication, July 6, 2021)

Although she has been engaging in inheritance and revitalization of Ainu culture by herself, she senses pressure. That is to make the effect of her initiatives last for the long term, not temporarily. Even though the popularity of Ainu cultures significantly jumped up due to the influence of soft power, she has become even more careful and taken a modest approach to disseminate her knowledge about Ainu cultures (N. Kawakami, personal communication, July 6, 2021). Since Ainu activists, the actors concerned, feel discouraged to raise voices, there is a need for third parties, including university students keen on Ainu cultures and those outside of Japan who criticize the Japanese government for unjustifiably treating Ainu people for more than 150 years.

Conclusion

This paper introduced the history of the Ainu people in Hokkaido and how Ainu culture has been revitalized, and the obstacles that could disturb them. Despite the history of assimilation and discrimination by the Japanese government and current issues that the communities face, many actors in Hokkaido have been striving to revitalize the Ainu culture and language. Significantly, the initiatives taken by Ms. Kawakami proved that an individual actor could revitalize Ainu cultures without governmental financial resources or aids if only a passion existed. Although there are numerous issues to settle in Hokkaido, findings from the interview with Ms. Kawakami demonstrate that youth can contribute to the communities by researching Ainu to accomplish a society where Ainu people can feel safe to live and proudly identify themselves to be Ainu.

The author hopes this paper could contribute to the prosperity of Ainu communities in Hokkaido somehow by reaching out to more English-speaking readers who might get interested in Ainu cultures and the revitalization activities.

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The 1941 Oil Embargo as a Result of Unintended Factors and Leadership Failure

by Jio Kamata

Jio Kamata is a senior student majoring in Global Studies. His essay "The 1941 Oil Embargo as a Result of Unintended Factors and Leadership Failure" was submitted to the Global Studies Capstone Seminar under the Supervision of Professor Norihito Mizuno. Kamata has a keen interest in Diplomatic History and US-Japan relations. Being biracial, having origins in both the US and Japan, encouraged him to learn about the past history of the two countries that were deeply important in constructing his personal identity. Moreover, the outbreak of the war between the two had significant influence in shaping the current relationship that exists now and led Kamata to explore more about the cause of the war, which Kamata assumes was the US oil embargo against Japan. As for further research, Kamata is interested in the details of the negotiations between US and Japan regarding the oil purchase which actually failed and is oftentimes overlooked.

Introduction

On December 7, 1941, Japan attempted a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, triggering a bloody war between the US, killing thousands of people on both sides. What has caused the reckless action of Japan, which critics describe, despite the dependence on US oil (Record, 2009), is oftentimes attributed to the oil embargo implemented by the US. As a result of the oil embargo, Japan was put into a corner, firmly believing that a surprise attack was the last option that was left to them. However, despite the almost unanimous consent towards the view that the oil embargo had invoked Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, also being the cause of the Pacific War, there seems to be a divergence in the perspectives regarding why the oil embargo was implemented in the first place.

One of the prominent perspectives that explain the background of the oil embargo, often labeled as the revisionist view, argues that the policy was part of a grand scheme to allow the Roosevelt administration to enter the war, albeit strong anti-war sentiment existing within the public. Percy Grave (2010), who was the author of "Pearl Harbor: The Seeds and Fruits of Infamy", classified as one of the revisionist scholarships, argued that there were political reasons why Roosevelt wanted to enter the war; to find a breakthrough to revitalize the economy. Therefore, since entering war would mobilize the nation to produce military resources, resulting in boosting the economy, having a war with Japan was required to achieve Roosevelt's goals. However, taking into consideration the isolationist sentiment prevailing in the US, a rapid provocation from the US's side was impossible. Thus, by borrowing Grave's words, the US attempted to induce Japan to fire the first shot, by economic sanctions, which eventually escalated to the oil embargo. In addition,

Kitaoka, although refuting the revisionist perspectives, claiming that the US intended to drag Japan into war, still shares the assumption with the revisionists that the Roosevelt administration was certain that they were prepared to fight a war with Japan at some point in the future (Kitaoka, 2019).

Furthermore, there are arguments that state that the oil embargo, rooted under the misperception of Japan's intentions, was a measure to deter Japan's expansion (Hosoya, 1968). According to Hosoya, two assumptions constituted economic pressure against Japan, including the oil embargo. One was that considering Japan's relative weakness to the US, in terms of the industrial and military capability, Japan would eventually back down from its assertive behavior. Two was the conviction that only a tough stance towards Japan will bend her will to take assertive measures. Moreover, following the second assumption, Ben-zhi (1975) also states that the firm belief of the influential members in the Roosevelt administration resulted in the hairline stance of the US towards Japan. Therefore, scholars like Hosoya or Benzi would argue that, because of a misperception, resulting from false assumptions that the US had possessed towards Japan, the oil embargo had been implemented.

However, the existing literature sometimes provides false analysis or fails to provide a bigger picture of explaining the decision behind the oil embargo. First, tracing Roosevelt's remarks and decisions prior to the oil embargo, the assumption that the scholarly points of view that were introduced in this paper has, that Roosevelt was willing to fight a war with Japan, seems to be inaccurate. In contrast, it appears to be that Roosevelt was extremely reluctant, adopting any sort of measure to prevent war with Japan. Second, the assumption held by the revisionists that Roosevelt was the dominant figure

that made the decisions to stop the oil from flowing into Japan, ignores the specifics that led to the oil embargo. Third, although there are scholars that negate the narrative that the oil embargo was some sort of a plot, they also fail to elaborate in detail about what led to the oil embargo.

Having those insufficiencies in the existing literature in mind, this paper would argue that the decision to implement the oil embargo was an accidental and an unintended one, resulted due to the lack of the Roosevelt administration's oversight over the decision-making process, and the lack of the concentration on events occurring in the Asian theater. First, by analyzing the actions that Roosevelt took prior to the embargo, this paper would emphasize that the president himself did not intend a complete oil embargo. Moreover, by focusing on Dean Acheson, the paper considers the main cause that led to the complete oil embargo. In addition, this paper would try to fill in the gaps of the detail of the process that led to the oil embargo that the existing literature lacks. Finally, after analyzing the main cause that had contributed to the oil embargo, this paper would raise factors that created a window of opportunity that led to the actual policy.

Characteristics of Roosevelt's Foreign Policy to Japan

In the first part, this paper would illustrate the characteristics of Roosevelt's attitude toward Japan, by mainly focusing on two parts; prior to 1941 and during 1941, when the oil embargo was at the eve of being implemented. By doing so, this paper would attempt to construct the narrative that Roosevelt was restrained to take a hard stance towards Japan, which goes against the narrative of what the revisionists consider as true.

1. The Hoover Doctrine as the Foundation of Roosevelt's Approach towards Japan

Firstly, in order to construct the narrative that Roosevelt's foreign policy towards Japan was a less confrontational one, this paper would first begin to look at the onset of that policy from 1933 as an inheritance of the Hoover administration's policy. The Hoover administration's approach to Japan, which was eventually crystalized as the official stance towards Japan in the following administration, became apparent, during the aftermath of the Manchurian incident in 1931. One of the vocal critics of Japan's aggression inside the Hoover administration during that period was Henry Stimson, then secretary of state. Following the incident, Stimson published a note, implicitly criticizing Japan based on violating the principles of the Kellogg Briand Pact of 1928, which renounced war as a measure of maximizing national interest, and the nine party treaty, that emphasized the importance of the openness of China and its sovereignty (Current, 1954). In addition, within the note, he declared that the US would not recognize any illegal changes in the status quo, also criticism of Japan's action in Manchuria (Wright, 1932).

Overall, Stimson's attitude towards Japan, emphasizing the principle of non-recognition of Japan's action, was later referred to as the Stimson Doctrine.

Moreover, Stimson, having the belief that Japan's aggression would not be stopped, merely by public statements. Moreover, he argued to Hoover that economic sanctions should be an option. Nevertheless, although cooperating with Stimson to coordinate the note that condemned Japan's action, Hoover did not buy Stimson's idea of economically pressuring Japan. He thought that was a path too extreme to proceed (Current, 2019). Eventually, Hoover, having concerned that economic sanctions would trigger a war with Japan, made the decision not to adopt Stimson's policy proposal, while assuring his cabinet that he would continue the moral pressure towards Japan. In sum, Hoover's approach towards Japan, described by Current as the Hoover doctrine, was combined with two characteristics. One was that the US would not use any coercive measures that involved economic sanctions that would escalate the tension. Two, was that the US was willing to utilize moral pressure and public opinion, in order to resolve conflict (Current, 2019).

2. Roosevelt's Attitude towards Japan from 1933 to 1937

Additionally, this paper would discuss the characteristics of Roosevelt's foreign policy towards Japan, while taking into account components of the Hoover doctrine. According to Graebner, who compared both Hoover and Roosevelt's approaches towards Japan, possesses the same point of view. According to Graebner (1974), Roosevelt inherited Hoover's approach towards Japan without questioning its substance. In other words, he implied that the Hoover doctrine, which Current had indicated, was reflected in Roosevelt's foreign policy towards Japan.

To elaborate on why Roosevelt virtually inherited the previous administration's Japan policy, it was due to domestic constraints. Roosevelt himself had characteristics of an internationalist, due to his international experience during his early ages, and being a supporter of President Willison, who had a progressive view towards international politics, even initially supporting Willison's claim to join the US into the League of Nations (Dallek, 1995). However, at the same time, he was a realistic politician who understood the constraints he was facing (Aruga & Miyazato, 1983). Roosevelt had to prioritize domestic affairs, which was still struggling with the aftermath of the depression. Thus, it made it difficult for Roosevelt to spare his time on foreign affairs, especially in the Far East where the US had little vested interest. Moreover, considering that Hoover was also facing these same constraints as Roosevelt did, it can be an example of why their policy towards Japan aligned during his early period as President.

Having those constraints, Roosevelt continued to

mimic the previous administration's Japan policy that was contradictory in a sense where the rhetoric and the actual substance of the policy did not match (Aruga & Miyazato, 1983). Although Roosevelt had continued to sustain the Stimson doctrine, which advocated for non-recognition of forceful change in the status quo, he tried to avoid confronting Japan with coercive measures, sustaining the Hoover doctrine. There were two incidents in 1937 where the Roosevelt administration was reflecting the principles of the Hoover doctrine. One was the quarantine speech made by Roosevelt. In this speech, Roosevelt argued that the international community should stand up against the aggressor states that are challenging the preexisting international order, and advocated for the necessity to quarantine those states as if there were epidemics (Miller Center, 2017). However, despite using the word aggressor in his speech, he did not specify which nations fit those criteria. Moreover, the speech did not follow substantive measures that intended to quarantine the aggressor states, for instance, Japan (Haight, 1962).

The second incident was the Brussels conference, held under growing concern among the signatories of the nine-power treaty, considering the escalation of the Sino-Japanese conflict. However, notwithstanding the claims for a stronger position against Japan among the delegations, the US, represented by Davis, intentionally avoided the conference from reaching a consensus of taking further actions, including economic sanctions, based on the instructions that Roosevelt ordered (Boothe, 1972). As a result, the conference itself was only able to condemn Japan's action (Graebner, 1974).

Based on these observations of these two cases, they indicate the firmness of Roosevelt's decision to adhere to the Hoover doctrine, amid the growing threat of Japan in East Asia. Although Roosevelt condemned Japan through public statements, he did not intend to go further than that, ruling out the option of imposing a ban on oil exports to Japan. However, around 1938, the US started to change its policy towards Japan into a more firm version. Nonetheless, at the same time, despite the seemingly growing firmness, the principles of the Hoover doctrine partially continued to remain.

3. Roosevelt's Attitude towards Japan from 1938 to 1940

Several incidents encouraged the modification of Roosevelt's approach towards Japan. One was the expanding war in China, followed by the bombardment on Chinese cities and threatening American interest located in China, also disrupting US's access to the Chinese market. In addition, the seemingly growing ambition of Japan, represented by Prime Minister Konoe's announcement of the "New Order in East Asia", exacerbated the threat of Japan (Graebner, 1974). Responding to those developing events, various stakeholders who wanted a firmer stance towards Japan had started to emerge. Consequently, although being slow and hesitant, Roosevelt gradually started to modify

his original stance towards Japan by implementing economic sanctions, providing financial aid towards China (Graebner, 1974). However, amid growing pressure against him, Roosevelt continued to avoid measures that would be detrimental for Japan. Moreover, the specific measure that he had in mind was a complete ban on oil exports to Japan.

According to Steele, Roosevelt had the belief to implement the decision that he considered as the best course of action, while not being constrained by public opinion when approaching Japan (Steele, 1984). For instance, in 1938, Roosevelt was pressured by the public, increasingly demanding firm action against Japan. Under the initiation of interest groups, which rapidly gained prominence and financial contribution, the public began to question the necessity of indirectly being involved in the war in China, because of exporting war-related items towards Japan (Utley, 1976). In addition, during that period, a large amount of the population began to realize that it was immoral to continue the support towards Japan. Consequently, due to the mounting pressure from the public, Roosevelt eventually announced the implementation of a so-called "Moral embargo", which was intended to stop the export of aircraft to Japan (Utley, 1976). However, even after that announcement, the US continued to export items that would allow Japan to sustain its war effort in China, implying that the "Moral embargo" was merely a way to calm public resentment (Utley, 1976).

Moreover, the following year of the implementation of the "Moral embargo", which lacked actual substance, Roosevelt had to face another pressure group that demanded policies against Japan that had actual teeth, which was Congress. In 1939, the Roosevelt administration was facing a sizable amount of pressure from Congress, also confronted by the hardline stance of the public that was mentioned above (Masland, 1941). At that time, Congress was attempting to pass legislation that would effectively provide the authority to force the administration to implement sanctions, regardless of their will (Berle, 1973). As a result the Roosevelt administration suddenly announced the termination of the 1911 Japan-American commercial treaty, which would remove the obstacles to implement any type of economic sanctions.

However, at the same time, although this action was perceived as a dramatic change of the US's stance towards Japan, intended to deprive the momentum of the forces in Congress, preventing those forces from limiting the administration's number of options (Utley, 1976). In fact, despite having the power to take any type of economic sanctions, the administration continued to sustain its less confrontational approach towards Japan. In addition, that attitude indicates that the decision to terminate the treaty was also for calming the resentment of the stakeholders, in this case, the Congress (Utley, 1976).

Furthermore, Roosevelt continued to sustain the Hoover doctrine, regardless of his cabinet members suggesting a tougher stance towards Japan. His cabinet members had contrasting views regarding how to engage with Japan. One group, which Smith referred to as the hawks, represented by Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, demanded an oil embargo to halt Japanese expansion. On the other hand, Secretary of State Hull and the military supported continued diplomatic negotiations, negating the option of an oil embargo that would trigger a war with Japan (Smith, 2009). Ultimately, although Roosevelt tried to appeal to the hawkish group by gradually implementing sanctions with substance, such as the ban of copper in 1940, he usually favored the latter group, represented by Hull. For example, he once mentioned during a conversation with Morgenthau, a prominent hawk within the administration in February 1941 that he possessed the belief that Hull's way of dealing with Japan was the right course of action that the US should take (Smith, 2009). Moreover, even after he received intelligence in advance that Japan was about to move to southern Indochina, and was pressured by Morgenthau to respond, he refused to even consider an oil embargo (Smith, 2009). Furthermore, even after the day Japan occupied Indochina, he still possessed the firm belief that the US must not overreact in response (Smith, 2009).

Overall, after analyzing Roosevelt's approach towards Japan, chronologically, there has been a consistent principle underlying it. That was the preservation of the Hoover doctrine, constituted from moral pressure and the avoidance of detrimental effects towards Japan, which was especially evident prior to 1938. Moreover, although Roosevelt seemed to detach himself from the doctrine, following the events after 1938, in reality, he did not deliver policies that were embedded with actual substance. Thus, considering his less confrontational attitude towards Japan, it is difficult to assume that Roosevelt was planning to drag the population into an unwanted war, as the revisionists consider. In fact, Roosevelt himself was genuinely trying to avoid war with Japan, amid pressure externally and internally.

The Background of the Oil Embargo

However, despite Roosevelt's desire to avoid full pressure against Japan, in August 1941, the US had eventually imposed a complete oil embargo, which effectively stopped the export of oil to Japan. Consequently, in this part, this paper would discuss the reasons why the mismatch between the administration's intentions and actual policy occurred. Moreover, this paper would argue that the mismatch occurred because of the revolt of the implementer, which eventually became the oil embargo.

The 1941 oil embargo consisted of two phases. The first phase involved the instructions given by Roosevelt. Following Japan's advancement to Southern Indochina,

on July 26 Roosevelt made the decision to freeze Japanese assets in the US (Anderson, 1975). However, this policy did not ultimately result in the oil embargo. Although Japanese assets in the US, essential for export payments, were effectively under the control of the US government that was still not detrimental for Japan. If the President gave permission, Japan could use the assets and pay for the exports, including oil. In other words, as long as Japan was able to endure the inconvenience, as a result of the asset freeze, Japan still had the opportunity to seek oil resources from the US, based on Roosevelt's instructions (Anderson, 1975). Moreover, Anderson's illustration of Roosevelt's consistency on his stance that a full oil embargo was out of the question. Although his administration reached a consensus that a freeze in Japanese assets should be executed, he also instructed that the policy regarding oil should be focused on restricting the amount of aviation oil export. Furthermore, it ought to be noted that Roosevelt's intention was to not completely ban the flow of oil as a whole (Anderson, 1975).

Furthermore, following Roosevelt's remarks, it indicates that not only behind the scenes but also publicly, he was consistent in his views that an absolute oil embargo was the wrong policy to take. According to Harold Ickes, who was Roosevelt's secretary of the interior, mentioned in his diary that Roosevelt, on July 24, indicated that he was going to continue the export of oil, in a frustrating way (Icke, 1974). In addition, during an impromptu speech that day, given to the volunteer participation committee, he stated the importance of why the US should not completely cut off the oil export to Japan (FDR library, 1941). In fact, he even made the proposition that the fact that the US had not implemented a detrimental oil embargo to Japan was the reason a war had not broken out in the Pacific (FDR library, 1941).

Nevertheless, despite Roosevelt's desire to avoid a full embargo, his orders were ultimately transcended into one. In order to understand the reason why the second phase of the oil embargo, the implementation phase has to be examined. The agency that implemented Roosevelt's orders was the Foreign Funds Control Committee, composed of individuals across agencies. In addition, the agency had the authority to determine whether foreign assets would be released (Beisner., 2009). One of the influential members within that committee was Dean Acheson, then assistant secretary of state. He was one of the prominent voices that supported a complete oil embargo against Japan, and an ally of the hawks in the administration, notably Stimson and Morgenthau (Smith, 2009, Anderson, 1975). He and his allies believed that Japan would stop her advancement if they were economically suffocated. Moreover, even if the US imposed a full oil embargo against Japan, they didn't anticipate Japan to respond aggressively (Sagan, 1989). As a result, due to those assumptions, they possessed at that time, despite Roosevelt's wishes to avoid a full embargo, he and his

hardliner colleagues created a path to that actual policy (Smith, 2009).

As Acheson had mentioned in his memoir, his department intentionally distorted the orders from the executive branch and constructed three principles to discourage Japan from purchasing oil. One, not giving Japanese stakeholders instructions on how to purchase certain commodities. Two, blocking the release of assets when there is a suspicion that secret funds located in the western hemisphere could be used for payment. Three, refusing the admission of export payments as long as it is not earned by the sales of imports (Acheson, 1987).

Moreover, not only did he discourage Japan from purchasing commodities but he also refused to release Japanese assets, albeit requested from Japanese oil businesses. Based on the second principle that was aimed to deter the Japanese from applying for more export, he advised Japanese officials to use the unfrozen funds located in Brazil, if they wanted to proceed with their oil purchase. Although the officials finally decided to follow Acheson's request, on September 5, since their initial attempt to request for oil, a month has passed without any oil being shipped to Japan (Anderson, 1975). As a result, the halt in the export of the oil for an extended period, despite the fact that an official ban on oil exports to Japan was not made, became a *fait accompli* that the US was indeed implementing a full oil embargo (Anderson, 1975; Beisner, 2009; Utley, 1985).

The decisions made by Acheson and his comrades took place while Roosevelt was absent, due to a meeting with British Prime Minister Churchill in Argentina, Newfoundland. Moreover, Roosevelt did not know until mid-September that a *de facto* oil embargo was in effect during his absence. However, Roosevelt ultimately acknowledged the *fait accompli*, his effort to avoid a full oil embargo since he entered office. There are speculations why Roosevelt in the end compromised with his long-held beliefs. However, as argued by multiple scholars, if Roosevelt had reversed his policy at the point that he recognized that a full oil embargo was in place, it may have sent wrong signals to Japan, encouraging her assertiveness. Moreover, a reversal of it would have raised concerns among their allies that the US would not support them when help is in need (Anderson, 1975; Smith, 2009; Utley, 1985). Thus, Roosevelt's approval of a complete oil embargo towards Japan was based on his political calculation, taking into account the prospect of international affairs.

Overall, based on the analysis of the process that led to the oil embargo, it was a result of the hardliner bureaucrats, who forcefully constructed a *de facto* embargo, during the absence of the President, who did not want that policy outcome. Moreover, considering this analysis, it could be said that the oil embargo was attributed due to unintended factors, rather than a product of careful deliberation.

Examining the Europe first strategy

Furthermore, this paper would discuss the factors that contributed to the unintended result; the failure of Roosevelt to implement his restrictive version of the oil embargo. The main factor that contributed to that result was the adoption of the Europe first strategy, implying the less prioritization of events occurring in the Asian theater. The downfall of France, followed by the invasion of Germany, convinced quite a few stakeholders in the administration to be more focused on European affairs.

One of the stakeholders that had significant influence on Roosevelt to adopt a policy that prioritized Europe was Harold Stark, who represented the US navy (Neu, 1987). Soon after the German invasion, Harold Stark, who was the Chief of Naval operations, conceptualized the navy's stop priorities through a memorandum, implying that US's major threat is Germany and the US has the obligation to defend Britain from that threat (Neu, 1987). In addition, attributed to the positive chemistry that Roosevelt had with the navy, presumably because of his years as undersecretary of Navy during the Willison administration, the avocation by the navy was adopted, faithfully turning US's focus to the European theater as a national strategy (Neu, 1987). However, paradoxically, the adoption of the strategy above meant that the situations surrounding Japan would automatically be less prioritized (Neu, 1987).

In fact, Roosevelt's visit to Argentina to meet Churchill, which took place after Roosevelt's instructions regarding the policy towards Japan, showed the negative consequences of the Europe first strategy. Considering that the mismanagement of the oil policy toward Japan was likely to lead to war, as Roosevelt had acknowledged, it would have been safe for him to visit Churchill after supervising the instructions that were if he truly wanted to focus on Japan. Moreover, considering that a war with Japan would disrupt the strategy of prioritizing Europe, it was even more rational for Roosevelt to do so.

However, since Roosevelt was consumed by the events occurring in Europe, he rushed his way to Argentina, implying his high commitment to the Europe first strategy, which opened up a window of opportunity for the hardliners to implement a policy based on their preference without Roosevelt intervening. In sum, the hardliners, who implemented the full oil embargo took Roosevelt's absence for advantage. Moreover, taking into account the absence was a result of adherence to the Europe first strategy, it could be said that the strategy itself created a window of opportunity for the full oil embargo to be implemented, and implying the strategy itself was the indirect cause of the Pacific war, caused by Japan that was desperate for oil.

Conclusion

Overall, this paper attempted to describe the nature of what ultimately materialized as the oil embargo. Despite the previous scholarships that argue that the decision was based on Roosevelt's firm beliefs, on the contrary, what was firm was Roosevelt's will to avoid a full oil embargo, which he perceived as a red line that he should not cross, since the beginning of his presidency. However, despite his desire, to prevent a full oil embargo that would likely trigger retaliation from Japan, headliners represented by Acheson, while Roosevelt's absence, basically distorted Roosevelt's orders and the chain of command, putting a de facto oil embargo into effect. In addition, as mentioned above Roosevelt's lack of oversight in the implementation process of the restricted version of the oil embargo, was partly a result of the strategy that the US adopted to priorities incidents that were taking place around Europe.

Moreover, the analysis of this paper illustrates the difficulty of leadership amid a crisis, especially during a period of times when multiple issues, which are all consequential, arose at the same time. If Roosevelt had prioritized events occurring in East Asia, although he may have prevented war with Japan, Nazi Germany would have likely expanded the sphere of influence, putting the British into a difficult position. At the same time, one may say that even if Roosevelt had taken that sort of action, the result would not have changed and war with Japan was inevitable. Nonetheless, the fact itself that Roosevelt was in a position to take into account various issues that were developing constantly, indicates the difficulty of crisis leadership. Moreover, the hardship that Roosevelt faced is a reminder for future leaders to be prepared to perform competently whenever they encounter that type of situation.

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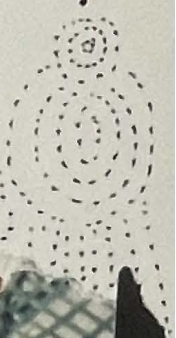
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Equal Right to Save Life: Blood Donation

by Riko Tomita

Riko Tomita is a sophomore student. Her essay "Equal Right to Save Life: Blood Donation" was submitted in Composition 2 under the supervision of Professor Lee Friederich. Tomita has had a keen interest in gender issues, diversity, and blood donations. Inspired by the cancer of her precious teacher at AIU, she built a club, AIU Red Cross Youth Volunteer Corps. After establishing the club, she joined the Akita Prefecture Student Blood Donation Promotion Council and held the blood donation event on campus. In addition, the club had a unity ceremony in December, and Akita Sakigake Newspaper covered the event. As for Tomita's future research endeavors, she would like to debate regulations of blood donors in other countries and their equality or diversity.

Abstract

This paper discusses the issue and need for setting eligibility criteria of male blood donors who had sex with men whom blood centers regard as having high risks of HIV infection. The United States eased their deferral period for following blood donations from one year to three months in 2020 to solve a lack of blood donors. Over the revision, however, there are some concerns about the balance between the safety of donors' blood and donors' right to make blood donations. This research pursued the question, what Japanese donors' eligibility criteria of men who had sex with men (MSM) should be to maintain a stable and safe blood industry suffering a lack of blood donors. A survey and an interview for a gay man revealed different views on the present MSM's qualification criteria for blood donations. One of them saw it as a crucial system to save safe blood, and another saw it as discrimination toward MSM. A questionnaire also indicated a lack of knowledge and interest in blood donation of young Japanese generations in the first place. The low awareness toward blood donations promoted a lack of blood donors and even biased impressions toward MSM. Through the research, moreover, I found a new possibility: the cultural background might reflect how to set the guidelines for MSM in other countries. Hence, each country has room for improvement of criteria in its original way. In conclusion, I suggested that measures based on donors' sexual behaviors would work flexibly, rather than the current rules separated by a group of gay and bisexual men in Japan.

Keywords: Blood Donation, Gay and Bisexual Men, MSM, Eligibility Criteria, HIV

Introduction

Serious Shortage of Blood Donors

In Japan, in the Kanto-Koshinetsu region, about 45,000 donors decreased from initial expectations during seven months in 2020 (Fujiwara, 2020). In the United States, blood centers can save only less than one day's supply while an ideal stock of blood is a one to two weeks supply (Sahu et al., 2020). Under the COVID-19 pandemic, a lack of blood donors has become a significant worldwide issue. The situation where hospitals do not have enough blood donors, do not have enough blood to save someone, and finally cannot save patients' lives could happen on a global scale. To address the urgent and immediate need for blood, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) (2020) was recently forced to shorten the waiting period for the next blood donation from MSM and female partners of MSM from one year to three months. It tried to increase the number of donors even though, according to the FDA, MSM's risk of human immunodeficiency virus infection (HIV) is still high.

Special Eligibility Criteria of MSM

As for the eligibility criteria of MSM, many countries set standards, and Japanese guidelines set their eligibility criteria as six months in terms of their high possibility of HIV infection (The Association for Japan Exchange and Teaching, 2019). Over the criteria which target MSM, profoundly concerning is the possibility of leading to discrimination toward gay and bisexual men; it can be said that the standards consider primarily the safety of provided blood. To limit discrimination in Canada, the Canadian Blood Services (CBS) (2021) offers a counter-example by removing eligibility criteria for MSM, currently set as three months, and using sexual behavior-based screening for all donors instead. In their statements, they aim for actualizing an equal society in terms of gender, sexuality, racialization, class, and other important factors. Blood donors' eligibility is one of the things we need to consider now as issues about sexual minorities, a group Japan is slow to understand. Based on the recent revision of the FDA and the CBS, what should Japanese MSM's eligibility be to maintain a stable and safe blood industry facing a lack of blood donors?

Literature Review

Japanese History of Blood Donation

In Japan, until the Red Cross Society institutionalized a blood donation system based on a uniform standard applicable across the country as it is now, private blood banks collected blood with monetary exchange. (Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS), 2020). According to Macleod (2019), the needy used it to make a living, considering the value of blood. Making blood donations repeatedly, however, can cause severe physical damage, including migraines and fainting to donors' health, and donors giving blood many times cannot provide healthy blood to patients (Mahdawi, 2020). In Japan, the 1946 Reischauer stabbing incident changed the unsafe system by setting a safely controlled blood donation system. Reischauer, the then United States ambassador to Japan, was stabbed with a knife when visiting Japan. He had surgery with a blood transfusion, but he, unfortunately, got infected with hepatitis due to an inadequate safety measure of blood donations and finally died of hepatitis-related cirrhosis and hepatocellular liver cancer in 1990 (Blaxell, 2014).

Process of Providing Safe Blood

After the Reischauer case, Japan revised the old system, and the JRCS (2020) began to lead blood donation campaigns. Currently, each country sets guidelines to prepare safe blood to patients under the policy of the World Health Organization (2012), as Japan does to minimize possible diseases from blood, including HIV. When Japanese people make blood donations now, they answer a medical questionnaire, consisting of more than twenty questions, including about sexual contacts first (see appendix A). The Japanese guidelines, for instance, prohibit people who received dental treatment involving bleeding within three days, who returned to Japan within four weeks, or who received a coronavirus vaccine within 48 hours from making blood donation (The Association for Japan Exchange and Teaching, 2019). Blood provided by donors then passes a screening test to ensure the safety of blood before reaching recipients.

MSM's High Risk of HIV-infection

HIV is a virus that attacks the body's immune system and can lead to acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), n.d.). People are infected with HIV through direct contact with certain body fluids, including semen, from those with HIV (HIV. gov., n.d.). According to the National Institute of Infectious Diseases (2018), about 70% of the new HIV diagnoses are MSM in Japan. The CDC (2021) explains anal sex is the riskiest type of sex, and it is a cause of the higher risk of MSM's infection. Therefore, the United States had banned MSM entirely from making blood donations until 2015, when the waiting period for them became one year, and more recently three months (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) et al., 2020).

The JRCS also refuses MSM and all people who had sex with anonymous or new partners to make blood donations within six months. When making blood donations, however, the only way to check whether donors meet all eligibility criteria is donors' responses. Screening tests conducted before delivering blood to recipients are not perfectly correct, and a case of HIV infection due to blood donation occurred in 2013 in Japan (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.; Kyodo, 2013). As a result, the MSM's eligibility is set strictly after the Reischauer case occurred.

Discrimination toward Gay and Bisexual Men

The biggest issue in the strict eligibility criteria is that only a group of gay and bisexual men receive different treatment. The standards accept lesbian and bisexual women who had sex with women or heterosexual people who had sex with their identified partners without any deferral because, as mentioned above, their sexual practices differ from those of MSM. In short, MSM cannot cooperate with blood donations even if they are gay or bisexual couples loving only each other and identifying the partner. Of course, the CDC (n.d.) data suggests a higher risk of MSM's HIV infection. However, it is also a fact that everyone is at risk of HIV because anal or vaginal sex of non-MSM can also involve touching with semen or vaginal secretion (Rizza, n.d., as cited in Shortsleeve, 2018). Not being a gay or bisexual man does not mean people are never infected with HIV. In practice, HIV tests are compulsory regardless of their gender when immigrants enter some countries (American Public Health Association, 2016). The revision of MSM's eligibility criteria, moreover, can be one of the causes to change donors' eligibility further positively and abolish gender discrimination in the future (Grace et al., 2021). For example, the organization, Blood is Blood (n.d.) requests the ban of MSM's criteria, and a gay man even requested the MSM's equal right to make blood donations to Europe's top courts (Exter, 2016). The courts judged that although certain limitations to treatment provision can be justified there is room for setting a less invasive alternative.

New Standards of Blood Donation

As a compromise of the eligibility related to sexual contacts, the Human Rights Campaign (n.d.) suggests the introduction of individual risk assessment for donors' specific behaviors, including drug use or transactional sex defined as sexual relationships motivated by the implicit assumption that sex will be exchanged for material benefit or status (Sircar, 2018; Strive Channel, 2017). The current eligibility criteria put all MSM together and restrict them. It constructs all MSM as HIV-positive and non-MSM as risk-free and gives damage to the gay community by stigmatization and further marginalization (Jubran et al., 2016; Sircar, 2018). With safe sexual contact, including prior HIV checkups and the use of condoms, MSM can minimize the risk of HIV infection, and people who had unsafe sexual contact are at higher risk of HIV infection.

Condoms can reduce the HIV infection risk from anal intercourse by 91% (Johnson, 2018). The safety of donors' blood depends on individual consciousness toward sexual contact, so it can decide the propriety of blood donations.

Necessity for Fundamental Reform

The MSM eligibility criteria of blood donations can be one of the crucial elements for reconsidering discrimination toward sexual minority people and immediately overcome the current low blood supply during the COVID-19 crisis. The current policy makes gay and bisexual men distrust the medical care system that supposedly takes care of them (Aravindakshan, 2015; Karamitros, 2017). What kind of process is required to change the existing criteria positively? I will survey young Japanese people's attitudes toward blood donations and interview gay and bisexual men about the current restrictions to find my original opinion on the question.

Methodology

Guiding Questions

The theme of my essay strongly affects the future medical environment because young people have the responsibility of keeping a secure blood supply. To collect real voices among the younger generation, I conducted an interview and a survey targeting Japanese young people. I asked about experiences and impressions of blood donations, recognition of eligibility criteria of blood donors, and opinions about MSM's eligibility criteria. They are based on a guiding question: What should Japanese MSM's eligibility be to sustain a steady and safe blood industry facing a lack of blood donors? In addition, I talked to a Japanese young gay man to ask about his opinion as one of the possible targets of MSM, based on my guiding question: What kinds of the process is necessary to change the existing criteria positively?

Setting and Participants: Survey

One hundred participants responded to the survey in total, and 96% of them were in their late teens and twenties. As for the nationality of participants, I added a sentence, "Since the survey target is Japanese people, the explanation here is given only Japanese" to the description of the survey, so all the participants answered they have roots in Japan.

Setting and Participants: Interview

As for the interview, I conducted an interview with one Japanese young gay man via ZOOM because of the COVID-19 pandemic. I contacted him through a Japanese woman at the same university as me, whom the professor of my writing class introduced to me. In the ZOOM session, the woman who introduced the interviewee to me also attended.

Data Collection: Survey

I posted the survey using Google Forms on the AIU Facebook community and my personal Instagram account. The survey was available for seven days from 21 June. The survey included two sections. In the first sections, I collected the participants' personal information, including age and nationality. In the second section, there were five questions. In the first two questions, the survey asked about whether they had donated blood or not and their impression of blood donation. From the third to the fifth question, I asked prior knowledge and ideas about eligibility criteria for blood donations. Participants answered about their knowledge with open-ended and multiple-choice questions. After I explained the details of the guideline based on the HIV-infection risk and requests of sexual minority groups, they answered their opinions about the criteria with the two-choice question: Agree or disagree and explained the reason for their choices (see appendix B).

Data Collection: Interview

I interviewed a young Japanese gay man via ZOOM for about 25 minutes on June 26, 2021. I received permission to record the interview with him. Before asking questions, I introduced myself, and he introduced himself as well, including his sexuality as a gay man. I set eight questions, and asked him to look at them in advance (see appendix C). During the interview, I shared my screen of questions I asked him. I asked for his real feelings toward the current Japanese eligibility criteria and revision by the FDA in the U.S. with similar questions in the online survey, explaining the restricted purpose and anonymity of the interview.

Findings: Survey

Attitudes toward Blood Donation

Among all 100 participants, 41 of them answered that they have heard and made blood donations, and 59 people answered that they have heard blood donations, but they have not made blood donations (see figure 1).

Experiences and Impression toward Blood Donations

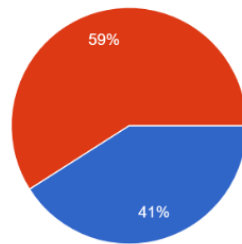
With the first and the second question, I researched the relationship between attitudes and impressions toward blood donations. I categorized the choices into two: positive feelings, including fun and helpful, and negative feelings, including pain, fear, and anxiety. I found that people who have heard of blood donations and have experienced them likely have more positive impressions of blood donations. Among 41 participants, 40 of them have some positive impressions toward blood donations. Only 11 people, about 27% of the people have negative feelings about them.

On the other hand, people who have not experienced blood donations even though they have heard of them

Q1. Have you ever heard "blood donation" or made blood donation? 問1.

過去に「献血」について耳にしたこと、または献血に協力したことはありますか？

100 responses



- Yes, I have heard and made blood donation. 献血について耳にしたことがあり、協力したこともある。
- I have heard blood donation, but I have not made blood donation. 献血について耳にしたことはあるが、実際に協力したことはない。
- No, I do not have any knowledge about blood donation. 献血について耳にしたことはなく、協力したこともない。

tend to have negative feelings about them such as fear and pain. 36 people out of 59, about 61% of them, answered that they have some negative feelings.

As for other answers, participants answered that blood donation is healthy, a volunteer activity, and because a blood donation can worsen anemia, donors can receive some snacks at blood centers. Moreover, a participant answered that he or she feels thankful for blood donations because he or she has received a blood transfusion.

Experiences and Knowledge about Blood Donations

In the third question, I asked about knowledge about the eligibility criteria of blood donors with a yes or no question. 80 people knew that there are some criteria for blood donors (see figure 2), but in the question asking for details of criteria, only 17 participants answered they knew the criteria related to HIV, AIDS, and sexual contact. Among them, people who have donated blood accounted for 70%.

Eligibility Criteria for MSM

In the fourth question, I researched for participants' knowledge about eligibility criteria focused on MSM. Only 26 people knew the standard, and it was revealed that some people who have made blood donations do not carefully consider the criteria (see figure 3). From the fact that some people who have donated blood did not know the criteria, they do not consider it because they think it does not apply to them.

Opinions about MSM's Criteria

In the fifth question, to investigate the reaction toward the MSM's eligibility criteria, I asked whether participants are convinced with the guideline that "men who have had sex with men within six months cannot make blood donation"? 58% agreed with the guideline, and 36% disagreed with it. 6% chose "other" and responded that they cannot decide on either one, do not know, or somewhat agree (see figure 4).

As for reasons for their choices, people who agree with the criteria answered that it is valid for blood centers to provide as safe bloods as possible. People who disagree with it are afraid that the eligibility criteria of MSM can lead to biased views for them.

Findings: Interview

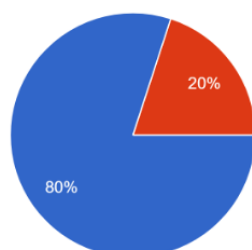
Experience of Blood Donation

I conducted an interview with a Japanese gay man. He made blood donations when he was a high school student and a university student several times because he received an email that a lack of blood donors had become an issue. At that time, he had recognized himself as a gay man. Before he had made blood donations for the first time, he had not known detailed information of the criteria for donors, though he had thought that there were some eligibility criteria. He also had known that there were some standards related to sexual contact, but he had not expected that they referred to MSM before making a blood donation.

Q3. Do you know you need to meet eligibility criteria to make blood donation? 問3.

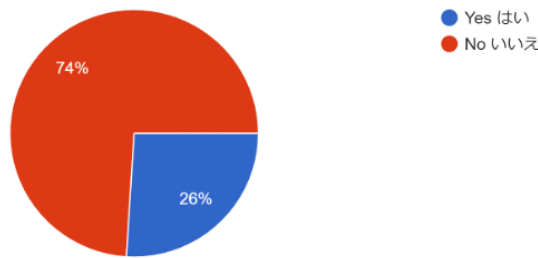
献血をするためには様々な基準があることを知っていますか？

100 responses



- Yes はい
- No いいえ

Q4. Have you known the guideline that "men who have had sex with men within six months cannot make blood donation"? 問4. 「過去...、献血をすることはできない」という条件を知っていましたか?
100 responses



A Real Voice from the Gay Community about MSM's Eligibility Criteria

As the CDC (2021) stated that the risk of MSM's HIV infection is higher than others because of anal sex, he pointed out that everyone, not only MSM is at risk of HIV infection through sexual contact. He also doubted whether the current restriction focused on MSM is effective or not to minimize the risk of HIV infection. On the other hand, he mentioned that he can understand the criteria for MSM concerning the situation of the government which wants to save the cost and time of conducting HIV check-up tests. Moreover, he stated that the possibility of leading to gender discrimination cannot be a reason for disagreeing with the current policy, upon clarifying MSM in the guideline can lead to having negative impressions toward homosexual males. As a solution, he suggested the criteria is enough to suggest whether donors had sexual contact or not regardless of their sexuality.

After the main interview, the woman who accompanied him to the interview also suggested a new idea: She said that having one or multiple partners might connect with how to set the criteria in other countries.

Discussion

Little Interest in Blood Donation

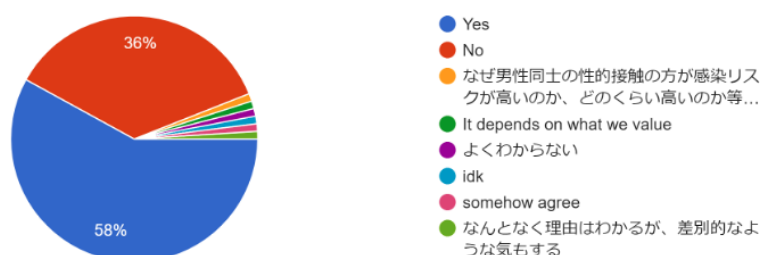
The research revealed a reality that many young people did not have enough knowledge or background about blood donations in the first place. The low awareness of blood donation can be one of the factors to decrease the

number of blood donors. About 60% of participants had not made blood donations though they had heard of blood donations, and this number increases worries about the future blood supply. According to my survey, people who had not made blood donations tended to have more negative impressions of blood donations. They might create an image of blood donation as a painful or risky action based only on their simple impressions about blood donation and avoid it. Blood centers need to focus on the spread of correct information about blood donation to enhance the donors.

Regarding knowledge about criteria, although 80% of participants knew that donors need to meet some requirements, few people knew the restriction about sexual contact. Examining the correlation between experience and knowledge about blood donations, there was also a tendency that people who had never made blood donations did not know the criteria. Among them, one misunderstood the requirements of MSM and answered that the Japanese blood centers completely banned MSM from blood donation, though MSM can make blood donations with enough of a deferral.

Therefore, mentioning "MSM" in the Japanese policy can give incorrect information about MSM. Even those who have read the guideline and donated blood do not pay attention to the criteria enough. They might see the MSM's eligibility criteria and remember them partially, focusing on the shocking information for them. It is even possible that some people take "HIV" for an MSM's disease from just a few keywords such as "MSM" or "HIV." As the male interviewee stated, the guideline does not need to bother writing "MSM."

Q5. Reading the detail of the guideline, are you convinced with the guideline that "men who have had sex with men within six mon...た場合、献血をすることはできない」という条件に納得しますか?
100 responses



Gap of Opinions about MSM's Eligibility Criteria

There are various ideas about MSM's eligibility criteria, and the survey and interview clarified a gap between public opinions and those of the male interviewee. In the survey, about 60% of subjects agreed to the current set guideline because of keeping or providing recipients with safe blood. Among the participants, one answered that the stricter the criteria are, the better the requirements are.

On the other hand, the interviewee pointed out the need to research blood donors' HIV risk by blood centers. As an important aspect for setting the guideline, he suggested the HIV-infection risk focus on blood donors, not HIV patients as a whole. He doubted the actual impact of the criteria. In the secondary research, the CDC (n.d.) data proposed a higher risk of MSM's HIV infection. However, the higher risk of MSM is calculated from all the patients with HIV. The data does not mean that gay and bisexual blood donors actually tended to be infected with HIV. In the country easing the criteria for MSM, the United States, no case of infection of HIV from blood donors has been reported yet after the revision by the FDA. Moreover, the Canadian Blood Services (2021) hinted at the possibility of further change of the criteria. Thus, it is worth the Japan Red Cross Society trying to fix its standards from small steps as well, as new information about the relationship between blood donation and HIV is revealed.

Ideal Criteria

I have researched blood donors' eligibility criteria as a conflicting argument of the high risk of HIV infection and discrimination through heterosexism and homophobia. As a compromise of the contradictory issue, measures based on individual sexual behaviors, such as the ones the CBS (2021) has implemented, can give an equal chance to donate blood. However, when setting the guidelines, we need to consider the influence of other elements. As the interviewee answered, each blood center faces its own issues, including costs of screening or testing and ideas about the marriage system when establishing guidelines. It cannot be stated that eligibility criteria strictly exclude MSM from the target of blood donors without any evidence.

From the aspect of costs, it is a fact that blood donation involves the following steps: recruitment of blood donors, blood collection, testing, preparation, storage, and supply. At the stage of testing, blood centers check the risk of HIV, hepatitis, blood cell count tests, and so on (see appendix D). They involve various costs and a lot of time (Japanese Red Cross Society, n.d.). To save money and time, excluding MSM from blood donors might be seen by some as an easy way to guarantee safety.

From a different cultural perspective, the National Health Service (NHS) (2021), which manages blood donation in the UK, revised its eligibility criteria in June. Blood centers no longer ask if the donor is a man who had sex with another man, removing the assessment element based on the previous population-based risks. Instead of

that, all donors are asked if they had sex with the same sexual partner for the last three months or if they had sex with new partners who had anal sex. Donors are also asked if there is recent exposure to sexually transmitted infections or recent use of prevention methods to reduce the risk of HIV infection by taking anti-HIV medication before or after sexual activity. The Netherlands will also introduce the system that all men who are in a monogamous relationship, regardless of their sexuality, can make blood donations without a waiting period (Stevenson, 2021). Under Islamic law, a man marries up to four people at the same time. Considering the domestic difference in religion, the Netherlands government decided to set the new guideline.

To the extent possible, each blood center aims to provide equal rights to each person who wishes to donate blood. I expect the advanced revision would change the current Japanese eligibility criteria, considering the rights of minority gay and bisexual men.

Conclusion

The FDA's revision of the blood donors' eligibility criteria to overcome the current coronavirus crisis had a significant impact on the ideas toward the right of gay and bisexual men. Japan also received an opportunity to think about its criteria. In Japan, both awareness toward blood donations and knowledge about MSM's blood donors' eligibility criteria are still low. The current Japanese standard strongly reflects the concern for HIV infection from a blood transfusion. The JRCS tries to minimize the risk of HIV infection from donors at an earlier stage before donating blood. However, in a culture where we need to respect minorities more, the present restriction excludes gay and bisexual men from the blood donors' community. My survey and interview revealed positive and negative ideas about the Japanese MSM's criteria among young Japanese people. Small activities of Japanese blood centers and voices of gay and bisexual men would lead to a significant change.

As another finding, many young people have negative feelings because of a lack of knowledge about blood donations and criteria for blood donors. Japan can solve the problem of decreasing donations in parallel with a discussion about MSM's criteria by facilitating better understanding of blood donations themselves. Nevertheless, one thing the research can say for sure is that we must respect a donor in front of us as a person, rather than a group based on his or her sexuality.

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Changes in Japanese Awareness Regarding the Construction of a High-level Radioactive Waste Disposal Site

by Takuji Mizunoe

Takuji Mizunoe is a sophomore student majoring in Global Studies. His essay "Changes in Japanese Awareness Regarding the Construction of a High-level Radioactive Waste Disposal Site" was submitted in the ENG150 Advanced Research Writing course under the supervision of Professor Lee Friederich. Takuji experienced a small amount of exposure during rescue operations in Miyagi and Fukushima prefectures in 2011. Since then, he has been concerned about the environmental issues related to nuclear power, and in this essay, he focus on the problem of the high-level radioactive waste final disposal site, which has not yet been solved after a long period of time.

Abstract

In Japan, dangerous high-level radioactive waste continues to increase. Originally, for safety reasons, final disposal waste is required to be stored deep underground, but this location has not yet been decided, and dangerous ground storage is currently continuing. This may be due to the presence of Japanese nuclear allergies formed after World War II. This paper considers how the accident at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station affects nuclear allergies and final disposal site problems and provides clues for solving the final disposal site problem in the future. In the survey, we collected and analyzed the current situation of Japanese nuclear allergies and public awareness of final disposal sites through questionnaires and interviews. As a result of the investigation, it was concluded that the government and affiliated companies need to understand the current sentiment of Japanese people regarding the construction of final disposal sites and take an active stance toward the project.

Keywords: Nuclear, Allergy, Radioactive, Disposal Site, Fukushima

Introduction

The Japanese are trying to return to a peaceful life where they can freely use electricity without worrying too much about the high-level radioactive waste that continues to accumulate. The waste temporarily stored in Aomori Prefecture is ground storage that is highly likely to be affected by the natural environment, such as natural disasters and the social environment such as war and terrorism. Originally, it should be stored in a stable and deep stratum that is not affected by external influences at the final disposal site, but in Japan, even the construction site of the final disposal site has not been decided.

Ten years have passed since the Fukushima explosion, but the terms "nuclear power" and "radioactivity" still greatly influence the Japanese people. Usually, the "nuclear allergies" that were strongly imprinted on the Japanese by World War II and subsequent incidents were thought to dilute over time (Nagai, 1977). However, this Fukushima accident may have amplified allergies to many generations and imprinted allergies on younger generations. On June 24, 2021, Fukui Prefecture announced the restart of the Takayama nuclear power plant. After the Fukushima accident, the government ordered all nuclear power plants to shut down for inspection, but they gradually began to restart due to the completion of the assessment. However, it means

that high-level radioactive waste will continue to increase. Therefore, the problem of the final disposal site is no longer being put off.

Literature Review: Japanese Nuclear Allergies

"Nuclear allergies" are hereditary emotions peculiar to Japanese people who show an extremely strong rejection just by hearing the word "nuclear" (Samuels & Schoff, 2015). The source of Japanese nuclear allergies is the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The immediate post-war media provided photographs of its destructive power in Japan ('Analysts: Japan Getting Over Nuclear Allergy', 2009) and reported on the existence of radiation-induced atomic bomb disease, that is, the effects of radiation on the human body. Furthermore, the death of a sailor due to the radiation of Daigo fukuryu-maru in 1951 further heightened the fear of radiation (Dusinberre & Aldrich, 2011). At the same time, the fact that the Japanese main source of food, marine products, was contaminated with radioactivity made the fear of radioactivity decisive. In particular, this incident instilled a fear of radiation in the housewives who were in charge of cooking at home, that is, many women. Until now, male-centered nuclear allergies have spread to all people, regardless of gender or generation (Nanba, 2008). There is one point to note here: Until the 1970s, the term "nuclear allergy" was largely dominated by fear of nuclear

weapons and nuclear war (Nagai, 1977). When the Japanese at that time heard the word nuclear, the first thing that came to mind was "weapons." In other words, under their consciousness, "weapons" and "radioactivity" with this destructive power existed as one (Weiss, 2020).

Impact of the Accident at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station

Nuclear allergies, which were dominated by nuclear weapons and nuclear war, gradually moved away from us due to the end of the Cold War in 1989 (Oelrich, 2005) and the suspension of nuclear weapons tests. On the contrary though, as it was reported that nuclear power plants were built one after another (Japan Atomic Energy Relations Organization, 2020a) and that the temporary treatment of nuclear waste discharged from nuclear power plants was carried out overseas, so it is highly possible that the term nuclear allergy has come to be dominated by nuclear power and radioactivity. However, an event that changed such a situation suddenly occurred, the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant that shocked the world.

How much influence does the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant have on our thinking about nuclear power? From the previous figures, there is no doubt that it had an impact. The photos and videos of the destroyed facility after the explosion may have reminded us of "destruction" due to the weathered nuclear allergies. After that, the term "harmful rumors" became known. For example, just because the production area is Fukushima, there is a problem of intentionally suspending transactions or avoiding purchases. Such side effects and the influence of international public opinion on treated water are fully conceivable. On the contrary, the movement of anti-nuclear power plants, which increased significantly immediately after the accident, has decreased year by year. The reason for this is the global trend towards reducing carbon dioxide emissions. A nuclear power plant that does not emit carbon dioxide in the process of generating electricity is a clean power generation facility from the perspective of global warming. The anti-nuclear movement has declined as environmental movement activists have failed to find new energy alternatives to nuclear power (Dreiling, Lougee, & Nakamura, 2017). In this way, as the environment surrounding us changes gradually, knowing the people's thoughts on nuclear power and radioactivity before and after the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant will play an especially important role in deriving the process for solving the final disposal site problem in the future. In particular, we must pay attention to the way of thinking of the generations in their 20s to 40s who will be responsible for the future of society.

Finland's Coping Method and Japan's Current Situation

The high-level radioactive waste final disposal site is a facility that stores the spent fuel used in nuclear power plants deep underground for about 100,000 years. The

problem is the high level of radioactivity and the amazing storage period. No matter where the area is built, the locals will continue to be anxious. However, Finland has solved this problem (Sahara, 2018). The difference between Finland and Japan is that the Finnish people have no nuclear allergies and the only concern about the final disposal site issue was "radioactivity". The Finnish government has set up a ministry in charge to settle the final disposal site problem by first honestly explaining the danger to the residents through public debate, and then taking a long time to express safety measures, support measures for the local economy and tax incentives. As a result, this public debate became a powerful driving force for problem solving (Editorial: Hold repeated dialogue to obtain understanding on N-waste disposal, 2017), the residents gradually turned to agree, and the final disposal site has started construction (Kari et al., 2021). If the image of "nuclear weapons" and "destruction" is removed from nuclear allergies and the consciousness changes to only concerns about "radioactivity", it may be possible to construct a final disposal site in Japan. In 2020, the local government of Hokkaido announced that it would accept the construction survey ('Hokkaido village to apply for nuclear waste site survey', 2020) and is currently in the stage of a literature survey to examine the records of past earthquakes and tsunamis. Surprisingly, the violent opposition movement that was initially minimal, and showing that Japanese nuclear allergies may have changed. However, there is an opinion that people do not oppose it at this stage because a large amount of cooperation money will be paid just for accepting the literature survey (Izawa & Saito, 2020). In addition, Suttsu Town, conducting a literature survey, will hold a mayoral election in October. Candidates who have already insisted on discontinuing the literature survey are planning to run. Therefore, the opposition movement can also change significantly in the future.

Methods

Guiding Questions

I conducted an online and written survey in order to collect data on changes in the image of "nuclear" before and after the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, awareness of "nuclear allergies," and the final disposal sites for high-level radioactive waste. I also interviewed six people who said they knew the existence of the final disposal site problem. The content was an interview about changes in "nuclear allergies" and the final disposal site problem, especially how to solve and accept this problem.

Participants and Settings

The survey targeted age groups from people in their teens to their 70s, regardless of gender. Gender is not a prerequisite but will be used for later analysis. The interviewer selected those who answered that they knew about the final disposal site issue. The age group was also

Age Group	Before Fukushima			After Fukushima			Now		
	Weapon	NPP	Energy	Radiation	NPP	Explosion	Weapon	NPP	Radiation
10~30s	28.8%	21.9%	20.5%	42.3%	25.5%	14.8%	33.3%	25.8%	20.5%
40~70s	NPP* 38.1%	Radiation 22.2%	Energy 12.6%	Radiation 44.4%	Explosion 20.6%	Waste 15.8%	Weapon 27.9%	NPP 27.9%	Radiation 26.2%

* Nuclear Power Plant

divided into teens to people in their 20s who did not know the Cold War, in their 30s to their 40s who knew a little about the Cold War, and in their 50s to their 60s who knew about the Cold War and the anti-war movement during the 1960s.

Data Collection

The survey was conducted from June 23rd to 25th. The question about the respondent’s image of "nuclear" was a multi-selection type, and I asked them to select the two words presented here that best fit the image (see Appendix 1). I asked people to choose two of the eight images I proposed. The reason is to prevent the possibility that only a specific image will be derived if there is only one. Regarding the final disposal site issue, I made a yes or no choice questions. Also, the impact of the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant from five stages. Interviews were conducted on June 24th and 25th (see Appendix 2).

Results and Analysis

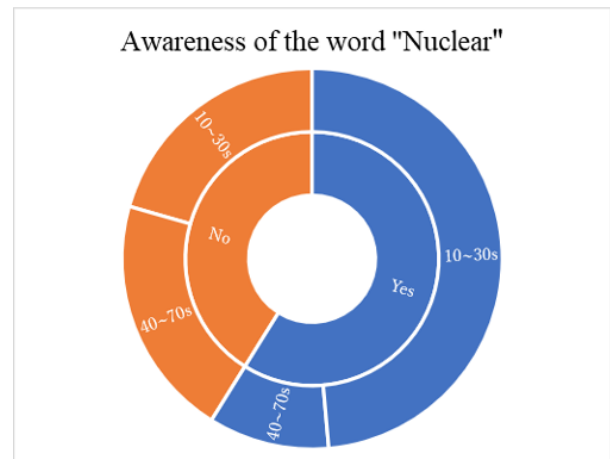
1. Survey Finding

What Is Imaged from the Word "Nuclear" (Top Three)

I investigated the images people had before, after, and now at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. The results were divided into three age categories: 10s to 30s (generations who do not recognize the Cold War), and 40s to 70s (generations who recognize the Cold War). The images that appear here are the top three of the eight images I have proposed.

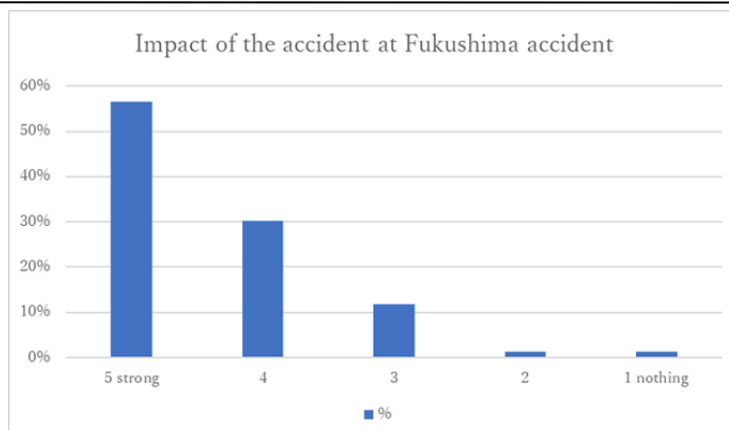
Awareness of the Word "Nuclear Allergy"

The result was that 60% of people knew the word nuclear allergy and 40% did not. Characteristically, about 80% of those who said "yes" were in the younger generation of 10-30s. Why is this word pervading the younger generation who do not know the social environment in which the word "nuclear allergy" was born ? Later, I will discuss why the younger generation knows this term.



Awareness of the Problem of High-Level Radioactive Waste Final Disposal Site

72.6% knew about the existence of the problem of high-level radioactive waste final disposal site, and 27.4% did not. It turns out that a relatively large number of people are aware of this problem. Also, there was little difference between generations about their awareness of this problem.



Impact of the Fukushima Nuclear Accident on the Final Disposal Site Problem

I investigated the impact of the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant accident on the final disposal site problem. In the survey, I asked questions about influence in five stages on a Likert scale. When asked how much the accident at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant affected the final disposal site problem, 56.5% of the respondents answered "affected" and 30.3% answered "slightly affected", for a total of 86.8%. On the contrary, 2.3% of the respondents answered that "there is almost no effect" and "there is no effect". This result shows that the accident at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station still has a great impact on the final disposal site problem.

By When Should the Final Disposal Site Problem Be Resolved?

Regarding this question, 87.3% answered that "our generation should solve it", 7.6% answered "next generation will solve it", and 5.1% answered "maintain the status quo". At a high rate, people have the idea that it should be resolved in our generation, and people realize that they can no longer be postponed. We will investigate this issue further in an interview described later.

2. Interview Finding

Interviews were conducted with six people who said they were aware of the high-level waste final disposal site problem. However, although there was a slight difference in their perception of the current progress of the final disposal site, it was not at a problematic level.

What I focused on in the interview was the question of what they would do if their town was selected as a candidate site for final disposal. One person said they would refuse completely, but the other five of the seven said they would "listen to the explanation of the necessity for a final disposal site." This result is thought to indicate a break from the "nuclear allergy" of denying everything when people hear the word "nuclear". And the most important point in their thinking is that if there is no other place to accept, they will listen on the premise of accepting. As a matter of course, they expect the advantage of accepting it, that is, financial support and benefits, but they also show a strong will to solve it in our own generation. Such ideas may affect future final disposal site problems.

Discussion

The footage of the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant was shocking, with the nuclear reactors exploding in quick succession (actually, the building exploded) and instantly blowing away the safety myths that had been built up over decades. At the same time, it is no exaggeration to say that people's image of nuclear weapons had returned to the 1960s and 1970s, when the terms "nuclear allergy" and "nuclear war" were used.

And this effect has undeniably had a great impact on the high-level radioactive waste final disposal site, which should be resolved as soon as possible. Even in the results of the survey, 3.3% of the respondents answered that the accident did not affect the disposal site problem, so the seriousness can be understood. However, it is also true that there is a slight light of solution to the final disposal site problem. This is because all age groups are more aware than they are of "problems to be solved by their own generation."

Before the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, people's image of nuclear power gradually changed from negative emotions to positive ones. In this survey as well, about 20% of the respondents answered "energy", which expresses a change that "nuclear" is no longer associated with the threat of nuclear war after the end of the Cold War, and nuclear power plants were built one after another as Japan's main energy source. Nevertheless, from the time of the Fukushima accident to the present, the image of "energy" has not appeared in the top three. There is no doubt that the negative impression has been restored due to the impact of the accident. However, interesting data were found in this survey: The image of "energy" had decreased sharply to 3.3% immediately after the accident, but now that more than 10 years have passed, that number is reviving to 9.8%. (Before the accident it was 18.3%). For all generations, it is approaching the pre-accident state. This is largely due to the weathering of memories over time, but there is another factor that needs attention. It is global warming.

The 2010 data from the Atomic Energy Research Institute also shows that many people who think that the image of nuclear is energy also have the image of preventing global warming (Japan Atomic Energy Relations Organization, 2020b). The government has declared that it will halve current carbon dioxide emissions by 2050 (Takahashi, 2020). To achieve this, there is an urgent need to develop sustainable alternative energy, but the reality is that the plan has not progressed due to the cost and the need for a vast amount of land to build new facilities. However, nuclear power plants are attracting attention again because they generate a large amount of electricity and do not emit carbon dioxide. This seems to lead to the positive image of energy.

The next thing to pay attention to is the degree of recognition of the word "nuclear allergy". Initial expectations were that older generations would be more aware and younger generations would be less aware. However, the results show that 80.0% of those who are aware are in their teens to their 30s. What does this mean? Immediately after the Fukushima accident, many commentators said in a news program that "Japanese people have a deep-seated nuclear allergy," so it is possible that they naturally came to know the word. It is undeniable that the term may have permeated the younger generation by focusing on the nuclear power plants and nuclear energy in many educational settings after the accident.

However, it should be noted that the term "nuclear allergy" has a different nuance than before. As an

interviewee in his 30s put it, "When people hear the word nuclear, people block their ears no matter what it is, whether it's beneficial or not." Certainly, the words of a person in their 60s, "I have no desire to accept what is called nuclear or radioactivity," show that many in the older generation have no intention of listening to the explanation after considering the advantages gained by accepting it. The younger generation may have a different interpretation of "nuclear allergy" as a term that refers to those who are not willing to think about Japan's future energy policy.

According to the survey, 83.8% of the respondents answered that the problem of high-level radioactive waste final disposal site should be solved by their own generation. Also, in the interviews, I was able to identify some people who are oppressed by the sense of crisis that there is no more time to solve this issue in our generation. That is, their acceptance comes with an understanding of the urgent situation that if their towns are finally selected, people will have no choice but to accept it in a situation where no other municipality can accept it. Considering this, although it is a special situation, the foundation for accepting the final disposal site has already been established.

Perhaps there is concern that the government and power companies, who are advancing the waste problem, do not fully understand this foundation. They may not be able to dare to take leadership in this problem, in which they assume they will encounter a fierce opposition movement. If governments and power companies take strong leadership to show benefits to hosting municipalities and residents, and at the same time proactively reveal all possible risks and how to deal with them, a solution can be seen, as in the case of Finland. Moreover, the inhabitants who think they will have to accept it no longer have the egoism of nimbyism (Boyle et al., 2019), which they will not oppose except in their own towns and villages (Hubbard, 2009). It has been proven in Finland that the municipalities will be able to fully function as a host (Emura & Tanaka, 2017) and the construction plan will move forward if only the consensus of the residents can be formed. Similarly, in Japan, if the construction of a final disposal site is decided, it may even be possible to implement it more smoothly.

The results of the survey and interview revealed that people are recovering from the damage caused by the accident at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. It was also found that the meaning of "nuclear allergy" has gradually changed, and that the number of people who think that it is irresponsible to not even try to talk due to the problem of the final disposal site is increasing. Conversely, the accident at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant was an opportunity for those who saw the reality to recognize that there is an unavoidable problem, the final disposal site problem. This means that depending on the policies of the government and electric power companies in the future, the progress of the final disposal site problem will succeed.

Conclusion

Considering the above comprehensively, the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant decisively destroyed the safety myth, and immediately after the accident, Japan's energy policy centered on the nuclear power plants was forced to change in terms of ensuring safety. This was a natural result. However, the global trend toward reducing carbon dioxide emissions to prevent global warming has slowed the momentum of this shift and is gradually returning to the pre-accident situation. Also, there is a change in the Japanese consciousness of trying to get rid of the "nuclear allergy" peculiar to the Japanese, who did not even try to talk or listen to the explanations regarding the final disposal site. Governments and power companies need to understand this situation quickly and accurately. Also, they should respond to the final disposal site problem by demonstrating positiveness and leadership by changing the attitude of "waiting" and pushing the advantages to the forefront. Many Japanese people are fully aware of the need to resolve the final disposal site problem, and fully understand that the disposal site must be accepted somewhere. If the government and electric power companies correctly understand the Japanese people's perception of the construction of the final disposal site and take active leadership, the solution to the high-level radioactive waste final disposal site problem may not be far away.

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Sexual Violence within Japanese Communities against Students Studying Overseas: An Analysis of Sex Offenders

by Rika Hamayama

Rika Hamayama is a senior student majoring in Global Studies. Her essay "Sexual Violence within Japanese Communities against Students Studying Overseas: Analysis of Sex Offenders" was submitted in the Global Studies Capstone Seminar under the supervision of Professor Satoko Horii. Hamayama has been researching sexual violence since her study abroad in the United States as a member of an organization called SAYNO!. After learning about issues related to underrepresented groups of people through Women's Studies, such as sexism towards women of colour, she began to investigate gendered violence which victimizes Asian women. This academic experience led her to write this analysis on sex offenders. She hopes this paper will contribute to raising awareness of sexual violence against vulnerable groups of people.

Introduction

In September 2020, an organization published a manual on sexual violence during study abroad. This student-based organization, called SAYNO![1]. Their survey targeted youth in Japan who have studied abroad before and those who are currently studying overseas. Out of 516 responses, 156 respondents claimed they were involved in some types of sexual violence, according to the result of their survey (SAYNO!, 2020). As for the characteristics of the victims of sexual violence, approximately 90 percent of the victims were female students (SAYNO!, 2020). Concerning the sex offenders, more than 50 per cent of them were expatriates from Japanese corporations (SAYNO!, 2020). From their survey results, it has been found that the primary setting of the violence are the communities overseas where immigrants from Japan living in a foreign country gather and communicate with each other. Although several organizations such as SAYNO! have researched the struggles of victims, few researched the reasons for such violence to happen in the first place.

Hence, the author will discuss the following question in this paper. What are the motivations of the offenders of sexual violence, considering their physical, social, and psychological status? With the concept of the power structure, masculinity of offenders, and vulnerability of students, this article will argue that the sex offenders' motivations are best explained with strategic and rational calculation.

The outline of this paper is as follows: in the next section, it discusses how the literature and concerned actor have defined 'sexual violence,' the concept underpinning this study. Section 3 examines how previous studies investigated the key concepts for this paper, such as power structure and vulnerability regarding sexual violence. In section 4, the research question for this paper and its significance will be discussed. Section 5 explains the hypothesis and main argument for the research considering several factors highlighted in the literature review. In section 6, the methodologies applied for this research will be discussed. In section 7, characteristics and peculiarity of Japanese communities overseas as an immigrant diaspora will be argued with a narrative of victim experience in Africa. Section 8 analyzes how sex offenders abuse their power and social status to approach the victims in the communities. In section 9, the characteristics and tendencies of sex offenders will be revealed with another narrative of sexual assault. Section 10 explains why students studying abroad are more likely to be victimized by the sex offenders in Japanese communities. In section 11, it argues a possibility that sex offenders assume that their harassing behaviours are harmless in the first place. Section 12, through a narrative, describes and discusses the actual situation of sexual violence and how offenders and victims behave at the exact moment. Lastly, findings and implications and acknowledgement of this research will be noted in section 13.

[1] SAYNO! was established in Japan in May 2020 to organize a seminar on sexual violence during study abroad at universities; investigate sexual violence during study abroad; and publish a brochure on approaches to cope with the violence. The organization is active in advocacy; it has proposed a policy to the 5th Basic Plan for Gender Equality of the Cabinet Office in 2020. The founding members of SAYNO! include 10 former recipients of a scholarship, awarded by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan. Despite its recent foundation, its activities have been recognized in the society and have been reported by major national newspapers such as Asahi Shimbun.

Literature Review

Before exploring why people in diaspora communities commit sexual violence against students temporarily staying to study abroad, the definition of sexual violence in this research needs to be explained. The definition provided by the World Health Organization (2002) is following:

Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work. (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi & Lozano, p. 149)

As defined above, sexual violence includes any form of action to force others to engage in physically and mentally uncomfortable actions. Often it is mistaken that only rape and touching others without consent are examples of sexual violence. According to the World Health Organization report, however, sexual violence also includes denial of contraceptive materials or protections for sexual intercourse and stalking others (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi & Lozano, 2002, pp. 149-150).

This section explains how researchers studied power structure, the masculinity of offenders, and vulnerability of the victims within a diaspora of immigrants to understand what scholars have discussed how gendered violence occurs in those diasporas and what activates male offenders to perpetrate it.

A study conducted by Michael Salter (2014) explains how and why violence against women and girls in diaspora occurs. Migrant groups that Salter focuses on are Muslim communities from the Middle East, and the type of violence highlighted is general and not specific to sexual violence. In the diasporas, Salter investigates, men physically abuse women and sanction their behaviours for the offenders' honour, resulting in the vulnerability of the victims of violence (2014, p. 104-106). This study unveils that the environment surrounding those immigrants contributes to the reproduction of gendered violence. The offenders abuse women and the whole community allows violence (Salter, 2014, p. 106). This violence is so-called "multi-perpetrator domestic violence," as Salter argues in his study (2014, p. 102). As immigrants are more likely to suffer from "social and economic marginalization," offenders feel powerless in the foreign country (Salter, 2014, p. 107). Cuklanz (1999) suggests that men may establish masculinity through objectifying and sexually assaulting women (p. 20). Therefore, being abusive to women and girls in the community is considered one of the solutions for their face savings. That is what Salter calls "cultures of honour" (2014, p. 107). Thus, for the offenders, women and girls are utilized to establish their masculinity, honour, and

social status through violence within their communities.

In regards to the vulnerability of sexual crime victims, there are several factors to consider. According to research conducted by Matthew Kimble, a psychologist at Middlebury College, studying abroad could induce a higher chance for female college students to be sexually assaulted. Kimble's (2012) research found the following:

Women who had studied abroad were four times as likely as women who had not studied abroad to have been victims [of] unwanted sexual contact. Women who studied abroad were found to be three times as likely to be victims of an attempted sexual assault and five times as likely to have been raped. (p. 1)

Salter also revealed what barriers and mindsets women and girls in ethnic minority communities hold regarding violence. The victims face language and cultural barriers and complications about their visa status in the foreign country, but they also struggle with discriminatory behaviours of those who could rescue them, such as public services and the police in the country (Salter, 2014, p. 106). Because of such situations where no one outside of the diaspora would save the victims, they even cease to seek help from third parties and conceal their abuse experiences (Salter, 2014, p. 106). Kimble also found out that "unfamiliarity with support services in foreign countries" discourages the female victims from asking for help after being sexually harassed (2012, p. 1). Those scholarly works discuss gendered power and vulnerability point to a systematic power structure between offenders and victims of violence whilst living in a foreign country.

Significance of Investigating the Motivation of Sex Offenders

Considering the concept of power structure and vulnerability, the author investigates the motivation of sex offenders in Japanese communities overseas to abuse their power and students studying abroad as the research question for this paper. Although there is some research on gendered violence in ethnic minority communities abroad (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002; Rimonte, 1991; Salter, 2014), few have discovered what triggers men, specifically expatriates, in Japanese communities to abuse sexually Japanese female students sexually. Since the number of reported cases of sexual assault by some organizations, including SAYNO! has been increasing, it is significant to address this research question in this paper. Thus, by analyzing the circumstances, psychological status, and tendencies of sex offenders, the author examines why it is hard to eradicate such sexual violence cases.

The general prediction of this research is that the power structure between male sex offenders and female university students is caused by circumstances which offenders and victims confront, and the psychological status of sex offenders and vulnerability of victims accelerate sexual violence.

More specifically, the social and economic status of expatriates and other working men overseas becomes disadvantageous and unstable because of language and cultural barriers deriving from the factor of residing in a foreign country. Due to such social and economic marginalization, they seek strategies to maintain or regain their social status and honour as a man. Therefore, as a convenient and favourable place to perform this, Japanese communities overseas are chosen. Referring to the literature review of gendered violence as cultural honour, students studying abroad get sexually assaulted and victimized by the offenders because of their vulnerability deriving from unfamiliarity with the local services and the language and cultural barriers.

Based on the hypothesis, the author argues that sex offenders in Japanese communities overseas assault students studying abroad to obtain social status and honour, which fade in a foreign country by taking advantage of student vulnerability.

In this paper, two following research methods will be employed. Firstly, documentary research will be applied to define a key term for this research, sexual violence. The term sexual violence is blurred and often differs depending on the institution. Therefore, the article issued by the World Health Organization is referred to since it includes various forms of sexual violence. Secondly, three case studies describing the actual situations concerning sexual violence will be introduced to clarify why this research is necessary and answer the research question.

Case Studies: Sexual Violence in Japanese Communities Overseas

In order to analyze how and why the cases of sexual violence in Japanese communities abroad exist, it is essential to examine the sex offenders and victims first. As an illustration of sexual violence below demonstrates, expatriates are more likely to abuse their status and power to approach students in Japanese communities overseas. It is peculiar in those communities that students at university interact with the expatriates with the family and middle-aged.

[Case 1: An expatriate sexually assaulted an 18-year-old female university student at her farewell party.]

A university student who is also the victim in this case, describes the situation at that time as follows:

The country I was studying abroad in was not a so-called developed country but in Africa. Although there were many expatriates from various Japanese corporations and public sectors, almost no students from Japan except myself were studying abroad there. Under the circumstances with an epidemic of infectious diseases and unstable security order compared with developed countries, the bond among Japanese migrants was firm. Some of the Japanese people there treated me as if I were their daughter and even took me to dine with them.

In the final week of my study abroad, a Japanese expatriate who took care of me said, "You did a great job here. I want to organize a farewell party for you at my house before you leave." I was pleased. Since the action range of the expatriate employees was limited in that country, there were gatherings at their houses instead. Because I have attended their gatherings and had meals together every week, I thought this time would be the same as usual. However, I was called to the party at different times from others on that day. Then, I was raped by him. The sex offender said, "I can spread rumours of you and Mr. A (who was close to the victim) in the community." And, "Even after you left, he might get isolated and lose his career opportunities with that rumour." The sex offender threatened me to have sexual intercourse with him by using Mr. A as a decoy.

I still clearly remember the sex offender's parting shot, his triumphant facial expression, and disgusting breathing as if he were about to hunt prey. He was no longer the same person as I knew. Because of the sudden change, I even thought he treated me well for this purpose. If I ran away now, Mr. A might get in trouble. However, I was also terrified that the sex offender might kill, hit, or rape me. All I could think of was not to piss him off and to calm him down so that I could get away with that situation. No matter how much I cried, asking and begging him to stop, he did not listen to me at all. It just hurt me. I used an after-morning pill for the first time in my life because no protection was used. I was upset with myself for not having enough knowledge of sex. Even though it is necessary to have a doctor's examination to obtain the pill in Japan, I purchased it at a pharmacy there without any examinations. I was full of anxiety.

At age 18, I learned that the Japanese community in Africa was exclusive and isolated. Trifling rumours of who was dating with who was appreciated in that closed community. And, someone like me, who is an 18 years old female university student, and stayed there for less than a year, was more likely to be the target of the rumours. Also, everyone knew whom I dined with. Therefore, I wanted to prevent Mr. A from getting isolated from others, feeling uncomfortable while residing there, and having disadvantages for his job. (SAYNO!, 2020, italics by the author)

Regarding the first italicized parts in Case 1, it is implied that sex offenders do not demonstrate their true intentions to treat the victims nicely until the very last moment. Indeed, they often appear reliable due to their 'expert power' in an environment where accessible information is limited. Therefore, it is hard for the victims to doubt whether the sex offenders are dangerous or not. The second italicized sentence illustrates how difficult it could be to seek help from others within the Japanese communities in some countries, predominantly when the community consists of a small number of residents and the area is in a so-called developing country.

As Case 1 above illustrates, when it comes to the Japanese communities abroad, there are several opportunities where students studying abroad could meet expatriates residing in the country because of gatherings.

Power Structure between Sex Offenders and Victims

Even without any apparent threats, some victims could accept invitations from sex offenders when there is a hierarchical relationship between them. Refer to the paragraph above for the narrative of sexual violence overseas. Often, accepting the invitations or act of not demonstrating rejection appears as a voluntary consent to the sex offenders to move on the relationship (Plaxton, 2015, pp. 68-82). This pressure, which makes victims obliged to accept the invitations or makes them believe they should not reject the offenders, is categorized as expert power, referent power, and legitimate power, making others submissive (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007, pp. 6-8). As for expert power mentioned in the previous section, the relationship between two parties depends on "some special knowledge or expertness" of those who are superior (French & Raven, 1959, p. 151). When the expertness is trusted, and the expert power influences an individual, the person could be manipulated "by any information coming from the source without much consideration of the information itself" (Hallenbeck, 1966, p. 203). Referent power is dependent on the identification of those who are subordinate to their counterparts (French & Raven, 1959, p. 151). Expatriates, who are familiar with the residing areas, well-experienced at companies, have financial resources, and university students, without an established social status in Japanese communities, apply to the relationship of O and P above. Under the referent power, students could respect and admire the expatriates (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007, p. 8). Lastly, French and Raven define legitimate power as "power which stems from internalized values in P which dictate that O has a legitimate right to influence P and that P has an obligation to accept this influence" (1959, p. 153). Hence, sex offenders who are socially and financially successful in the community could exploit these powers and ask students out, though they might not notice that the victims cannot help but compromise to accept the invitations.

Why Sex Offenders Are More Likely to Be Men with Wives and Children

In cases of sexual violence within Japanese communities in foreign countries, sex offenders are more likely to be a specific type of man (Muta, 2013; Tokuhiko, 2009; Tonry, 2009). According to the survey of SAYNO!, many of the Japanese sex offenders had wives and children and financial leeway (2020).

[Case 2: When an expatriate with a wife and children harasses a student.]

During my study abroad, I was tempted by a middle-aged expatriate who has a wife and children.

He persistently asked me to travel, date, and have dinner with him for several months. Without his harassment, I still think that my study abroad would have been meaningful and fulfilling. I met him at a social gathering for Japanese expatriates and students in that country and exchanged contact information. One day, he reached out to me on social networking sites and said he wanted to call me. Being suspicious, I answered the phone call. When talking about an authority visiting the country from Japan, he said, "I will introduce the person to you. But I want to dine with you to know more about you first." Moreover, he repeatedly made some inappropriate and unbelievable remarks on the phone call.

Asking a friend of mine about him since the contents of the phone conversation was quite shocking to me, I discovered that he used to harass other students before sexually. Seemingly, it was common knowledge among some Japanese students there, though I did not know about it at all. (SAYNO!, 2020)

The student accepted the persistent invitation from the offender due to 'referent power' deriving from the fact that he was an expatriate with life and working experiences and financial resources. In order to answer the question as to why middle-aged men tend to be offenders of sexual abuse against students, two potential reasons are discussed. Firstly, those men do not have a good relationship with their family members, such as wives and children at home. They are not pampered by anyone and excluded from family conversations (Tokuhiko, 2009, p.86). Whereas in the Japanese communities, young female students are more likely to be obedient and respectful to the Japanese men (Yoshimoto, 2011, p. 77). Secondly, those middle-aged men are not immune to the "gorgeous and sweet attitude" that young students exhibit (Muta, 2013, pp. 83-83). Therefore, the emptiness of affection and feeling of loneliness that those men face result in sexual offences (Tonry, 2009, p. 53). Indeed, in Case 2, the middle-aged man approached the victim whose ages are close to the daughters. As discussed, some research findings suggest that sex offenders are pursuing to do the "impossible" at home outside the household by taking advantage of exchange students as a convenient target.

Vulnerability of Students and Sex Offenders' Unconscious Exploitation

Referring to Case 1, the following four factors explain the vulnerability of students as a victim of sexual violence within Japanese communities overseas. First of all, students who study abroad by themselves suffer from loneliness in their study abroad environment (Ryan & Twibell, 2000, p. 418). It is also safe to assume that students whose language ability is insufficient to communicate with natives are also more likely to rely on Japanese communities abroad.

Secondly, students who study abroad and get sexually assaulted are in their 10s and 20s. They are younger than the sex offenders, which leads to a hierarchical relationship between them. This hierarchy between offenders and victims contributes to causing sexual violence (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007, p. 9). Thirdly, many of the students residing in the country for a short term, approximately no longer than one year, spur on their vulnerability. Because they are determined to return to Japan momentarily, they cannot help but take the harassment lying down or fly back to Japan. Hence, sex offenders take advantage of this situation and abuse those students. Finally, many students are afraid of retaliation from those older men, including office workers and professors, who could give them disadvantages for career opportunities (Sakanashi, 2007, pp. 24-26). Suppose the primary purpose of reaching out to the offenders for university students is to obtain benefits for job hunting; it is a natural result for the students to save the offenders' face by dining out with them (Ito, 2017, pp. 42-48). Hence, these four conditions are the causes for students to maintain their relationships with the potential sex offenders with power and social status.

Often, male sex offenders do not realize that what they are doing harms victims; instead, they might believe their behaviours are "normal" (Rufo, 2011, p. 5). There are also two patterns of realities that the sex offenders fail to recognize, which leads to cause sexual violence. One is that the man believes he is in a romantic relationship with the victim even though his victim has never thought the same way (Tsunoda, 2019, pp. 58-59). The other pattern is that both parties have romantic feelings towards each other first, then, the relationship develops into sexual violence eventually (Iwasaki, 2000, p. 54). Furthermore, there are various moments when the sex offenders misunderstand some victims' reactions, such as being friendly (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007, p. 55). Receiving those attitudes from young victims, sex offenders perceive the situations favourably and assume that the victims are also attracted to them. Nonetheless, there is the fact that mostly the victims are just returning a favour to them for a sense of duty (Tsunoda, 2019, p. 63-63). Thus, the harassment often begins with the misconception of sex offenders.

Then, why are the sex offenders unconscious that their behaviours are sexually harassing and abusive? There are two factors to explain this. Firstly, many working men in the middle age forget their absolute power over victims and their status in the social hierarchy and superiority as men (Kaneko, 2006, p. 69). Secondly, many of them are obsessed with conventional and sexist values because male white-collar workers dominate the workplace (Ikeda, 2007, pp. 50-61). For these reasons, the sex offenders misunderstand the relationship with young victims to be simply intimate. The sex offenders do not even imagine what they have done would harm the victims, or they do not care. All these show that their relationship with victims is unequal and hierarchical.

In sum, students' vulnerability, which is produced by the environment of their study abroad destination and their ages, and unconscious exploitation of it by sex offenders under their hierarchical relationship with victims contribute to sexual violence.

Why Victims Are Unable to Escape from the Ongoing Sexual Violence

Lastly, why do victims of sexual violence often fail to reject the actions of sex offenders? There are several reasons for that, which relate to the psychological aspects of women. Firstly, many women attempt to avoid any potential retaliation from male sex offenders (Gavin & Scott, 2019, pp. 267-268). For instance, some victims were left out of the project they were assigned to by sex offenders just because they refused to go out (Muta, 2013, p. 95). The narrative below demonstrates what a victim, a university student studying in Europe at that time, experienced.

[Case 3: The fact of being overseas deprives you of a sense of what is right or not.]

After a while, since I began my study abroad, a Japanese man repeatedly asked me out, saying, "Why don't you come to my place? You might want to have Japanese food for the first time in a while." I first did not want to go to his place. However, I considered that he helped me quite a lot, and I did not want to be rude. Therefore, I consistently suggested to him that we could dine at a restaurant. Nonetheless, he continued to ask me out and, for a sense of duty, I mistakenly assumed that he would stop inviting me to his place if I went there just once.

Then, he assaulted me. What hurt me the most was that he appeared as if he changed into another person and neither listened nor responded to me no matter how much I cried and asked him to stop. Imagining, even if I managed to escape, I would get lost in the neighbourhood, and he would catch me, it might be more dangerous for me to leave there without clothes in a foreign place, and I could not leave my baggage, I decided to only focus on not aggravating the situation by not aggravating him. (SAYNO!, 2020, italics by the author)

The italicized parts in Case 3 illustrate how hopeless the situation of sexual violence could be and how the offender utilized his 'legitimate power.' Since the offender "helped [the victim] a lot, and [she] did not want to be rude to him," it is evident that his 'legitimate power' influenced and obliged the victim to accept his invitation. As written, the violence did not end even when the victim resisted the situation by begging and crying. Therefore, all the victims could do was do nothing. According to Catharine MacKinnon, the author of a book called *Sexual Harassment of Working Women* (1999), women satisfy men by ignoring what happened to them, pretending to be pleased, and saving the men's face most common reactions towards sexual harassment (p. 93).

Some women experience so-called "tonic immobility" where they involuntarily freeze because they cannot physically resist or seek help from others during the offences (Fusé, Forsyth, Marx, Gallup & Weaver, 2007, p. 266). Hence, there is a dilemma where women cannot firmly say no, and men regard it to be a sign of approaching them more.

Conclusion

This paper analyzed why sexual violence, where male working adults supposedly become sex offenders, and female university students potentially get victimized in Japanese communities overseas, occurs. In this paper, there are several detailed descriptions of sexual violence. Therefore, for those who have experienced any sexual harassment before, the author acknowledges that those illustrations could potentially cause applicable readers a flashback from that time.

As a result of the investigations, it turned out that various factors motivate sex offenders in the Japanese communities abroad by producing a favourable and convenient environment for them. Due to the peculiar environment where working adults encounter university students at community gatherings and parties in a foreign country, potential sex offenders first acquire access and opportunities to reach potential victims. With the three types of power: 1) expert power, 2) referent power, and 3) legitimate power, which offenders possess because of their superiority over students regarding age, life experiences, and social status, sex offenders dominate victims consciously or unconsciously. Due to these powers, some offenders fail to recognize their actions as sexual violence and believe the relationship with the victims is intimate rather than hierarchical. As tendencies of sex offenders, it has been revealed that sex offenders with wives and children seek affection and chances to regain confidence as men, which faded due to unsatisfactory relationships with their family members, from young university students in the Japanese communities. There is another favourable condition for sex offenders. That is the vulnerability of university students studying abroad deriving from several factors, including cultural and language barriers, staying in the country for a short term, and possible retaliation from the sex offenders.

Based on these findings of factors motivating sex offenders to commit sexual violence, it has been proven that the main argument that the offenders abuse students to obtain social status and honour by exploiting the vulnerability of students is not convincing. The acquisition of social status is inapplicable for the offenders as a purpose of harassing the victims because

of their established status and financial leeway. Nevertheless, recovery of honour as men could be an aim for the offenders to approach the victims if their family relation is unsatisfactory. As for the vulnerability of students, it is not necessarily exploited as a means for the sex offenders to achieve stable social status because seemingly it is a rather intimate relationship than a violent and hierarchical relationship for them.

Nonetheless, throughout this research, the primary motivator for sex offenders in Japanese communities to harm students studying abroad has yet to be clarified. However, it perhaps correlates with the unconsciousness of sex offenders about their power, social status, and the harmfulness of their behaviours. What can be drawn from these findings is the existence of multi-perpetrator violence, a missing mechanism at the community level, where members of the whole communities consciously or unconsciously permit offenders to exploit victims as bystanders of sexual violence. This absence of third parties to prevent sexual violence and reproduce another sex offender in Japanese communities could be the root cause. Therefore, for further research, it should be examined how the sex offenders and communities could recognize the harmfulness of the situation and actions to deepen the analysis of sex offenders from a psychological aspect.

Despite the significance of this research, the author acknowledges some limitations. For the following five points, the scope of this research is limited incompetent. To begin with, there were cases where people of other genders than men, such as women, could abuse their power and status and harass their subordinates. Next, there were also cases where male students were victimized even though the case studies in this paper focused on female victims. Even though this paper generalized cases of sexual violence in Japanese communities abroad, the author acknowledges that characteristics and details of cases might differ depending on countries. Furthermore, although more patterns of sexual violence were unrevealed, three cases, which could help the author develop the research and argument, were introduced in this paper. Moreover, all the cases illustrated in this paper were from a single source, which is SAYNO! published in 2020. Last, even if those cases happened in the past, only victims' points of view were discussed. As a journalist and sexual assault survivor, Shiori Ito states, what victims and offenders remember or portray about the scene of rape or other forms of sexual offences differ (2017, pp. 82-88). The author should include narratives from the perspective of sex offenders in further work. Future research could reflect all these points to derive more sophisticated findings on sex offenders.

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The Potentiality of Menstrual Cups for Reducing Plastic Waste

by Sumire Harata

Sumire Harata is a sophomore student. Her essay "The Potentiality of Menstrual Cups for Reducing Plastic Waste" was written for Composition I under the supervision of Professor Joel Friederich. Her academic interest is in feminism, gender studies and women's sexual and reproductive health. Learning about plastic pollution and the relationship between women's education and the environment in Environmental Science class led her to research this topic.

"Only we humans make waste that nature can't digest" (Moore, 2009). This quote is from Charles Moore, an American oceanographer who has been researching plastic pollution and its effects on ocean life. It reminds us that we need to realize our responsibility for plastic pollution and the importance of the biodegradability of our waste. Plastic pollution is globally one of the most significant environmental problems. It is estimated that the annual mass of mismanaged plastic waste will be more than double by 2050 and destroy the natural environment and harm wildlife both on land and on the ocean unless worldwide action is taken (Gill, 2020; Lau et al., p1, 2020).

However, it is not widely known or considered that disposable menstrual products play a significant role in plastic pollution. Disposable products contain up to 90% plastic, and surprisingly, a pack of menstrual pads is thought to be equivalent to four plastic bags (Natracare, 2021). The vast majority of pads and tampons end up in landfills as plastic waste. As a result, the chemicals pollute oceans, rivers, soil, and the air before they break down into microplastics. It is estimated that a plastic pad takes approximately 500–800 years to be broken down (Peberdy et al., 2019, p3). Moreover, manufacturing pads and tampons also uses many resources and chemicals that contaminate the natural environment (Parke & Blacklaws, 2017).

Despite such environmental impacts, disposable products are the most commonly used period product worldwide. According to Branch et al. (2015), cited by Hait and Powers, A U.S. study of 739 women turned out that "within the last month 55% of white, 31% of black, and 22% of Mexican-American women used tampons and 59% of white, 66% of black, and 63% of Mexican-American women used a sanitary pad" (2019, p.1). This data shows that most women in the United States tend to use disposable menstrual products when they menstruate. In addition, the research conducted by Ozmall, a digital magazine for women, in 2019 shows that out of 838 Japanese women, 91.2% use disposable pads, 5.6 use disposable tampons, 1.2 % use reusable pads, 0.5% use menstrual cups, and 0.1% use period underwear (Ozmall, 2020). This data indicates that Japanese women are more likely to use disposable pads

than other menstrual products when they menstruate. Considering this data, disposable pads and tampons, the most harmful to the natural environment, are the most popular menstrual products among many women. To reduce plastic consumption and protect our planet from plastic pollution, women should start using sustainable menstrual products.

Today, while disposable products are the most commonly used period products worldwide, there are sustainable menstrual products on the market, such as reusable underwear, reusable organic pads, and silicone menstrual cups. Many people, including public health instructors and researchers, argue that reusable pads are the most suitable alternative to disposable products because they are readily accepted by people having cultures where they treasure females' virginity and period taboo, unlike menstrual cups. However, the current paper asserts that menstrual cups are the best alternative for both women and the environment for three main reasons: first, menstrual cups are highly eco-friendly and sustainable; second, menstrual cups are significantly cost-effective; third, menstrual cups have the potential to solve poverty that is related to menstrual products. In addition, this essay argues that the disposable feminine hygiene industry and conventional menstrual marketing are the biggest obstacles to spreading the menstrual cup due to the pursuit of profit and promotion based on cultural taboo and social secrecy regarding menstruation. By analyzing the effectiveness and challenges of menstrual cups, this essay aims to raise young people's awareness of the social issues and environmental problems regarding menstruation.

Menstrual cups are the most eco-friendly menstrual products because they can reduce plastic waste and save water. Menstrual cups are like bell-shaped cups made of medical-grade silicone rubber, and women fold and insert them into the vagina to collect menstrual blood instead of absorbing it. Although they cost more initially, women can wear them for up to 6–12 hours a day and use them for up to a decade (Kaur et al., 2018; Avramova, 2019). According to Hait and Powers (2019), a woman uses 240 disposable pads or tampons per year on average, and menstrual cups have less than 1.5% of the

environmental impact of those disposables (Hait & Powers, 2019, p.7). In addition, they note that "if a woman uses a cup for even one month, though, the overall impacts are still less than the average 20 tampons or pads assumed used in that cycle." (Hait & Powers, 2019, p.8-9). In other words, if a woman who menstruates uses a menstrual cup for a decade, she can save 2,400 pads or tampons in her lifetime. Thus, menstrual cups can reduce plastic waste on a large scale and reduce the environmental impact. Moreover, women can save water by using menstrual cups. Since a menstrual cup needs little water to clean it, women can use it with limited access to water and sanitation (Avramova, 2019; Rodriguez, 2021). In contrast, if a woman uses reusable pads made of cloth, she needs to wash them regularly and use a lot of water. Therefore, reusable pads may not always be the best solution for those who do not have safe access to water and sanitation. Additionally, Babagoli et al. (2020) point out that "the environmental burden for menstrual cups, sanitary pads, and cloths, is the smallest for the menstrual cup" (Babagoli et al., 2020, p.12). That is, menstrual cups are more environmentally friendly because the water consumption of reusable sanitary pads is likely to be higher than that of menstrual cups. For these two reasons, therefore, menstrual cups are the most eco-friendly alternatives to disposable products.

Menstrual cups are the most cost-effective products because the yearly cost of a menstrual cup is significantly lower than other products. Compared with disposable products, Hait and Powers (2019) estimate that "the menstrual cup has a significantly lower annual cost, \$3.07 over its ten-year life span, than either maxi pads (\$29) or tampons (\$51) (per 2017 prices at a Walmart SuperCenter)" (Hait & Powers, 2019, p.9). This is because a woman who menstruates only needs one menstrual cup and uses it for about ten years. On the other hand, compared with reusable pads, a woman generally has to prepare four to six pads for the cycle of pad laundry, and they last only three to five years (Rodriguez, 2021). Today, around 199 brands sell menstrual cups in 99 countries, and the prices range from less than \$1 to more than \$46 (Avramova, 2019). Although a woman needs to make much upfront investment compared with other products, she can save on-going costs in the long run by using a menstrual cup.

For their excellent cost performance, menstrual cups can be a solution to period poverty, not only environmental issues. Period poverty refers to the condition that those on low incomes do not have access to the safe, suitable, and hygienic menstrual products they need (ActionAid, 2021). According to the BBC News article "Coronavirus sparks a sanitary pad crisis in India" (2020), schoolgirls in India have lost the opportunities for education due to a massive shortage of sanitary napkins since schools were closed during the COVID-19 lockdown (BBC, 2020). That is, period poverty is a significant issue because it deprives girls of the right to get an education. Moreover, Muiruri (2020), a Kenyan

journalist, notes that thousands of girls in Kenya were forced to have sexual intercourse for sanitary pads during the Covid-19 lockdown (Muiruri, 2020). In other words, it was a girls' only resort to getting money to buy menstrual products because of period poverty. Chege (2020), program director at Plan International Kenya, cited by Muiruri (2020), said, "the government used to give sanitary pads to girls while in school but failed to extend the services to their homes when schools closed, leaving the girls at the mercy of 'friends with benefits'" (Muiruri, 2020). It means that it is not enough to save girls from period poverty that public institutions such as schools provide free disposable menstrual pads with girls regularly under the CoronaVirus pandemic. Instead, if public institutions once distribute menstrual cups for girls, they can reuse them for ten years and no longer need to provide sex for money when schools closed due to COVID-19 lockdown and supply of sanitary products stop. Also, girls can go to school even when they menstruate without buying pads every month. Therefore, this paper presumes that menstrual cups, which are more cost-effective than disposable or reusable pads, can solve period poverty and negative impacts caused by it on girls, not only plastic pollution.

Despite the eco-friendly characteristics and good cost performance of menstrual cups, some health instructors and researchers still argue that reusable pads are the best alternatives. Those experts point out that menstrual cups are unacceptable to people who misunderstand that the cups can impact female virginity, especially in cultures where women have to get married as a virgin. Malone (2019), public health instructor at Mississippi University for Women cited by Rodrigues (2019), says that reusable pads are "the most accessible and culturally acceptable menstrual management products, particularly in developing countries and in cultures where menstruation is severely stigmatized" (Rodrigues, 2019). In other words, Malone (2019) is concerned women will be blamed for using menstrual cups. In addition, Achuthan et al. (2021), who developed banana fiber-based menstrual pads as a feasible alternative to disposable ones, argue that reusable materials are more culturally acceptable and sustainable than menstrual cups because their "necessity for insertion has dampened its adoption" (Achuthan et al., 2021). That is, reusable pads are more likely to be accepted by people since they do not require girls to insert them into the vagina. Both Malone and Achutan et al. (2021) believe that reusable pads are the most suitable alternatives since they are readily accepted by people having cultures where they treasure females' virginity and period taboo, unlike menstrual pads.

However, the current paper emphasizes that menstrual cups are still the best alternatives because they have no impact on female virginity. Ruby Cup (n.d.), a company based in Barcelona that provides sustainable and reusable menstrual cups, notes that menstrual cups do not rip the membrane or break the

hymen (Ruby Cup, n.d.). OrganiCup (2020), the company that manufactures sustainable menstrual cups, also explains that using a cup does not affect female virginity, and there is no age limit by medical standards (Ravn, 2020). Therefore, the most important thing is overcoming menstrual cups' misunderstanding to make them acceptable to people. Wirseen (2019), CEO of the nonprofit The Cup Foundation, which provides menstrual cups and education to girls in parts of Africa, cited by Avramova (2019), says that "the only way to break a taboo is to talk about it, and the menstrual cup is a very good way of starting that discussion" (Avramova, 2019). In other words, the menstrual cup is a suitable solution to overcome misunderstanding since it provides an opportunity to discuss usage of it and cultural taboo regarding menstruation with people in a community. In addition, Wirseen (2019) also notes that educating girls and their communities is necessary to spread the correct information on the safety and usage of menstrual cups, sexual health and human rights, and women's bodies and sex (Avramova, 2019). People need to consider that menstrual cups have not been acceptable to people who have cultures where they treasure females' virginity and period taboo yet. However, they are a more suitable alternative than reusable pads since they provide an opportunity to rethink and discuss menstruation with girls and their communities.

In addition, the disposable feminine hygiene industry is the biggest obstacle to developing and spreading reusable sanitary products, including menstrual cups. Although sustainable alternatives are on the market, such as silicon menstrual cups and reusable pads, they remain niche markets. That is because non-disposable products are not purchased regularly and do not generate a massive profit for major corporations that dominates the market of disposable sanitary products (Spinks, 2015). Peberdy et al. (2019) point out that "manufacturers are unlikely to be keen on highlighting the levels of plastic waste that their own products create" (Peberdy et al., 2019, p.13). If people realized the plastic pollution caused by disposables and started using reusable ones, the businesses could lose profits. That is one of the reasons why most manufacturers do not provide labeling on the packaging, and the environmental impact of disposable menstrual products is not widely known to most consumers. Moreover, manufacturers are not required to fully disclose what is in the pads or tampons because those feminine hygiene products are approved as medical devices by the Food and Drug Administration (Kounang, 2015). Therefore, it is difficult for us to realize how plastic waste caused by disposable menstrual products pollutes our planet. For these reasons, we can say that the pursuit of profit in the disposable feminine hygiene industry is the biggest obstacle to spreading menstrual cups among women.

Further, conventional menstrual marketing has exploited the period taboo and contributed to spreading

the notion that menstruation is dirty and not discussed openly (Cooper, 2018). For example, conventional advertisements typically depict menstrual blood as blue liquid, not red, to advertise the product's absorption. The blue liquid in those ads seems like a color symbolizing sterility and cleanness. Joshi (2020), a journalist of Times of India, criticizes this expression since it does not tell people women's "real-life" stories (Joshi, 2020). In other words, people will not imagine the pain of menstrual cramps and the anxiety about bloodstains on jeans when they see the mysterious blue liquid dripping from a test tube on a napkin. Therefore, Joshi says that it is crucial to normalize the depiction of blood so that people accept menstruation as a normal and natural phenomenon (Joshi, 2020). Spinks (2015) quoted Zivku, communications and education director for DivaCup, the primary retailer of menstrual cups for North America, in The Guardian article (Spinks, 2015). Zivku (2015) points out that "the paper feminine hygiene industry has done a very good job of convincing women that their period is something [which] should be out of sight and out of mind, something they shouldn't talk about" (Spinks, 2015). That is, socially expected secrecy has facilitated the disposable feminine hygiene industry. Therefore, both Joshi (2020) and Zivku (2015) argue that it is essential that the feminine hygiene industry improve menstrual marketing to break the cultural taboo and social secrecy regarding menstruation.

In conclusion, the menstrual cup has high potentialities for reducing environmental impact and solving period poverty for its eco-friendly characteristics, good cost performance, cleanness, and safety. On the other hand, by analyzing the effectiveness and challenges of menstrual cups, we can see the obstacle to spreading sustainable menstrual products. Even nowadays, many businesses only care about the pursuit of profit but not the environmental issues. That is the biggest obstacle because marketing strategies such as impression management and advertisements by corporations can affect consumers' decision-making. Thus, to make menstrual cups prevail in the feminine hygiene industry, we must show the manufacturers the rise in demand for sustainable menstrual products that have a smaller impact on the environment. I suggest that young consumers appeal increase in demand for eco-friendly menstrual products to big brands using the internet and social media. As a result, corporations need to work hard to meet customers' demands. Young customers will gain the power to break the silence and spread public awareness of environmental issues by discussing plastic pollution and disposable menstrual products. It will not be easy to tackle complex social problems and cultural habits rooted in our societies. However, I believe that we can reduce the environmental impact of menstrual products on our planet if we address taboos associated with menstruation and improve public awareness of disposables.

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The Effect of Cause Involvement and Message Framing on Consumer's Psychological Reactance and Purchase Intention in a Cause-Related Marketing Campaign

by Masaki Miyamura

Masaki Miyamura is a senior student majoring in Global Business. His capstone paper "The Effect of Cause Involvement and Message Framing on Consumer's Psychological Reactance and Purchase Intention in a Cause-Related Marketing Campaign" was submitted in the Global Business Capstone Seminar under the supervision of Professor Hideyuki Nakagawa at AIU. Miyamura's interests in behavioral economics and refugee issues grew while studying abroad in the U.K. He particularly became intrigued with the consumer's decision-making processes on fundraising campaigns, based on his experiences as a Public Relations Unit intern at a refugee-supporting NGO in Japan. He is planning to attend graduate school to pursue his interests in behavioral science/economics. As for Miyamura's future research endeavors, he would like to seek effective methods to reduce perception gaps and sustain public attention towards refugees and Persons of Concern (PoCs).

Abstract

Cause-related marketing (CRM) has been an effectual and crucial marketing strategy for companies to demonstrate their contribution to society. This study aims to investigate the effect of cause involvement and message framing on the consumer's psychological reactance and purchase intention in a CRM campaign. The study collected data from 109 undergraduate and graduate students from a Northeastern university in Japan on their level of cause involvement and their psychological reactance and purchase intention towards one of the two CRM advertisements differing only by the message frame (positive or negative). Two *two-way ANOVA* and an *independent samples t-test* revealed no interaction effect of cause involvement and message framing. However, *mediation analysis* conveyed psychological reactance as the mediator variable for explaining the relationship between cause involvement and purchase intention. These findings indicate that companies need to develop CRM campaigns that contemplate consumers' cause involvement and psychological reactance.

Keywords: Cause-Related Marketing (CRM), Cause Involvement, Message Framing, Psychological Reactance, Purchase Intention

Introduction

Along with corporate social responsibility (CSR), cause-related marketing (CRM) has been a crucial aspect for profit-seeking companies to contribute to the non-profit organizations and society while also augmenting their image by connecting the charity donations to their marketing sales (Grau & Folse, 2007; Varadarajan & Menon, 1988). Firms have been conjuring up various compelling strategies to deliver messages that appeal to the wellbeing of individuals and society. However, frivolous framing could yield no effect to the general public and generate reactance or opposing behaviors instead. In addition, consumer's cause involvement will also affect the acceptance of their message. Thus, meticulous consideration of cause involvement and message framing is vital for a CRM campaign to succeed (Grau & Folse, 2007).

Although Bester and Jere (2012) report the statistical insignificance of the interaction effect of cause involvement and message framing on purchase

intention, the small sample size and quota sampling techniques seem to reduce the accuracy and reliability of their impact. Studies on the effect of message framing on psychological reactance are still in infancy (Miron and Brehm 2006; Steindl et al. 2015; Xu, 2019). Although there have been studies investigating the complex exercise behind a CRM campaign by picking multiple factors from cause involvement, message framing, psychological reactance, purchase intention and other concepts, there has been no further study examining the effect of cause involvement and message framing to psychological reactance. Hence, this paper will expand and modify Bester and Jere's (2012) study, examining the effect of cause involvement and message framing on psychological reactance and purchase intention in a CRM campaign.

Literature Review and Hypothesis Development

Cause-related Marketing (CRM)

CRM is a marketing strategy designed to achieve the marketing objectives through supporting social causes

(Varadarajan & Menon, 1988; Barone et al., 2000). According to Dean (2003), CRM involves three actors; the corporation (actor 1) announces a campaign that they will donate a specified amount of money to a charitable cause (actor 2) each time a consumer involves in a transaction that yields revenue to the corporation (actor 3). Various research denotes the significance of CRM in generating benefits to all three actors. A systematic review by Zhang et al. (2020) found that out of 68 qualified articles, CRM was more effective than conventional marketing and sales promotion strategies such as discounts and coupons. According to Strahilevitz and Myers (1998), CRM benefits consumers because bundling charity donations with products yields a higher positive influence than segregating the items. Consequently, CRM offers them two specific positive outcomes, the product's gain and the additional reward comprising utility generated from donating indirectly to the charity. Linville and Fischer (1991) also highlight consumer's preference towards bundling two positive outcomes over receiving them separately. For the company, CRM campaigns not only boost a positive image to the consumers (Smith & Stodghill II, 1994), but their public goodwill is also unlikely to be reduced (Dean, 2003) from the consumers who do not perceive the sponsorships as an exploitation of the cause (Ellen et al., 2000). On the other hand, Bloom et al. (2006) explain that social-cause affiliation could provoke a "halo effect" on how a brand is seen on different attributes such as reliability and quality, depending on variables such as the extent to which the cause fits the brand, consumer's involvement, and the purchase intention of the product.

Cause Involvement

Grau and Folse (2007) posit that the level of cause involvement and message framing are the two significant factors in CRM. This paper will adopt Grau and Folse's (2007) definition of cause involvement: "the degree to which consumers find the cause to be personally relevant to them." The concept of cause involvement is examined through various denotations such as involvement (Zaichkowsky, 1985) and personal relevance (Antil, 1984). Broderick et al. (2003) contend that higher levels of cause involvement will expand the interpretation of the CRM message, rendering an increased likelihood to participate in the campaign. Lafferty and Goldsmith (2005) also explain how higher cause familiarity positively affects their response to the CRM.

Previous studies and models reflect the influence of consumer's level of cause involvement on their response towards a CRM campaign (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986/2012; Bester & Jere, 2012). According to the Elaboration Likelihood Model proposed by Petty and Cacioppo (1986/2012), there are two fundamental routes to persuasion: a thoughtful consideration of arguments essential to the issue (central route) or an affective association (i.e., simple inference) tied to persuasion cues in peripheral contexts such as attractiveness, expert sources, and the number of arguments (peripheral route). A high cause involvement renders

elaboration likelihood high, resulting in the trigger of the central route. In contrast, a low cause involvement invokes a low elaboration likelihood that triggers the peripheral route (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986/2012). People with higher levels of cause involvement are more likely to consider and elaborate contemplatively on the information related to the issue than those with lower cause involvement (Cacioppo et al., 1986). In addition, several studies have shown both direct and indirect effects of cause involvement on purchase intentions (Fan & Miao, 2012; Patel et al., 2016). As the study intends to replicate and extend Bester and Jere's (2012), the following hypothesis will be investigated:

H1: High cause involvement positively influences the purchase intention of the CRM product.

Message Framing

Message framing, or valence framing effects, is defined as the presentation of the same information in either a positive or a negative aspect (Levin et al., 1998). The valence framing effects conjured from Kahneman and Tversky's (1979) prospect theory. When people face a risky choice framed to losses, they will demonstrate risk-seeking behaviors that lower their expected utility to avoid the loss (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). As a form of persuasive communication, CRM messages often generate a goal framing effect, where the positive frame aims to attain the positive consequence, while the negative frame seeks to avoid the negative consequence (Levin et al., 1998). Several studies have documented the goal framing effect in the real world. For instance, Meyerowitz and Chaiken (1987) found that women were more inclined to engage in breast self-examination when presented with negatively framed information stressing the consequences of not taking the examination. Maheswaran and Meyers-Levy (1990) also note how people scrutinize negatively framed information more than positively framed information, profoundly affecting their judgments. In recent studies, Chang and Lee (2008) demonstrate the effect of negatively framed messages on inducing stronger behavioral intention. Based on the fundamental understanding of message framing, the hereunder hypothesis will be tested:

H2: Negatively framed messages will generate higher purchase intention than positively framed messages

Cause Involvement and Message Framing

Previous works have stressed the significance of CRM messages in creating an effective advertisement. As cited in Bester and Jere (2012), consumers demonstrate a favorable attitude towards the brand when a CRM message is embedded in the advertisement regardless of the level of fit between the social cause and the brand (Nan & Heo, 2007). According to Bester and Jere (2012), however, other studies reveal that consumers' attitudes to brands are unaffected by the CRM message, implying the effect of CRM message on purchase intention rather than the brand attitudes.

H4c: Low-cause-involvement consumers will have lower psychological reactance towards positively framed CRM messages than high-cause-involvement consumers.

H4d: High-cause-involvement consumers will have lower psychological reactance towards negatively framed CRM messages than low-cause-involvement consumers.

Research Method

Data Settings

The research collected respective information through an online survey to examine the effects of cause involvement and message framing on the consumer's psychological reactance and purchase intentions of a CRM product. The survey questionnaire was constructed using two Google Forms that differed only by the framing of the CRM advertisement. The survey was conducted by recruiting a quota sample of undergraduate and graduate students attending a small-sized university in Northeastern Japan who can read and understand Japanese. The quota sampling technique was ensured by posting the survey to a private Facebook group only available to the university members. A total of 110 respondents (109 undergraduate students and one graduate student) answered the online survey. One respondent was omitted as he/she did not meet the respondent's criteria, rendering the data processed from 109 respondents.

Measurements

A *two-way ANOVA* tested H1, H2, H3a, and H3b; an *independent samples t-test* examined H2 and H4b; Another *two-way ANOVA* assessed H4a, H4b, H4c, and H4d.

The questionnaire consisted of an imaginary CRM campaign from a fictitious brand, Retoi. The brand was developed based on an existing prominent brand in Japan, Ajinomoto Frozen Food. The researcher decided to create a fictitious brand from Ajinomoto, a food and biotechnology organization, to replicate Bester and Jere's (2012) research in which they used an existing frozen food company in their area of study. On the other hand, the frozen food industry in Japan is competitive. Comprising 533 businesses estimated in 2019 (Diep, 2021), the industry produces a stable cumulative production volume of approximately 1.5 to 1.6 megatons between 2013 and 2019 (Japan Frozen Food Association, 2019). Due to the competitiveness, brand biases are expected. The researcher, therefore, decided to create a fictitious brand to avoid prior brand bias the respondents would face from the study.

After the respondents read and signed a consent form, they were shown one of the two online CRM advertisements of Retoi's Special Gyoza (Chinese dumplings), which only varied by the type of message frame used. Both advertisements exhibited a gyoza picture and a text describing Retoi's CRM message (see Appendix A.1 & A.2). These messages were replicated and modified from Bester and Jere (2012) and adapted to

Retoi's Special Gyoza and a specified donation amount. Thus, the respondents were presented with the negatively framed CRM advertisement ("Every night, thousands of children go to sleep hungry. Buy Retoi's Special Gyoza and we will donate 10 Japanese yen for every pack you buy to 'Feed the Children'. Every pack you buy means a child does not go hungry."), or the positively framed CRM advertisement ("A hungry child can go to bed full because of your purchase. Buy Retoi's Special Gyoza and we will donate 10 Japanese yen for every pack you buy to 'Feed the Children'. Every pack you buy helps feed hungry children to survive.").

To assess cause involvement, respondents completed a five-item, seven-point semantic differential scale based on previous works (Maheswaran & Meyers-Levy, 1990; Grau & Folse, 2007; Bester & Jere, 2012), adapted from the Personal Involvement Inventory (PII) scale developed by Zaichkowsky (1985). While the original research by Bester and Jere (2012) used 20 items, the researcher reduced the scale to the five items used by Grau and Folse (2007). The scale identified whether the social cause in the campaign was 1) unimportant/important to me, 2) is of no/great concern to me, 3) is personally irrelevant/relevant to me, 4) means nothing to me/means a lot to me, and 5) does not/does matter a great deal to me. Items 1), 4), and 5) were reverse coded to avoid biases related to multiple-choice options such as ordinal position effect (Becker, 1954) and position bias (Blunch, 1984).

As Bester and Jere (2012) noted, cause involvement (high vs. low) was determined after being measured because it is impossible to assign respondents to either level a priori. Thus, the respondents' cause involvement was divided by calculating the mean score of the five items in the scale and determining whether the median score was above or below the mean (Bigné-Alcañiz et al., 2010); if the median score was above (below) the mean, respondents who had a median score will be categorized in the high (low) cause involvement.

Unique to this research, psychological reactance was measured as a composite score calculated by adding the scores of "anger" and "negative cognitive responses" (Shen, 2010; Dillard & Shen, 2005, as cited in Xu, 2019). "Anger" was computed based on a four-item, five-point semantic differential scale, asking the respondents to rate how 1) irritated, 2) angry, 3) annoyed, and 4) aggravated they felt towards the CRM message (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree), developed by Dillard and Shen (2005). "Negative cognitive responses" were assessed using a reverse coded, three-item, five-point semantic differential scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) based on Dillard and Shen (2005) as well. The three items were, 1) "I agree with the message," 2) "I have positive thoughts toward the message," and 3) "I intend to comply with the message." These scores were then compiled to a single mean index.

Since the previous work (Bester & Jere, 2012) did not specify their scale for purchase intention, the researcher adopted a four-item, seven-point semantic differential scale from Bues et al. (2017). The four items were, 1) "Would the purchase of the promoted product be more

likely or less likely given the information shown?"; 2) "Given the information shown, how probable is it that you would consider the purchase of the promoted product?"; 3) "How likely would you be to purchase the promoted product after reading the information?"; and 4) "How likely is it that you would look out for the promoted product to purchase it?" These scores were also compiled to a single mean index.

Procedure

There were two types of surveys that differed only by the message framing of the CRM advertisement, a) positive and b) negative. Using Google App Script editor, respondents were randomly assigned to positively and negatively framed CRM advertisements. The questionnaire was constructed in English first and then was translated to Japanese for the respondents. To ensure the translation was accurate, a convenience sample of four students from the same capstone seminar at the small-sized Northeastern university in Japan took

part, where they answered the survey and provided feedback on the use of jargon and Japanese words associated with the cause involvement, psychological reactance, and purchase intention scales.

Results

The survey was conducted between June 1st and June 21st. As all three measurement had a Cronbach's Alpha of over 0.7 (α Cause Involvement = .767, α Psychological Reactance = .885, α Purchase Intention = .865; see Appendix B), all the items demonstrated good internal consistency and relatively significant reliability.

As Bester and Jere (2012) and previous works have denoted, the interaction effect between the types of message frame and the level of cause involvement must be considered. The summary statistics (Table 1) and the non-parallel lines displayed in Figure 1 imply an interaction between the two variables.

Table 1: Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Consumer's Purchase Intention of the CRM Product

<i>Message Frame</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>PI</i>
Positive	High	30	4.65 (1.19)
Positive	Low	24	3.50 (1.14)
Negative	High	29	4.32 (1.06)
Negative	Low	26	2.71 (1.29)

Note: CI = cause involvement, N = number of respondents, PI = purchase intention; the standard deviations of PI are presented in parentheses.

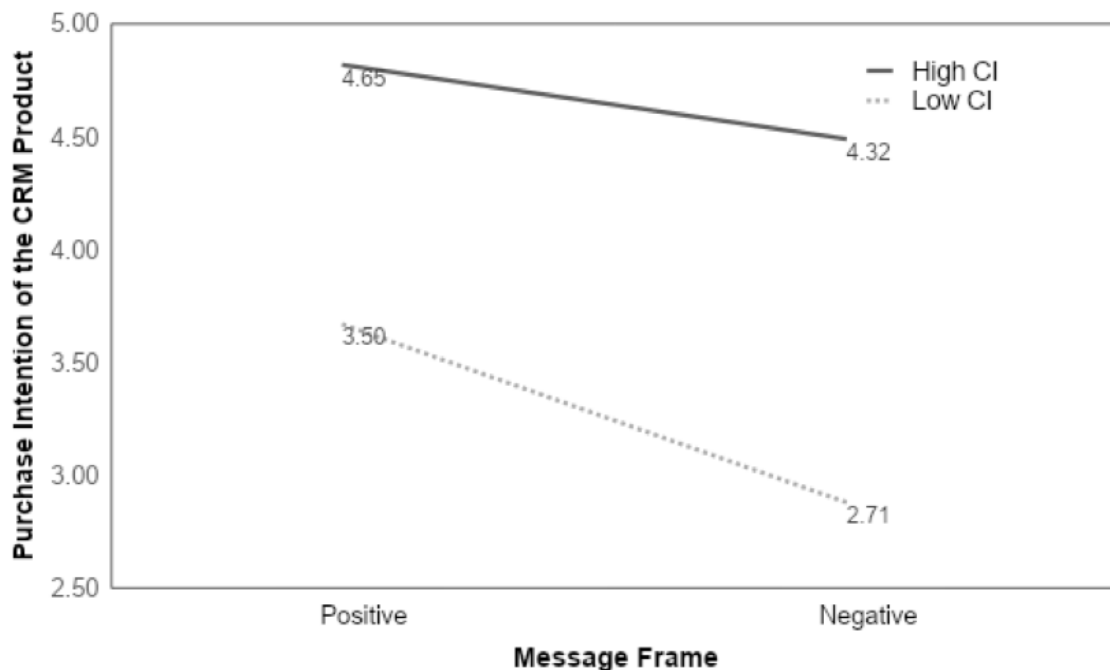


Figure 1: The Interaction Effect of Message Framing and CI on the Consumer's Purchasing Intention of the CRM Product

To assess the influence of CI (H1) and the types of message framing on the purchase intention (H2), as well as the interaction effect of the two independent variables on the purchase intention (H3a, H3b), a two-way ANOVA was conducted. As seen in Table 2, there was a main effect on the purchase intention caused by both the type of message framing [$F(1, 105) = 6.18, p = .015 <$

$.05]$ and the level of CI [$F(1, 105) = 37.47, p < .001]$. There was no interaction, however, between the level of cause involvement and the type of message framing related to the influence of the consumer's purchase intention [$F(1, 105) = 1.03, p = .31 > .05]$. Based on the two-way ANOVA, H1 was supported, while H2, H3a and H3b were rejected.

Table 2: Two-way ANOVA Results for Purchase Intention

<i>Dependent Variable: Purchase Intention</i>					
	<i>Partial SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	
Model	62.21	3	20.74	15.12	***
MF	8.47	1	8.47	6.18	*
CI	51.39	1	51.39	37.47	***
MF x CI	1.41	1	1.41	1.03	
Residual	144.02	105	1.37		
Total	206.24	108	1.91		

Note: MF = message frame, CI = cause involvement; Partial SS = partial sum of squares, *df* = degrees of freedom, MS = mean squares; *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

An independent samples *t*-test was conducted to measure the impact of message frames on the respondent's purchase intention (H2) and the psychological reactance towards the CRM product (H4b). As shown in Table 3, the main effect of message framing types was statistically significant only in the consumer's purchase intention. Compared to the 55 participants who read the negatively framed CRM

message [Mean = 3.56, SD = .19], however, the 54 participants who read the positively framed CRM message [Mean = 4.14, SD = .18] had a higher purchase intention [$t(107) = 2.23, p = .028 < .05]$. On the other hand, the main effect of message framing types on the consumer's psychological reactance was not statistically significant [$t(107) = -1.17, p = .24]$. Thus, the *t*-tests rejected both H2 and H4b.

Table 3: Effect of Message Frames on the Consumer's Purchase Intention and Psychological Reactance towards the CRM Product

<i>Dependent Variables</i>	<i>Message Frame</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t-score</i>
Purchase Intention	Positive	54	4.14 (.18)	2.23 *
	Negative	55	3.56 (.19)	
Psychological Reactance	Positive	54	1.83 (.10)	- 1.17
	Negative	55	2.01 (.12)	

Note: N = Number of respondents; the standard deviation of the mean is indicated in parentheses; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

In terms of the relationship between the types of message frame, the level of cause involvement, and psychological reactance, the summary statistics in Table 4 and the non-parallel lines in Figure 2 suggest the

existence of interaction between message frames and cause involvement which in turn influencing the change in consumer's psychological reactance towards the CRM product.

Table 4: Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Consumer's Psychological Reactance towards the CRM Product

<i>Message Frame</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>PR</i>
Positive	High	30	1.61 (.53)
Positive	Low	24	2.11 (.81)
Negative	High	29	1.62 (.56)
Negative	Low	26	2.45 (.94)

Note: CI = cause involvement, N = number of respondents, PR = psychological reactance; the standard deviations of PR are presented in parentheses.

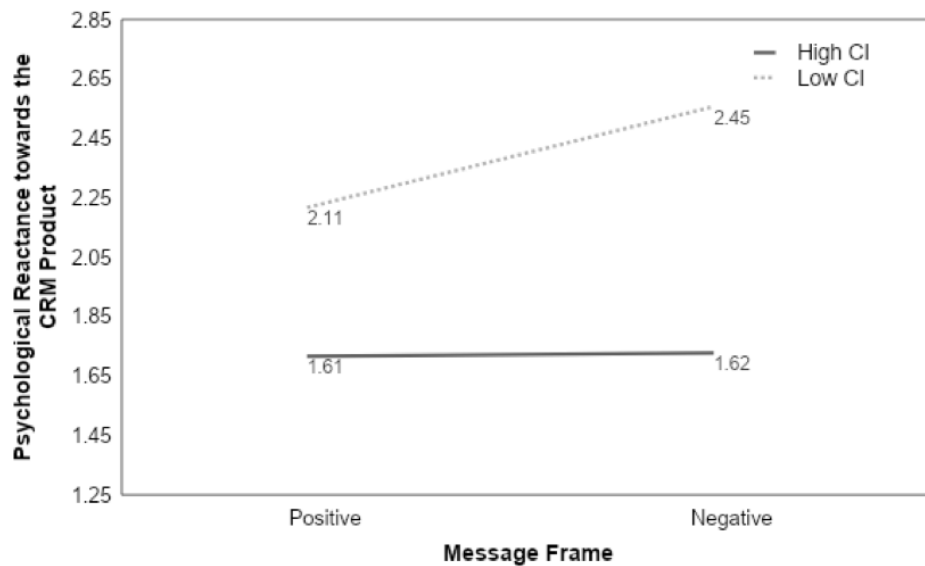


Figure 2: The Interaction Effect of Message Framing and CI on the Consumer's Psychological Reactance towards the CRM Product

Another *two-way ANOVA* was computed to examine the main and interaction effects of message framing types and cause involvement levels on the respondent's psychological reactance (H4a, H4b, H4c, and H4d). As seen in Table 5, while the main effect of cause involvement level was significant [$F(1, 105) = 23.22, p <$

$.001$], neither the main effect of message framing types [$F(1, 105) = 1.56, p = .21 > .05$] nor the interaction effect were significant [$F(1, 105) = 1.45, p = .23 > .05$]. These results revealed the support of H4a and the rejection of H4b, H4c, and H4d.

Table 5: Two-way ANOVA Results for Psychological Reactance

<i>Dependent Variable: Psychological Reactance</i>				
	<i>Partial SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Model	13.58	3	4.53	8.83 ***
MF	.801	1	.801	1.56
CI	11.90	1	11.90	23.22 ***
MF x CI	.744	1	.744	1.45
Residual	53.82	105	.513	
Total	67.41	108	.624	

Note: MF = message frame, CI = cause involvement; Partial SS = partial sum of squares, *df* = degrees of freedom, MS = mean squares; *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

While the results report that psychological reactance was not significantly affected by message framing types (Tables 3 and 5), it was significantly affected by cause involvement levels. A simple mediation analysis was performed using purchase intention as the outcome variable, the level of cause involvement as the predictor variable, and psychological reactance as the mediator variable. The statistical significance of the indirect effect was assessed using bootstrapping procedures. As Figure 3 illustrates, the standardized regression coefficient

between the cause involvement level and psychological reactance was statistically significant [$A = -.42, p < .001$], and so was the standardized regression coefficient between psychological reactance and purchase intention [$B = -.51, p < .001$]. The standardized indirect effect was $C' = A*B = (-.42)(-.51) = .21$. The unstandardized indirect effect (1,000 bootstrapped samples) was .60 with statistical significance [$p < .001$] and a 95% confidence interval of .30 and .91.

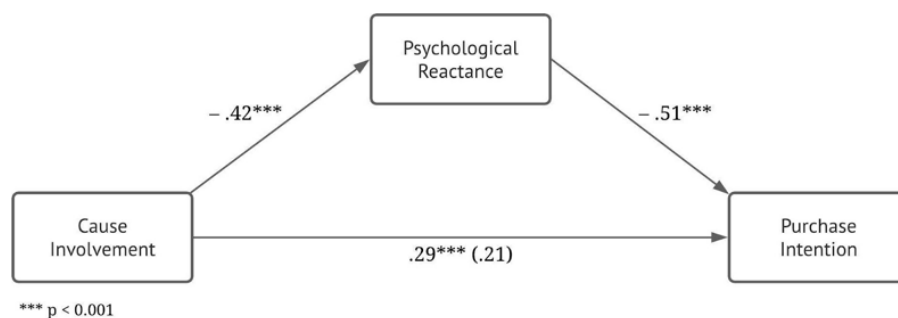


Figure 3: Standardized Regression Coefficients for the Relationship between Cause Involvement and Purchase Intention, Mediated by Psychological Reactance

Discussion and Implications

The study was conducted to extend and modify Bester and Jere (2012) by investigating the effect of cause involvement and message framing on consumers' psychological reactance and purchase intention in a CRM campaign. Overall, the study revealed consistent findings with previous studies, primarily Bester and Jere (2012), and suggested the mediation effect of psychological reactance on the relationship between cause involvement and purchase intention.

The *two-way ANOVA* from Table 2 showed that while high cause involvement positively influenced the respondent's purchase intention (H1), there were no significant interaction effects between cause involvement and message framing on purchase intention (H3a & H3b). These findings were consistent with the Elaboration Likelihood Model (H1: Petty et al., 1986/2012) and Bester and Jere (2012), while were contrary to the findings from previous studies (Maheswaran & Meyers-Levy, 1990; Grau & Folse, 2007; Sunitha & Edward, 2017) that respondents with high cause involvement have a higher purchase intention towards negatively framed messages, and respondents with low cause involvement have a higher purchase intention towards positively framed messages. These results suggest the significance of people's innate cause involvement in their attitudes toward purchasing a CRM product.

On the other hand, the type of message framing itself influenced consumer's purchase intention, as seen in Table 2, which contradicts the findings from Bester and Jere (2012). Surprisingly, the *independent samples t-test* in Table 3 showed that purchase intention was higher in positively framed messages [$M = 4.14, SD = .18$] than in negatively framed messages [$M = 3.56, SD = .19$], providing a different result from previous studies (Meyerowitz & Chaiken, 1987; Maheswaran & Meyers-Levy, 1990; Levin et al., 1998; Chang & Lee, 2008). However, it is essential to note prior studies that support this finding (Yoon et al., 2019). This finding poses an intriguing insight that positive frames could induce higher purchase intention than negative frames. It may be helpful for marketers to hold CRM campaigns with

positively framed CRM messages, which could convey the benefits that people can attain by purchasing the CRM product, such as pride.

The *two-way ANOVA* from Table 5 supported the main effect of cause involvement on psychological reactance (H4a). The significant disparity between high cause involvement and low cause involvement in Figure 3 also depicts the hypothesis. On the other hand, the same test demonstrated that the interaction effect of cause involvement and message framing did not influence psychological reactance (H4c & H4d). Once again, these findings were indirectly consistent with previous studies regarding the little interaction between the two independent variables on consumers' purchase intention, which correlates inversely with psychological reactance (White et al., 2008; Kwon & Ahn, 2020).

There was also a mediation effect (Figure 3) of psychological reactance on the relationship between message framing and consumer's response. Although limited studies focus on the mediating role of psychological reactance, Ahn (2014) supports this finding. Hence, marketers may need to acknowledge that the purchase intention of the CRM product is not influenced directly by the consumer's cause involvement level but indirectly through the consumer's perception of reactance arousal.

Limitations and Future Extensions to the Study

Several points could be considered for future improvements. Considering the extensive studies investigating the effect of negatively framed messages on purchase intention, the researcher strongly believes that the negative frame may not have been powerful enough to evoke the sense of guilt from the respondents (H2). In addition, the choice of visual may have yielded a different effect if it was replaced with a more robust image. For example, instead of the CRM product, using a starving child may have generated a strong loss aversion to ignore the consequences, particularly in the negatively framed CRM message.

For the mediation effect (Figure 3), the indirect effect [$C' = .21, p < .001$] was not close to zero despite its

smaller value than the direct effect [$C = .29, p < .001$], some crucial variables may have been omitted. For instance, self-affirmation, a psychological theory centering on individuals' adaptation to self-concept-threatening information or experiences, argues how individuals exposed to personally relevant external values will decrease the likelihood of experiencing distress (Steele, 1988; Schüz et al., 2013). As the concept of self-affirmation is intensely linked to an individual's cause involvement and psychological reactance (Schüz et al., 2013), including this variable may have clarified the relationship more.

There could also have been a variation in the samples, such as age and socio-cultural background. As the study focused on 109 undergraduate and graduate students in a Northeastern university in Japan who can read and understand Japanese, collected through the private Facebook group, the data may not have been diversified. Hence, future studies could either conduct a cross-cultural study between university students or collect the data from a broader population. In addition, there were no control variables in the study that could have affected the reliability and statistical significance

of the processed data. Implementing control variables such as gender and educational level can be acceptable for future studies.

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Fashion in Japan: from Meiji to Taisho

By Nanako Furuse

Nanako Furuse is a Senior student majoring in Global Studies. Her visual essay "Fashion in Japan from Meiji to Taisho" was a final project submitted in Japanese History II: Modern Japan, under the supervision of Professor Sean O'Reilly.

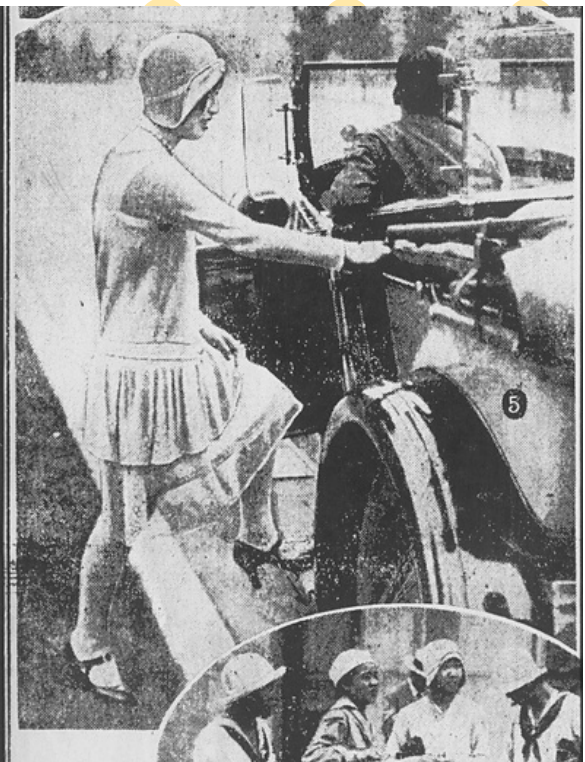
Furuse has had an interest in gender, feminism, and social movement in Japan and Asia. After learning how the general public and citizens' movement played an important role in history as agents of change, she was fascinated by people's daily lives in Modern Japan, leading to this visual essay of people's fashion in the Meiji and Taisho era to explore their responses to modernization and gender differences.

As for Furuse's future research endeavors, she would like to further pursue the possibility of expanding the active social movement of women and migrant workers in Japan.

FASHION IN JAPAN

FROM MEIJI TO TAISHO

MODERN JAPAN



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MEIJI



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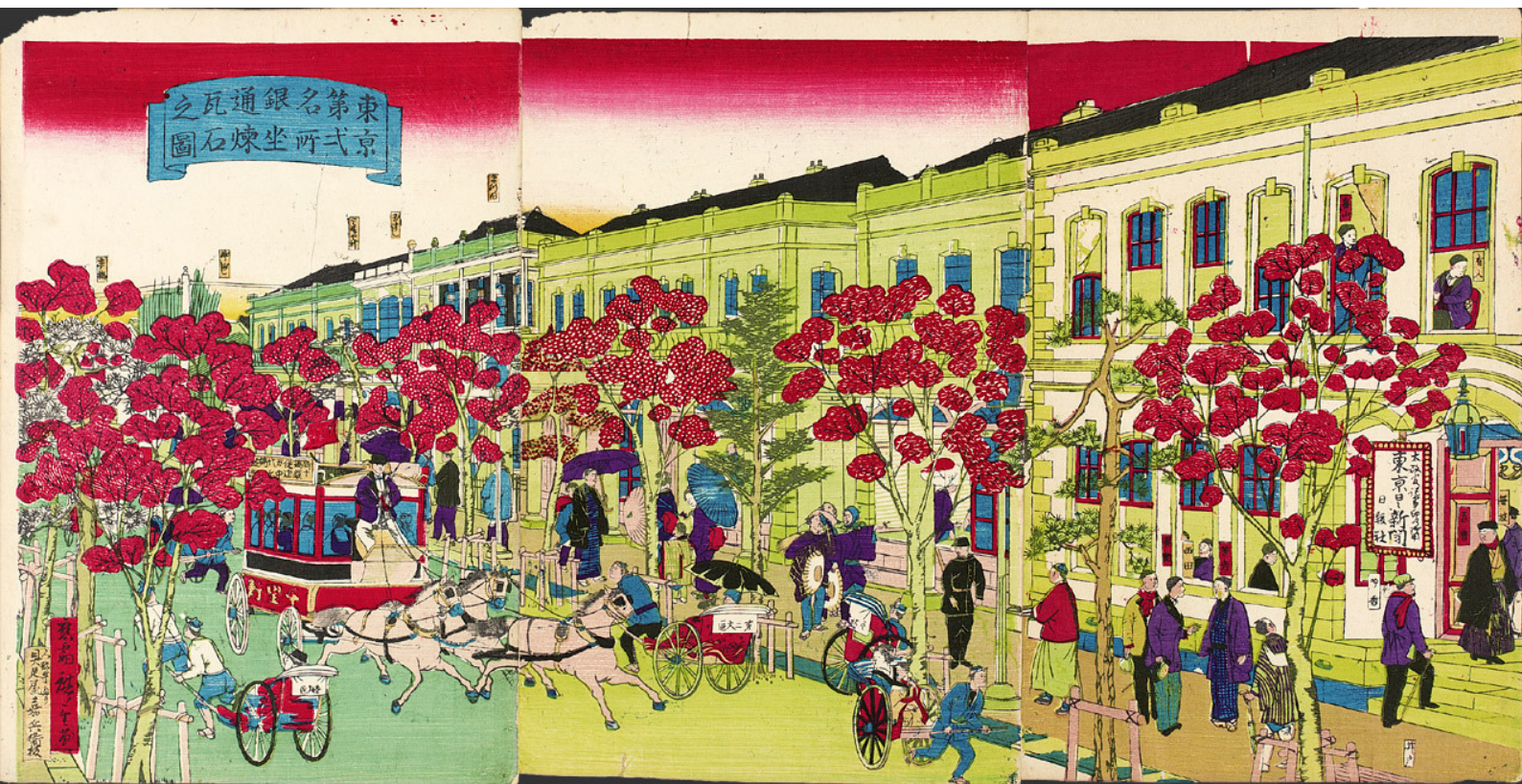
MEIJI

(1868-1912)

"Civilization and Enlightenment"

What were the people's reactions to "Modernity"?
Did the process go smoothly?
Did people have shared political desires and goals?

This chapter explores the above questions by introducing pictures and images of hairstyles and fashion around the Meiji period.



Hiroshige III. (1874). Tokyo daiichi meisho ginza dori rengaishi no zu [Image of brick-build avenue of Ginza]. MIT Visualizing Cultures.

"Civilization and Enlightenment"

Facing "modernity," the new Meiji government started to explore the pass to "modernity" at the beginning of the 1870s. The process extended to "the entire spectrum of cultural life" (Gordon, 2003 p.108), including politics, economy, education, infrastructure, art, and so on.

In many parts of the world, the modernization process often involves conflicts between tradition and modernity (often understood as western value). In Japan, beginning in the mid-1880s, confrontation emerged between "a drive to preserve or revive a so-called traditional Japanese culture" and "Western-oriented reformers" (Gordon, 2003, p.109).

Under these conditions, in mid-and late Meiji Japan, Western culture "coexisted, mixed, and sometimes conflicted with" traditional culture (Gordon, 2003, p.109).

The modernization process also involved questioning fashion and hairstyles. What was considered as "proper" men and women in modern Japan is often reflected in what people wore or how they styled their hair.

Although it is often believed that the central government played a major role in the modernization process, it is crucial to turn our attention to people's daily lives. O'Brien (2008, p.1334) argues that by examining "those who have seldom appeared as subjects in history," "all these can appear as agents, rather than simple objects, within modernizing regimes of power."

This chapter explores how people responded, resisted, or adopted the new values and way of living through fashion and hairstyle.



CHANGING SOCIETY

People have a greater opportunity to be exposed to and learn western culture and values.

Figure 1 is a picture of a western fancy-goods store. Until the Edo era, these stores mainly dealt with merchandise of cosmetic products. From the Meiji era, they introduced a lot of western items, including clothes, hats, bags, or sticks (Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age, n.d.).

Figure 2 is a picture dictionary published in the early Meiji period. It shows western clothes and goods such as a hat, parasol, shoes, boots, a pair of trousers, and so on. The dictionary also includes pictures of cutlery, house, beast, school, or soldiers. All names are written in German, English, French, Kanji and Hiragana, which allowed readers who did not understand foreign languages to understand the content (Tamagawa University, n.d.).

MEIJI



Figure 1. Osaka Mainichi Newspaper. (1889). Ochibososhi. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.

Figure 2. Sogataiseikummozukai. (1876). Ifukurui. Ochibososhi. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.



Figure 3. [[Iifunohitobito] [Painting of unusual people]]. (1872). Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.

COEXISTENCE OF CULTURE

Some people found it unusual to see people wearing Japanese and Western fashion at the same time.

Figure 3 shows a news magazine depicting the coexistence of Japanese and western fashion.

The author might have observed or ironically depicted people such as

- a person wearing western clothes with a Japanese hairstyle
- a person wearing western clothes with geta
- a western person wearing Japanese clothes
- a girl in Hakama having English book

People might have adopted a different part of western culture to their daily lives.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS

The emperor and empress in the western dress may have influenced people.

In 1872, "the emperor donned a Western dress for occasions of state" (Gordon, 2011, p.25).

In the following year, the Meiji emperor was captured in "Western military dress, with a Western hairstyle, mustache, and beard, on a European-style chair" (Figure 5) (Gordon, 2003, p.69).

The Meiji empress started to wear Western clothes after the emperor, but during the 1880s, "the empress continued to wear Japanese clothing exclusively" even on the official occasion to welcome Western institutions (Gordon, 2011, p.25). The empress wore a Western dress for the first time in public in 1886, and she issued a "court circular," which ordered her attendants to do the same (Gordon, 2011, p.25). This publication impacted not only aristocracy but also "all who aspired to high social status" (Gordon, 2011, p.25).

4



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6



7



Figure 4. Sudo, M. (1873a). Meiji Tenno-gyoden. Tokyo: Kaneo Bun'endo. Retrieved from Gordon, A. (2003). *A modern history of Japan: from Tokugawa times to the present*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Figure 5. Sudo, M. (1873b). Meiji Tenno-gyoden. Tokyo: Kaneo Bun'endo. Retrieved from Gordon, A. (2003). *A modern history of Japan: from Tokugawa times to the present*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Figure 6. Stillfried & Andersen. (1839). Mikadess. Tokyo Photographic Art Museum.

Figure 7. Molinari, G. (1897). Portrait of the Meiji empress dowager. Tokyo Museum Collection.



Figure 8. Aichi Newspaper. (1872). [Painting of ironic situation after the danpatsurei]. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.



Hairdressing Federation of Japan. (n.d.). [Painting of comparison between pig's tale and chonmage].

欧米人に比べて日本人は「豚の尻尾」や「おとし」に見えてはきつても

THE COMPLEXITY OF RESHAPING DAILY LIVES

The process of modernization involved various forces and different desires and goals of many actors.

In 1871, the Meiji government issued the *danpatsurei* (cropped hair edict) in order to "encourage" people to cut their hair short for three reasons: "the backwardness of *hanpatsu* styles," the negative connection between shaved head and prisoners, and waste of time and money (O'Brien, 2008, p.1325).

In the mid-1870s, many officials and individuals cut their hair, and short hairstyles spread throughout Japan (O'Brien, 2008, p.1325). According to O'Brien (2008, p.1325), if it had not been for the local initiatives, the edict could have ended up in failure. Local officials were taking advantage of the opportunity to advance their political careers by successfully implementing the policies because hairstyles are so visible that they serve as a "visible index of the success" (O'Brien, 2008, p.1326). Thus, officials actively and sometimes forcefully ordered people to cut their hair. This could be considered as one of the complexities of the modernization process. People expressed their personal desires and goals that are different from the original intention of the central government but participated in the process at the same time.

However, these local officials sometimes faced resistance from local people. Some people believed that their *chonmage* is "the same as life itself" (O'Brien, 2008, p.1328). Moreover, Figure 8 shows a practical reason for people not changing their hair. Since many people from different social classes had to shave their hair in the Edo period, they had to wait until their hair had gotten longer.

THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS

Women often challenged gender norms and expressed their desire but were often excluded from full participation in social life.

The 1871 edict (*danpatsurei*) did not specify its target to men, and some women cut their hair short, which led the government to forbid women from cutting their hair in 1872 (O'Brien, 2008, p.1333). Those women who cut their hair did not necessarily support the "civilization and enlightenment" project because some of them were "serving girls at teahouses, and geisha" who were trendsetters and aimed to cause sensation to attract customers (O'Brien, 2008, p.1333). They expressed their desire and goals and challenged the existing gender norms, although they were immediately forbidden to do so.

In the mid-1880s or the Rokumeikan era, Western dress became fashionable among elite Japanese women (Gordon, 2011, p.26). as well as Western hairstyles.

Figure 9 shows the explanation of how to style hair like Western women.

Figure 9. Yoshiki Fujin Sokuhatsuho. (1885). *Yoshikifujinsokuhatsu no hinagata oyobi setsumeij*[Pattern and explanation of female Western hairstyles]. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.



GENDER DIFFERENCE IN FASHION

Men and women followed different paths in terms of their uniforms and fashion.

Western wear was firstly adopted to men's uniforms and clothes, starting from military uniforms followed by factory laborers and other sectors in the 1870s to 1880s (Gordon, 2011, p.31). Figure 10 shows the transformation of military uniforms from the Edo to the Meiji era. The men in the top row wear Japanese-style uniforms before the Meiji restoration, while the men in the bottom row wear Western-style uniforms in the Meiji era.

On the other hand, Western dress for women was adopted first to "young girls, students, and young 'working women' from the early 1900s into the 1920s" (Gordon, 2011, p.31). It was in the 1930s when a minority of adult women started to wear Western dress (Gordon, 2011, p.31). Japanese clothing or *wafuku*, which are sewn "in the home by women for women" were preferred among the majority of adult women (Gordon, 2011, p.31).

Figure 11 shows graduate students from a midwife school in Nagasaki in 1906. While men are wearing Western dress, most of women are wearing Japanese style dress.



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Figure 11. Zyogakusekai. (1906). Nagasaki samba gakko sotsugyousei. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.

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Figure 10. Shashintsushin. (1917). Tendo 50 nenkinenshashin [The 10th anniversary of transferring the capital]. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.



TAISHO

(1912-1926) & 1930s

"Modern Girl"

Who was Japan's "Modern Girl"?
What was her life like?

This chapter explores the above questions by introducing pictures and images of "Modern Girl" in the Taisho period.

MODERN GIRL: MEDIA REPRESENTATION

The "Modern Girl" depicted in media was controversial and a target of criticism.

The "Modern Girl" drew a lot of public attention around the 1920s and 1930s. The Modern Girl is not easily defined but according to Molony et al. (2016, p.237), "she was both a real person and a media sensation."

As a media sensation, she was "transgressive and problematic" because of her "foreignness," or consumption-oriented or overly sexual behavior (2016, p.237).

Many media often paid attention to her physical appearance.

She had short hair, wore either Western fashions or Japanese kimono "with the obi sash tied high to emphasize her hips and make her legs look longer" (Freedman et al., 2013, p.6).

Figures 12 and 13 show the fashion of the Modern Girl wearing both Western and Japanese dresses.



Figure 12. Yomiuri Newspaper. (1928). Natusugata ginzashoken[Summer fashion in Ginza]. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.

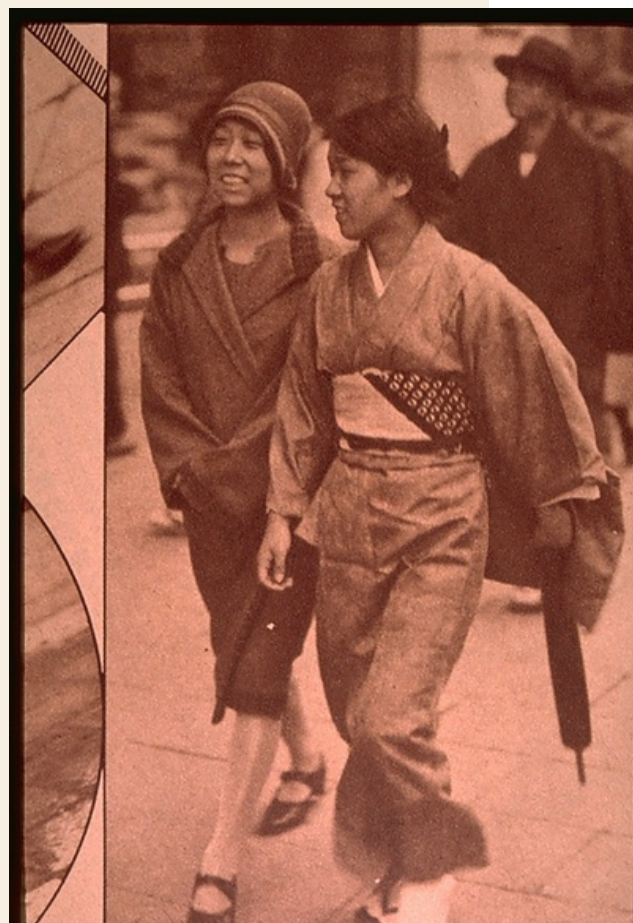


Figure 13. Asahigraph. (1927). Tosei moga mobo kurabe[Comparison of fashionable Moga and Mobo]. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.

MODERN GIRL: REALITY

The "Modern girl" was a controversial figure in public discourse, but it did not capture the reality of the "Modern girl."

In a real person, the Modern Girl was one of the newly emerging female workers. In the 1920s and 1930s, as the urban labor increased and new middle classes emerged, women, "who could be paid less than men and were believed to be better mannered and more subservient," were employed in several service sector jobs (Freedman et al., 2013, p.4). Women were employed in department stores or dancehalls, or as bus conductors, telephone operators, cafe waitresses, or teachers and nurses (Molony et al., 2016, p.237).

In contrast to the media depiction of the Modern Girl, she was "not merely a passive consumer of middle-class culture" because she was an active producer of goods, services, and new habits (Silverberg, 2006, p.58) and "hardworking employees with working-class or middle-class jobs" (Molony et al., 2016, p.238).

They were critical agents for social, political, or economic changes.

Figures 14 and 15 show women working in service sectors such as waitress and promotion girls.

Figure 14. Tokyo Asahi Newspaper. (1929). *Shoka no seikatsu*[Life in the early summer]. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.



Figure 15. Asahigraph. (1934). *Tokyo shi basu senden sabisu garu*[Women promoting bus services in Tokyo]. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.

THE "FLEXIBLE" MODERN GIRL: HAIRSTYLE

Creativity might have solved the dilemma of women in the Taisho era.

Creativity might have solved the concerns and hesitation of some women who wanted to be like a modern girl but hesitated to cut their hair short.

Figure shows how to make long hair look short. It starts with some women's concerns and desires to cut their hair. It says that some women want to wear Western dresses with short hairstyles, but they might feel intimidated to cut their hair. Then, it describes the detailed processes to create short hairstyles from long hair.

Some women who were not bold enough to cut their hair against the prevailing notion of women's hairstyle might have adopted this creative solution to satisfy their desires.



Figure 16. Fujokai (1934). Nagai jige de dampatsu ni miseru yuikata [How to make long hair look short]. Image Database of Japanese Clothing Culture in the Modern Age.

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